

THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST

(VOL. 1 NO. 14) MAY 1978 PAY WHAT YOU LIKE



THE SHEFFIELD ANARCHIST,
BOX 1A,
341 GLOSSOP ROAD,
SHEFFIELD 10.

This publication is produced by Sheffield Anarchists as an aid to the wider dissemination of anarchist and libertarian viewpoints in the Sheffield area and elsewhere.

Sheffield anarchists can be contacted via the above address, from which further copies of this paper are available and to which any contributions, suggestions, criticisms, etc can be sent. Any contributions of an anarchist, libertarian, pagan, humanist nature (articles, letters, cartoons, jokes, poetry, etc) will be gratefully received.

None of the original (or 'liberated') articles in this paper necessarily represent the opinion of the Sheffield grouping as a whole, but only that of the writer or contributor. Original material in this paper is anti-copyright and anyone can do what they like with any part of it. Our thanks to the originators of 'borrowed' materials, even if they weren't consulted.

Sheffield Anarchists meet on Tuesdays at 10 HANOVER SQUARE, Sheffield 3 at 7.30pm for 8.00. Tel. 731780

Crashing space for visiting comrades is available at 4 HAVELOCK SQUARE, S10.

QUESTION: Who is Colonel H.A. Johnstone?
See page 4.

MIDLANDS ANARCHIST FEDERATION

SATURDAY MAY 13

This will take the form of a picnic, weather permitting.

VENUE: Meet at the 'FOX HOUSE' public house, which is about 8 miles west of Sheffield on the A625 Sheffield-Hathersage road.

Arrangements will be made for comrades wishing to arrive on the Friday. There will also be a 'social' on the Saturday night for any/all comrades wishing to stay.

All enquiries to Sheffield Anarchist contact address, or phone:

(0742) 731780 or (0742) 737722

P.C. BASHEM SAYS --

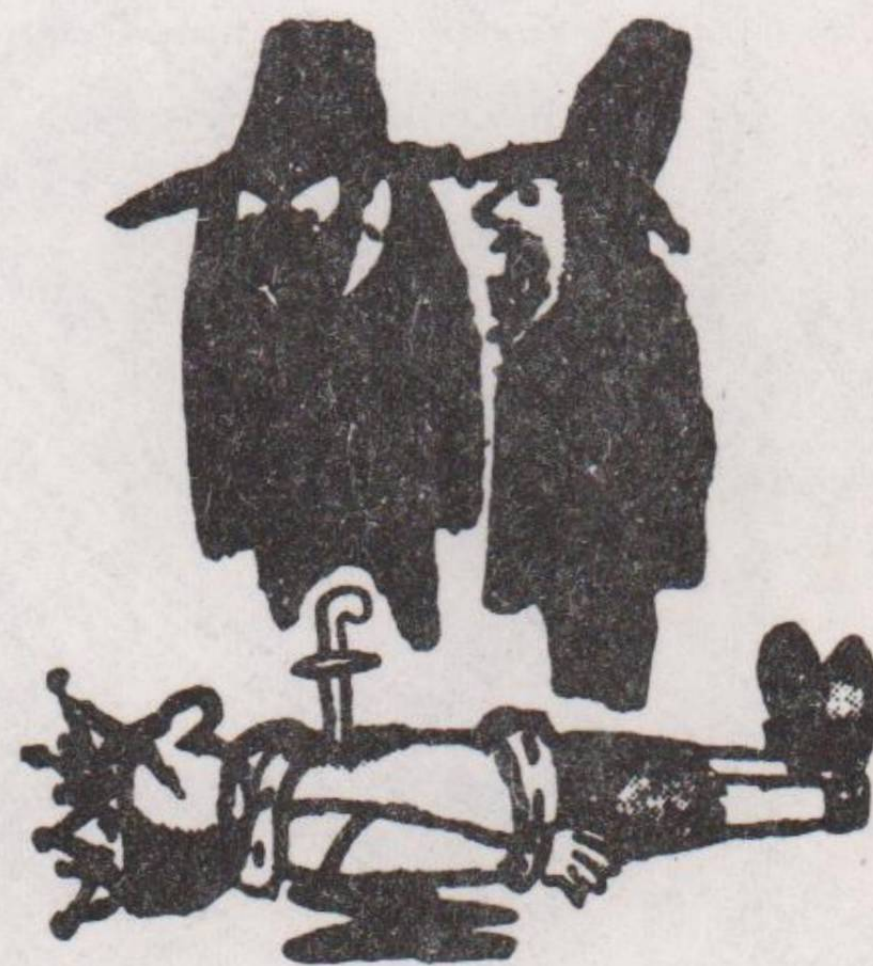
JOIN THE

NF*



AND GET
PROTECTED

* NATIONAL FRONT



"It's stopped reigning..."

NEW LIFE -- Issue No. 1

Anarcho-Situationist magazine
produced by the Syndicate of
Initiative, Sheffield

Price 15p from 341 Glossop Rd.
Sheffield.

ABC OF ANARCHISM - BERKMAN

I want to tell you about anarchism.

I want to tell you what anarchism is, because I think it is well you should know it. Also because so little is known about it, and what is known is generally hearsay and mostly false.

I want to tell you about it, because I believe that anarchism is the finest and biggest thing man has ever thought of; the only thing that can give you liberty and well-being, and bring peace and joy to the world. ...

Therefore I must tell you, first of all, what anarchism is not.

It is NOT bombs, disorder and chaos.

It is NOT robbery and murder.

It is NOT a war of each against all.

It is NOT a return to barbarism or to the wild state of man.

ANARCHISM IS THE VERY OPPOSITE OF ALL THAT.

Anarchism means that you should be free; that no-one should enslave you, boss you, rob you, or impose upon you.

It means that you should be free to do the things you want to do; and that you should not be compelled to do what you don't want to do.

It means that you should have a chance to choose the kind of life you want to live, and live it without anybody interfering.

It means that the next fellow should have the same freedom as you, that everyone should have the same rights and liberties. ...

In short, anarchism means a condition of society where all men and women are free, and where all enjoy equally the benefits of an ordered and sensible life.

ALEXANDER BERKMAN

IT is capitalism and government which stand for disorder and violence. Anarchism is the very reverse of it; it means order without government and peace without violence.

THEY too were storming heaven - do you think they fought in vain; that because they lost a battle they would never rise again; that the man with the leaflets, the woman with a gun, did not have a daughter, did not have a son?

Bored ?
A Bit Thick ?



---WE COULD USE YOU

The South Yorkshire Police Force are looking for morons to maintain Law and Disorder in our society.

The ability to harass and prevent people enjoying themselves and to obey without question is a must. Sadistic tendencies a distinct advantage.

Benefits include being able to break the law without fear of prosecution..

BE AN UNWANTED MEMBER OF SOCIETY



PIEING TONIGHT

In Canada and the USA, 1977 was the "Year of the Pie"; some incidents of pie-throwing received major media coverage, eg, when Eldridge Cleaver was pried in Vancouver on Mayday '77, the event and the reasons for it received more coverage in some Montreal papers than did a 10,000 strong TU march the same day. Could 1978 be the "Year of the Pie" in Britain?

The aim of pie-throwing, or 'pieing', is to publicly embarrass leading public figures, but of equal importance is the content of the pie; for instance, Cleaver was hit with an Oreo cream pie (chocolate on the outside, vanilla in the middle).

International Pie Week was called for Nov. 4-11, '77 by the Anarchist Party of Canada (Groucho-Marxist) and unleashed a major offensive. Amongst the victims were:-

Canadian Cabinet Minister Ron Basford, who signed extradition papers on American Indian Movement militant Leonard Peltier, sending him back to face two life sentences (on trumped-up charges) in the USA

The President of Robinhood Multifoods during a press conference called to defend the shooting of 7 strikers at his Montreal flour mills

David Frost

Guru Maharaji Ji

Brain surgery experimenter Jose Delgado, hit with a cow-brain and tomato sauce concoction

Pieing of the Year '77 was against Anita Bryant, american anti-gay campaigner and generally one of the most unpleasant people this side of Darth Vader. The event took place at a press conference she gave on her ideas of proposed "homosexual rehabilitation centres"; a sobbing Bryant made an undignified exit, praying.

But beware - pieing can have its dangers as when one intrepid thrower was put in hospital with a fractured skull by a gang of Christian fanatics.

So far, the only victim in Britain has been Tory MP Michael Heseltine, who was hit at a Tory students meeting in Leeds

Who says politics can't be fun? Let 1978 be the Year of the Pie in Britain - some of us hope to make it so in Sheffield.

Alain Lucard

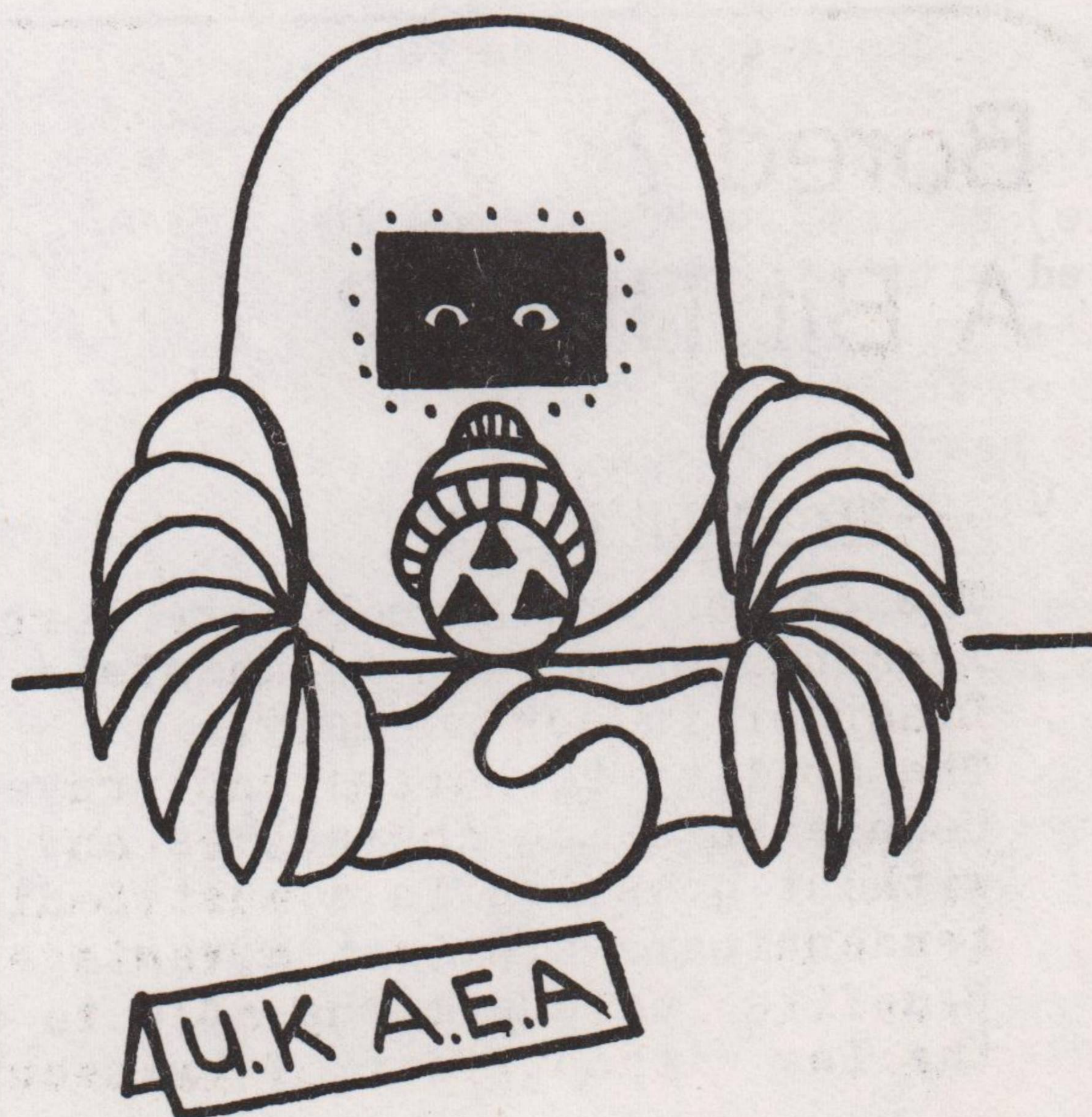
Colonel JOHNSTONE

ANSWER: Colonel H.A. Johnstone is the 'Colonel B' referred to in the prosecution of Messrs. Aubrey, Berry and Campbell under the Official Secrets Act.

The facts of his identity, ie., 420864 Col. H.A. Johnstone, MBE, formerly of the Royal Corps of Signals, now of the Army General Staff, attached to section DI24, was obtained totally legally from published sources and published in 'Peace News' and 'The Leveller'; these papers are now being prosecuted for so-called 'contempt of court'.

As anarchists, we have nothing but contempt for all bourgeois and capitalist-controlled courts, and so we are publishing these details in solidarity with our comrades under prosecution. We echo the sentiments of their statement:-

"We are unrepentant about the naming of Colonel H.A. Johnstone. We will continue to publicise the name of the mysterious Colonel B and any official secrets we can lay our hands on. This is not mere radical hell-raising; official secrets laws are used to ... impose further limitations on freedom of speech in Britain.



4 ...AND THERE WILL BE ABSOLUTELY
NO RISK WHATSOEVER....

A DECADE OF ANARCHISM IN SHEFFIELD

My main aim in composing this brief summary of anarchism in Sheffield over the past ten years is twofold:

1. To inform comrades at present active within our own grouping of our antecedents within a roughly dated, tho' fairly concise format.

2. To give encouragement to other provincial groupings which may just be starting, or going through a phase where nothing much seems to be happening. All groupings have small beginnings, and go through bad patches, but the progress of anarchism in any locality need not be dependant upon regular meetings, or upon the activities of a formally organised group as such.

This is a largely personal account, though memory being sometimes at fault, I have attempted to verify my recollections by consulting other comrades involved during the period. I have divided the sequence of events into 'phases', though it must be understood that these were by no means distinct from one another, and that there was much overlap, and a sense of continuity throughout. Names have been omitted in the interests of brevity and to 'protect the innocent'.

1968-69

The origins of Sheffield Anarchists as an effective grouping lie in the proselytising of a folk-singing student, who had become aware of anarchism by way of the C.N.D. movement in the early and middle sixties, and the activity of another (female) student who had previously been involved with the Harlow Anarchist Group. As a result of several conversations a number of interested persons agreed to hold regular meetings in the back room of a local pub. At these meetings (attended usually by 6-12 people) 'Freedom' and 'Anarchy' magazines were distributed, and much discussion, often heated, took place, since for most of us the concept of anarchy was novel, and we were eager both to learn and to pass on to others what we had learned.

Despite the fact that such advertising of meetings as took place was restricted to the University, about one-third of those attending were non-students. Activities during this period included anti-Vietnam war demonstrations, attendance of national conferences, active participation in the Yorkshire Anarchist Federation, and small

scale distribution of literature. It might be added that we had an excellent relations with the pub landlord and other customers, to the extent of making-up a 'Tetleys' Quiz League' team. Towards the end of this phase, group activity, as such declined due to the affliction of Finals on the student element, whilst the town element was concerned with more individual action.

1970-74

Due to the falling-off of University participation, and the consequently greater role played by local comrades, it was decided to shift the focus of our weekly gatherings to a pub nearer the city centre, further removed from the campus, but more accessible to other Sheffielders. Perhaps as a result of this, these gatherings became less 'formal', and were not publicised except by word-of mouth. The functions of the early group being taken over by an unorganised grouping. We felt at the time, and for several subsequent years, that this move towards interacting affinity groups was sufficient in itself.

One of our major problems in the early stages had been the lack of a stable address but this was overcome by the establishment of a household by several comrades (and a Trot!), which latterly became known as 'The Commune' locally. This provided a contact point for a diffuse movement more concerned with activity and experiment, both individual and collective, than with traditional theory.

Contact was maintained nationally through the ill-fated Anarchist Federation of Britain conferences, and the more effective, though equally doomed Anarchist Syndicalist Alliance. Two A.S.A. conferences were held in Sheffield, and a copy of 'Black and Red Outlook' was produced here. An offset litho printing press was purchased using money donated by anarchists and libertarian socialists, and was for some time operated by an anarchist.

Several comrades from other parts of the country took-up residence here, helping us to further extend our range of talents and contacts. A university group was formed, the Freedom Group, which received some cash from the Students' Union, enabling regular selling of libertarian literature, the invitation of outside speakers, the showing of at least one film (Dawn Over Spain), and fairly regular meetings, moderately attended. A small Black Cross Group was intermittently

sending-off parcels, letters etc.. to anarchists in prison here and abroad. Some research was conducted at the City Library with reference to anarchist activity in the region during the last century. Amongst material photo-stated were three copies of a paper 'The Sheffield Anarchist', originally published in the 1890's. This gave us a valuable awareness of local anarchist tradition, and an identification with our predecessors in the struggle for liberty. Numbers involved in these and other activities were always difficult to estimate, but the town group consisted of from twenty to thirty individuals, with a university group of ten to fifteen.

1975-77

During this period the Commune non-functioning for two years, was regenerated, and once again became a fulcrum for action. A national conference: 'Unity in Diversity' was held in the City Hall, which was well attended by local comrades, with a reasonable attendance from other areas. A Third World handicrafts and books shop was opened, Ujamaa, with anarchist/libertarian-socialist participation which has since become the prime source of Left/Third World/Alternative/Anarchist literature in the region. A closer contact between university and town was established, resulting in the production of 'The Sheffield Anarchist' nos 11 and 12, which had an encouraging reception locally, nationally and even internationally. Publication of no.13 was delayed by a variety of causes for a period of two years, during which time the Freedom Group disintegrated.

Attendance of national conferences at Warwick and Stoke acted as a stimulus to overcome our endemic regional isolationist tendencies (We're all right, Jill, so what's the point bothering with conferences, federations and the like?). Last summer (1977) we got together a rather poorly publicised national picnic, and followed that up with a more localised affair. Both were very enjoyable and enabled us to make new contacts, as well as to review our own organisation, or lack of it. As an indirect outcome it was agreed that a possible fault in our informal structure and 'word of mouth' approach, was that people to whom anarchism might be of interest, might not be aware of the existence of a group in the area. Affinity groups in their various forms are notoriously difficult for Authority to

locate and deal with, but unless one happens to know, or know of, one of these elusive anarchists, the same also applies to potential sympathisers. Dissemination of information, and effective response has been poor, due to reliance on more or less chance meetings. Accordingly, whilst retaining a generally informal structure, we now have regular weekly meetings, a mutual financing arrangement, a more efficient secretariat, and are exploring the possibilities of various forms of propaganda. The town group now numbers about thirty, and a reconstituted university group has a nominal membership of about twenty.

This, in a city of 500,000 inhabitants represents 0.00001% of the population, which leaves us a bit of room for expansion in the following decade.

COMMENT

Throughout the past ten years anarchism in Sheffield has always encompassed a variety of viewpoints, ranging from situationism to communism, pacifism to individualism, and all points between. This has engendered much fruitful and valuable discourse, but without serious dissent as yet. We believe that this is partly due to our small numbers (ie. hardly sufficient to form a breakaway group) and partly to the atmosphere of tolerance brought about by close social interaction.

During the same period we have employed several methods of organisation, none of which was either right or wrong. Methods of working together have been selected, consciously or unconsciously, as to which ever was the most appropriate to both the situation appertaining and to the individuals involved. There is no more appalling spectacle than that of a good anarchist group crucified upon the cross of an inappropriately rigid organisational structure.

Individuals, often in cooperation with others of like mind, have pursued such courses and issues as have most suited their inclinations and abilities. These have included: Vietnam, women, education, communes, squatting, claimants unions, anti NF, no nukes. Such diversity of opinion within the anarchist group is one of our most precious attributes. However, the anarchists, as a group, have been largely concerned with the spread of ANARCHISM, rather than its manifestations. This system, patriarchal, authoritative and divisive, provides anarchist archers with a target too large to be easily missed.

All we've got to do is to get people to make their own bows and arrows!!

I'M NOT
GOING TO
BE BORED
ANYMORE.
I'M GOING
TO CHANGE
MY LIFE!



FOR ONCE I SHALL
NOT SIMPLY TAKE WHAT
IS HANDED TO ME.
I'M GOING TO
CREATE FOR MYSELF.



ALL THEY
GIVE IS
WORK AND
LEISURE



I'M SUPPOSED TO
STAY PASSIVE AND
NOT TRY TO FIND
WHAT I AM. I
MUST FIND MY
IDENTITY.

THEN I
SHALL HAVE
A TRUE
LIFE



NOT
SIMPLY
SURVIVE

I MUST THEN
DISMANTLE ALL THAT
STOPS ME ACHIEVING
MY TRUE IDENTITY AS...



THE CREATIVE
BEING THAT
I CAN BE...
I SHALL
CREATE.

INDUSTRIAL WORKERS OF THE WORLD

If anyone is interested in a union that is militant, organized from below and that is controlled by the rank and file, a union where the people in positions of responsibility are fully accountable to those who put them there, then the IWW is the union for you. It is perhaps the oldest union which is truly international, having locals in most of the English-speaking world, and elsewhere such as Scandanavia. Also it is the only union in this country to have facilities for the unemployed and the woman or man engaged in household domestic work. It is organized industrially, that is on wider grounds than craft unions. It doesn't matter what you do in an industry, you organize in that industrial unit, which saves a lot of factional fighting and allows the concerted action of all those involved. Solidarity is much easier to achieve in this form of organization and thus benefits the working person. If you are interested in expanding the IWW membership in Sheffield, then contact Des or Rita at 667029 or via the Sheffield Anarchists.

Before all else I ought to say that governments are repugnant to me. I am firmly convinced that there is not, and cannot be a good government. They are all bad, whether they call themselves absolute monarchies or constitutional republics. Government is tyranny because it curtails the individuals free initiative, and the sole purpose it serves is to uphold a social system which is unsuitable for the true development of human beings. Governments are the guardians of the interests of the rich and educated classes and the destroyers of the sacred rights of the proletariat.

Ricardo Flores Magon

Humanity will only be happy when the last capitalist has been strangled with the guts of the last bureaucrat -- and the last judge with the guts of the last cleric.

Propaganda

Propaganda need not be elaborate and expensive, and in Sheffield we have been experimenting with some of the simpler forms that people may have overlooked.

1) BADGES

Amongst all the badges being produced at the moment, there are very few, if any, anarchist or anarchic ones. A-symbols can be done quite simply; take any old badge and paint over it to give a background ('Humbrol'-type model-kit paints or spray-cans are best) and when dry paint on the A in a different colour, or, if you're not using black for your background colour then black 'Letraset' is quite effective. Some shops sell 1" diameter badges in plain colours (in Sheffield, Andrews behind City Hall sells them at 5p each).

2) STICKERS

These can be produced relatively cheaply by most commercial printers, but a cheap DIY method (also useful for slogans that a commercial printer might not do) is to use plain white gummed labels; these come in a variety of sizes, but 5"x3" are probably about best. Slogans, symbols, etc can then be written on with waterproof marker pens. A selection of slogans is on the next page for anyone stuck for ideas.

3) SPRAYPAINTING

A variation on the normal method that one comrade came up with is the use of a template. Cut your slogan or symbol out of a piece of sturdy card, place the card against a wall or window and then give a quick spray over the card with the paint to leave your message behind. Although the result is smaller, the method is quicker, so that if you're putting graffiti up in well-lit areas, there's less chance of being apprehended by the "guardians of law and order".

What is this thing we call government? Is it anything else but organized violence? The law orders you to do this or not to do that, and if you fail to obey, it will compel you by force ... all government, all law and authority finally rest on force and violence, on punishment or fear of punishment.

Alexander Berkman

SHEFFIELD BLACK CROSS

The Sheffield Black Cross is hoped to be like any other Black Cross group, for the aid of prisoners and anarchist prisoners in particular. The aim is to provide money where it is needed and other support in the form of letters to the prisoners themselves and also letters of protest to the imprisoning authorities. The people we hope to support are:

in Britain, three comrades who are in Wormwood Scrubs at present serving seven years for armed robbery, that is Phil Ruff, Brian Gibbons and Dave Campbell;

in Greece there are a number of anarchists in prison or facing trial because of their beliefs; names can be given on request. They are being held by means of frame-ups, spurious charges, and they also suffer beatings by the police;

in America, there are such people as Emily Harris (and Bill) and also Komboa, a black militant who was tricked into returning to American soil and then suffered beatings and is now in prison.

In addition to the support of these people at the moment, we would like to support any further people who become victims of the prison system as well as other organizations who are involved in the same, such as the Anarchist Black Cross, Hapotec, the Joe Hill Memorial Committee and the IWW General Defense organizations. The Sheffield Black Cross can be contacted at :

Box 1BC, 341 Glossop Road,
Sheffield 10

Phone 667029 or 731780

What is, traditionally, the anarchist flag - black or red & black?

The black flag as a symbol of revolt is said to have originated in Rheims in 1831 ("Work or death") in an unemployed demonstration, but was raised by Louise Michel as an anarchist flag in 1883, which it has been regarded as ever since. The flag of the labour movement (not necessarily only of socialism) is red. The CNT of Spain originated the red-and-black of anarcho-syndicalism (anarchism plus the labour movement).

FREEDOM NOT SLAVERY



BREW YOUR OWN — TOMORROW'S THE REVOLUTION!

(A) ANARCHISTS ARE REVOLTING

TAKE YOUR DESIRES FOR REALITY

(A)NARCHY MEANS FREEDOM

I USED TO DRINK SMIRNOFF UNTIL I
DISCOVERED ANARCHY

BREW YOUR OWN — THE REVOLUTION IS FERMENTING
NOW

AUTHORITY CORRUPTS ITS HOLDER AND DEBASES ITS
VICTIMS

I WANNA BE ANARCHY — IT'S THE ONLY WAY TO BE!

LOOK AROUND, A GHOST SURROUNDS YOU
DON'T WAIT TIL 1984 — JOIN THE ANARCHISTS NOW

(A)NARCHY FOR THE UK!

ANARCHY NOW! (A)

NEITHER CONTROL FROM ABOVE OR BELOW, BUT NO
ABOVE OR BELOW

JUST AS MAN SEEKS JUSTICE IN EQUALITY, SOCIETY SEEKS
ORDER IN ANARCHY

TODAY'S PIGS, TOMORROW'S BACON!

IF YOU THINK PUNK IS GREAT, TRY ANARCHY
ARE YOU AN ANARCHIST?

WATCH OUT! THERE'S AN ANARCHIST ABOUT!

NEVER LEAVE A JOY TODAY FOR A JOY TOMORROW

UNITY IN DIVERSITY (A)

SPAIN 1936 to 1977

SPAIN in 1936 threw up two of the greatest talking points for anarchists - the collaboration of CNT-FAI 'militants' and 'leaders', and the creation of a short-lived but nonetheless practical example of libertarian communism in the collectives.

What lessons can we draw from these two occurrences?

First of all, how could declared anarchists enter government and sell the revolution to the supposed problems of war? Secondly, what does the practical example of the collectives mean even today

Upon the first point all I can say is that the CNT-FAI 'leaders' had become leaders, at least in their own minds. Even in the face of the collectives they could not see that their actions were endangering the revolution that had been declared by the grass-roots level of the CNT.

In the long history of the CNT much had happened to damage its anarchist spirit. The repeated illegalisations and the problems of carrying on in the face of them could only have a deep effect on such an organization. What had been created within the CNT was a political party - elections for posts, the creation of a bureaucracy and the favour shown to certain militants (their adoption as guides, or leading militants) - these are the hallmarks of the beginnings of authority and masters. Stagnating into accepted procedures and the acclaim of a vast following could have only one effect upon those militants; the subconscious, if not worse, feeling of POWER.

As soon as the rebellion of Franco and the falangists had taken place, those leading militants were faced with a gross dilemma: fascism and all its horrors, or 'democracy' and milder horrors. It did not occur to them that the people would decide. They had been too long at the top of the CNT to think in terms of their will. When the leaders of the CNT-FAI were offered posts in the government, they succumbed to the oldest of all tricks; the bribe of surprise. The authoritarian who made this offer knew full well that authority could win by bringing them over to its side. After all, how could these people lead an anti-authoritarian revolution if they were in positions of authority? (How can an anti-authoritarian revolution be led at all?)

If there is blame to be laid at anyones door I must blame the syndicalists and the syndicalist structure of the CNT. This organization was large and structured, it had posts to be filled and a bureaucracy to operate. Here we have a small state inside an organization dedicated to libertarian communism. No wonder it threw up leaders and the defeat, not only of the anti-fascist cause (not entirely its fault), but also of the collectives.

The collectives were the beginnings of a true expression of human potential. They were destroyed as much by their friend the CNT as by their enemies, the authoritarians, both falangist and republican. In them, people truly met each other and lived, instead of existing in the yoke of someone else's profit.

I hope this article will make our comrades of the CNT look and consider their past. I know this is happening to a certain extent, but I fear that it may be up to them to show the rest of us the way once more. To others, please consider all organizations. Do not dismiss them absolutely, but make them creative and unrestrictive. To all comrades - Salud.

Nik Noir



NON-VIOLENT REVOLUTION

SPECIAL BRANCH

According to information given in Parliament, the size of the Special Branch is "1% of the total size of the police force". This would give a theoretical total of 1100 in England and Wales and 80 in Scotland. 550 are said to operate from Scotland Yard, so on a theoretical distribution of the others according to the size of local forces, this would give 9 in Durham, whereas according to the Chief Constable's Annual Report for 1976, there are 14. Either the overall figure is an underestimate, or, possibly, the SB is more concentrated in urban and industrial areas; the evidence suggests the former explanation.

The theoretical figure of 80 in Scotland gave 41 in Strathclyde and 14 in Lothian & Borders, whereas the actual numbers, according to the 'Glasgow Evening Times', is 60 in Strathclyde and 21 in the Lothian & Borders force (both these figures about 50% above the estimate). This suggests that the total number of SB in England and Wales is at least 1600.

For South Yorkshire, the Chief Constable's Reports give no mention of Special Branch; the theoretical number is 17, but the above examples suggest that it is likely to be at least 25-30.

The number of police receiving firearms training is on the increase; the Home Office recommends that 10% of every force has some weapons training - in S.Yorks. this means about 200. There is also in S.Yorkshire a "special group" of 30 (at least, that's the figure they'll admit to) who are trained in tactics as well as arms, and on a much more regular basis.

Quote: "THE SPECIAL BRANCH COLLECTS INFORMATION ON THOSE WHOM I THINK CAUSE PROBLEMS FOR THE STATE."

Interior Minister Merlyn Rees
in Hansard 2.3.78

Are your lads keeping an eye on us
anarchists, Mr. Barrett?

Alain Lucard

WE ARE THE SPG

We are, we are, we are the SPG,
We are, we are, we are the SPG,
We're not human, we're not sane,
We'll beat you to your knees,
We are the SPG.

(SPG - Special Patrol Group)

My vision of non-violent revolution isn't of a mass movement sweeping away the institutions of the status quo, but of people acting in their own situations to take control of their own lives and asserting different values, values which have been systematically suppressed in the growth of a society based on domination, competition and a disregard for life.

Hierarchy - extending from the domination of children by adults and of women by men right to the pinnacles of social power - is not simply a habit from which we can free ourselves by willpower, but a principle of organization built into the basis of our social system. But hierarchical structures do not exist independently of us and simply outside us - they depend on our acquiescence and even our active participation in them, and they are as firmly planted in ways of life and thinking as in the material organization of society.

Nonviolent anarchism therefore poses not only the traditional revolutionary question, "who is in control?", but, recognising that patriarchy binds together technocratic, anti-ecological and imperialist attitudes in every aspect of our lives, adds "how might we live?" - questions about life-style, sexuality, resource-usage, quality.

Attempts at social revolution always run the risk of violence, for no ruling elite will surrender its power of its own accord. Revolutionaries are often asked whether or not it is NECESSARY to use violence in making revolution. For nonviolent anarchists, however - who believe that the means we adopt in trying to make a revolution should embody the crucial aspects of the society we're trying to bring into existence - the question we need to discuss is HOW TO MAKE NONVIOLENT REVOLUTION POSSIBLE.

I believe that nonviolence has to be grounded in a growing culture which combines communitarianism with struggle, imagination with feeling, attention to the details of everyday life with a worldview, and determination with responsibility. That culture is reflected in the potential convergence of anarchism and feminism.

(The above is taken from the pamphlet 'Making nonviolent revolution' by Howard Clark.)

A THOUSAND AND FIRST LOOK AT ANARCHISM

ONE of the views I get of anarchism after this my first short period of real involvement, is the warring state which tends to break out at times. This warring is the result of tension which exists between differing ideologies sometimes developing into open hostilities, but more often remaining the sort of hostility which bars people from radical cooperation. The problem is that one particular approach is expanded into an ideology whereas it should be recognized as either just one approach or the answer to just one question. This is particularly evident in the dichotomy between violent and non-violent or armed and un-armed forms of activity.

In my view neither can win as they stand. The pacifist or unarmed struggle not primarily because it is liberal, but because it can and does devolve into liberal reformism. It does so via the strictures of legality, the form of struggle put forward reinforcing the limits of legality by remaining generally within the limits of this society's legality and also by creating its own legality which appears as a morality. Also, it requires a level of mass movement which I believe it impossible to attain so as to win - literally the entire, or 90%, of the unarmed population. The armed struggle has the problems of relevance and alienation. In a society such as Britain's, where the institutionalised violence is so subtle, and where overt violence is so easily covered by the means of massive statist propaganda, the armed struggle can only alienate if it stands on its own. It does not alienate only where that power of the state does not exist, as in the poorer and less able states, where statist manipulation is blunt and simple.

My statement that neither can win on their own does not mean that both approaches should be abandoned. No-one would be sane if they did not realise that the armed struggle taken up as the defence of the already igniting revolution at the right moment may well have to happen. The rush to arms at the wrong moment would be a catastrophic blow estranging many. Secondly, the refusal of arms would be to dig one's own grave.

The basis of revolutionary practice must be to win while no-one is looking. The method of non-violent action is all too public on a large scale and the armed struggle is public in a frighteningly mystical way. Pacifism has the attack of a moralistic propaganda but its cure is drawn out and precarious. The armed struggle can be clinically accurate and effective in a limited way but can also be frightening and mystifying to those without a true revolutionary consciousness, it can be unconstructive and uncreative. The sense of pacifism must go with us, the anarchist society is one of peace. The liberating aspects of one act of violence is immensely useful, it could so easily free us from the deep conditioning of this society, and its urge to not harm the valued categories of this society. Our victory must begin by creating the community and the communication which have been excluded by this society and which are needed for anarchist relations, before they need to be tested in full and open opposition to the status quo. By this I do not mean an anarchism which does not reach outside of the privacy of the home and friendship. But that anarchism must win in the sense of community and communication before the state declares its inevitable war on a massive scale so as to defeat the budding revolution.

One thing that the RAF has bequeathed to me, if no-one else, is the fact that even though they have engaged in the armed struggle as much for the reason of acquiring the knowledge of how to wage such a struggle, they have not passed on that knowledge. They have shown that opposition is possible but the state has been able to use that to paint a picture of the revolutionary as a technician and so to take the impulse of opposition away from the common people. The RAF has tried to point out the fact that armed opposition is possible for most, but this does not seem to have been gotten across. The simple fact of an opposition to the subtly fascist regime-without-opposition is now apparent, even if they have fallen into the trap of becoming a gaggle of heroic angels. They have succumbed to being glittering objects of the pseudo-revolutionary as much as the lights in a situation of darkness for the committed revolutionary. The basic experience of opposition and armed defence is something which we must also learn and carry on, adding to it all the time, and to those who will take up the struggle after us.

The techniques which will defend the emergent revolution must be available from the outset so as to save as many lives as possible and to hasten the success of that revolution.

Our first steps must be to build an active opposition to the subtle techniques of manipulation which are so abundant in our society. We must begin our revolution in everyday life by negating the everyday life of the status quo. Our tasks should be to begin the awakening from our commodity-ridden spectacular sleep. How should we do this? By forming amongst ourselves outgoing communities which, despite differences, can work, live and communicate together.

We must above all begin by making our working lives and our leisure something different. Our behaviour must change in its very essence. The manner of this change can best be encapsulated by the phrase - we must absorb this life in its entirety, add to that our vision and create out of the two our new society. We begin here and now by subverting the empty of our lives and expanding the full.

One of the largest regions of emptiness in everyday life is that of technology. These are the barren wastes of industrial society. It is the area in life which is crowded with the worship of abstracted science applied to an abstracted society with abstracted goals. Technology is sent as a delivering angel but it tells us simply the whereabouts of further estrangements from a life of quality, delivering us into a life of fragments entirely without meaning and with only the lie of satisfaction.

One thing we should not do is to abandon the entirety of the technological experience. Its failure is in being applied too early in the wrong context or with the wrong values for its application. We should subvert it by bringing it into the arena of passion. Technology must be fully humanised by being placed at the feet of our desires.

As we change our behaviour, for instance in the subversion of technology and in the creation of a new form of community based upon the realisation that we all have desires to be fulfilled, the question I put initially of violence or pacifism becomes redundant. Just as technology pro or anti is seen in the wrong light, the light of this society with its false contexts, false situations and values which are empty of all but falsity, the question of violence pro or anti is false. Both technology and violence shall appear in new forms as we near the fruition of our designs, the difference, I believe, shall be that of passion. Our desires as passionate desires shall have the force of violence and the substance and ingenuity of technology. The whole category of means and ends shall become meaningless as moral polarities fall before passionate communication which knows only itself and simply cannot fit the strictures of moral analysis.

Morality and the analytical feature of means and ends occur as problems only in this society because we feel we have to polarise good and evil. We do this for our own ends as the practice of false security. Consequently, as we find our integral identities, the need for morality shall disappear and with it the entire problem of the armed struggle and non-violent action. The problem as such arises out of the hypocrisy of the state, which pretends a generalised pacifism but in actuality acts as though at permanent war.

I said earlier that the revolution shall succeed by us winning while no-one is looking. By this I mean that victory should not be based upon the classical principle of war, of might overcoming the enemy, be the struggle violent or non-violent. In such a classical form of struggle tension and activity would build until the opposition - authority, the state, the law - capitulates. This has been the form of all previous struggles and their possibilities have always been lost to further authority. The winning revolution might be characterised by an eventual calming of tension as people return to their everyday lives but in new ways. Instead of coming home from the trenches or a sit-in one would be returning from the initial exposition of rebellion to a new society which you are going to build from within. The creative and constructive aspects of the dawn would manifest themselves while the police and the army are still on the streets. The revolutionary militias would only intervene at the point of the authoritarians' frustrations when he or she loses off a round in desperation.

Nik Noir

EVEN CHILDREN NEED
PROTECTING. STAY WITH
ME AND THAT UGLY WORLD
OUT THERE WILL NEVER
REACH YOU.



I
MUST
MYSELF.

IF SHE GOES OUT
NOW. ONE DAY
SHE MIGHT NEVER
RETURN.



I'M SURE
YOU'LL
BE ALRIGHT
I'M NOT
A CHILD.

WHERE DO YOU THINK YOU
ARE GOING



I THOUGHT
I MIGHT GO
OUT AND DO
A FEW THINGS
ON MY OWN.

I MUST
KEEP HER
I NEED
HER

OH, JUST
THE IMAGE
OF A
GIVE YOU THE WORLD

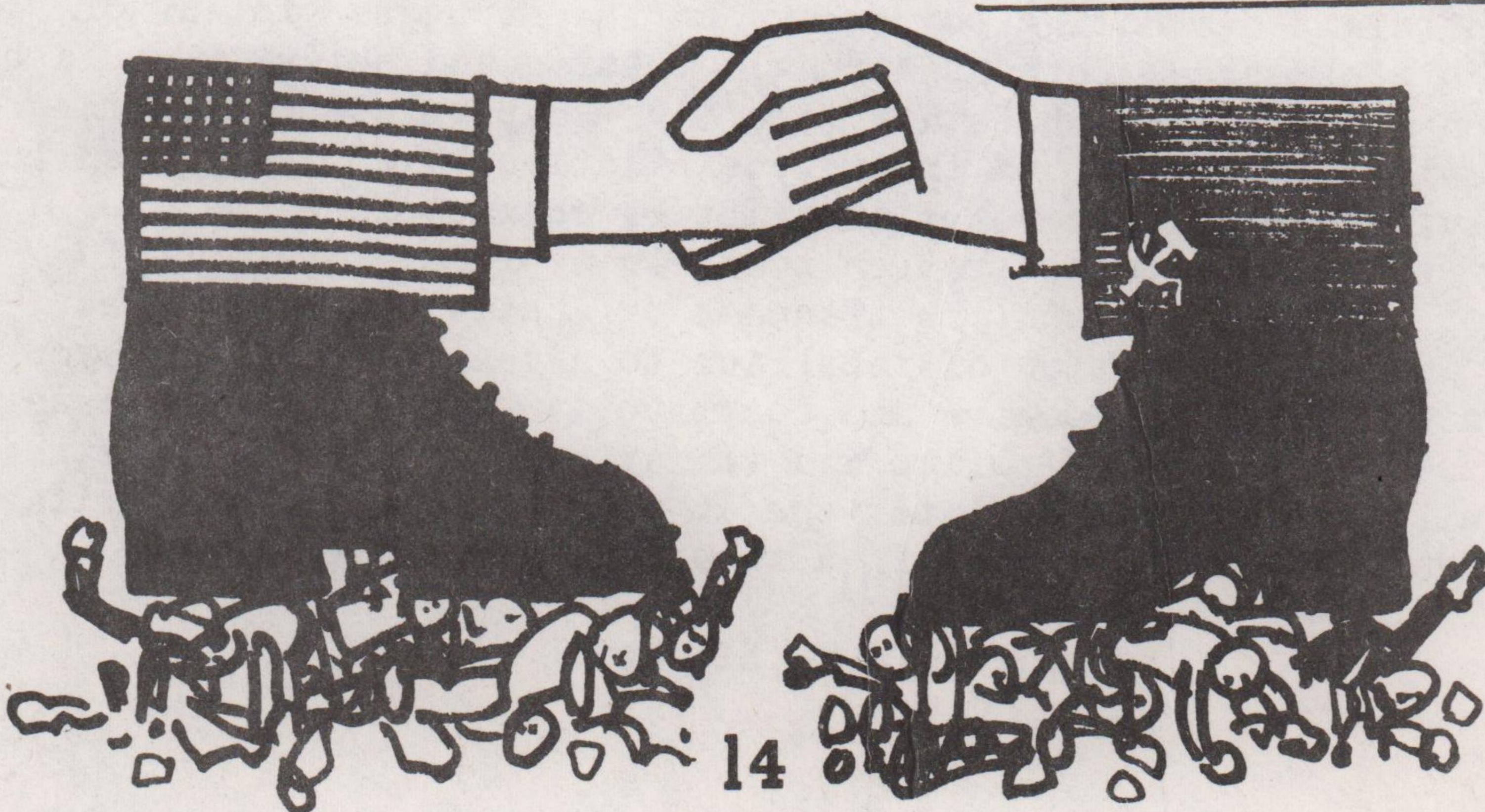


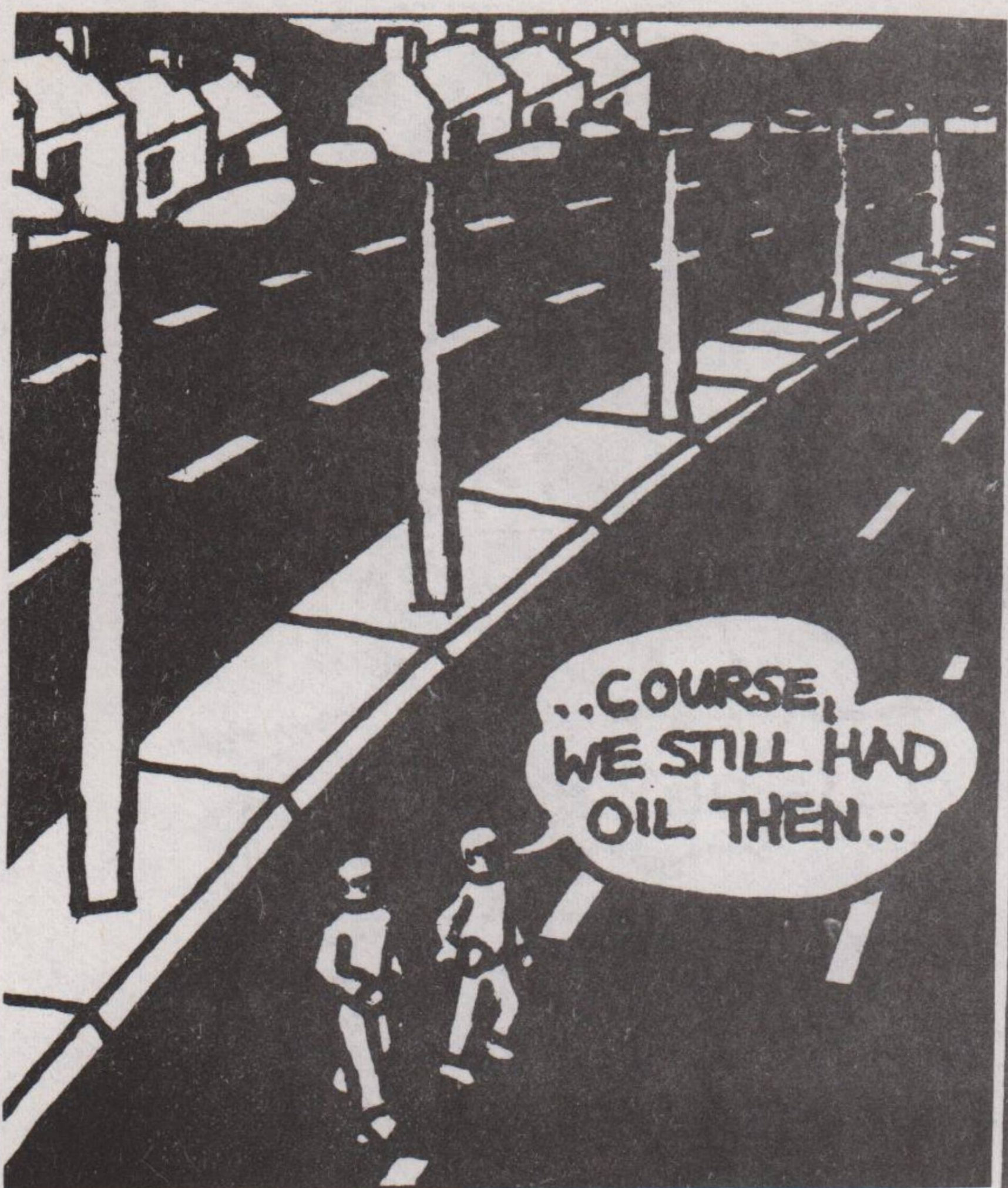
YOU JUST
SEEK TO
MAKE ME
YOUR TO-1

Anarchism has declared war on the pernicious influences which have so far prevented the harmonious blending of individual and social instincts, the individual and society.

Religion, the dominion of the human mind; Property, the dominion of human needs and Government, the dominion of human conduct, represent the stronghold of man's enslavement and all the horrors it entails. Religion! How it dominates man's mind, how it humiliates and degrades his soul. God is everything, man is nothing, says religion. But out of that nothing God has created a kingdom so despotic, so tyrannical, so cruel, so terribly exacting that naught but gloom and taers and blood have ruled the world since gods began. Anarchism rouses man to rebellion against this black monster. Break your mental fetters, says Anarchism to man, for not until you think and judge for yourself will you get rid of the dominion of darkness, the greatest obstacle to all progress.

EMMA GOLDMAN





*I have come to you with greetings,
To tell you that the sun has risen...*

SCENES FROM THE
FIRST INTERNATIONAL,
Nº 1 : —

I STILL
THINK IT'S
FUNNY, EVEN
IF HE HAS
DONE IT THREE
TIMES IN THIS
SPEECH.

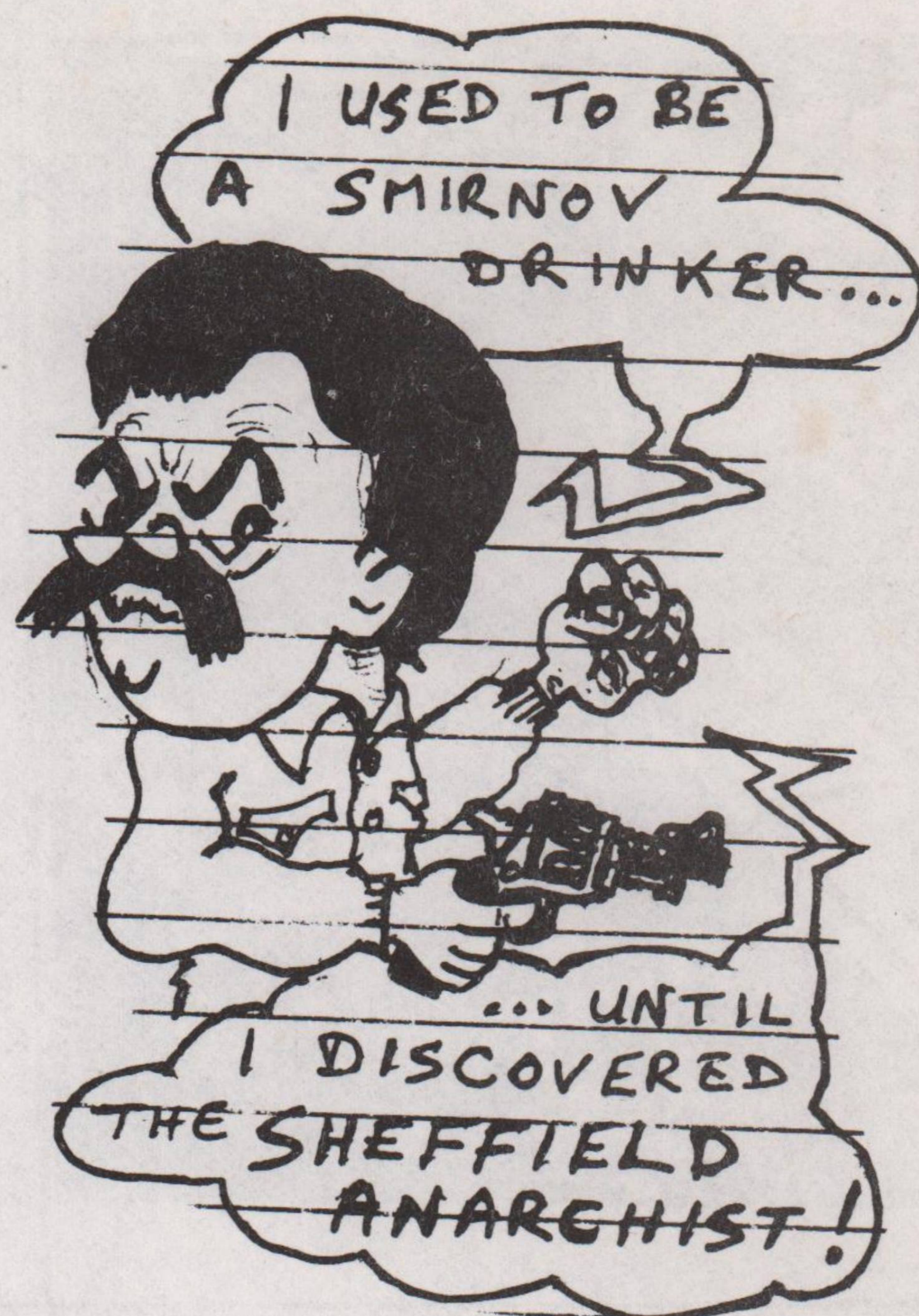
OH GLORY!
BAKUNIN HAS
DROPPED HIS
PANTS AGAIN.



Buenaventura Durutti
Sept. 1936

From the introduction to
'The Traffic in women and other essays'

Murray Bookchin



(Written just before his murder in
Leavenworth Penitentiary, Nov.22,1922)