

Welcome to the first of what we hope will be a long run of 'Stateless', (Quarterly Review of the North East Anarchist Federation). In this publication we shall be commenting on political trends within the country, presenting anorchist statements on a wide range of subjects, (political and social) and giving reports on the anarchist movement in the NEAF region, both historic and present.

The North East Anarchist Federation covers the counties of Yorkshire, Humberside, Cleveland, Co. Durham, Tyne and Wear and Northumberland. There are active anarchist groups federated to the NEAF in most of the cities and towns of the region, some of which are listed in the inside cover. The purpose of the NEAF is to improve communication between the various groups and individuals within the region and therefore increase co-operation and joint activities.

There is no membership fee for NEAF and no restrictions on those who wish to federate, except that they call themselves anarchists and are not discovered to be otherwise. All administrative costs, such as the production of the monthly bulletin, are kept to a minimum and covered by voluntary donations.

Any anarchists within the NEAF region who wish to receive more information about the NEAF, contact the present secretariat:- Box A, c/o Project 35, 49a Market Place, Doncaster, S. Yorks.

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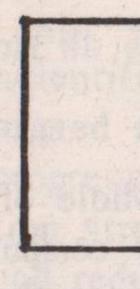
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PIGS WE'LL KEEP AN EYE ON THE

E FROM 18TH CENTURY SHEFFIELD

MALATESTA.

CHIST SOCIETY. NSPIRACY.



The title of our journal 'STATELESS' comes from our desire to abolish the state and replace it with a free, classless and equal society based on the common ownership of the land, industries and all mean's of production and distribution. There is of course another meaning for the word stateless and that is a person that has no country, one without a passport, a refugee. Have you ever thought what it would be like to be stateless in the negative sense? No travel abroad, held in special areas while the 'powers' think what they are going to do with you, and maybe no treatment in some British hospitals all because you don't have a passport. Outrages is it not, just for the sake of a few pieces of paper covered in ink, the difference between being treated like an animal or a human. But you will say, short of anarchy what can one do, after all its always been like that. Well it was not.

Before the first World War many countries had done away with passport controls, it was quite possible to travel around Europe (not to Britain) without a passport. It was not until 1921 that the 'powers' held an International Passport Conference and laid down the law which we have today covering size, shape and pages of passports.

Passports were always issued in one form or another as long as mankind was organised on this earth but, right up to the beginning of this century they were only for the servants of the state or rich. The common people did not ask for or receive passports, they travelled where they liked without any permission and took the same sort of risks that one takes today, muggings, attacks by unfriendly locals, wrongful imprisonment etc. Of course in earlier times the common people did not travel as much as we do today, anyway what would be the use of carring a bit of paper with writting on it when very few people could read it in the first place.

# PASSPORT CONTROL

Today the British passport office has a staff of 1,129 and there are around 12 million British passport holders, there is not a chance of getting in or out of Britain without a passport. In fact this country is almost on a par with the so-called communist countries in passport control, if you travel out of Britain at the present you may be asked where you are going, how long for, when will you be coming back and in the case of this writer who are you going to see, and all that before you have left the country. When you return you may face the same questions, if they don't like the answers they may even take your passport off you. The British immigration control (passport control to you) have been known to put small pen marks under different letters on the port entry stamp, this mark is stamped onto every passport of people entering Britain. The purpose of the pen marks are so that other immigration officials will know when looking at your passport that you are a suspected person, maybe an illegal immigrant, or you were travelling with a suspicous person, or maybe they did not like the look on your face.

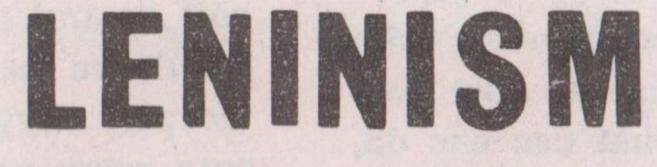
Now we are entering the age of the so-called EEC passport, for the enemies of civil liberties at Whitehall this is once again a chance to impose their nazi-like ideas with. out the tiresome process of having to present a new bill before parliament. We are told that 'Britain' has opted for the electronically taped document, what we are not told is when did we 'opt' for it, I for one must have been asleep at the time. The ETD is a fancy name for the method of computer reading your passport, just like they do at your local library when you check out a book. In this case they will be recording your movements onto a cental computer, so at some future date 'they' wil at the press of a button know if John Smitl made a visit to Poland, Israel or wherever

So far we only know of one computer link being installed, that is at number three terminal at Heathrow airport, but there is an Immigration Records Computer centre, run jointly by the Home Office and the Metropolitain Police at Jubilee House, Lower Richmond Road, Putney in south west London. We can be sure that many more of these computer 'links' will be fitted in the coming years. Dover, Gatwick, Prestwick quickly come to mind as most likeley to receive attention soon.

The British ETD passport will not appear until around 1985 but already agreement has been reached with Germany and Ireland to introduce similar passports, in the case of Ireland this is vital for Britain otherwise there would be an open back door into Britain from Ireland and of course the Irish are

as fond of controlling their citizens as much as any little Hitler in Whitehall.

The time is not far off when the whole of the EEC will be linked together by computer and in fact hard as it is to believe Britain does not lead the way . Already the Dutch immigration police at Schipol airport feed information directly into their national police computer and all movements through this very important airport are fully controled, this information is of course available to the British police through Interpol, if not already through a straigh computer link up between the British and Dutch national police computers . Orwell was not joking, 1984 is very real and very close.



### OR YOU WATCH THE PIGS, WE WILL KEEP AN EYE ON THE TROTS.

1) "Labour, obligatory for the whole country compulsory for every worker, is the basis of socialism?'

2) "A general prohibition of child labour is incompatible with the existence of large scale industry and hence an empty pious wish."

3) "We must replace irresponsible agitators with production minded trade unionists."

Whose quotes are these-Margret Thatcher, Franco, Hitler, Mussolini, some 3rd World dictator? No, 1 and 3 were by Trotsky and 2 was Marx. A far cry from the party-building propaganda of left-wing parties like the CP/SWP/IMG/WRP/RCP etc. Leftists of all shades use radical rhetoric but what happens when they capture state power themselves?

Lets look at the Russian revolution as an example, one they're fond of quoting themselves.

Did the Bolshevik Party wish to revolutionise the relations of production, replacing the bourgeois manager by self-managing workers organisations? Were they willing to destroy

work? by workers which did exist.

C.L.

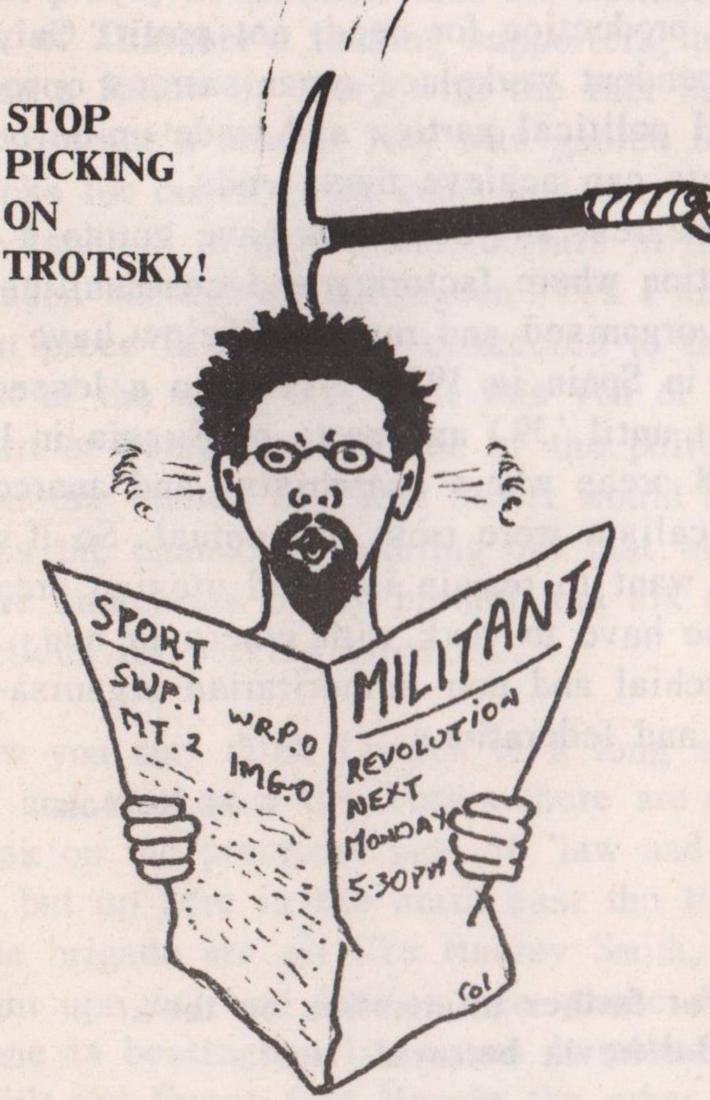
the authoritarian relations of production of class society where producers are in a subordinate position to those who manage their

Before the revolution Bolshevik leaders talked of freedom of speech, workers' democracy and the abolition of the police, the army and the bureaucracy. In fact these institutions were all enlarged and freedom of speech was gradually extinguished even within the Party itself, factions finally being banned in 1921. As Lenin said "Those who don't support wholeheartedly the forces of order and discipline within the army are traitors and must be ruthlessly destroyed."

Many factory committees were set up during the chaos of the Tsar's downfall but, as with the trade unions, their powers and independence were gradually eroded as the Bolsheviks centralized control of all economic, political and social life in their Party/State machine. They set up institutions to replace and absorb workers' control and enforced one man management in factories, dismantling any procedures for control

Lenin, who before the revolution attacked scientific management as dehumanising now argued that "Much of what is scientific and progressive in the Taylor system (production streamlining, through divisions of labour and reducing the worker to the most simple, machine like tasks) should be adopted." Trotsky's statements are even more frightening, such as his well known calls for "militarisation of labour;" that in its time slave labour had been a progressive phenomenon and that "Compulsion of labour will reach the highest degree of intensity during the transition period from capitalism to socialism." He advocated that labour deserters be organised into punitive battalions or placed in labour camps. (Read his 'Terrorism and Communism', a truly terrifying book)

ON



### **ELIMINATION OF OPPOSITION**

When large areas of the Ukraine organised themselves from below through anarchist influence, the Bolshevik leaders made an alliance with Nestor Makno's guerilla army to help defeat the Tsarists. Having finished with them they turned on them, smashing the free communes and shooting or arresting Maknovist militiamen. All this happened at a time when Tsarist generals could enter the Red Army where the hierarchy remained unchanged and discipline was just as harsh.

As Trotsky wrote in 1923: "We are the only party in the country an in the period of dictatorship it could not be otherwise. The Cheka (politaical secret police) were not set up by Stalin but while Lenin and Trotsky, heroes of today's left, were lead ing the Bolshevik government. All oposition was crushed, any revolutionaries whose views differed from the Bolsheviks were called 'counter-revolutionary White Guardist and imprisoned or killed. In contrast, ex-businessmen and imperial civil servants joined both the Party and the burgeoning State machine while militant workers and political dissidents (Mensheviks, Social Revolutionaries, Anarchists and others) filled the jails. It was to defend and enlarge the power of the bureaucracy (which Trotsky called 'an autocratic bureaucracy in a classless society' - what a logical absurdity) that the Bolsheviks in the period 1917-21 attacked all the various committees, councils and unions which had sprung up in the power-vacuum of the period. This makes it easier to understand the classical Leninist attitude to workers organisations in a 'workers' State' - ha ha they exist 'to organize the working class for the ends of production, to educate, to discipline, distribute, to retain certain categories and certain workers at the post for fixed periods."

### **IDEOLOGY**

These processes were only to be expected given the Bolsheviks organisational and ideological background, their vanguardist ideas of taking power on behalf of workers and peasants who presumably aren't capable of running their own lives, then after the 'revolution' the inquisitional attitude to all opposition. The Party knows best. The arrogance of leftists is appalling. After the Bolsheviks takeover the number of political prisoners increased enormously, the secret police were institutionalised and labour discipline in the factories was tightened up easily, as the Bolsheviks didn't believe in allowing the workers to organise themselves.

The roots of the slavish conformism, the Stakhanovism, the purges of the 30's (which killed or imprisoned at least 12 million) are to be found in the ideas and

actions of Marxist-Leninists themselves and not explained away by blaming everything on Stalin's personality (itself a most un-Marxist form of arguement anyway).

People still peddle these tired, stale ideas now. Can't today's left-wingers see the connection between an authoritarian and hierachically structured party and the kind of societies such parties have always produced. Leftists claims of support for workers in Poland are sickeningly hypocritical. The Bolshevik line on independent trade unions was voiced by Zinoviev in 1918: "trade union independence was a bourgeois idea ... an anomaly in a workers' state ."



These people: Stalinists, Maoists, Trotskyists aren't part of the solution, they're part of the problem. They claim to act on our behalf yet they rule in their own interests and if necessary will shoot down workers as in Kronstadt 1921, Hungary 1956, Novocherkassk in Russia 1962, Poland 1970, 1976 and 1982.

The only alternative to the private capitalism of the West and the state capitalism of the East (both of which have produced poverty, alienation, repression, war, concentration camps and nuclear weapons) is anarchism. As anarchists we want a classless society. We want to abolis the State, capitalism and wage-slavery. We oppose sexism, racism and militarism. We want self-managed production for need, not profit. Only independent workplace organisations opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucrats can achieve these ends. The nearest any societies have got to a situation where factories and communities were organised and run from below have been in Spain in 1936-7 (and to a lesser extent until '39) and parts of Russia in 19-17-18 areas where anarchists and anarcosyndicalists were most influentual. So if we don't want to remain isolated utopian dreamers we have to work with others in nonhierarchial and non-authoritarian organisations and federations.

"But Michael, I thought you said the British people did not want to bring back hanging"

### ANARCHISM

M Nelson

### For further information on the Bolshevik betrayal, read:-

The Bolsheviks and Workers' Control 1917 - 1921. Maurice Brinton.

The Guillotine at Work. G Maximoff.

The Unkown Revolution. Voline.

Kronstadt 1921. Paul Avrich.

The Russian Anarchists. Avrich.

For update information on Workers' States through out the world read 'Volya' bulletin of the Campaign for Solidarity with the Soviet Working Class (see contact list).

A typically exaggerated claim, what can you expect from an anarchist paper, but how well do you pay attention to your local paper? Hidden in the inside pages one often comes across the odd piece like this, 'the police said yesterday that no futher action would be taken after a police investigation into the sale of land at Southwood Farm, Farnborough, Hampshire, to a local council by Sir Horrace Cutler, the former leader of the Greater London Council ? No explaination why the police were investigating in the first place, no mention that Sir Horrace is one of Thatcher's leading supporters, not even a follow up story with the fact that Sir Horrace's brother Roy was gaoled for 6 weeks for contempt of court and that he is the landlord of sub-standard flats in the London borough of Hillingdon. Yes I know last piece is not really connected to the rest of the story but, if it was you or I in court or being investigated by the police, then the whores of Fleet Street would not miss the chance of pointing out that we were anarchists or my brother had six convictions for parking offences.

Now you may think London is a long way off and that even the Tories there are a bit weak on the practical side of 'law and order' but up here in the north east the true blue brigade are all like Harvey Smith, straight upright, God fearing men whose only crime is beating up little men in pubs who insult the Queen (not Maggie the other one) but you would be wrong. Take Alan Redmond, what a fine chap, Tory councillor in Leeds, as honest as the day is long, in this case it must have been an artic winter day. You see Alan liked women, which is strange for a Tory and to impress them and his true blue friends he stole £77,000. As in the words of a Woody Guthrie song "some men will rob you with a six gun some with a fountain pen," it is standard Tory practice to use the fountain pen approach. Alan cooked the books, you can do that when you are a company director, but

# "THE STATE IS ROTTEN!"

let us finish this bit with the words of his QC, Mr Gilbert Gray, "Alan was not a cool fraudster masquerading as a Conservative councillor, but a timid, immature man." Mr Gray will go down in history as one of the first people to describe exactly what a Tory is, "timid and immature," why else would they want more police?

Fraud seems to be the sort of crime that would appeal to the Tory mind, but if the Italian Christian Democrats can do regular business with the Mafia, then there is no reason why the British Tory Party can't be connected with drug smuggling. At this point I shall apply an old Fleet Street rule, that is if one person belonging to a particular party is up to no good, then there must be others in the same party up to no good as well. So when Martin Bendelow, Tory candidate for Huddersfield in the last general election was brought to trial for supplying Cocaine it is only fair (Fleet Street rules) to assume that because he is a Tory (one time principal assistant to Sir Keith Joseph) that some of the people he associated with are Tories as well. In fact only people with a lot of money in the first place could have been in on this particular crime, the importation of £255,000 worth of cocaine into Britain.

Well without the police these vicious Tory criminals (sorry, I got carried away, for a moment I thought I was a High Court Judge dealing with shoplifters) would never have seen the inside of a court, perhaps what we have been saying about the police is all wrong, but then if pigs could fly Scotland Yard would be Londons third airport. In September TyneTees television wanted to show a film about corruption in the Cleveland police force, but we all know there is no corruption in the police and so does the Chief Constable of Cleveland, Christopher Payne and his deputy Jack Orb, that is why why they got a court injunction to stop the film from being shown (no big thing really,

just pop down to old Justice Drake's house and he will give you an injunction, so long as you are dressed up like a policeman). May be it was nothing this film, just the usual criminal element lying about the police, you know the sort of thing, police Superintendent with 30 years service in the force, who was the complaints officer for Cleveland before he quit the force, how could he know anything. Of course the Chief Constable was right in stopping this film, what next will the people want, justice?

Sometime ago I was watching a television interview with the playwright Robert Newman in which he said that to join the police one must have a flawd personality, how unkind I thought the police are not that bad but, then looking through the press one comes across the oddest of people applying and being accepted into the police. What about the chap who was too tall for the force, so he went off and had an operation to remove four inches from his lower legs, today he is a policeman but what about the state of his mind, is it normal to have oneself sawn in pieces just to get a job? A day does not pass without something in the papers about corruption in the police in Britain today, "PC stole to gamble" (Guardian 27/9/82), "three PCs are gaoled for theft" (Daily Telegraph 6/7/82). Some of the police are just plain mentally ill, PC Philip Peacock reported his car stolen and was later in an accident with him at the wheel of the alleged stolen car, all he wanted was to be the centre of attention. He is still a member of the Sheffield police. There is no doubt that the state which hires these people is rotten to the core and very sick.

I have shown here the corruption in the Tory party and the police, both good friends but, Labour does not have very clea clean hands either . Lord Bradwell, former Labour MP Tom Driberg was widely believed to have received £25,000 pay off from a £2 million robbery at Heathrow airport in 1976, this of course only came to light after his death. Many of the close friends of Harold Wilson have either ended up in

prison or been investigated by the police. The events and goings on at the National Liberal Club in London could fill this journal alone. In fact there is not a political party or government department that could stand up to close inspection of its activities, yet the majority of the people of this country still believe that their form of government and socail organisation is correct and almost flawless, as I do not believe that the British people are any more thick than their European neighbours, I can only suggest that Fleet Street and the BBC have served their masters well. I hope that 'Stateless' will in its own small way change things a little.

Salendine Nook.

SUPPORT YOUR LOCAL **POLICE!** 

Y

A certain Barbarian came up once to the country which is called 'The Land of Civilization', to see its sights and be instructed by its superiorities. His shoes were worn out on the journey and being footsore he resolved first of all to obtain more . Presently he perceived a large sign: THE WORLD OF SHOES. 'It is not good for a man to be barefoot'. and being greatly pleased, he entered the door above which it swung. He found himself in a splendid pavilion full of all delights, perfume, music and beautiful and bewildering sights, paintings, mirrors, statues and flowers. There were great multitudes of customers, who seemed to be in a great excitement of conflicting emotions, and the Barbarian, who at least understood well the language of the human face, perceived feverish expectation, dread, hope, joy, sorrow, and the most furious hate and poignant anguish. It all seemed very strange to him, for so far he had had a very pleasant experience with shoes. The storekeeper too astonished his simple mind, for he appeared to be a man of great authority and importance, and marched around in cerimonial robes, and sometimes he called the crowd to order and gave them dogmatic discourses. The poor Barbarian, who had almost forgotten his errand, finally looked about for shoes. He saw none, but instead the shelves were filled with glass boxes, semi-transparent, and richly and tastefullt ornamented. When the storekeeper at last approached the Barbarian stated his needs. "You are free to choose" was the reply, with a pompous condescension and a wave of the arm toward the well filled shelves. "But where are the shoes?" "There in those boxes." So the Barbarian reached down a box, and was about to open it, when, with a horrified mien, the Storekeeper interposed. "What are you about to do?" "Why, to open the box and look at the shoes ." "To open the box and look at the shoes! Why, you shameless creature, this is vile, immodest, indecent!"

## **A Parable of Misfits**

This article is taken from the 'Sheffield Anarchist', Vol 1, No 7, Sept 1891.

"Pardon me!" said the puzzled Barbarian,

"I mean no harm-I did not know-but I wan to try on the shoes to see if they fit ?' "To try on the shoes! - Why, that's fornication-"

"Do you not then try on your shoes in this country?"

"Yes of course, but not till after marriage. To-try them on before is fornication and a sin ."

"I do not know what fornication is," faltered the Barbarian, "but I cannot see the shoes through this box, and unless I see them, and try them on, how can I know whether or not they will fit?" "The fitting is not your affair," was the rebuking answer, "God will attend to that; shoefits are made in heaven ?' "God! - who is God?" "Why, you heathen, you ignorant savage, God is the King of this country; he has all the factories, and he made all these shoes, and he made you too and all of us ." The poor Barbarian was dreadfully bewildered now, but he stuck to the business in hand.

"And if I choose as carefully as possible among these boxes, will God see to it that the shoes I select are a good fit?". "Certainly!"

Then the Barbarian deemed his troubles over, and rejoiced and chose a box that was very beautiful and had appeared to reveal through its semi-transparency a dainty pair of shoes, adorned with silver buckles and studded with precious stones. They charmed his childlike fancy, and he trembled with delight.

"And now what must I do before I am permitted to wear these lovely, these charming shoes?" He asked the Storekeeper. "You must be married ?" "What is that ?"

"It is the ceremony by which God, through me, fits you to the shoes you have chosen. "Marry me then, O good Storekeeper, as soon as possible ." So the Storekeeper made him stand up and hold the box in his hand and promise to wear, to polish, and to cherish the shoes

he had chosen until they should be worn out, which the Barbarian, being now very much addled in his wits, and beside himself with the imagined delights of his beautiful shoes, readily did. Then the Storekeeper stretched out his hands and said with a loud voice:

"I now pronounce you Man and Boots! What God has joined let no man put asunder! Amen!"

Then in an undertone he admonished the Barbarian to go off privately and open his box; it would not be 'decent' he said, to do it in public. So the happy Barbarian went to a private room, and with trembling eagerness opened the box. And lo! the box had deceived him. The shoes were indeed well enough made and of good material, but they were clumsily shaped, hard and coarse, without silver or jewels, and when he tried them on, they were to short and to narrow, and tortured him cruelly. And no God appeared to fit them.

He went back to the Storekeeper and complained bitterly, but got no consolation.

"It is your cross," said the Storekeeper; "you must bear it, it is the will of God, and we must not murmer. You chose these shoes and you must abide by your choice. You promised to be satisfied with them and you must abide by your promise. It is wicked to quarrel with your shoes, or to complain against the foot-wear which God in his mercy has bestowed upon you ?'

"But you said God would fit them to me." "And so he has, by the sacred mystery of marriage ."

"He made a wretched bad job of it then. Your marriage business is a failure. I could fit myself better without it ."

"Wretch! Be careful what you say! The law will take notice of you if you talk against marriage. You will not be permitted to corrupt the public morals with impunity. And God will boil you in brimstone if you blaspheme Him or His Holy Storekeepers ." And he went away frowning.

And the poor Barbarian, terrified and troubled, sat down and looked at his shoes. He understood now why the World of Shoes was so full of emotion.

He was afraid to say so, but it did seem to him that, if there we e no Storekeepers, there would be little or no trouble. God he

him. blood.

concluded, was a bugaboo the Storekeepers used to frighten tolks with. He regreted keenly the fat fee the Storekeeper had made him pay for the job of marrying him. Presently another man, who thought himself unobserved, slipped stealthly up and took the shoes, and went to the private room with them. He watched and saw the man reappear with a radiant face. The shoes fitted him excently. The Barbarian went up to

"See here, my friend, I saw you take those shoes. You need not have stolen them. I cannot wear them. You are welcome ?' The man, who had turned pale when he commenced to speak, quickly changed to an expression of insolent contemt, and when the Barbarian had finished, instead of thanking him, he sneered openly and swaggered on. And when the Barbarian returned, all who had witnessed what had passed looked upon him with astonishment and loathing, and he heard them whispering, "cuckold," "coward," "mean - spirited villian," "he must have been bought over," etc.

But this mans success gave the Barbarian a thought. Next to him sat a man with his face buried in his hands, and inflamed and blistered feet . He was cursing his shoes with every expression of hatred. They were beautiful, soft, shapely shoes and the Barbarian thought they were just his size; so he tried them on, for no one was looking. They were the most delightful shoes he had ever known, and he was elated. But suddenly the owner sprang upon him like a tiger. "I am outraged!-dishonoured!" he shouted. "My shoes are false to me!-you are a seducer, an aldulterer!" - and he stabbed the Barbarian with a knife, and slit the shoes to pieces, and left him weltering in his

And the crowd folowed the assassin and arrested him, but apologetically and as it were, with respect; and when the trial came up, he was quickly aquitted, for it was universally admitted that he had been 'dishonored', and that a man has 'a right to avenge his honor? It was indeed shown that his shoes tortured him, that he hated them, and that they were a perfect fit for his victim, but that made no difference. What had that to do with a question of honor.

But his victim did not die; he finally

recovered, and wandered around disconsolate and barefoot. He longed for shoes very muc much, but was afraid even to look at them. One night a man met him on the street. "I know what is the matter with you," he said; "I'm in the same fix. I have a pair of shoes, indeed, but Iget no comfort with them I've left them behind tonight. Come with me There's a place, down the street here, where there's lots of shoes; some of them are pretty, and they're most all easy fits, and if you chose to pay a little, you can take your pick, wear 'em as long as your money lasts, throw 'em away, or change them when you get tired, and no fault found or questions asked. Most of us come in the night here and wear 'em, for we're ashamed to wear 'em home !' So the Barbarian went with him, but doubtfully. He did not appreciate the foot-habits of the 'Land of Civilization' very highly. And when they arrived at the place he was not re-assured. He did not like its atmosphere, which seemed redolent of unclean feet. There were shoes in abundance, indeed; most of them were very fine. But they had been much and carelessly worn, by feet of all sizes and shapes and odours, feet unclean and feet diseased. He was disgusted, and would have none of them. "I cannot endure it," he said; "I will return to my own country, where all feet are happy and well shod ?' "But how do you do it in your own country' asked his friend, who was really his friend, and who really knew in all Civilization, no better relief for mis-shod feet than this house of the easy old shoes as he called it. "Why, in my country," said the Barbarian, happy to talk about home, "there are no Storekeepers to interfere between shoes and feet. You open as many boxes as you like, and try on as many pairs as you please til you get a fit. There is no talk about God and marriage, or fornication, or adultery, or dishonor. You wear shoes as long as you please, and stop when you get ready. You have one pair, or a dozen, or change off with your neighbours, or go barefoot, just as you like. It's nobody's business and nobody cares. And everybody is happy and

well shod .

"But that sort of thing," said the other,

"seems to me shocking Why, 11 is impure, Immoral"

"I do not know," said the Barbarian, "I never heard those words before. I fear you Civilised Men are great slaves to Storekeepers and words. Barbarians think only of utility and comfort and peace and happiness. And we are all happy and well shod.

J Wm Lloyd, in "LIBERTY"



## ANARCHIST COMMUNISM

### by Errico Malatesta

We aspire to communism as the most perfect achievement of human solidarity, but it must be anarchist communism, or communism freely desired and accepted. Anarchism is the means by which the freedom of everyone is guaranteed and can expand; for these reasons we maintain that state communism (Marxism), which is authoritarian and imposed, is the most hateful tyranny that has ever afflicted, tormented and handicapped mankind.

Those anarchists who call themselves comunists do so not because they wish to impose their particular way of seeing things on others or because they believe that outside communism there can be no salvation, but because they are convinced, until proven wrong, that the more human beings are joined in brotherhood, and the more closely they co-operate in their efforts for the benefits of all concerned, the greater is the well being and freedom which each can enjoy. They believe that man, even if freed from oppression by his fellow men, still remains exposed to the hostile forces of nature, which he can't overcome alone, but which in association with others can be harnessed and transformed into the means for his own well-being. The man who would wish to provide for his material needs by working alone is a slave to his work as well as not always sure of producing anough to keep himself alive.

It would be fantastic to think that some anarchists, who are communists, should desire to live as in a convent, subject to common rules, uniform meals and clothes, etc; but it would be equally absurd to think that they should want to do just as they like without taking into account the needs of others or of or of the right all have to equal freedom. Everyone knows that Kropotkin, who was one of the most active and elequent anarchist propagandist of the communist idea was at the same time a staunch defender of the independence of the individual, and passionately desired that everybody should be able to develop and satisfy freely their artistic talents, engage in scientific research and succeed in establishing a harmonious unity

between manual and intellectual activity in order to become human beings in the noblest sense of the word, Futhermore, communist-anarchists believe that because of the natural differences in fertility, salubrity and location of the land masses, it would be impossible to ensure equal working conditions for everyone individually and so achieve, if not solidarity, at least justic.

But at the same time they are aware of the immense difficulties in the way of putting into practice that world wide, free communism, which is the ultimate objective of a humanity emancipated and united, without a a long period of free development. And for this reason they at conclusions which could be expressed in the following formula; The achievement of the greatest measures of individualism is in direct ratio to the ammount of communism that is possible; that is to say, a maximum of solidarity in order to enjoy a maximum of freedom.

In theory communism is the ideal system which, so far as human relationships are concerned would replace struggle by solidarity and would utilize natural energies and human labour to the best possible advantage and transform humanity into one big brotherhood intent on mutual aid and love. But is this practical in the existing spiritual and material state of human affairs? And

if so within what limits?

World wide communism, that is a single community among all mankind, is an aspiration an ideal goal at which one must aim, but which could not be a possible form of economic organisation at present. We are of course, speaking for our times and probably for some time to come; so far as the distant future is concerned we leave it to future generations to think about that.

For the present one can only think of multiple communities among people who are kindred spirits, and who besides having dealings with each other of various kinds, communistic or commercial and even within these there is always the problem of a possable antagonism between communism and freedom. Assuming the feeling exists that draws men towards brotherhood and a conclous and

desired solidarity and which will encourage us to propagate and put into effect as much communism as possible, still complete individualism would be uneconomic as well as impossible, and complete communism would be impossible as well as anti-libertarian, more so if applied over a large territory. To organise a communistic society on a large scale it would be necessary to transform all economic life radically, such as methods of production, of exchange and consumption; and this could not be achieved other than gradually as the objective and material circumstances permitted and to the extent that the masses understood what advantages could be gained and were able to act for themselves. If on the other hand, one wanted, and could cary out in one sweep the wishes and ambitions of a party the masses, accustomed to obey and serve would accept the new way of life as a new imposed on them by a new government, and would wait for a new supreme power to tell them how to produce, and determine for them what they should consume. And the new power, not knowing, and being unable to sa satisfy a huge variety of often contradictory needs and desires, and not wanting to declare itself useless by leaving to the interested parties the freedom to act as they wish or as best they can, would reconstitute the government, based as all governments are, on military and police forces which, assuming it survived would simply replace the old set of rules by new, and more fanatical ones. Under the pretext, and even perhaps with the honest and sincere intention of regenerating the world with a new gospel, a new single rule would be imposed on everybody; all freedom would be suppressed and free initiative made impossible; and as a result there would be disillusionment, a paralysing of production, black markets and smuggling, increased power and corruption in the civil service, widespread misery and finally a more or less complete return to those conditions of oppression and exploitation which it was the aim of the revolution to abolish. The Russian experiment must not have been in vain. No system can be vital and really serve to tree mankind from the slavery of

the remote past, if it is not the result of free developement. Human societies, if they are to be communities of free men working together for the greatest good of all, and no longer convents of despotisms held together by religious superstition or brute force, cannot be the artificial creation of an individual or of a sect. They must be the resultant of the needs and the competitive or divergent wills of all their members who by trial and error find the institutions which at any given-time are the best possible, and who develope and change them as circumstances and wills change. One may, therefore, prefer communism or individualism or any other system and work by example and propaganda for the achievement of ones personal preference; but one must beware, at the risk of certain disaster. of supposing that ones own system is the only, and infallible one, good for all men everywhere, and for all times, and that its success must be endured at all costs, by by means other than those which depend on persuasion, which spring from the evidence of facts.

What is important and indispensable, the point of departure, is to ensure for everybody the means to be free.

Errico Malatesta was born in Santa Maria Capua Vetere, Caserta province, Italy on December 14, 1853. He came from a family of modest landowners, and from an early age was interested in anarchism. He met Bakunin in 1872 and became an active member of the International. In the years that followed he was to become one of the most important anarchist propragandists of his time, contributing to a large number of journals around the world. He was editor of many different anarchist papers, "Questione Sociale" (Florence, Buenos Aires and Paterson NJ), l'Associazione (Ancona), l'Agitazione (Ancona) to name a few. In 1900 he came to London and was for the next nineteen vears an active member of the British anarchist movement. He died in 1932.

# IRELAND, a very short history:

Does Northern Ireland-Ulster-Six counties bug you? When you listen to some mad man dressed up in priests clothes mouthing on about the place or some nutter wearing a pillow case on his head or even some pin-striped Tory telling you their version of history, do you want to scream? Are you hoping that somone will write a book that will explain it all, some chance. Below is the only real history of Northern Ireland that you will ever read. It is not an anarchist history, it is just plain fact written on gravestones. You have bought this journal which is a sign that you think for yourself, perhaps after looking at these figures you will ask yourself the question who are the real terrorists, who will gain from all this killing?

This is a breakdown of killings in Northern Ireland (does not include those killed in the Republic or Britain) from the 1st August 1969 until the 19th August 1982. The grand total is 2,212 persons killed.

- 1, British forces killed by Republicans
- 2, Republicans killed by British forces
- 3, Civilian victims of Republican bombs
- 4, Cross-fire and accidents due to Republican ac
- 5, Civilians assassinated by Republicans
- 6, Republicans killed by their own bombs
- 7, Republicans who died on hunger strike
- 8, People killed by republican rioters
- 1, British forces killed by Loyalists
- 2, Loyalists killed by British forces
- 3, Civilian victims of Loyalist bombs
- 4, Cross-fire and accidents due to Loyalist activi
- 5, Civilians assassinated by Loyalists
- 6, Innocent people killed by British forces
- 7, People killed by Loyalist rioters
- 9, Deaths from rubber and plastic bullets (fired by British F.)

People killed in uncertain circumstances (12 Catholics, 19 Protestants) total 31.

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	Nersoni .	108
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		14
	total	842



Defence'. power.

# 2

# HARD LUCK

As you may recall, the government called off it's civil defence excercise, 'Hard Rock', in the summer, apparently because 'Nuclear Free Zone' local authorities refused to take part .At the time this was seen as a great victory by these authorities and CND, but this was obviously short - sighted as the government is determined that they should take place no matter what .It hasn't taken them long . New regulations tightening up the rules so that local authorities have to comply with the governments directives on civil defence, are to be introduced in the new parliament, and the Home Office would like them to be in operation by the end of January .

The next civil defence operation, as far as we know, is to be called 'Spearhead', which was also the name of a well known National Socialist 'paper' put together by Tyndal!. At present there are three terms used by the government which aren't interchangeable, although they have tried to fudge the definitions in the publics mind. They are: 'Civil Defence', 'Emergency Planning', and 'Home Defence'.

Civil Defence is governed by the 1943 Civil Defence Act, and is concerned purely with the effects of a hostile attack by a foreign

Emergency Planning is involved with civil emergencies and disasters.

But Home Defence is a term with military origins with no LEGAL DEFINITION. It political term means 'protecting the Home Base', that is, the machinery of government of the United Kingdom from threats both external and INTERNAL. Thus, as well as 'civil defence' and civil emergency planning, it also includes ANTI - SUBVERSION and STRIKE - BREAKING! Its l'eagal justification is claimed under the 'Emergency Powers Ac Act', the rest by Royal Prerogative . Thus on 14th July 1982 William Whitelaw announced that the government intended to

strengthen the Civil Defence (Planning) Reg ulations 1974. At present planning functions set out in Regulation 4 of the 1974 Regula tions will increase to include : keeping plans up to date; making plans, as directed by the Secretary of State, to make certain provisions on their own account such as the building of emergency headquarters and the installation of emergency communications; dealing with population movement in the face of a threat of a hostile attack; to make provision for public shelter against air attack; they must also, as directed by the Secretary of State, arrange peacetime training and excercising for staff and volunteers in civil defence,. Some of the new duties are to be funded totally by central government, in the past they have paid 75%, and the civil defence budget may thus be doubled to as much as 80-100million pounds . If the local authorities don't involve themselves in these excercises they will be sent an intervenee under strengthened powers, by the Home Office, who may also intervene if the Home Office is not satisfied with the progress being made by the councils . This may involve making 'surcharges' on the councillors for the work done by the intervenees.

Obviously, we as anarchists must prepare to begin action . This action could be taking place within CND or other peace groups, and it may be a good springboard for Resistance, here we have an opportunity to make the public aware of an alternative to the confidence tricks which are perpetrated by governments of any persuasion, if they really believe that a civil defence programme is any way to save us from nuclear annhilation . We must also show that perhaps these excercises are not for protection against the Russians, but a means by the governments of controlling civilian populations at times of discontent and uprising .



## BOOKSHOP

Fighting the Revolution - - - Makhno, Durruti, Zapata - - - - - - - £0-80p The introduction to the pamphlet 'The Unsung Heroes'- Makhno and Durruti' and a reprint of Zapata's

Fighting the Revolution - - - Makhno, Durruti, Zapata - - - - - - - £0-80p The introduction to the pamphlet 'The Unsung Heroes - Makhno and Durruti' and a reprint of Zapata's 'Manifesto to Mexicans'.

----£0-40p About Anarchism - - - - - - Nicholas Walter What anarchists believe, how they differ, what they want, what they do.

On the Duty of Civil Disobedience - - Henry Thoreau - - - - - - £0-50p Civil disobedience as a means of mass action for political ends.

Who Guards the Guards - - - Brian Stratton - - - - - - - - £1-25p An account of brutality in prisons.

Life and Ideas - - - - - - - Malatesta - - - - - - - - - £2-00p Revolution as the creation of new living institutions, groupings and relationships.

Anarchism - Arguments for and against - - - Albert Meltzer - - - - - £0-80p

The Poverty of Statism - - - - Bukharin, Fabbri, Rocker - - - - - - £2-20p Anarchism vs Marxism, a debate.

Towards a Fresh Revolution - - - The Friends of Durruti Group - - - - £0-85p

Journey Through Utopia - - - - Marie Louise Berneri - - - - - £2-20p A critical assessment of a series of important essays on Utopian writing. ABC of Anarchism - - - - - - - Alexander Berkman - - - - - - £1-25p Short introduction as to what anarchism is and is not.

We also have many other books and pamphlets, for a full list write to: Box A, c/o Project 35, 49a Market Place, Doncaster, DN1 1NJ. Please enclose money with order. Prices include postage.

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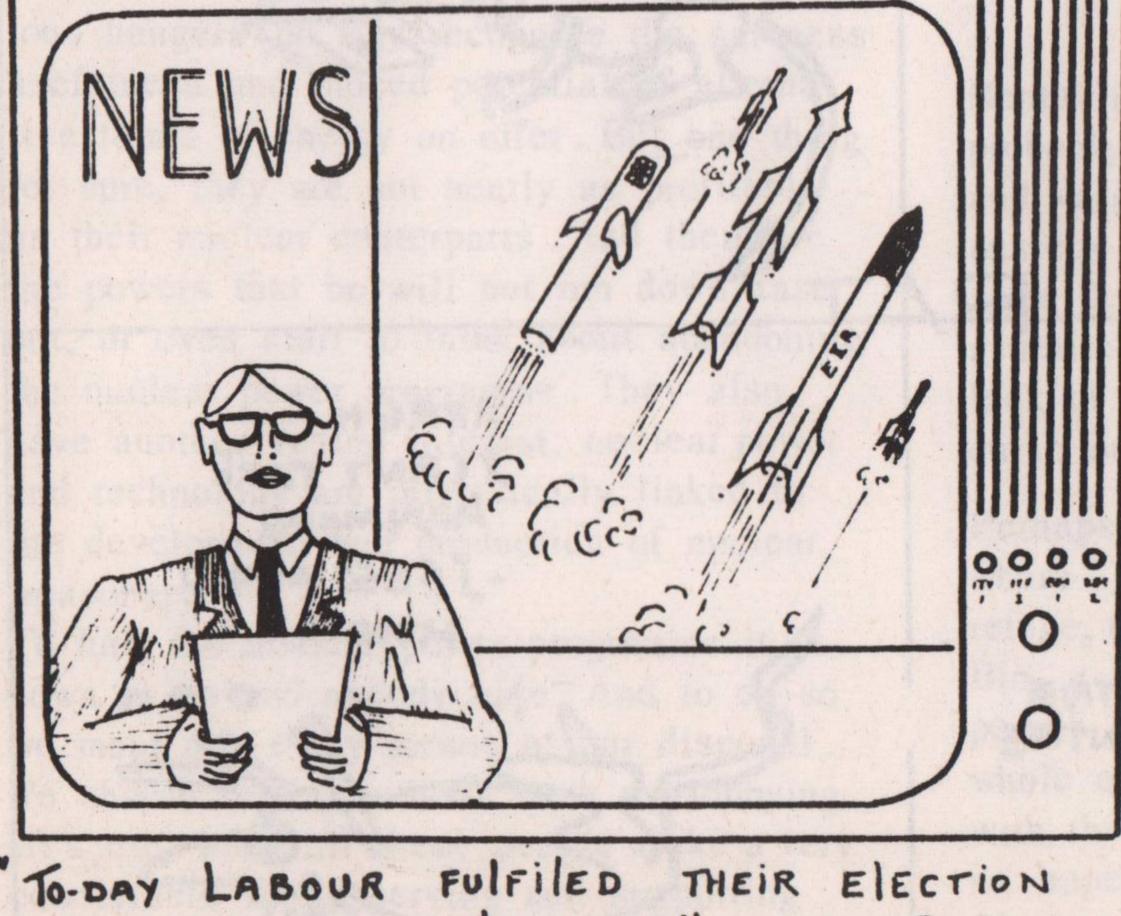


Some pride in this -Black Flag.

Flag, you can be -

But not for too long -

Always keep in mind -



## BLACK FLAG

Fine material - you will serve, perhaps, as a towel,

> or may be we can wrap something in you,

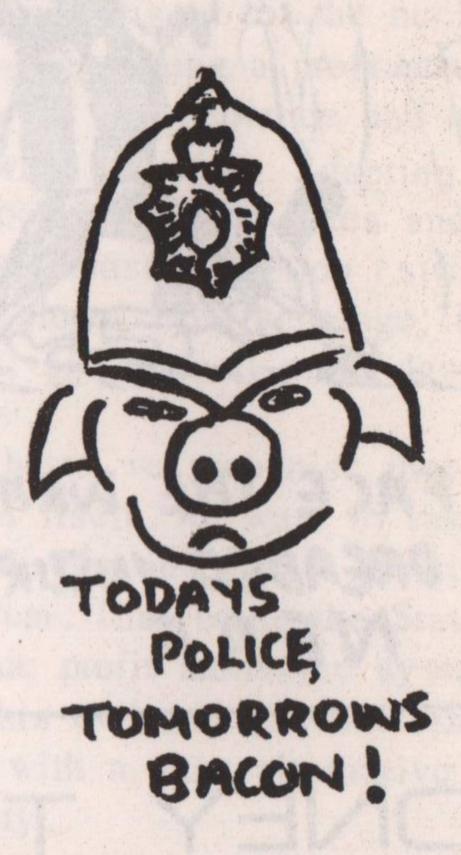
> > a blanket at need

or we can (I suppose) drape you from an upper window to shock closed minds open

otherwise you may forget your place (and we may too)

that afterwards no flags fly. Respect is for people.

.....Pete Whittaker



David McNee - 22 - 4 - 79.

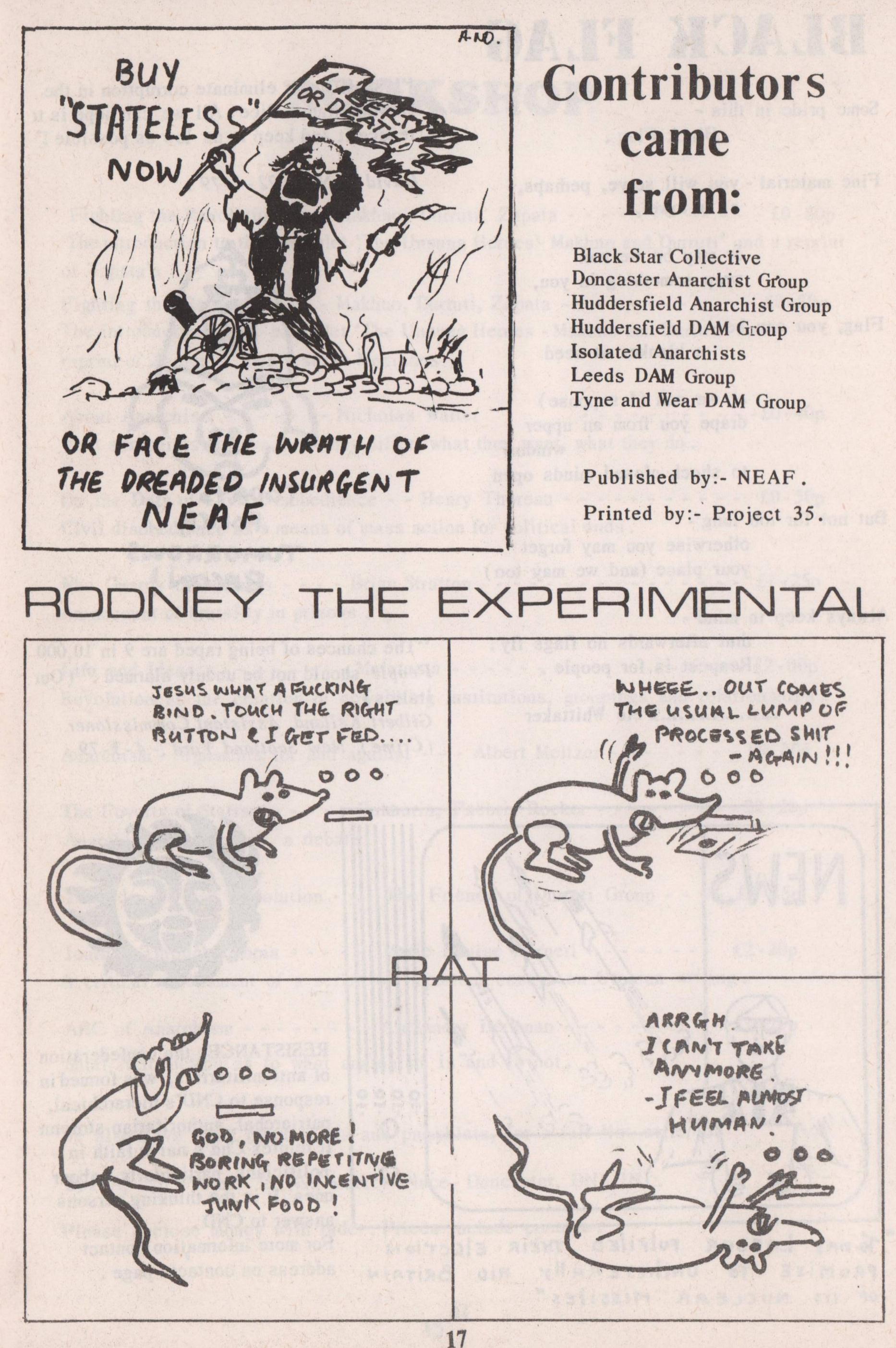
"The chances of being raped are 9 in 10,000 People should not be unduly alarmed ?' (Our italics) Gilbert Kelland, Assistant Commissioner (Crime), New Scotland Yard .- 4-3-79.

> **RESISTANCE**, the confederation of anti-militarists, was formed in response to CND's hierarchical, patriarchal, authoritarian structur It refutes Cnd's naive faith in politicians, particularly Labour ones. It is the thinking persons answer to CND. For more information contact address on contacts page.

PROMISE TO UNILATERALLY RID BRITAIN OF ITS NUCLEAR MISSILES"

"I shall never eliminate corruption in the Metropolitan Police. All we can hope is to reduce it and keep it as low as possible ?'





weaponary.



It has recently been revealed that the North East costal beauty spot of Druridge Bay is one of the four short listed sites under consideration for major developement by the nuclear power industry. Before all you conservationists, ornathologists and what have you throw up your arms in dismay, saying, "How can they do it, to such a beauty spot and wildlife sanctuary?' Don't bother, save your breath. If you look at things closly it is hardly suprising that the state persists in the nuclear adventure and why protests to date are largely ineffective.

Figures recently released by the state owned British Nuclear Fuels shows they turned in profits up £16,900,000 at £29,800,000 after tax. Sales at £412,700,000 were up £63,500,000 on the previous year and the trading profit jumped a mere £28,200,000 to £78,700,000 in the export market.

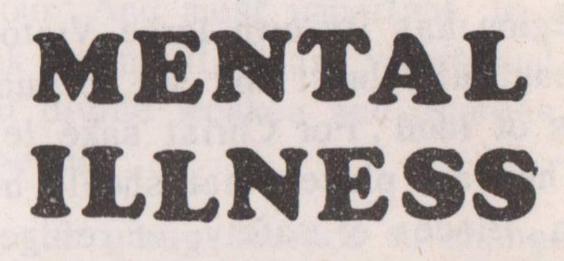
Yes of course the government and the various hangers - on may recognise the safeness usefulness and indeed potential of alternative forms of energy on offer. But one thing for sure, they are not nearly as profitable as their nuclear conterparts. And therefore the powers that be will not run down, fase out, or even start to think about abandoning the nuclear power programme. They also have another vested interest; nuclear power and technology are intrinsically linked to the development and production of nuclear

To halt the nuclear power programme it is down to us and nobody else. And to do so we must use every means at our disposal. We should reject methods such as lobbying MPs etc, after all these people make a very comfertable living serving and supporting the very same system, which based on profit, depends upon the existence of industries such as this. Public enquiries are also a

waste of time; they serve no other purpose than to give the government and friends the oppertunity to whitewash the whole issue. The result of the inquiry into the Windscale reprocessing plant a couple of years ago is a perfect example. The only way we can envisage an end to nuclear power is to hit the nuclear state head on - instigating a programme of direct action, civil disobedience and non-co-opereration with the state. Adapting such tactics as occupations of sites and government buildings, industrial action (strikes, blackings, go slows, etc) sabotage; industrial and civil, and general state destabilising activities.

As anarchists we recognise that this is not an end in itself. We want to take the fight a stage further and tackle the root cause of the problem. That being the State and the world wide profit motivated system of capitalism. This evil must be abolished now and replaced with a sane alternative - an anarchist society.

> Provisional Friends of the Earth Sunderland, Brigade.



### IN AN ANARCHIST SOCIETY

Mental illness has always been with us. It probably always shall. Its reasons are many and varied. We all suffer stress, depression, anxiety and even strange ways of thinking to some degree. All in all a hotch potch of genetics, upbringing, environment and a sheer lack of knowledge of what actually is going on in our heads.

Perhaps long ago, we lost our way somewhere. The word 'Asylum' means a place of refuge, a place of safety. Now it means a Bin, a mental hospital-someplace to put people out of sight and out of mind. On the whole our mental hospitals are populated with the old, the long-stay and society's no-hopers, the failures, the non-starters. 'Alas we live in a society where failure has no friends. If you can't aim for a semi, a steady job with a pension, if you can't cope with a shaky marriage or live with a conveyor belt career then, mate, you have prob problems.

British Psychiatry is in an appalling state. Most Psychiatrists opt for the 'label' and drug' approach. Our mental hospitals are bogged down in administrative procedures and complex hierarchies. Its an uncontrollable mess of mis-spending, underbudgeting and over management.

What then should happen in an Anarchist society.

At present people who begin to go through a crisis have nowhere to go. To receive psychiatric help you really have to crack up. We need places to go where you can talk through your another **person**. The word person is emphasised deliberately .. Few if any Nurses, Teachers or Doctors are selected on their human qualities, rather it's all done on certificates and qualifications.

We need councellors on the model perhaps of the old Shamens. People who can genuinely listen and are expert at identifying problems. Such people exist. Only a smattering work in mental hospitals.

Each region has its own large Victorian bin,, beautifully built and set in hundreds of acres of land. For Christ sake lets use them! They are places that should be slowed down. Places of safety, of refuge, of great and magnificent beauty. Bins could be places of experimentation. Its lands given over to new ventures in agriculture or natural power. They would be places of retreat, of kindness, of caring. Although part of an Anarchist society they are of a different pace.

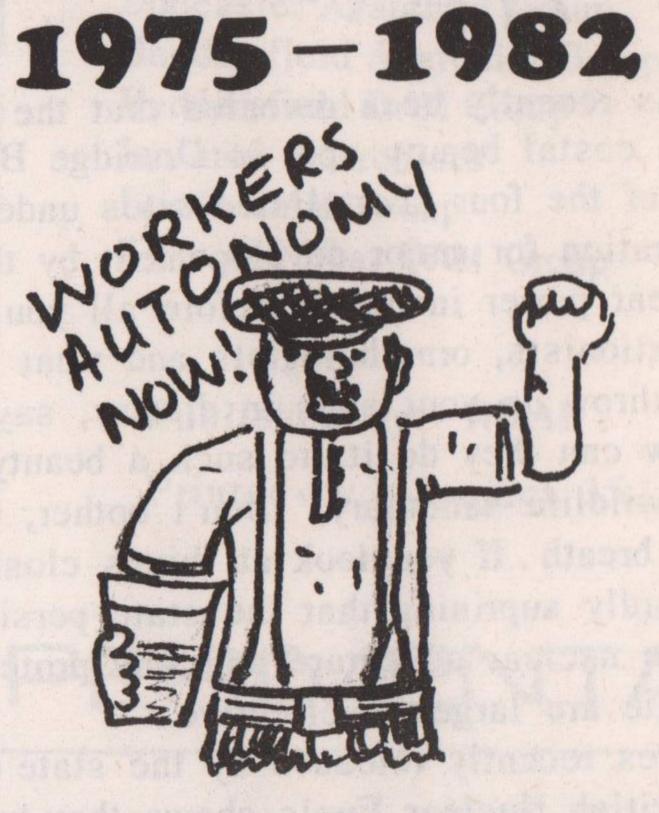
In a society not based on pocession or keeping-up-with-the-Joneses many of the basic causes of mental illness-and I'm convinced of this-would markedly recede.

But if we are determined to live in a society where human values matter (and it has not been tried yet) then the future of those who can't face up to the next day or who are continually on the verge of desperate depressions, looks infinately brighter.

Doreen Frampton.

The origins of the present anarchist groupings currently existing in the Tyne and Wear area can be traced back to 1979. Late in that year a branch of the Direct Action Movement' was formed in Sunderland by a seasoned anarchist campaigner of 40 years standing and a comrade recently returned to the area, fresh from the struggle in the capital. This small group plodded on, wearly attending demos, selling papers, distributing leaflets and selling anarchist books wherever the opperunity arose. It wasn't until early 1981 that we made a break through. Contact was made with a former Anarchist Communist Association member, recently moved to Newcastle. Shortly after this, with another newly 'recruited' anarchist and a handfull of sympathisers, we decided to hit the local political scene in style The annual regional May Day demos were due-Sunderland and Newcastle-we planned to be there. For the occasion we printed a 1,000 leaflets attacking every political and bourgeois social institutions we could think of, made half a dozen very striking Red and Black flags and restocked the old bookstall. Come the faithful events we made quite an impact-

# Tyne & Wear Anarchist Conspiracy



loads of books and papers were sold, a dozen or so contacts were made, and scores of interested people were talked to. We even had a flag nicked just to cap the day!

Following the workers' day celebrations we arranged a meeting of new contacts, friends and sympathisers alike. The meeting which took place in Newcastle saw the attendance of some 30 people and the formation of the Tyne and Wear Anarchist & DAM Group. This group in reality, was more a federation of groups from Sunderland, Gateshead and Newcastle as well as many individuals.

Each group met informally in their own localities and met for 'mass' meetings on a fortnightly basis. Activities saw the usual attendance of the various demos, fly posting, graffeti expeditions and street sales of various anarchist papers. Around this time we received our first press publicity. Seven of the group were arrested at an anti-royalist demonstration organised by our selves. As well as reports in the local papers we got coverage in the Express and Mirror.



One such report read as follows: "Anti-royalist demonstrators outside the polytechnic unfurled their banners and began chanting when Prince Charles started his walkabout after a quiet lunch. Almost immediatly the massive security operation swung into action. Spectators barely had time to see the banners before plain clothes officers hustled the group down a back lane"...."Six men and a woman were lined up against the wall".... "Suprised onlookers who had waited hours ot view the Prince booed and jeered".... Eye witness Mrs Joan Richardson of Gramlington said, "they all seemed to be mainly middle aged and rather scruffy ".

Soon after this little escapade the group went into a bit of a decline - a mixture of summer holidays, people leaving the area, others leaving the group or simply loosing interest. At the time the group needed a shot in the arm. The possibilities of a local anarchist paper were discussed, all were in favour and a paper was launched. The first issue of 'TREASON' was launched in November 1981. The gamble paid off, the group survived and continued to rebuild itself around the paper. 'TREASON' aimed at producing a wide range of anarchist and related views, ideas and theory; local, national and international news plus satire and humour. And most important, to attack and break down all ideas, views and beliefs that divide weaken and oppress and exploit people.

Recently the group decided to change the papers name to something more directly anarchist. The adopted name was 'BLACK STAR'. The papers editorial policy also changed-moving towards more of a class struggle stance. The papers circulation also went national.

In the meantime a lot of reorganisation was going on in the area. A new group based in Newcastle was formed-the Newcastle Anarchist Youth Group-Many of those involved were previously involved in the Tyne and Wear Anarchist and DAM group in the early days, splitting on cultural, ideological and personel grounds. A Tyne and Wear DAM branch was formed in its own right, and the continued production of 'BLACK STAR' was taken on by the newly formed Black Star Collective.

Today the groups still meet on a regular basis, maintaining fraternal links. 'BLACK

STAR' has reached its 7th issue. The production of a new youth orientated paper is in the embryonic stage and a new anarchist network called the Tyne Tees Anarchist Network will soon be operational. This network along with its own newsletter 'LINK UP' hopes to act as an information and support network for anarchists and libertarians living in the area.

Anyone interested in contacting any of the following should do so via NEAF. **BLACK STAR COLLECTIVE** NEWCASTLE ANARCHIST YOUTH GROUP TYNE TEES ANARCHIST NETWORK TYNE AND WEAR DAM

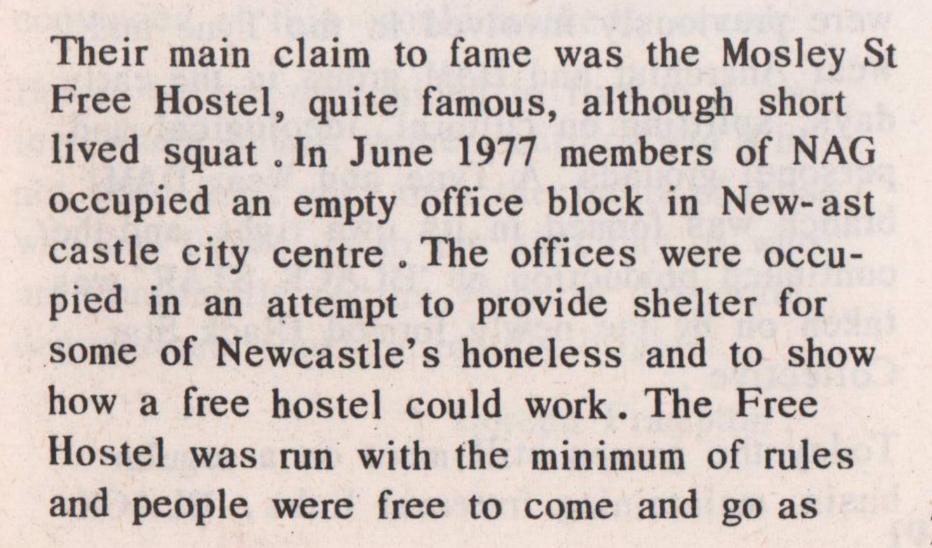
Prior to 1979 anarchist activity was mainly centred around Newcastle. The most memorable group being the Newcastle Anarchist Group (Black Jake). This group existed between 1977 and 1979 and produced two copies of the paper 'BLACK JACKS OCCAI-SIONAL ORGAN' - now somewhat of a collectors item .

Jab

olock

they pleased. The 'residents' were generally encouraged to run things themselves. The hostel gave, it was hoped, a bais degree of dignity through self-management and mutual aid to the outcasts of this vile society. Just as the hostel was begining to get run itself the police moved in on the pretence of theft and vandalism, evicted those there and closed down the Tyneside Free Hostel down.

To say that all anarchist activity was centred around Newcastle is not exactly true. In Sunderland between 1975 and 1978 groups continually formed and collapsed. During this era there was always a group at the polytechnic, as well as short lived town groups. One such group was Sunderland Worker Anarchists, which formed late in 19/ 76, this group produced one issue of a paper 'COMMUNARD', which was widely distributed at the local ship yards and factories. The group also sold 'ANARCHIST WORKER'S on the streets and at local colleges. Another such group was Sunderland



Gateshead. The current group is also in touch with a couple of anarchists both of whom are in their 60s both of whom have seen a lifetime of struggle. Maybe someone reading this can fill us in can fill us in with any details of group activities prior to 1975

21

Anarchist Group, who in 1978 launched an effective "Don't Vote" campaign durring local council elections. Another group which sprung to mind from this era is the Durham Freedom Group (not exactly Tyne and Wear, but near anough to count) a very broad based libertarian / anarchopacifist group who produced quite a good monthly bulletin.

In writing this report I specifically confined myself to the years 1975 to date simply because I was either, aware of, in touch with, or active in the anarchist movement. No doubt a lot more groups existed prior to 1975, I have a copy of 'Freedom' (1972) which lists a contact living in

AND.... a type and wear anarchist.

NOTES: and Roses'. Group .

secretariat: Box A.

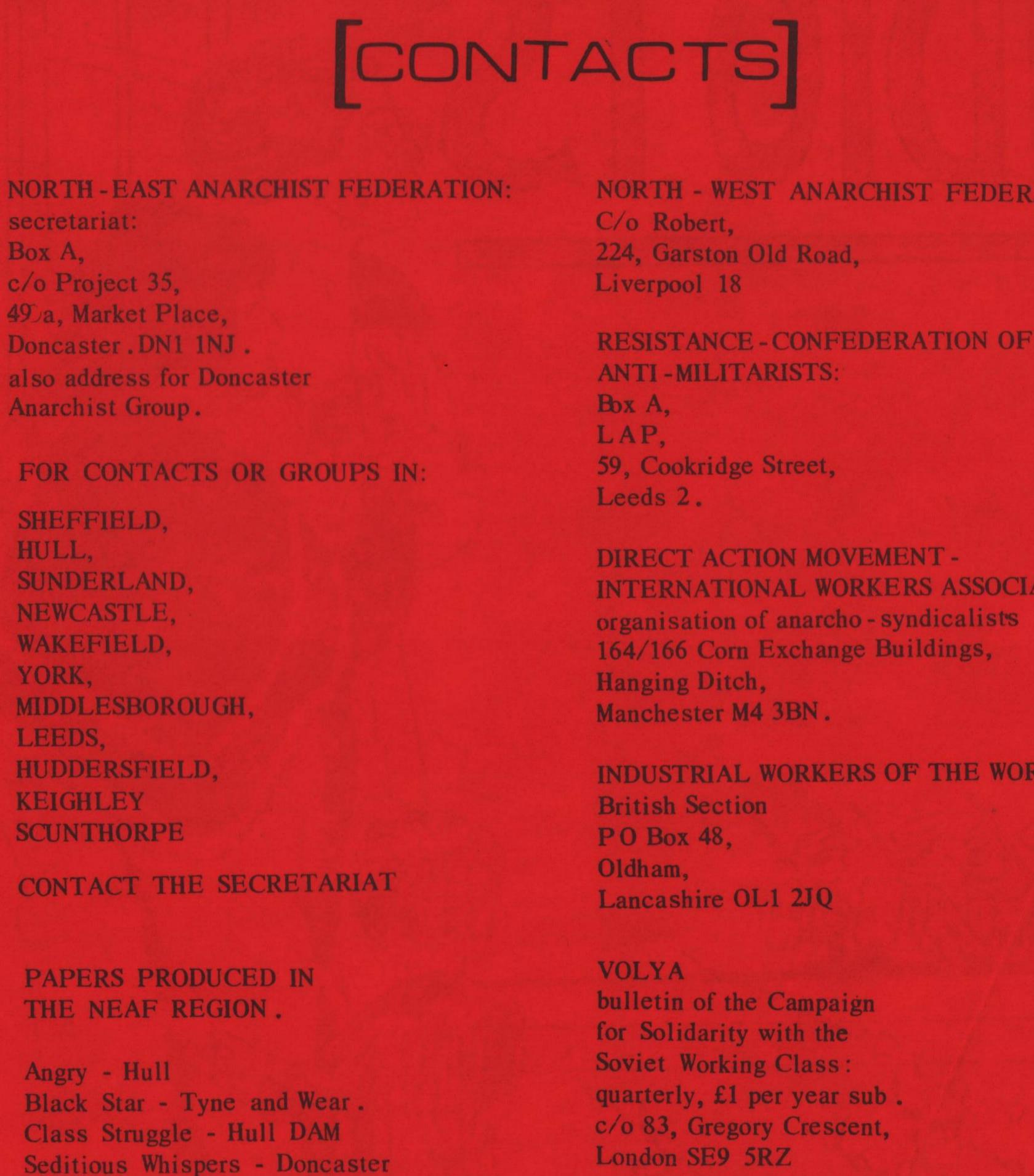
HULL, YORK, LEEDS, **KEIGHLEY** 

1/ National anarch-syndicalist network and British section of the International Workers Association (anarcho-syndacalist international).

2/ National Organisation of Anarchist Communists now defunct .Produced the paper 'Bread

3/ Paper of the Anarchist Workers Association later to become the Libertarian Communist

4/ Anarchist Fortnightly based on the east end of London with national circulation.



**NORTH - WEST ANARCHIST FEDERATION** 

**INTERNATIONAL WORKERS ASSOCIATION:** 

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD