

THE TAPEWORM TENDENCY

IS TROTSKYISM A LEFT WING DEVIATION?

As we pointed out in the Flag (Vol. V. No. 7) there are three main divisions of Marxist-Leninism:

1. Moscow line, the revised Stalinism;
2. Maoism, and its many splits and counter-splits: the old Stalinism sometimes interlaced with Bolshevik pre-revolution dynamism and sometimes with a total rejection of all Marxist dogmatism, as opposed to Leninist dogmatism;
3. The '57 varieties' of Trotskyism.

This in itself makes the revolutionary party outmoded. Lenin's theory was based on the fact that there could only be *one* working class party — in defiance of the palpable fact that he had split from the main party (but that had 'sold out to the bourgeoisie'). In Leninist terms, the one party had the right to suppress all the others. But what if there were more than one Leninist party, each able to outbid or undercut the other?

We cited Portugal, where the Communist Party was within an ace of seizing power, but it was outflanked by its rivals, who in turn could not take power because they too were outflanked by yet another. And this is the modern dilemma of Marxist-Leninism: there will now always be another minor party, the real "vanguard of the proletariat" underselling the rest for leadership.

HOW TO SOLVE THE DILEMMA?

When writing the article, we thought to suggest satirically that a decision on which one was the party of the working class, and the genuine 'vanguard', could be made by an appeal to the High Court of Justice. No doubt a decision by someone like Lord Denning or an appeal to the House of Lords would come down firmly in favour of the appeals of one or t'other. We didn't put this bit in thinking it was too flippant. We were wrong. You can't be too flippant when dealing with "Trotskyism — the Marxism of Today". *Such an appeal has gone through the courts, the finding being in favour of the Labour Party!*

TAPEWORM PRECEDENT

The so-called 'Right Wing' of the Labour Party has denounced the Militant Tendency as a tapeworm, working within the party for aims contrary to those of the party and its supporters. This is plain. This mistake they make is to assess the Militant Tendency in its own terms as a *left wing tendency*. Trotskyism is, and has always been — and was regarded by its parent party, the Communist Party — a *right wing tendency*. That it uses left wing phrases makes no difference — many fascist tendencies do that nowadays. This cannot be better shown than by the proposed appeal to the High Court, and if needs be the House of Lords — which, if successful, will mean that the National Front, British National Party *et al* will then be able to enter the Labour Party, as they have already entered the trade union movement, armed with a legal precedent against proscription. (Nor will they lack support amongst Labour Party racists; perhaps a majority in the membership, although a minority in the leadership).

The Militant Tendency, it may be said, (and certainly will be said by other Trotskyists) is not the whole of Trotskyism. All Trotskyists, as we shall demonstrate here, are rightists in the sense of aiming at authoritarian power. But the Tendency — we shall no longer debase the name of *Militant*, but call it by its true name, the Tapeworm Tendency — has hit on the secret of the

Labour Party, which accounts for its present position riding on the crest of the waves. It has no influence among the working class. Its influence is solely in the Labour Party because of its black-mailing use of the "secret".

THE LABOUR PARTY 'SECRET'

The Labour Party may be, in Marxist terms, "a mass organisation of the working class". But the working class hate it. They no longer belong to it. A few ageing veterans have kept the branches going. The caucus selects prospective MPs who in working class constituencies have beaten Conservatives easily because the vote goes on class lines. Thus all constituencies identifiable as working class have become safe Labour seats; constituencies identifiable as 'middle class' (or regarding themselves as such) have become safe Tory seats; and other constituencies are 'marginals'. To become a Labour MP with 30,000 votes one has need of the assent of half a dozen veteran reformists (to become a Tory MP with 30,000 votes one has need of £30,000, although this has increased with inflation). To introduce a mere dozen student and ex-student activist Trots into a constituency — if necessary, by moving into a bedsit — a Labour seat can be obtained for a "Revolutionary Socialist". This is known as "entryism" and is the speciality of the Tapeworm Tendency.

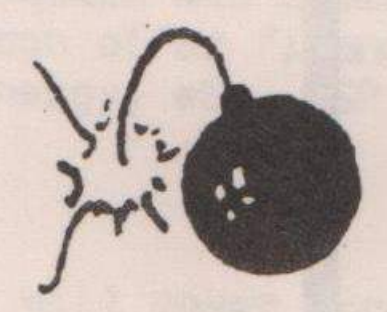
(A list of former Trots disproves that entryism is "Leftish": a present member of the Government, Lord Gowrie, came from the I.S. tendency, now SWP; Jock Haston moved to the extreme right of the Labour Party after his leadership of the RCP; Dan Smith involved the Labour Party in his business deals after moving from the RCP; Denis Healey, present rightist vice-chairman of the LP came from the Communist Party, it's true, but his campaign manager, Eric Varley came from the IMG, and Healey was later a member of the RCP as was the late Bessie Braddock: one could also instance the Tapeworm Tendency's own John Fairhall, Ted Grant's ex-flatmate, who is now a Tory candidate. A former Labour councillor tells me of a London Labour Party 'do' he attended with MPs, candidates, councillors, committee workers and officials, where he recognised — from his trot past — at least half of the 500

Continued on page 12



'angry brigade'

Overcrowding in prisons, general repression and the murder of Barry Prosser earlier this year by screws in Winson Green Prison, are some of the reasons given by a group calling itself the 'Angry Brigade Resistance Movement', for the bomb attack on property belonging to the Prison Officers Training College in Wakefield. It is possible that the instigators were disturbed as the bomb, a minor device, only damaged a peripheral security fence. Alternatively, it could have been just a symbolic attack. If this is the case, then we should ask what was the point. The building itself was apparently under repair and in disuse. The follow-up raids, enabling the expropriation of the typewriters, address lists and other information — was inevitable, although its targets (12 Direct Action Movement members in Hull and Leeds, and the Premises of Freedom Press) was not.



Sixteen hours after the incident, a woman phoned the *Yorkshire Post* and explained that their aim was to damage property only. The local police claimed never to have heard of the Angry Brigade and later the same cops - Special Branch based at Wakefield - further showed their ignorance and incompetence when they made a mess of their 'raid' on Freedom, allowing people phonecalls and generally making fools of themselves. One London-based A.T.S. officer is reported to have said that it was unlikely that the Angry Brigade had re-formed (Does he mean the original group arrested and found guilty of certain attacks in the early 70's, or the real instigators of those attacks?) Perhaps it's time they once more called upon the services of the Yard's 'Anarchist Expert', Inspector

Cremer. He, we would hope, would teach these upstarts that it is not possible for the Angry Brigade to 're-form'. It wasn't an organisation, nor was it a single grouping - but an expression of the anger and contempt many people, up and down the country, had for the state and its institutions. In this sense, the Angry Brigade is with us all the time (the man or woman sitting next to you?) - it neither appears or disappears (or re-forms) but is the natural manifestation of revolt when that revolt is directed at the heart of all that causes suffering: the state.

N.B.

About a year ago, an indication of the general level of unrest was given when a communique was published by 'Angry Brigade 2/I.R.S.M.' in Black Flag. This gave a clear and well-stated idea of the direction in which many of us are, and should be, going. Resistance can take on many forms, and the attack in Wakefield is just one of them. Unfortunately Barry Prosser's murderers - Melvyn Jackson, Eric Smith, Howard Price and others - still walk free. Barry's death is just one example of the kind of brutality prevalent in Britain's jails. The deaths of 'Cartoon' Campbell and Jim Heather-Hayes are more recent examples. Prosser, who was simply inside for 'criminal damage to a door handle', died of a burst stomach when the screws jumped on top of him while in the process of doing him in. His attackers later boasted that they would never be found guilty, and sure enough, they got off scot free.

It was this that forced Mike Waight to take direct action in protest. Mike, who is serving life in Winson Green, assaulted 2 screws and climbed onto the roof of the prison to make his protest known. He had heard of the boasts of Prosser's killers and he had witnessed the continued violence and torture meted out against the inmates. During the trial Mike described such violence in detail.

Letters of support would, no doubt, be appreciated.

BLACK FLAG

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	5244.96
Written off**	5000.00

New deficit brought forward	£244.96
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*US: Italian comrades picnic \$50/£25;
London JT £10; GJ £12; TH £35; Friends
of Kate Sharpley £50; PBG £5; Mrs W.
£15; EW £15 - £167.00

** We have got fed up with perpetually
carrying forward our deficit, which
frightens every one who looks at it, so
have finally "written it off". It represents
over eleven years; it has accumulated
somewhat less than the Treasurer would
have paid in cigarettes if he hadn't given
up the habit so he rests content with the
fact that it will never be met. We would
have included it as a donation but it
would have looked a bit incredible; it
built up by insidious fives and tens over
the years.....

PUBLICATIONS GROUP

We are looking into the idea of setting up
a publications group specialising in the
publishing of original research and the
results of in-depth investigative reporting,
joint international publishing projects and
the reprinting of certain, recent, essential
anarchist texts.

We are interested in hearing from anyone
currently involved in counter-information
and investigative studies, or from contacts
overseas who wish to participate in
mutual publishing and translations

BLACK FLAG IS COMPILING AN INTERNATIONAL
LIST OF ANARCHIST PAPERS/JOURNALS (NOT
BOOKS/PAMPHLETS). ANY ANARCHIST GROUP
THAT PUBLISHES A REGULAR PAPER SHOULD SEND
IN DETAILS (INCLUDING CONTACT ADDRESS,
SUBSCRIPTION RATES, ETC) IF THEY
WISH THEIR PAPER TO BE INCLUDED ON
THIS LIST.

ANARCHO-QUIZ

1. Why was nationalisation of the rail-
ways hailed in Britain in 1945 as a
great Socialist triumph following a
Labour victory hailed in Germany in
1881 as a great Conservative triumph
following anti-Socialist laws?
2. Who first uttered the classical ca-
pitalist phrase "Money doesn't smell"?
3. How did Henry Ford, the car in-
dustrialist, propose to solve the world
fuel problem and make a significant
social reform at the same time?
4. What did Nestor Makhno, Anarchist
leader of the revolutionary force in the
Ukraine, tell the railwaymen when
asked for an increase in wages, after
the Whites had fled?
5. The first Anarchist bookshop in
Belfast was smashed up by a mob -
with the police standing by - after the
first brick had been thrown by an
Anarchist. How come?

Answers on page 11.

MUTUAL AID / PRISONERS FUND

Total in hand £112.29
disbursed to Spanish families of prisoners
£80.00
in hand £32.29

ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

We will,
with your help, continue to channel funds
to comrades, to finance 'support
actions', provide aid to libertarian prisoners
and to those that defend them, and help out
with equipment/resources needed for prop-
aganda work. We will publish up to date
news of struggles and document the actions
and developments of the International
Revolutionary Solidarity Movement. But we
need your active support. We need reports
sent in regularly, we need translators, and
we need further help in production and dis-
tribution.

We hope to publish regularly details of
Black Cross contacts. Any collectives and
individuals interested in being included in
this list should send details.

SUPPLEMENTS / QUARTERLY

Against all odds we will be publishing ad-
ditional issues of Black Flag in the form of
news bulletins. These will cover urgent news
items, local reports, news of arrests, campaigns
etc, and we will need your help in providing
regular report-backs.

The main paper will complement the news bul-
letin and from now on will be published as a
quarterly. Its emphasis will be on investigation
and in-depth reports etc. As well as an increased
coverage for international news, there will be
space provided for counter-information, par-
ticularly reports on fascists and fascist organ-
isations, the military and security forces, policing
and legal developments, and the media and
business world.

Although Black Flag will be undertaking
its own investigations and research, we
ask all readers to actively participate in
this section and to monitor local develop-
ments. Black Flag will also be working
with the Anti-State Documentation and
News Network (see report on Page: 11),
providing additional space to the sup-
plements for items supplied through
ASDNN.

CORRESPONDENCE

All correspondence, including news
reports, articles, translations, subscrip-
tions, donations, comments, etc. to the
address shown above. This is a temporary
address as we are currently looking for a
Black Flag/ABC office in London (any
offers?) for production/research and
documentation work.

DONATIONS / SUBSCRIPTIONS

Donations, subscriptions, subscription
renewals should be separately identified.
Cheques, postal orders, money orders etc
should be sent to the address shown above
on this page.

FAMILY TREE

IRSM: International Revolutionary
Solidarity Movement. The name
used to describe the recent
and current extended campaigns
of armed struggle

of armed resistance, character-
ised by the actions of certain
groups/organisations (Action-
Directe, GARI, MIL, 1st of May
Group, Angry Brigade, etc)

ABC: Anarchist Black Cross. Federation
of international contacts
providing and channeling
aid to anarchist prisoners
and their support groups.

Black
Flag: Organ of the Anarchist Black
Cross. Circulates news about
the ABC and the IRSM as well
as general counter-information
of interest to anarchists
internationally.

ASDNN: Anti-State Documentation and
News Network. An international
clearing house for counter-
information/news and research.
Only recently set up it will
attempt to provide a regular
news service through the Black
Flag News Bulletin and organ-
ise a mailing list for the
circulation of urgent news
items and details of a
documentation index, etc.



The health workers dispute has drawn to its inevitable conclusion. Massi-
solidarity was shown and their failure was not through want of trying.
Their demands were meagre, but the Government would not move an inch: ye
another example of the present Govt.'s determination to squash all acts
resistance or criticism to their extremist economic policies. But more
disputes will occur and the resistance will continue - that too is inevi-
table - except that sooner or later non-traditional means of challenging
the State's stranglehold will have to be adopted. The threat is not just
to the living standards of the health workers but to the future and qual-
ity and accessibility of health services in this country.

NHS & PRIVATE MEDICINE

The National Health Service is dying and de-
generating fast: it has been kicked around
and had its resources bled dry by successive
governments. It is now but a rotting corpse.
It is still one of the largest employers in
the country, but has one of the worst records
for low pay. 75% of its employees are women,
making it the biggest employer of women in the
country. It is also has a long track record
for employing migrants: 60% of all hospital
workers were born outside Britain. Its abuse
of, and the way it takes advantage of its work-
force, is common knowledge. A degree of sac-
rifice, and voluntary labour, has always char-
acterised health work. Prior to the formation
of the NHS by Bevan most of the work under-
taken in hospitals was organised through char-
itable organisations. Access to treatment was
either through Private Insurance or through
Savings 'Clubs', organised by the local commu-
nity. If you were too poor to save regularly
through a 'Club', basic treatment was reluct-
antly granted. But, arrangements were then ma-
de for you to pay back the money owed, via insta-
ments on a loan basis. Inevitably, payments
were not always maintained and the usual con-
sequences were taken.

With the instigation of the NHS, Private
medicine retained a toe-hold, with a clause in
the Bevan bill allowing NHS doctors to prac-
tise part of their time privately whilst get-
ting paid by the NHS. Organisations to help
provide and fund Private medicine, such as
B.U.P.A. who, until very recently, had held a
virtual monopoly on the market - have expanded
their assets considerably since setting up in
the early 60's. In 1979 the combined profits
of BUPA and PPP (Private Patients Plan) were
£38M. Their income (subscriptions) for that
year was just over £90M, making a staggering
profit of just over 30%. This was brought about
because of the arrangements whereby their
annual profit returns are underwritten and
guaranteed by insurers, which then allows
them to invest large sums of money, prior to
audits, in anticipation of profitability.
The enormous profit margins have proved an
embarrassment to both these companies and to
the Department of Health & Social Security -
who collaborate on the overall policy formu-
lation - and as a result BUPA was forced to
investigate alternative means of spreading
(ie. covering up) its assets. Thus they then
set up, with the aid of the Nuffield Trust, a
'independent Charity' to take on the job of
building and maintaining Private hospitals as
an 'additional resource' to that provided by
the NHS. Currently BUPA now own over 130 of
these establishments, having a total of more
than 7,000 pay beds. This excludes the
3,000 pay beds in NHS hospitals, also
maintained through these companies.

The use and abuse of Private facilities within
the NHS set-up is extant. Part-time NHS
doctors often delegate the care of their non-
Private patients to junior doctors so as to
spend more time - and earn more money - with
their Private patients. All this is done on NHS
time (and money). Another common abuse is in
the training of doctors: this is undertaken
through the NHS, but, often, as soon as the
doctor is fully qualified, he/she leaves the
NHS to use their expertise solely in the Private
sector. These abuses and many others are
widely known but the NHS/DHSS turns a blind eye
as they have a calculated policy supporting the
development of 'parallel services'.

DRUGS AND CAPITALISM

This policy has a spin off in the collabora-
tion between the NHS/DHSS and the Drugs Market.
Two-thirds of the world market for drugs is
owned by around 50 multinationals. Price-fixing
in direct collaboration with State Health
Services is common practice. Through years of
successful bargaining the NHS/DHSS has estab-
lished itself as a major world buyer and nego-
ciator and many Drug Companies now use the
prices fixed through the NHS as their benchmark
for the rest of the world, with the NHS/DHSS
playing a similar role to what OPEC performs in
relation to oil price-fixing. The result is that
prices paid in India, for example, are
invariably the same, if not higher, than those
paid in Britain, with the NHS benefiting in the

A HEALTHY FUTURE

long run.

Despite this 'Special Relationship', price fixing and highly competitive marketing ensures that the business of selling drugs is one of the most cut-throat going. Drugs are invariably sold not for their medicinal qualities, but because of the need to establish a market share. There is, however, no difference between a branded tranquilliser, for example, and a non branded generic one. Yet the price difference can be considerable. G.P.'s are constantly bombarded with the hard-sell promotions shoved out by the Drug Companies., each attempting to establish their particular Brand as the Market Leader. The promotions usually include inducements and free-gifts and if enough doctors are sold onto a particular Brand then, as chemists and dispensaries are only allowed to sell to the patient the specific Branded drug prescribed, it is certain that their product will take off. Currently there are over 80 different Brands of tranquilisers on the market, and over 100 different brands of analgesic. Yet, although they are all basically the same, there are some astonishing price differentials. One survey in 'Lancet' in 1980 showed that of the 13 most commonly prescribed drugs - if their generic, non-branded, equivalents had been prescribed instead, the NHS would, in fact, have made a saving, from their Annual spend, of about £25M.

The Drug Companies of course make huge profits. Many of them try and excuse this by explaining the need for heavy investment in research and development. But more money is, in fact, spent on pushing (promoting) the drugs than on total R&D (?), and more goes into advertising drugs than on training of doctors. R&D, though, when it boils down to it, is R&D for profitability, not for better medicine. The number of useless drugs sold on the market easily demonstrates this. One investigation in the United States tested 2,000 drugs (two-third of the total US market) and found that 60% lacked any evidence of therapeutic content. Many of these drugs are still being sold and many more, which have been taken off the market because of bad publicity, competitiveness or more stringent regulations, are now being pushed in 'third world' countries, where the profit potential for some countries is far higher.

Patrick Jenkin, the Secretary of State for Industry and, an ex-legal adviser to the Distiller's Company (Manufacturers of the Thalidomide Drug that deformed babies) and his cohorts are, of course, on a strict all-out collision course to destroy what is left of Britain's Health Service. The NHS has never operated as it was designed to, and has one of the lowest per capita spends (and fewer doctors per population) in Western Europe. Comparability between different health services is usually based upon levels of pre-natal care and mortality rates and Britain has one of the lowest amongst the western industrialised countries.

CUTS AND CLOSURES

The winding down of the NHS has in fact, been going on since the late 1960's, although officially the first major cuts took place in 1976 - by the Labour Government - as part of a general programme of public spending cuts. In that year seven hospitals were closed down. The first attempts made to close the Elizabeth Garrett Anderson Hospital was also made in that year. Others followed and in 1978 - still under the Labour Govt. - further cuts were made in the form of staff cut-backs through non-recruitment and a policy of 'positive natural wastage'. One hospital that was closed down during that time was the Northwick Park - a specialist cancer Research & Prevention establishment. But there were also occupations: at Bethnal Green Hospital and at the Administrative offices at Aberdare, where there was an 8 week sit-in. The latter action, which was supported by local workers and miners, resulted in reversal of the closure decision. Again, under Labour, in 1979 industrial action continued with all-out strikes and selective stoppages aimed at increasing the minimum wage of the ancillary workers. The National Minimum was £60 per week, but all they achieved was £45.

In recent years, closures have been even more frequent, and the excuses even more limp. In one Wandsworth hospital, for example, the local Health Authority was unable to find any more money from within the cash limits set by the DHSS to fund the construction of a new lift to replace a faulty one. The result! that the geriatric patients had to be permanently evacuated from the upper floors and as these floors then became under-used, the hospital was closed down altogether. Other recent closures encouraged local resistance: notably St. Benedicts, Wotton; Etwall Hospital, Derbyshire; Princess May Hospital, Margate; and Hounslow Hospital. In each of these cases the local hospital Authorities resorted to strong-arm tactics to ensure that nothing went wrong: patients were forcibly removed to other buildings and a heavy police presence countered any attempts by pickets to thwart these actions.

ALTERNATIVES

With the probability of more closures, and redundancies, together with a far more determined drive towards privatising the NHS beyond say certain emergency treatments and rudimentary care of the old and handicapped, health workers and workers in related industries have now no other choice but to re-evaluate drastically the future of their work and the strategies they should adopt to bring about a complete change in the way the health service is organised and its resources distributed and used. Its no longer a simple question of pay, or even job security. The Health Workers Unions have proved their limitations and the way forward has been shown on many an occasion by those involved in the front-line of fire: occupations, taking over of resources, industry-wide and cross-industry solidarity, support from the local community, the setting up of localised and federated councils, independent of the NHS and Trade union bureaucracies - to seize existing resources and construct alternative arrangements to those still surviving under the dead-weight of the cancerous monolith that purports to service (sic) our needs.

PERU: THE FULL PARTICIPATION DICTATORSHIP

In Peru there is an all out march towards armoured democracy and proletarian resistance. Throughout the whole of 1981 and since, the intentions of the leaders of Peruvian society have been plain for all to see. What they want is a model of exploitation where there is consensual repression. Indeed, unlike Argentina and above all Chile, Bolivia and Uruguay where the political castes have been edged out of the political game, in Peru (one of the most important nations on the continent) the same politics have been retained with the broadest possible party-political and ideological participation under the guidance of the financial oligarchy and the reassuring gaze of the military. But the workers are saying: "No."

A strike wave involving thousands from every sector erupted and lasted throughout 1981. . . involving 2500 from Peruvian Railways, plus Lima's municipal workers, miners from Cerro de Pasco, Centromin Peru and Arequipa, and 10,000 from the mills. . . and that was just January!

17000 Centromin Peru workers demanding higher pay were accused of subversion and terrorism. The National Federation of Mining Workers complained of "mining camps being turned into police barracks." 20,000 residents on the outskirts of Lima, demanding a water-supply, were brutally repressed. That was February.

In March the Guardia Civil wounded 7 and killed 1 demonstrator peacefully protesting in the mines at Santa Luisa de Huazalan (in Huanuco); the demonstrators were accused of being terrorists. And 5000 Railwaymen struck in the south of the country to press a demand for 3 months' worth of unpaid salaries.

The bourgeoisie's reply to all of this was decree No. 46, the "Anti Terrorist Law", which states: ". . any act designed to provoke or maintain a state of unease, alarm or terror, endangering life, health or property. . . or affecting international relations or the security of the state. . . is deemed culpable as terrorist." And punishable by no less than 10 years' imprisonment. And one need only belong "to an organisation" or participate in a strike, demonstration or other public protest to be labelled a "terrorist."

What that means is that any militant, trade unionist, workers or resident of the impoverished barrios who does not keep their mouth shut, is a terrorist and, unless the Guardia Civil kills them outright, risks 10 years and more in prison.

Membership of an organisation (even without participation in terrorism of this sort) is worth two years. If you publish in the press an invitation to protest. . that gets you four years.

In Spain, where the antiterrorist legislation empowers police to detain without access to lawyers for three days anyone they please, torture is an everyday occurrence. In Peru, where the legislation wants to be even more heavy-handed, the torturers have carte blanche for 15 days.

This sort of law has the backing of the entire parliament and of the trade unions. As early as January the National Tripartite Commission (government and employers and unders) was at its work, thrashing out a Social Contract. The Press has carried statements from the Labour minister. "In fact the Tripartite Commission is an essay in social agreement as a first step towards the institutionalisation of a rounded system of multi-class dialogue." And he went on to say that the democratic system will not work unless workers are organised as political interlocutors. Which is to say. . unless unions and parties operate as a transmission belt between workers and bourgeoisie.

On March 7th it was stated that ". . on the workers' side there are no serious problems about participating in the Tripartite Commission". "Those who have called for non-participation have been in a minority". And E. Castillo, leader of the (pro-Moscow) CGTP spelled it out more clearly: "Insofar as certain laws exist, then the workers, like it or not, just have to abide by them."

Even so, the ferment continued. The workers neither participate in the Tripartite nor abide by it.

At the end of March there was a strike that was broken by Bayer. 5000 employers of Sider Peru went on a strike of open-ended duration. Miners at Cuajone went on strike out of solidarity with 600 threatened by dismissal. 6000 millworkers sided with the workforce of the Molinera Peru who had been on strike for 19 days over non-implementation of employment agreements. 6 peasant leaders from Villa Rica-Carabamba (in Huanacavelica) were arrested and charged with squatting on lands "belonging to a landlord". Leaders of the community at Jicamarca complained of the confiscation of their lands and the constant repression. In Puno, Lambayeque and Cuzco at the end of April, strikes were called as a warning against the charges of terrorism hanging over their leaders. 3000 employees of the Lima Cleansing Department sided with leaders accused of terrorism and with colleagues who had been dismissed. 500 workers at Rayon Celanese were attacked by police after a 23 day strike. Nine workers from "La Moderna" were charged with terrorism.

Only the leadership of the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers retreated in the face of Decree No. 46, calling off a national warning stoppage that had been scheduled.

The government then put before parliament an anti-strike law declaring almost all strikes impossible in that they pose a threat to State security and essential services, jeopardise installations and the value of raw materials or finished products, etc .etc. The law had to insist that no strike be called unless it had the support of 2/3 of the full staff and was ratified every 6 days by 2/3 of the workforce. The National Federation was banned from calling across the board stoppages; only plant by plant strikes would be tolerated. And then not in excess of 30 days after which time they became illegal. . .

Democracy - according to the Left - is a guarantee of basic rights. On 20 May 900 miners in Huanacala had been on strike for 74 days insisting that contracts be honoured, that the police occupation of the mines be ended and that 300 colleagues dismissed be rehired.

Meanwhile, miners at Algamarca, Caudalosa, Grande, Dorita, San Juan de Churunga and Santander (about 2000 in all) launched into an indefinite strike for trade union rights. And Lima's municipal employees launched a general strike on behalf of imprisoned colleagues.

PERU

On 8 June, President Belaunde invited the whole parliament - "left" and "far left" included - to a dinner. Everyone accepted. Then the premier burst out: "there has to be frank dialogue as it is to be expected of civic leaders that they will share the same concerns."

Desco commented: "The premier's suggestion had originated from a visit paid to the poorer barrios of Lima where he had been touched by the levels of unemployment and poverty that he encountered. He did not say as much, but let it be known that sooner or later a situation of such lingering degradation would explode. A compact with opponents groups would not improve the people's living conditions, but would help ease the tension or dilute the contents of the protests."

Despite which the Maoist "Marka" stated: "It would be a mistake to reject utterly the proposed political compact. Anyone who does reject it is also rejecting improvements in living conditions, impeding progress towards equality and giving succour to vandalism." There you have it!



Some days later, a peasant woman who had not been invited to the presidential banquet, was murdered in Cuzco. She had been Defence Secretary of the Tupac Amaru Peasant Federation of the Region and her killers belonged to the Guardia Civil.

In June a package of laws raised the workers burden of taxes and a further 100,000 employees were dismissed from the civil service. Meanwhile, police extracted confessions of terrorism by means of torture used against arrested strikers.

On 1 July the steering committee of the (IU) United Left (embracing FOCEP, PCP, PSR, UDP, PCR and UNIR) went for talks at the Palace and described the negotiations as a "form of struggle". Elsewhere, the railwaymen were threatening a strike unless the Guardia Republicana evacuated Arequipa station, and 700 workers at Textil Piura were coming up to a month on strike and the National Federation of Community Workers announced an indefinite strike unless the 443 members dismissed by the Provincial Council of Trujillo were rehired.

The CGTP found itself obliged to protest at the indiscriminate preferential of terrorist charges and announced the postponement to September of a nationwide strike arranged for July, as a gesture of goodwill.

August saw strikes by bank employees, the southern miners and the National Federation of Miners and Metalworkers allowed a stoppage in solidarity with their colleagues in Southern Peru who had been out for 25 days seeking the re-employment of 108 workers sacked by the preceding military government. In September, 7000 workers at Entelperu (National Telecommunications of Peru) called a 48 hour nationwide stoppage.

In the end, the executive withdrew its projected anti-strike legislation and accepted a counter-proposal from Parliament which was basically identical in content and indeed went further, although it did concede that the principal trade union and party leaders would have to have certain rights since the original proposal had "run counter to the policy of national concord as proclaimed by the government" (said deputy Prado of the IU) and sought to convert the function of the union into that of disciplining the workers.

Entire sectors of production (mining, petroleum) are private preserves where strikes are not permitted. Where they are permitted the government is empowered to suspend them and no nationwide stoppages are allowed. Sympathy strikes are likewise banned as well as any affecting an entire federation or involving factory occupations.

On 1 October 14,000 farmworkers had reached the 22nd day of a strike for wages and in sympathy with 9 colleagues dismissed from Lima Metropolitana. On 13 October came the declaration of a "state of emergency" in 5 provinces southwest of Lima (including the cities of Huanta and Ayacucho); the area was invested by the military and police" as a result of an attack on a police outpost". . a repeated occurrence in 1982.

Given that the government embarks upon such a police and legislative offensive in the midst of such proletarian unrest (in city and countryside), and that the class collaborationist parties sink so low in their capitulation, what would happen were the workers to call a halt to THEIR offensive? To what lengths would a regime of armed democracy, run by monopolies, not go if it did not have before it a daunting popular determination to resist?

The situation in Spain - where the government and opposition are all but indistinguishable, like their Peruvian counterparts - is the answer. In the absence of thrust from the proletariat, there comes an overwhelming and omni-potent thrust from the bourgeoisie.

Whether the Peruvian picture will evolve towards that of her neighbours to the south - politicians swept aside because of their inability to contain the masses together with simple direct military repression raising today's murders to the proportions of a bloodbath - this is something which cannot be prophesied. Except that in Peru, more than any other capitalist redoubt, the choice is clear: on to socialism, or on to barbarism. Passivity spells suicide.

CAMILO PEREZ

(from Comunidad No. 29

“UNEMPLOYMENT” — WHO “DEPENDS” ON WHOM?

It is incredible that after 150 years of socialistic propaganda, people should acquiesce in the description of themselves as “claimants”, “jobless”, “unemployed” — not to mention the adjectives that are often associated: “chronic” jobless, “wilfully” unemployed and so on. No such epithets are applied to the wilfully and chronic unemployed upper class, not even when they draw their money from circulation and live “on their incomes”.

The so-called “unemployed” are persecuted with poverty, their standards of living are cut, and training camps are introduced for them as if they were ex-prisoners. While the Tories announce that they are solving the crisis of capitalism with “stern measures” and “sensible control of employment” (which means, in effect, that the unemployed are the saviours of society, the peace-time casualties just as soldiers are war-time casualties), the State Socialists demand “The Right to Work” — the right to be exploited.

The fact is the workers are both exploited at work and they are exploited when they are not at work.

An immature libertarian response is to say “fuck work” and glorify people who are “not being exploited” (because they are “claimants”), as if by becoming “dependent” on the State they were becoming free. Of course, they are not really “dependent” on the State. The State is dependent on the people. Their wages are channelled through the State, as people at work have their wages channelled through the capitalists. Neither do the capitalists keep anybody, and nobody is “dependent” on them: the people keep them too.

In countries where the State has taken domination over the economy — which is no longer left at the whim of market economies — no such thing as unemployment exists. Employment in such countries is more often than not a curse: those who are not subject to slave labour are forced to work according to the dictates of a superior caste. They cannot bargain for their labour (there is no competitive employer) nor bargain for the rates of their labour (there are no trade unions, at least other than in name). If they are lucky, they can get into less arduous labour than others. (Those who get pleasant and rewarding labour, oddly enough, most resent the forced aspect of work because they are dragooned into doing as the bureaucracy thinks when their own abilities are patently superior. And these fortunate, of course, get the opportunities to demonstrate their resentment because of the tendency of these countries to show off their “intellectuals” to foreign lands.

ARTIFICIAL DEPRESSIONS

If there is unemployment in capitalist countries, it is not because it is a natural disaster like an earthquake, flood or failure of crops. These can cause poverty, too, but unemployment, inflation and economic depression, and, in the affluent “West”, most forms of poverty, are due entirely to artificial means. They are part of the Statist mechanism, and must be compared with the Armed and police forces, or the whole field of education and publicity and soft repression.

The “unemployed” are not a separate class. They have no separate interest. They are an integral part of the exploited. The Tory idea of controlling industry requires a margin of people not working, from which to gather those who are. It has a direct effect on mobility of labour, on rates of wages, on allocation of housing; in short, on the entire manipulation of the economy. So important is the role of the unemployed in a Tory economy, that on the basis of natural justice, they should be paid a higher wage. Hence the media propaganda against them.

Because they have less to lose — and so may be thought of as more prone to rebel — populist politicians seek to trade on their resentment. Following the myth that the State, or the employer, provides jobs, and that those working are therefore dependent upon the good offices of the State or the enterprise of the employer, there is another fiction attached. Since these patrons have only so much to go round, some must, as an inevitable law of nature, go without that which they give out and therefore the workers, rather than the State or employer become expendable.

EXPENDABLE HUMANS

This is floated seriously by fascists, and other racials, who say that if ethnic minorities were eliminated or deported, there would be “more work” and “more housing”. People, to the Statist, are the curse. They do not see that those who produce inevitably make more than they consume (and if they did not, they would be no use to the employer). State socialists, out of power, usually

do not use this argument. Instead they try to palm off different sections of the working community — the elderly, for instance — and today, indeed, there is a “socialist” voice in the unions for farming out the not so elderly, thinking to reduce hours at 50 and retire people at 55 or 60, without anywhere for them to go but the dole queue or social security as here is never any corresponding rise of compensation.

Some unionists attack the idea of overtime on the basis that if no one worked it there would be so many extra jobs as a result. It is still an economic myth. People work longer hours to get more money because there is no other way of getting it. For the same reason they moonlight. Generally speaking they only want the money in order to spend it and create more demand. Take it away and their economic power is reduced. The person without a regular job who “moonlights” to supplement social security is treated as a criminal but *is in fact contributing more to the national prosperity* because of being exploited twice — as worker and jobless.

The economic system could be run just as smoothly by putting everybody on social security and also letting them work tax free at anything they choose. The whole “problem” of unemployment would then disappear. This is unlikely to be done under capitalism (only because of the fear that the incentive to work for low wages would disappear) and would be of no point in a moneyless society. But it points to the artificiality of the problem.

WHAT TO DO?

Granted this, what is the worker to do when deprived of a job? The trade union movement as has developed in this country is in no way geared to deal with the situation; on the contrary, it is geared to keeping people out of jobs. “No union card, no job — no job, no union card” is the same sort of catch as “no experience, no job.”

Some unions are appalled at the idea of bringing in people from “outside” and giving them union cards because there are union vacancies. “We have to consider ‘Our People!’ — as if the “outsiders” came from Mars. An anarcho-syndicalist body would differ from trade unions most sharply in that it would not be a body to divide workers from each other. People would not join one union — whether craft or industrial — and be landed for life with their choice. They would join the local labour house and then as circumstances presented themselves join one of its industrial branches; the “unemployed” and everyone else seeking work would be part and parcel of the house and would go off into whatever union, trade or industry they fancied. or was available. In countries where it was not possible to strike openly, the tactic of pulling workers out of one trade and putting them into another, had as much effect as any strike could.

It should be unthinkable that the “unemployed” be left outside any union organisation, or imprisoned in one that can no longer offer jobs because the employers are re-structuring the manner of their profits.

Unemployment and toil, too, can be fought under capitalism. A different form of resistance is needed to fight State communism, but there the problem usually is toil; unemployment is unknown. In a free society, the “problem” becomes a blessing. The less time at essential work, the more time to spend on that which interests us. It is part of the madness of statism that human brains can relieve the world of senseless toil, and, because of that, actually cause misery. If the statist do not blow us all to smithereens meanwhile, one day nobody will understand how this could have been the case.

A.M.

URUGUAY

The Uruguayan CNT’s Tendencia Combativa (Fighting Tendency) is today split into two factions. Some comrades from one of the factions have sent us a declaration “On the Anniversary of the CNT”, from which we reprint below the concluding paragraphs... “The T.C. Proposition”.

THE TC PROPOSITION AND THE WORKING CLASS

The TC encourages support for the re-organisation of the workers’ movement on the basis of this appreciation of the current circumstances of the working class in the wake of the coup d’etat, characterised by:

- a) Dismemberment of trade union activities.
- b) Imprisonment, persecution and exiling of union activists and leaders.
- c) The closure and confiscation of most union premises.
- d) Employer repression of any organised pursuit of workers’ demands.
- e) The excision from politics of proposals formulated by workers for tackling the country’s social and economic crises.

It was all very well for the dictatorship to attack the instruments with which workers had equipped themselves, but it was frankly absurd for it to seek to eliminate the years of experience, organisation and struggle which the working class has accumulated. Obviously workers were going to devise new means of voicing their needs and wishes and a new route to “a society without exploiters or exploited.”....

The very actions and pressures of the dictatorship itself have provoked the emergence of a new generation of activists operating in a more defined way, along the lines of direct action at factory level in that section of industry which is theirs.

Thus the bank employees and building workers, the textile workers and the workforces of Funsu, Umtra and Ancap, etc. (to name but a few) have made their views directly obvious by adopting class positions in opposition to the dictatorship out of an appreciation of the needs of the workers and their organisational requirements. The most prominent expression of this have been the bank employees’ reply to the dictatorship’s proposals in the trade union sphere and the popular political rejection of the plebiscite.

The fact of the matter is that the working class has a new and dynamic method of waging its struggles: it relies upon a new generation of activists, acting along class lines necessarily partisan or linked to some Party, employing methods of their own devising and acting in the context of a different political and social setting which has invested their action with distinct characteristics. It is on the basis of these considerations that the prospects should be considered and we should envisage the new organisational formulae that the working class may adopt.

The position is that one cannot react to this situation with the old, old party political responses without running the risk of thwarting the reorganisation of the labour movement. Today that reorganisation assumes the form of connecting up the activities of unions during this period and not that of formally maintaining any presence by the CNT.

Until such time as current union activities are reorganised and united, and the voice of the working class thereby made heard, the scabs of Acuna, the CATUD or the CGTU will be in a position to go on appearing to speak on behalf of the workers. These stooges of the Regime, yellow unionists and, in many instances foreign agents, are alien to trade union activity. Up to the present real trade union activity has not been a

feature of these various unions and their activities have only one possible meaning. They negotiate the working class into the new ruling system, tailoring workers to its political requirements and prospects.

It is to the expression assumed by the unions that we must look for the mechanisms of reorganisation and, on that basis, confront the plans of the employers and the dictatorship. In that respect, the CNT should bend all its efforts towards unifying the real expression of the workers and not be merely the mouth-piece of one current within the labour movement. Nowadays the unions do not speak through the CNT command nor has that command any interest in encouraging the unions or synthesising their actions. That we take to be a very grave error because it leaves a wide margin for manoeuvre to the yellow union sectors, and collaborationists in their pursuit of means of expression alien to the working class.

When the CNT launched its activities some 17 years ago, it did so at a point when the working class was atomised and also it did so on the basis of a recognition of the activities of the unions, their methods, dynamics and special characteristics. That is the model which any process of organisation ought to follow and it is a procedure that should never be overlooked, particularly when there is this need to engage in the process of bolstering and reorganising the labour movement.

In a document we expressed our opinion thus:

“....Only by the people taking the leading role can we prevent the struggle from culminating in a backstage settlement that would signify fresh frustration for the people as a whole and for the working class in particular”.

For that reason it is important that we do not sidestep the unions as expressions of the worker’s wishes and oppose any solution which does not include them, reasserting the independence of the working class in its rising struggle for socialism and liberty.

(Source: *Comunidad NoV.*

Spanish Unions

The two main unions before General Franco were the CNT (anarcho-syndicalist) and the UGT (socialist), with some ‘yellow’, in reality catholic, Company union centres. Franco dissolved the unions and formed an organisation based on Mussolini’s corporativism and partly on ‘yellow’ unionism. After Franco’s death, the fascist unions were dissolved but the system continued: the workers in each factory unit appointed a committee, which in turn participates in a joint employer-union committee appointed by the state and negotiated under the direction of the Minister of Labour. After Franco, the workers could choose which union delegates to choose for — they did not obviously have to be Falangists any longer — and so different unions put forward representatives in industry, the way they put them forward in parliament. The UGT is not to be compared to the pre-Civil War UGT, some elements of which were revolutionary. It is completely dominated by reformist social-democracy (of the West German type). It has grown in the new industries since the war but is now suffering a severe decline. The workers commissions (CC.OO.—Communist) are also declining in numbers corresponding

with that of the Communist Party, but still maintain their position of dominance, gained during Franco’s death when they were in collaboration with the Christian Democrats and able to gain positions in the fascist syndicates. The new union, the USO, is apolitical, but suffers from excessive devotion to cooperation with the State and therefore to industrial peace’. The Maoists tried to form a union but this has now collapsed and their activities are now more generally directed on the political field. There is a strong revulsion against the political unionism of the Marxists and against the collaboration of the USO, so that the popularity of the UGT is growing at the expense of the other reformist unions, though it too has no major following. But for its split, the CNT would have grown considerably. On the industrial side, as both CNT’s are saying the same thing — and it is hard to tell the difference between the policy of one journal and another — the tendency is for militants to unite on major issues, and for the infiltrators, who went in to cause the dissension to drop out.

Source: A.M.

N.B. A full report from A.M. (the DAM delegate) on the Sixth Congress of the CNT, held in January, will be made in the next issue of ‘Black Flag’ quarterly.

Anarchist Black Cross

The ABC is an international network and helps to document international news of interest to the anarchist movement. It also helps to channel funds to libertarian prisoners and their support groups as well as to those actively involved in resistance.

INTERNATIONAL NEWS INTERNATIONAL NEWS



POLAND

Roger Noel, who was arrested for smuggling in radio equipment for Solidarnosc, was found guilty but released - his severe fine - approximately £5,000 - having been paid by comrades in Belgium. Protests were made on the day of his trial in Belgium and Britain. In Britain around ten anarchists entered the Polish Consulate, talked and argued with the visitors and staff, and distributed leaflets on Noel's arrest. Meanwhile large numbers of phonecalls were made to Polish airlines, the Embassy and Consulate, asking for Roger, booking him tickets, and asking awkward questions about the Polish economy.

Source : S.L.A.G.

N.B. Group 'Sigma', an underground anarchist-syndicalist group operating within Poland, publishing and distributing propaganda on libertarian and anarchist-syndicalist organisation, need our support. A fund has been set up to provide solidarity, cheques should be sent to: Jochen Knoblauch, Postcheckkonto-NR 4515 23-109, Postcheckkonto, Berlin West, 'Solidarnosc' Source: BAC/FAU



Spain

The trial of FIGA* members has been postponed. For Alejandro Camacho, the prosecution is asking 168 years, 4 months and 1 day. Camacho has already served 4 years. A total of 14 alleged FIGA members will stand trial.

Tried on 3 and 4 May '82, Francisco Nicolas Garrido, Jose Granados Martinez, Miguel Mulet Nicolau and Dolores Aparicio Casals, were found guilty of membership of the Armed Autonomous Group.

FIGA member Daniel Corsino Fernandez was picked up on July 13 and is being held in Carabanchel prison.

*Autonomous Groups Federation an anarchist activists organisation. Italian courts have agreed to accede to Spain's request for the extradition of the anarchist Jesus Emilio Gil Fortes in connection with the SCALA nightclub fire deaths frame-up. The courts ignored Fortes's claims of innocence and his description of the case as a political one. In so doing they sidestep the clause of the extradition agreement between the two countries under which Spain has repeatedly refused to extradite runaway Italian fascists. The Spaniard's lawyer has registered an appeal so the extradition will be made effective just yet.

Lieutenant-Colonel Fernandez Hidalgo has been charged with conspiring to organise a military rebellion. He is accused with others already held of plotting to organise a coup on the day before Spain's recent general election.

USA

On December 17, 1982 two bombs went off: one at the IBM building, the other at the offices of the South African Transport Authority. Both were claimed by the same group, which has so far not identified itself.

On December 31st, as New Year celebrations were taking place, a bomb exploded outside a Police Station as it was being disarmed by a bomb disposal squad; several police were injured. Other bombs were discovered near government buildings but were defused. One escaped a search and exploded outside a Government Treasury Office. The actions were claimed by Puerto Rican nationalists.

Action Directe

The attacks on the property of certain leading financiers including the Rothschilds (who happen to be Jewish) has led to wild accusations, confusion and speculation amongst anarchists in France and elsewhere. The attacks coincided with others in which six Parisian Jews were killed during an attack on a Jewish restaurant. Responsibility for this act of terror was later claimed by an Arab (possibly Iraqi based) group in retaliation against the Israeli invasion of the Lebanon.

Previous actions attributed by A.D. include attacks on the Paris H.Q. of the French National Employers Council, the Ministry of Labour building, an Employment Office, the Offices of the Works Inspectorate, a Paris Building Society, Phillip's Data Systems Offices in Toulouse, an attempt on the Palace of Justice in Toulouse, three Ministry of Transport buildings, and - more recently - a nuclear power establishment. The aftermath led to raids and the detention of many anarchists. In March and April 1982, after the machine-gunning of Govt. buildings, 4 Italians found with explosives, were arrested and an 'Italian Connection' was impugned.

A.D. follows the line previously taken up by the F.I.J.L. (Iberian - Spain & Portugal - Libertarian Youth Federation) and, later, G.A.R.I. (Iberian Revolutionary Anarchist Groups) and the 1st of May Group. Some believe that in recent months A.D. has undergone a transformation of policy, or at least tactics.

Rumours of splits, new collaborations, even infiltration, are rife. Whatever the truth, we say let their actions speak for themselves.

Source: B.F.

Address of Action Directe, France (the legal 'branch') Gilbert Roth, 6 rue de la Reine-Blanche, 75013, Paris, France. (They have renounced violence!...)

Source: Civil Disobedience (Canadian Pacifist) Nov-Dec '82 Supplement.



Castro look-alike giving an unwanted plug

CUBA

Cuban cigars, produced under State Communism, are distributed in Europe by Tabacalera S.A. and stamped with their Official seal, the coat of arms of Royal Castile with the Fascist slogan "una, grande, libre!" - (usually chanted: "Spain - one, Spain - great, Spain - free"). In the search for foreign currency, the distributors have overlooked that though Franco has gone, the evil legacy that he left lives after him. The one delicious aroma produced by Castro's State Communism is labelled by the insignia of the Falange.

A slip-up? Not the only one, at any rate

The notorious Nazi 'Protocols of the Elders of Zion', are translated into Spanish and are being peddled in Spain by Ediciones Petronio S.A. of Barcelona, together with other anti-semitic literature of the Spanish neo-nazis, and finds its way into Havana, where everything is censored. The official reason? "Los Protocolos de los Sabios de Zion" is thought to be anti-Zionist" (It was written fifty years before the establishment of the State of Israel), "rather than fascist".



Demonstrator wielding a bicycle wheel attacks policemen during riots in Amsterdam

ITALY

The Anarchist lawyer Gabriele Fuga who was arrested on the word of a "pentito" in May 1980 was held for 14 months in prison and then found not guilty on the charge of membership of the Azione Rivoluzionaria, should have been released, but during the trial a warrant was issued for his arrest on charges of membership of the Prima Linea group, again on the basis of the evidence laid by a 'pentito' who was then paroled. The court appealed against the granting of bail and he was arrested on the 14th July this year in Milan while leaving home for his work. (Pentito is a prisoner who informs against someone and in so doing, gets a lesser sentence or early release; in Britain such people are called 'grassers').

In the wake of a massive police round-up, the anarchist Giordano Sangiovanni was picked up in July this year and charged with membership of Co.Co.Rev. (Revolutionary Communist Committees), allegedly led by Oreste Scalzone. Sangiovanni (one time member of the editorial panel of A Rivista Anarchica) has been detained in a carabinieri barracks, held 23 out of 24 hours in darkness just to "soften him up". He refutes the charges arguing that "...It is bloody odd that a lifelong anarchist communist like myself should have 'been active' in an organisation with a political outlook so far removed from my own...it is a lie".

BOLOGNA CONNECTION

Several friends of Alessandro Alibrandi, the Italian fascist luminary, are still at large in London. Extradition requests (they are wanted for their collaboration in the Bologna railway station bombing in 1980) have been turned down. They are currently living in the Brixton area and working as waiters in certain pizza parlours in south London.

Source: IRIS/Searchlight

CYPRUS

4/10/82 Police raided many anarchists throughout the island but all were later released (no exact figures). The police say that though the anarchist movement is small it is constantly growing, and are kept under watch as they pose a threat to the State. Though nothing was found in the raids police say arrests should follow soon.

Source: Black Star Cyprus.

The following report comes from a paper called AGON (Struggle) which is pretty right wing, but a left wing paper copied the report almost word for word:

ANARCHIST MOVEMENT CAUSES UNEASE

Arrests Not Ruled Out!

Anarchists movements and activities, who according to police information, maintain international links, have been noted recently, mainly in Nicosia, but with smaller groups in other cities, with the aim of causing serious problems for the government of Cyprus.

Already according to information from AGON, police have carried out raids in Nicosia, but no incriminating evidence was found, but such is the evidence of the position of these people that the police are obliged to carry on surveillance and it is not impossible that at some stage it will be judged necessary to make arrests.

Some of these people who's activities alarmed police, were held and questioned and the results of their examinations are being considered.

Recently activities have been noticed in other towns, particularly Limassol, following contacts with various people from Nicosia.

The Government is watching the movements of these people and has evidence that their numbers are increasing constantly.

This month especially, the anarchists, who are a small movement at this stage, have acted in a way which is considered a danger to the state. This was admitted to AGON but without further details.

However several people who are mixed up in these activities have left their families and are creating social problems.

"Wherever the State exists fascism will exist. The State is the organ of the boss class against the workers. Communist and capitalist states are the same, both against the workers. Russia, USA, Cyprus Greece, Turkey, England, everywhere the worker is a wage-slave. Only without the State will people exist without classes and in freedom in a society without oppression. Anarchism wants the end of all States. Workers organisations do not need Leaders and Parties. The Leader is the new Boss. The Party the new State. The liberation of the workers is the job of the workers. Organise without leaders. Long live workers solidarity. Fight for social revolution. Down with the Boss! Down with the State! Long live Anarchy! Our flag is Black or Black and Red. Our symbol is @."

Black Star poster from Larnaca in Cyprus.

NEWS FLASH!

The 'Angry Brigade' sent an incendiary letter-bomb to the Tory Headquarters in Leeds, on 20th January. After a warning the device was blown up by an army bomb disposal unit. MIKE WRIGHT (see front page) received an additional 4 years, to his sentence.

IRSM

DIRECT ACTION — CANADA

We claim responsibility for the bombing of a Litton Systems of Canada Ltd. industrial plant in Toronto, Ontario where the guidance system for the Cruise Missile nuclear weapons is being produced.

We sincerely regret that any injuries occurred as a result of this action. We never intended any harm to come to anyone - especially the workers at Litton - but instead, we took great care in preparing what we seriously assumed were adequate precautions to insure the safety of all people in the area. Unfortunately, this did not turn out to be the case.

We do not regret, however, our decision to attempt to sabotage the production of the Cruise Missile's guidance "brain". We only claim in all honesty that this action was never meant to be an act of terrorism. We were not trying to threaten or kill the workers or executives of Litton Systems. We were attempting to destroy part of an industrial facility that produces machinery for mass murder. We wanted to blow up as much of that technology of death as possible.

Accidents happen; no systems or people are infallible. For us, however, this fact of life in no way excuses us for the mistakes that we made which contributed to causing injury in this action. We only pose these simple questions to put this tragedy into proper perspective. How many hundreds of times have entire populations been only minutes from annihilation due to nuclear war computer systems' malfunctions? How many thousands will suffer from cancer-related diseases because of breakdowns at nuclear power plants? How many thousands are maimed and killed every year in industrial accidents? And isn't it a fact that millions of people starve to death annually because so much money and human effort is put into systems of war rather than developing the means to feed the people of the world?

Although we still firmly believe that it is right to attack the technologies of death, we identify our mistakes in this action as the following:

- 1) The bomb exploded 12 minutes before it was supposed to, assuming that it did detonate at 11.31p.m. as stated in the media. The bomb was set to go off at 11.43p.m. If it had exploded at this time, we feel that it was reasonable to have assumed that the Litton plant and the surrounding area would have been safely secured. It is a mystery to us why it exploded early, as we had checked and double-checked the accuracy of the timing system many times.
- 2) The warning call was not repeated. The van was left on the lawn in front of the Litton building at 11.17p.m. We telephoned a warning to Litton

Security just one minute after the van was parked. This was to ensure a quick reaction by authorities, even though we felt certain that the van would have been seen as it was being driven across the lawn and parked. The van was parked 100 meters directly in front of an exposed glass-walled security guard's booth. In fact, the driver of the van could see 3 guards in the booth at all times during the approach and, as a result, knew that the van had not been noticed. Unfortunately, the Litton guard did not completely understand the instructions of the telephone warning. When he asked that the instructions be repeated, he was only told to go out front and look at the van. We see now that the telephoned warning should have been carefully repeated. However, if the warning had been understood, and even the police have said it was "meticulous", then the authorities would have had approximately 25 minutes to clear the plant, the area, and surrounding roads - if the bomb had detonated on time. This was certainly a reasonable length of time to have left the authorities to evacuate the plant and secure the area. Even though the bomb went off early, it seems obvious that even 13 minutes was enough time for the plant to have been safely emptied had the instructions been understood.

3) We made errors in judgement about the "orange box" which was left in front of the van. This box was meant to be a back-up warning system to the telephone warning - again to help authorities understand the situation and ensure prompt and knowledgeable action on their part. The box was painted fluorescent orange so it could be easily seen and taped to all four sides of it was a sheet of paper with information and instructions. On top of the box was taped a stick of unarmed dynamite. We felt certain that the Litton guards, either by seeing the van being parked or by being alerted to it by the telephone warning, would quickly come upon the box - thus having written information in their possession to guide them. Unfortunately, we wrote "Danger Explosives" on top of the sheets of instructions. As well, it was not a good idea to leave an unarmed stick of dynamite visible on top of the box. Although these two things were done to prove the this was a real bombing, they actually frightened the Litton guards and police away from the box so that the instructions were never read. Because we left evidence of real explosives, and because the instructions contained the information that there were 550 pounds of explosives inside the van, we assumed that the authorities would have undertaken a massive emergency response and evacuation. This is what we were hoping would happen to make sure that no one was hurt. It was

specifically stated in the telephone warning that the box contained important instructions and that the dynamite attached to it was harmless. In both the written instructions and the telephone warning, we stated that the van would explode in approximately 15-20 minutes. We said this to insure that everyone, including bomb squad members, would clear away from the van well before it exploded.

4) We were mistaken in believing that the Litton guards and police would be on top of things. The image of cops and guards as "super heroes" caused us to believe that they would have security and safety matters underway very quickly. This is obviously what didn't happen. The Litton guards did not observe the van being parked even though it occurred essentially right before their eyes. A Litton guard did not understand the phone warning even though it was given clearly. It seems that the Litton guards did little or nothing to evacuate the workers until after the police arrived. As the workers have said, they were only told to leave the building seconds before the explosion. The police took a very long time to arrive after they were alerted - approximately 10 minutes - even then they only sent one car at first to investigate. Finally, neither the police, but especially Litton security, even took a close look at the orange box. We did not expect this kind of slow and indecisive response from the authorities.



We are very disturbed and saddened that injuries occurred as a result of this action. We have gone over what went wrong time and time again. Most significantly, the bomb exploded 12 minutes too early. But nevertheless, we feel we must strongly criticize the Litton security guards for the way in which they "handled" this incident. We know that there were at least 3 guards in the security booth when the van was parked and when the phone warning occurred. We feel it is undeniable that all injury to the workers could have been avoided if the guards had promptly evacuated the Litton plant, as they obviously should have. Although we had no knowledge of the previous false bomb threats (in fact, we oppose the use of fake bomb threats precisely because they do cause the authorities to be sceptical

cal of the authenticity of real bomb attacks), we put effort into making sure that the authorities would quickly understand that this threat was real. It is not as if we said that a pipe-bomb was hidden somewhere within the entire Litton complex, so evacuate everything. We informed Litton security of where the van and box were. They were both completely visible to the guards simply by looking straight out through their booth's window, and the fact that they were there at all obviously indicated that something was definitely amiss. We would like to know why a Litton guard went running into the plant to evacuate the workers only seconds before the explosion - instead of at least 10 minutes earlier? And we would like to know why the two other Litton guards were standing around on the front lawn, instead of informing workers in the other plants? As well, it is irresponsible of Litton to have never informed the workers of past bomb threats, and to not have a loudspeaker system combined with evacuation plans so that workers could be quickly moved to safety in the event of any danger, be it a bombing or otherwise.

The position where the van was parked was chosen for two reasons. One, so that it could be easily and quickly seen from the guard's booth. It would have been much less conspicuous, and therefore far less risky for the driver of the van, if it had been parked in front of the other two Litton buildings, as neither of these are within direct view of the guard's booth. Secondly, the van was parked in a corner of the building in order that the two walls of this corner would prevent debris from being cast in a southerly or south-westerly direction where the two nearby hotels are located. This position was the only such corner at the front of the three Litton buildings. Again it was at the risk of being apprehended on the spot that we chose to park the van in a location which provided the least risk to public safety.

We have written the above not to redeem ourselves, as we did commit inexcusable errors, but simply as an explanation of our motives and intentions for those people who may feel threatened that there are crazed terrorists on the loose against the Canadian people. Again, we repeat, that we never intended any harm to come to anyone through this action. Instead, we took great care in preparing what we seriously assumed were adequate precautions to insure the safety of all people in the area. Understand and remember, the terrorists are those who have set the world on the brink of nuclear war, not those are fighting this insanity and inhuman madness!

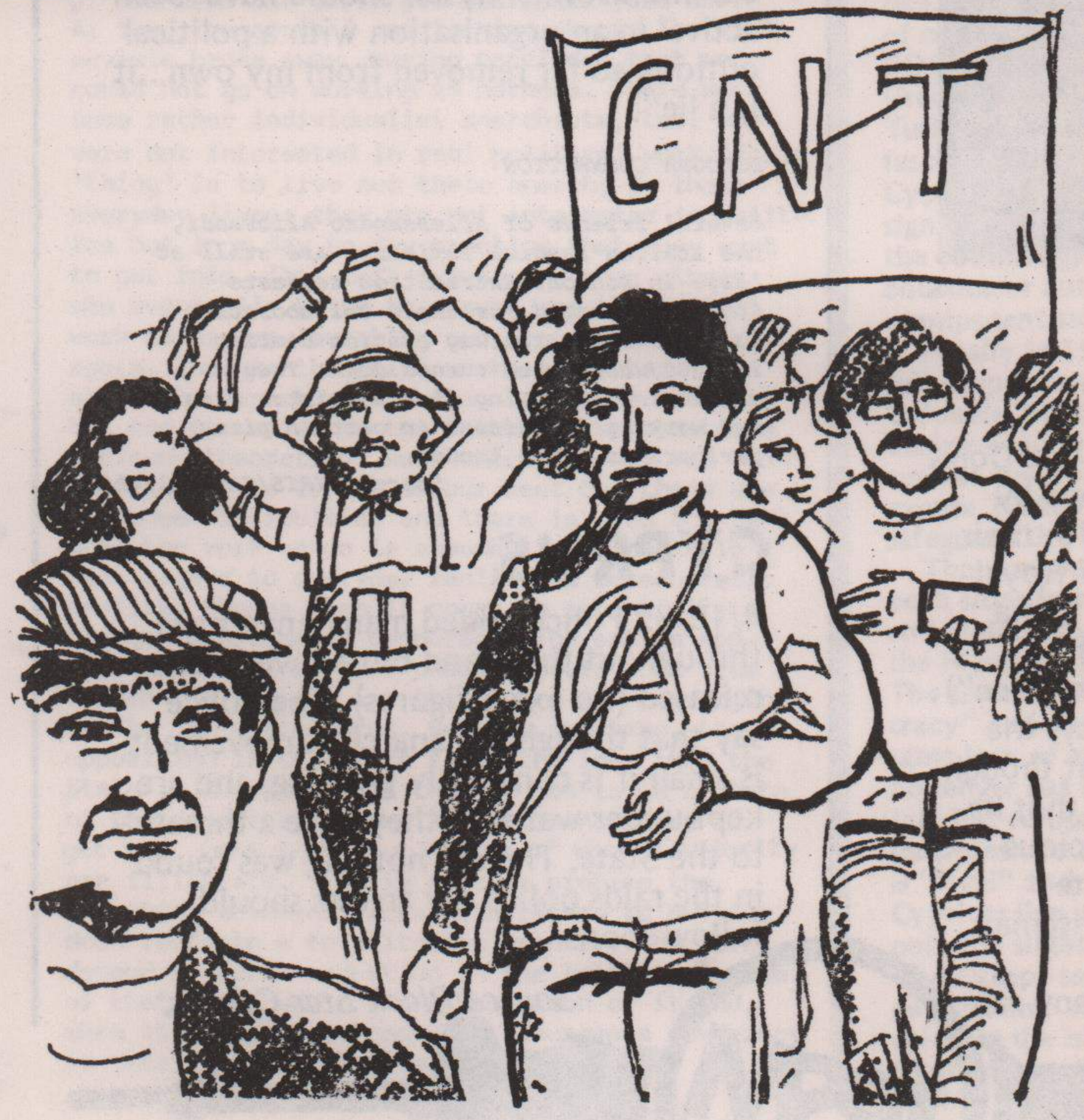
Finally, we wish to state that in no way was this bombing the work of the Cruise Missile Conversion Project, or any other public peace movement organization in Toronto.

Direct Action
October 17, 1982.

RESISTANCE issue 4 Fall '82 available from 'Friends of Durruti', P.O. Box 790, Stn A, Vancouver B.C. Canada Carries the 1st communique of the Direct Action (Canada) group, also has analyses of documents from the Red Brigades, the FALN (Puerto Rican Nationalists) and lots more.

GREAT ANARCHO - BORES - NO. 71.

The CNT is counter-revolutionary!..... Anarcho-syndicalism is reactionary!..... The workers are reformists, conspiring with the capitalists..... In Spain in 1936 the CNT- anarchists joined the government, persecuted the Durruti column, if Durruti was alive today he would be a) Trotskyist b) council-communist/situationist d) autonomist..... The real revolution was in 1976 the workers assemblies, spontaneous, uncontrollable..... The really revolutionary theory must see the working class of intellectuals, students, middle-class drop-outs..... Trots without Parties as the only vanguard the vehicle of the supreme knowledge..... Now I am stoned for an interface with the proletarian shoplifters, saboteurs, absentees, rioters who by their actions are always..... Oh, shit, I must get back, the weekend is over..... Well I am a bit tight for cash actually one has so many subversive pamphlets, posters, and books to intervene and get out to the workers with..... Do you know a cheap (reactionary) co-op where me, myself I and friends can, er, produce our radical commodities. . .



GREECE

19/9/82. 4 students (3 men and a woman) were arrested in connection with bomb attacks against police stations and university buildings five months ago. The names have not been released but the police say that of the 4 two are self-confessed anarchists.

In Thessalonika two young anarchists were sentenced to 10 and 8 years prison for participating in a 'violent demonstration'.

The Greek edition of W. Pawell's book "The Anarchist Cookbook" was seized by the police. The Athens District Attorney prosecuted its translator and editor named G. Karabellis with the charges of cooperation in hard-drug selling, terrorist action and bombings, guidance to manufacturing of explosive mechanisms etc. Some comrades who call themselves "Greek Initiative for an Anarchist Federation" sent into newspapers and magazines a leaflet reporting this book as

"Fascist and provocative". They write: "By seeing all those bad results that this book caused a decade ago in its native country the USA we can understand in advance what this shameful, anti-anarchist, Fascist and clearly PROVOCATIVE book, will cause in the Greek situation, where the confusion, the ignorance and misunderstanding about what the fuck anarchism means can make sure, that some anarcho-teenagers hoping to make themselves "men" and "heroes" will finally find their clumsy bombs blow up into their own hands or will shoot the (is very plentiful in our country...) heroin into their body with the hope that they are gonna be "revolutionaries" this way..."

This book in its English edition had been in 1978 the main evidence against Phillippos and Sophie Kyritses who were then sentenced to 8 and 5 years imprisonment. The Greek anarchists found it very suspicious that it was published in Greek language during the more difficult period for the antiauthoritarian movement in our country, when the confusion and distortion of the anarchist ideas is larger than ever.

Michalis P. Mescaleros - Athens