## publish and be damned

DIAR

Ok, so now we've got a proper demo without any leftists, stewards, leaders, etc, and militant to boot, but it's still on the peace-movement/ecology terrain; it's not explicitly anti-capitalist, even if the anarchists are the most energetic part of this movement.Perhaps it's time to move on to more solidly anarchist demos, either with no objective except to cause discriminate da amage, or with specific, attainable objectives in mind.But if we can't get the numbers, it's best to stick to the type PRACTICAL OBSERVATIONS: 1) The city is the most policed area in the world -people were soon nicked trying to carry way to the City; maybe nsport, get to London the day before.

3)Pigs searched people walking into the City arresting would-be smoke &paint bombers.Use some one straight-looking as a carrier.

4) Those doing most damage were least likely to get nicked.



by the cinema's rash of horror movies in which the audience was meant to identify with the suffering of helpless human beings. Even 'serious' politically committed plays like 'Boys From The Black Stuff' were ultimaltely no more than the contemplation of this breakdown of resistance, this general get away with it, and strongatomization. The Jams 'A Town Called Malice' told us what we already knew, but even this was lost amid the avalanche of bland, massproduced, sub-polit- a leisure centre for youth ical pap which has ruled the music scene in '82. Yet what are we offered as a sop to the poverty of mass culture? Only more of the same with Channel and comming soon, soon, soon! Cable TV and breakfast TV and as much shit as possible to clog any brains still surviving. problems. Nevertheless some brains do survive.

The number of crimes has steadily increased and the number of cases solved has fallen even though the police force has expanded. Juries have been



stick to the STC type of 5)Spot plain-clothes pigs by the demo and the mass-guer bulky radios in their jackets. illa tactics used there. 6)Communication needs to be more precise, rumours avoided where they distract from the purpose of the demonstration."Trafalgar Square 6 o' clock" turned out to be a CND rally, which was useless & diversionary. out actions late at night 7)Don't be a martyr to the cause by 2)Coaches were stopped & getting arrested for no practical people arrested on their reason: you can't do any good in nick. 8)Let's try this somewhere else. better to use public tra- All in all, the first chaotic and agg- RETAILERS WHO ressive demonstrations of mainly white folks it's been my pleasure to WILL THEN GIVE participate in.Next time we need a lot more people & a lot more chaos, plus better communication, self-org- YOU THIS ISSUE anisation, more confidece and fewer arrests.

> SUGGESTED MUSICAL ACCOMPANIMENT TO THIS PAPER : MARK STEWART & THE MAFFIA, THE POP GROUP and, MALCOLM X.

> > repression/economic recession giving the lowest rate of convic tions for years, forcing the deepens. government to accept 10/2 Workers are being forced into a verdicts, and put an end to position of having to take more jury service for those convictdirect action against the state ed of imprisonable offences. because of both the sabotage The judiciary also blocked Whit- actions of the unions and the elaw's plans for easier parole, ruthlessness of government while proposing youth curfews which is seen to be behind even from 6p.m. to 6a.m. The polic- the most mundane bread and buting debate has not been resolv- ter issues.But feeling against ed - and never was meant to be. this or that government must The state will use "community become feeling against governpolicing" where and when it can ment in general. At the moment its mainly kids arm methods where and when it who are practicing this feeling; minor 'disturbances' on the can't.

> > Their answer to the Brixton council estates and in the unrest is to demolish the streets are becoming more and "front line" and turn it into more widespread, they are learning tactics. Perhaps this is best summed up ie what it already was autonomously, but now under state by the following exchange that supervision and control. At the took place in Brixton between same time the local authority a white guy and some young is spending £1000s on Xmas black kids the evening of the decorations - as though 12 foot front-line evictions a few weeks high parrots from Blackpool ago:"What're you doing here?" will magically solve their "I'm here to help fight the police.

It is a truism to say that we are in the lull before the storm: the struggle against authority never ceases. More and more people are coming into direct confrontation with The white guy went off to get the state, as the political

YEARLY SUBSCRIPTIONS ONLY 30P HAND MONEY TO FREE AS YOUR **1ST INSTALMENT** 

"Yeah?How?What've you got?We need petrol, CB radio and walkietalkies." The kids know what they want alright. the petrol.

#### POSTSCRIPT

So you now you know what Xtra! might have been like without the other tyrants. Well i think it started off okay, then got a bit boring halfway through, but we had 6 pages to fill you know.

Anyway it's a good source for some nice photos and collage material perhaps other ex-tyrants will do their own versions one day, that wont be interesting(typists comment). Sorry about the lack of colour and

ty pesetting that would have added an extra £60 or so to the cost.

It was put together by two people in London over the Easter weekend. As for contents, there are some discrepancies in facts and political arguments, but i couldn't be bothered to iron them out, SO THERE.

The analysis about Xtra! is one theory amongst many- mainly it was done cos it was a good laugh (sure buster).

In spite of what's been written i still think the most positive features of the Anarchist movement are to be found in the Punks, Vegans or not, and the growing level of combat generally- including indivduals in Class War or whatevero

Best paper is crowbar (S. London squatting etc) but then im a Londoner. If you think the articles are to boring and interlectual (yeh, what yer prat? typists note)

I've read too many books, but that's my hang up.

I write to secure my ide as a place inthis world. (another typists note...oo ooooooh my grief, this papers got everything, lots of corny quotesetc).



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# SFRM

Xtra! was discontinued and we included provocbecause it was felt that ative articles in order it had served its purpo- to evoke a response and se.Although the structu- stimulate people to the reless tyranny was aware actions proposed in the that Xtral wasn't as go- articles.We identified od as it could have been rioting as the main futwe were also aware that ure form of resistance, for many it was far and and encouraged it as away the best (anarchist) anti-hierarchical, againpaper.

The trouble was that we leftist manipulators. were in danger of prod- From 'Pigs routed ucing it for its own sake, because we knew it the way to 'Bombs Not would sell, even if the Jobs' we followed thrcontent was only average. ough this line of thin-In such a case it would king, as did so many have become too regular, others in practice, cultoo repetitious and exp- minating in that summer ected a part of the ana- of a thousand Julys, 1981 rchist press: people ei- But all that was a long ther waiting for it to time ago and anarchists appear to liven up their seem to have gone one own lives or confirm an step forwards, two steps opinion that no-one had sideways.Looking at the anything left to say. The best way to stop this degeneration was to pretty loud, anyway, this discontinue Xtra! and hope that having given an impetus to armchair terrorists, some would take up the challenge to start something fresh and exciting.

Our 'line', in so far as we had one, was grounded much more firmly in daily life than yer ordinary run-o-the mill anarchist paper; it was to do with our actions as individuals and as a group -from fare-dodging and squatting to political interventions and rioting, and our ideas about such actions.We wanted to avoid both the idealised Kropotkinesque anarchism of one section of the movement and the pro-violent posturing which applauded terrorism at the other end of the spectrum.

In general it was felt that although in England mass-passivity and fake opposition was the apparent order of the day, there was a strong current of individual, clandestine, sometimes collective resistence to the state that was practiced but hardly ever seen as the possible kernel of a far wider, more general refusal.Such resistance was practiced on the level of daily life, it was part of life, but not often conscious of itself as resistance whose logic demanded the overthrow of this society. Our strategy called for a more real, physical contestation with the state

10 All

st both the state and Bristol district shows state of things today, somebody's got to shout special issue is a sort of mediated scream. EDDIE TORYAL.

JAC BELEVICE





Freedom is simply archaic.Just because some bearded old gent started it up in 1886 there's no reason to keep it going for the sake of a telegram from some royal ponce. The reorganisation in the format of the paper only showed up the absolutely poverty-stricken nature of the content.Freedom Press is still controlled by Vero Richards, whose fief it's been since the late 40s. What a load of shit is published, like reprinted Freedom editorials from the 50s in book form: talk about a practical acknowledgement of ideological backwardness.

### THE DEAD GENERATIONS

'unity'.

an

Nobody can be more aware of the sorry state of the anarchist press than anarchists themselves -many of whom are now ceasing to call themselves anarchists, mainly because so much of the @press has nothing new to say, except where it contains simple information - which puts it on a par with the Guardian or Soldier Of Fortune or any other rag.



#### THE TRADITION OF ALL

At the other end of the spectrum we've got the Black Flaggers in alliance with Anarchy collective: class struggle, ed comrade.A more recent archaism, proponents of a theory that dissolved in practice in May 1937 whe when the CNT bureaucrats allied themselves with the state and against workers in the name of

Stuart Christie is the big boy on this side, flanked by Albert Meltzer (an even bigger boy) and Ronan Bennett. the link with the past (Albert is imprisoned imprisoned again there soon).Strangely, this

clique managed to take to convince comrades to over Anarchy, so now it's read Guy Aldred's unfina case of "no sex please ished ished inillion word auto we're class struggle an- biography covering the archists"- just when I was becoming conscious of masturbation as a rev them to part with £150 olutionary technique; too for his complete works bad I'll just have to go on microfilm, to ruin eyeback to my old copies of sight, brain and bank-Xtra!Their own fantasies balance.Be vigilant, are lived out in the in- comrades! fantile fascination with state or statist terrorists(too much potty-training when young I susp- Solidarity are probably

#### WEIGHS LIKE

Stuart was also responsible for Cienfue- to a riot.Wise up, mugs. gos(who?)Press - a self- As for Outta Control, managed conspiracy to bankrupt the international anarchist movement better @paper, mainly beboth financially and th- cause the others are so eoretically.Okay, so the bad, but also because Anarchist Review was a nice product, but so much thly is clean, safe and of that other guff - why cheap. bother? Albert, you can't Insurrection is now on write.Stuart you just can't distinguish quali- ter only by virtue of ty from quantity. The One-Two-Oners from Railton Rd who provided their rank and file are ate, preparing the ground international terrorism, now in charge of waving for a re-run of the 1874 Spain is where it happen the Black Flag on uncer- fiasco in Bologna in the emonious occassions; the Britain of 1984. Have you Quarterly's a sort of downmarket CP@Review, while the other scrap of yet, Alfredo? paper resembles a terrorists' court circular.

#### A NIGHTMARE

Meanwhile, fools have rushed in where others have already trod and disappeared without trace.Direct Action has This trio provide Black Aims and Principles but Flag and Anarchy with th very little movement; the link with Spain (Stu- Workers'Playtime is more ises my paper/group, but art was imprisoned there) readable, but limited, like a good school text there) and the link with the ridiculous, Black terrorism (Ronan will be Star must be a Maoist plot to wreck the anarchist movement. They hope way ....

years 1902-10, so boring them to death, and get

#### ON THE BRAIN

still the only naive fools left in the world who'll publish rubbish by the decaying Castoriadis, or take leaflets some people(not anarchists) think this is the this over-the water mon-

its second attempt, betbeing shorter.Bonnano plays Bakunin and Jean Weir his English delegbought the priest's outfit and basket of eggs

#### OF THE LIVING

Lastly, there's that fucking new rubbish -Logo! It's so negative, silly really just slagging people off, I mean I know it's time these things were said, I even agree with a lot of it except where it criticit's no use dividing the movement, after all we're book.From the sublime to all anarchists, well okay alot of them are wankers really and yeah actually I hate them, if I had my

#### SEPARATION COMPLETED

Remember the interminable debates in the Anarchist movement of yesteryear between the pro-violence and anti-violence theorists, partially reflected in the rivalry between Black Flag and Freedom ?

Well today these divisions are being reenacted on a more down-to-earth level, mainly through the clash between the Class War mob and the Anarcho-peace fraction. The first time it was a theoretical tragedy, now its a practical farce.

#### COMMODITY AS SPECTACLE

Class-War drew some of their provocative style from Xtra! as class way of life as expressed acknowledged by Fuck Off, a pre- in The Sun, Daily Tit etc. cusor of CW along with"The Scorcher"; there are similarities of content to Xtra! Where it is for more violent confrontation with the state, against leftism and pacifism etc.

In fact some CW people see themselves as following in the geezer stand up and moan to tradition of Xtra! but elimin- other working-class revolutionating the elements that to them aries about how 'the' workingsmacked of middle-class tossing class are only interested in off: the humour, lack of coher- beer, football, telly, work, The ence, anti-nationalism and int- Sun etc so we have to keep our ellectualism (believe it or not).

Instead they have slimmed down the quantity and quality of an- presence and that of half the archist ideas to a rigorous 'lowest-common-denominator' the point where the simplicity hence the need for Class War: of content almost hurts, work- not simply condescending, but erist' in the sense that they tending rapidly to a vanguardactually believe bourgeois pre- ist line. judices about workers, pro-nat- CW were attracted to'Red Action' ionalist thereby falling in step behind the arguments of the left, and humorous only in the banality of its pronounce- were still bloody leftists, no ment that "Our lives will only matter how militant; instead of be better when all the rich are criticising them, however, they dead."

Class War is not only hung-up on the image of the traditional Basically, fuckheads, revolution ruling-class style of life

their immediate practical aim) they're also hung-up on the traditional image of the working-

#### THE PROLETARIAT AS SUBJECT AND AS REPRESENTATION

I've seen a working-class CW politics on this level in order to relate to them.He didn't seem to realise that his own

(ex-SWP faction) because they too espoused violence, but only slowly did some suss that they are just called "wankers" and that's that.

is about abolishing the working (with 'bash the bastards' as class along with all the other violent? They've manufactured







audienc gave the lie to what he stinking, lousy rotten classes, n't organise themselves to be was saying. To maintain this pos as well as all the bloody stup- at the head of the march, who (or so they think) theory which position still could only be to id roles we get imprisoned in, were at the back of the anarchis 'working-class anarchism' at declare that he had 'higher co- okay? It's not what the major ist crowd when the cops charged are, that's important it's what bottles and cans, this was done they can and must become.

#### UNITY AND DIVISION WITHIN APPEARANCE

Recently, a lot of anarcho-pacifist types have been ripping up copies of Class War and throwing them in the gutter, disgusted at the advocacy of violence.But is CW really so

this 'violent' label and now not only do they believe it themselves, but other 'nonviolent' groups believe it as well, so both sides can point the finger and accuse the other The animal lover pacifist orgot betraying anarchism or what- anisers needed scapegoats to ever.

#### TIME AND HISTORY

Practice has revealed the essential falsity of these posit ions. It was 'pacifist' oriented punks who took the head of the march at the last CND demo, who prevented arrests by stopping the march, who struggled with police in front of the stage, while the CW contingent allowed their comrades to be arrested without resisting, who did-

its worst: anti-intellectual to nsciousness' than other workers ity of people are, or think they It wasn't "Class War" who threw mainly by people who'd joined the anarchists for a laugh and didn't care who they hit. At the Biorex demo in Islington it wasn't CW who were resposible for the violence, it was provoked by the cops who started pushing people about and got serios when an animal libber hit back - certain CW comrades happened to be in the right place at the right time. If they were 'taking some action with ALF' it was only to be sitting in the road in a tactically impossible position, normally what CW condemns.

#### SPECTACULAR TIME

prove that their ideology was still intact - hence they blamed CW for the violence.CW of course have to accept this blame and valorize it in order to live up to their own image of violent confrontation. It's stupid for CW to reprint selected media stories because they sound good even if they're mainly lies, and to revel in a role that isn't really true.

CONTINUED ON PAGE 5



This summer was the real antithesis of the summer of 81. The British state anwsered'81's festival of the oppresed with their own, cleverly stage managed, spec tacle of slaughter The Falklands War.

In the UK this was essentially a war of ideas, fought not just to bolster-up the idealogical foundations of the British state but also to keep people attached to idealogies as such-hence the necessary function of the left (either for the war in the guise of anti-fascism or againgst in the guise of "anti-imperialism") Onthis terrain the state cannot lose: it can only suffer defeat on ground chosen by the real movement of opposition, which the riots were a manifestation. The right and left are simply different sides of the same authoritarian coin - whichever you choose, the state always ends up victorious.

The police strategy of 'contain, al strategy. Everywhere people are being led towards, or forced into, defeat, atomization, a psychology of individual helplessness.

There has been little in the way of a collective antihierarchical fight back against the reality of mass unemployment for getting off work, e.g. medspreading poverty, falling wages (in real terms), housing shortage for your G.P. to get a medical increased transport fares, and certificate etc. huge nationwide arrears in rent rates and fuel bills. The number of strikes is the lowest since WW2, let alone the fact that demands for wage-rises are bad enough at 12%, farcical at 33%, and maybe a mockery of the 'right to work'. Squatting has been continually replaced by the self-policed, self-managed capitalism of the housing co-ops; the DHSS are paying rents direct to landlords

Snoopers are prying everywhere; Dole is taxed, disconnections of gas and electricity and evictions, are mounting steadily. Yet againgst this background,

the government was faced with in the Health Workers struggle. It is precisely because they are



dilemma has escaped no-one-a As all this dead weight of the general solidarity strike of the past tried to drag itself forwrest of organised labour. The ard into the present, people strength of feeling for the turned to the media out of bor-Health Workers forced the Union edom, and found nothing more ear Structureless Tyrants, leaders to hurriedly take charge than a fantastic parade of the This of the struggle in order to der- most traditional ideologies. was written a good few weeks derail it. Hence the useless 'DayNaturally enough this was coupago now, and Ihaven't bothered of Action' and 'regional day of led with the most blatant goveto revise it. See what you think action' and other such organised rnment censorship seen for years. it could be expanded, edited or defeats, all designed to slowly While the BBC/ITV news were rethrown away altogether. exhaust and demoralise people, duced to showing us Argentine Articles I think should be in where there was originally both TV pictures, all programmes even the next Xtra! - or worked on - the basis and the will for real remotely connected with anti-war a)guerillas in Britain (not confrontation with government. feeling were "rescheduled". reland) -this means anarchs, The left played it's normal The police meanwhile supressed nationalists & animal-lovers. role in this - recuperating the all reports on riots - only car o)practical hints - 'Youth Opp- disaffected elements, by organ- eful listening to traffic reportunities'no.2,e.g. diguise, ising lobbies calling on lead- orts could sometimes suggest how to make paint/smoke bombs. ers to become more militant i.e. their location. c)lessons from Poland - the still asking others to act for What we did get however was centralised state in action: them.When this failed some pin- information on riots in Poland: problems of food, heating, lightned their hopes on Scargill - the spectacle of revolt somewhere ing, communication etc,& the the emancipation of the working else, anywhere else but here! need for autonomous, self-suffclass shall be the act of the Again, a normal and necessary icient defence. miners alone? Not even the min- state tactic, coupled with the ers were that dumb or heroic, anti-communist message. they said no to his suicide This was followed up with the spectacle of slaughter - the grusome Beirut massacre, not been decomposing as fast as the just a warning of what to expect out by unions) somebody set fir rest of the left: the Right won from the party of order, but fire to a part of the factory | a majority on the executive.Mil- also designed to reinforce a feeling of individual helplessness. This sort of psychology

One area worth stressing is spontaneous, autonomous action isolate, disperse' with regard to by people at work, e.g. I heard strike. riots is of course also a gener- that at Longbridge, after a min- Meanwhile the Labour Party had or strike was defeated (sold (related to the dispute) neces- itant was to be investigated, sitating the arrival of 26 fire Benn changed his tune, and the engines! Party adopted a CND wet-dream was particularly bolstered up Also worth publishing would be as part of its manifesto- what a whole list of useful excuses a mess.

ical symptoms that you fake

Oh yeah, what about riots in schools, that seems to be something new - is it? Pirate TV might be a useful

filler.

don't know why I'm telling you all this, after all I'm gonna have to do it aren't I. Love,

Me xxxx



a weak sector (in that they risk losing public support if they go on all-out strike, and can only a potentially very serious threat put moral pressure on the govern -ment)that they have become important. The solution to their



(CONTINUED ON BACK PAGE)





1981 opened up the possibilities of riotous kids linking up with industri rial workers: in Toxteth this almost happened when the early shifts turned up for work, but the cops successfully kept the two groups apart. Yet it was very close to Liverpool that such a link did occur, albeit very briefly and confusedly, at Warrington, 1983. Print workers were joined by local workers and kids, and proffessional leftists in an all-night battle against the police. Barricades were built and set on fire, police landrovers wrecked, cops pelted with stones and bottles, and when the riot police (500 strong) dispersed the crowds the fi fighting simply spilled over into other areas. Of course this was a pitched battle in a tiny area and the police brought massive force to bear, but it showed that Divisions within the the possibilities of 1981 mineworkers, for or again- try take up the tactics ities join in against th ggle in ours; this doesn't are slowly becoming real- st the strike, have meant of workers from another. their common enemies. ities.

The miners are now engag- had to resort to increas- ponse to the strikers, and local school kids are ed in a vast struggle wi ingly militant tactics, the sight of cops march- encouraging signs (the with the police state; the fact that they're having to use cops from Devon and Cornwall to contain this strike shows miners blockage of some harassment of miners on how paranoid and over-st motorways in Notts. was the roads could result streched the state is.



which have already brok- ing military fashion en the law but threaten (though unlikely to be the union mediators. The orm) plus the general

how workers in one coun- workers and whole commun- to recognise their struthat the strikers have The police's brutal ers- The sympathy strikes of to get out of control of soldiers in police unifan excellent example of in an explosion if other

#### NEGATION AND CONSUMPTION WITHIN CULTURE

Pacifism is still a dominant ideology among oppositional groups, not least among anarchists, and in fact much of the criticisism of Class War has been in the name of 'non-violence, 'opposing one false choice The most positive features of with another.

There seems to be a hard-core pacifist groups are their anger of anarchists who are pacifist militancy and direct action animal-lib, ecologist, vegetarian this is why anarchists have or vegan, many of whom have an been attracted to them and why sonal religion which attacks on extended everywhere, outside of the level "do you eat meat? - these partial struggles and then you're starving the Third onto new terrain; at the same then you're part of the state." their methods to only certain From the particular to the hyp- issues must be overcome. But what about the exploitation ationists have suggested ways of tea-workers, rice and lentil forward in the fight against growers in the 3rd World, and in the state, but by remaining the carton and canning factories hidebound by ideological partto alienation and forced labour where it must become generalised.

in the production of 'peaceful' products; what about those animal lovers who love animals because they can't love human beings, who have power over their pets in copensation for not hav ing control over their own lives. cho-pacifists and others simply dare I say it, class perspective

#### THE ORGANISATION OF TERRITORY

the animal-lib/hunt-sab and attitude of militant moralism. they have moved closer to anar-A sort of holier-than-thou per- chism.But their methods must be World; Would you ever kill? - time the ideologies which limit othetical, the answer is always In their practice, many feminismeant to make you feel guilty. ts, ecologists, and animal liberof the First; what does 'peace' ial truths they have also arrmean if it's just resignation ested the struggle at the point

teachers called out the cops to force them back) as are the forms of community self-help now being evolved in some miners towns. As for the perspective

of a general strike it's worth moting that the ruling-class want it in order to re-run 1926 and smash workers organisation on a large scale; leftists want it to put themselves into positions of power - but they'll lead it to defeat.After all, what use is a general strike if it remains just that?What's needed is the beginnings of self-management at work and solid arity with all those who can't strike but who're part of the community unemployed, pensioners, kids, housewives etc. The perspective of a general stike is a defeatist perspective unless it is immediately superseded. It's up to us to join in with people battling agaist the system because we recognise our own struggle in theirs, and we must encourage them mean being morally superior, demanding that they first give up meat or believe in 'peace' etc, yet it also means not subordinating ourselves, compomising our desires to struggles which remain partial.Revolutionary solidarity not new-fashioned morality.

#### IDEOLOGY MATERIALISED

When 'direct action' can mean new religions. the concepts of 'direct action', divided, we all remain defeated.

anarchism, and all the other ism - which have become just the latest versions of an ideology of sacrifice, in other words,

that, at Upper Heyford, 200 anar- Without any anti-capitalist, and sit in a road until they're and at least a dash of commonslung in the back of police vans sense, these ways of thinking by a few cops, without any resis- and behaving will never link up tance, then there's obviously with people engaged in other something seriously wrong with struggles. And if we all remain

