



*"Let us bring back Victorian values — free enterprise, individualism — and give our people the right to work without fear of intimidation!"*

Yours for at least another 10 years,  
Love, Margaret Thatcher, P.M./M.P.

# BLACK FLAG QUARTERLY

Vol VII No.7

Autumn 1984

75p.

**DIRECT ACTION INTENSIFIES**

**Journal of Anarchist Ideas  
News and Comment**

Black Flag/Black Cross, BM Hurricane,  
London WC1 3XX.  
Published, typeset and layout by  
Black Flag Collective.  
Printed by Aldgate Press, 84b White-  
chapel High Street, London E1.

Distribution by A Distribution, 84b  
Whitechapel High Street, London E1.  
Discounts 1/3 to Bookshops and  
Bulk orders.

### STATE OF PLAY

Balance sheet to August 31 1984

Black Flag quarterly and fortnightly  
Printing (paid up to date) 1759.00  
Stationery (envelopes and  
photocopying) 50.34  
Postage 470.28  
----- 2279.62

Sales and subs 1898.27  
Donations\* 496.76  
-----  
2395.03  
2279.62  
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We actually finished up in the period  
April 1984-Aug 1984 £115.46 in the black.

Overall deficit on whole

83-84 c/fwd	1146.36
Less	115.46

New deficit on 83-84  
period 1630.95

Having turned out so many issues in  
our fortnightly series as well as embark-  
ing on the expensive quarterly, it is a  
pleasant surprise to realise that so far  
from increasing our massive imbalance  
incurred during 1983/84, we have  
dented it. What can we say but keep  
up the good work? Usual nil contribut-  
ion from Moscow, World Council of  
Churches, CIA and GLC Working  
for London grant. . . usual nil pay-  
ment for salaries.

\*Donations Derbyshire MC £5; Devon  
£10 Minn, US DO £19.71 Briston A's  
£40; KP .75; LP £10; Leics PM £11;  
Lanc CP £1; SW London JG £80;  
N. London LF £6; Shipley TG £3.50;  
Cambs PN £17.50; London PP £5;  
M & P £40; AM £100; TH £100; LP  
£1, GH £15; FAU comrade £1.30;  
Canada PD £30; TOTAL £496.76

**MUTUAL AID/SOLIDARITY**  
Carried forward £23.18; Guam  
SS £37.01; Cambridge A's £6; London  
PR £1.06; Total in Hand £67.25. (Also  
still in hand £10 for Vancouver prison-  
ers — any more donations before we  
send? — and £45 for CNT Prisoners).  
Very quiet on this front no doubt  
because of the large donations from  
every quarter going direct to miners'  
families. Don't forget that for Spanish  
veterans we intend to make an annual  
end-of-year-habit of sending off  
remittances (see last issue).

FRONT PAGE. Top: Scab Coach company, Thompson  
Tours of Trentham, attacked by saboteurs,  
causing £150,000 worth of damage.  
Bottom: Burnt out cars (and supermarket  
trolleys) used by pickets as a barricade at  
Silverwood Colliery.

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### NEW SUBSCRIPTION RATES

Combined Subscription:  
Quarterly Magazine & fortnightly  
News Bulletin:

12 months: £12 Inland & Surface,  
£19 Air.

6 months: £6.50 Inland & Surface,  
£10 Air.

We have had to increase the subs  
(the first time for 2½ years) because  
of increase in postage costs and the  
cover price. Current subscribers  
whose sub has not yet run out will  
get their copies of *Black Flag* sent  
as usual, without having to send on  
the extra money.

### ANARCHO- QUIZ

1. What was the nationality at birth  
of Francois Villon and Napoleon  
Bonaparte?
2. Of what impossible crime was  
Anarchist 'Chicago Martyr' Albert  
Parsons accused of, long before  
the Haymarket Trial, and how did  
Lucy Parsons cover up for him?
3. What atrocity, alleged by Con-  
servatives to have been committed  
by the Bolsheviks in Russia, and  
later by the Anarchists in Spain,  
is now a regular feature of British  
life?
4. The Uscoques were a sort of  
Italian co-operative trust in the  
16th century, blessed by the Church  
Church, in which the public of  
Segna took shares and were paid  
dividends. It was esteemed a public

The 6 monthly rate hopefully will  
encourage more readers to subscribe  
and so help us pay our bills.

Prisoners, upon request receive  
*Black Flag* free. We exchange with  
other Anarchist movement papers.

Donations are always gratefully  
accepted, and don't forget the Black  
Cross too!



and religious enterprise — but what  
was its business?

5. In which countries could  
animals once be tried by a judge  
and condemned to death; and in  
which country can they still be  
legally sentenced to prison?
6. All Cunard liners had names  
ending in '...ia' (Berengaria, Lusitania  
etc) — why did they suddenly  
change their policy and call the  
Queen Mary by that name?

Answers on page

NOTE: — A misprint in our last  
issue Quiz had Paderewski dying  
in his native Poland — it was in  
fact Portugal. Poland was under  
Nazi occupation.

Answers on page 39

# EDITORIAL: the case against Anarchism

It is rare that an Anarchist paper's editorial  
is a criticism of Anarchism from a Marxist  
journal, *Socialist Worker*. That the organ of  
the SWP feels it necessary to publish 'The  
Case Against Anarchism' may be regarded as  
an acknowledgement of a growing interest  
in Anarchism and it obviously has to make  
unfavourable reference. But before accepting  
the tributes to our magnanimity and object-  
ivity, let us say we regard the article as fair  
— something rare indeed in Marxist circles,  
however 'humanist Marxist'.

MARXISM has always had to compete  
with rival theories in its struggle for  
influence over the working class and  
oppressed. Its main rivals, apart from  
straightforward capitalist ideology,  
have been social democratic reform-  
ism (discussed last week) and Stalin-  
ism (dealt with a few weeks ago),  
but there has usually been an alter-  
native standing, apparently, to the left  
of Marxism, namely anarchism.

Anarchism clearly is not an important  
political force in Britain today, but at  
various times in the history of the revolu-  
tionary movement (most notably in the  
Spanish Civil War) it has exercised some  
considerable influence. Even now it has  
definite attractions for the young and  
rebellious.

### ABSURD

Consequently it is quite likely that at  
some point Socialist Worker readers will  
come up against some anarchist arguments.  
What then are the main differences between  
Marxism and anarchism and what is the  
Marxist case against it?

First let us be clear that Marxists cannot  
afford simply to scorn anarchism in the  
way capitalist 'common sense' does. This is  
because the ultimate goal of anarchism —  
a society of real freedom and equality in  
which there is no longer a state or any  
form of oppression of people by people —  
is one that Marxists share.

Supporters of the present order dismiss  
such an aim as absurd. Marxists do not. Our  
disagreements with anarchism are not over  
the ultimate aim but over how to achieve  
it, that is, how society is to be changed.

The starting point of this disagreement  
is a different view of the root cause of  
exploitation and oppression. To the anar-  
chist the root cause is power. Power, in and  
of itself, power in all its forms — state  
power, the power of political parties and  
unions and every other kind of authority  
and leadership. Anarchists believe that it  
is the existence of this power and authority  
which creates class divisions and all other  
kinds of inequality and oppression.

Their 'strategy' therefore is to denounce  
and renounce, on principle, all manifesta-  
tions of power and authority, and above  
all every kind of state power. To these they  
counterpose the absolute freedom of the  
individual and the purely spontaneous re-  
bellion of the masses.

Anarchism is thus essentially a moral  
stance. It lacks any historical analysis of  
how the things it opposes came about or  
of why it should be possible to get rid of  
them now, rather than any time in the  
past. It simply condemns 'evil' and fights for  
'good'.

In contrast Marxism does not regard  
the state (or 'power' in general) as the  
fundamental problem. Rather it explains  
the emergence of the state as the product  
of the division of society into antagonistic  
classes. This in turn is explained as the  
consequence of a certain stage in the devel-  
opment of the forces of production.

The central task therefore is the abolition  
of class divisions. This can be achieved  
only through the victory of the working  
class over the capitalist class. For this the  
working class requires organisation and  
leadership (trade unions, the revolutionary  
party etc), and the use of power — from

the mass picket up to and including the  
creation of its own workers' state to combat  
counter-revolution.

It is this last point which arouses the  
particular ire of the anarchists who echo the  
bourgeois arguments that revolutionary  
power leads inevitably to tyranny (that  
Leninism leads inevitably to Stalinism etc).  
However, anarchism has failed to come up  
with any serious alternative way of resist-  
ance of the capitalists and their efforts to  
restore the old order.

So far we have been discussing 'pure'  
anarchism which has its social basis in the  
radical petty bourgeoisie which feels alien-  
ated from both the power of big capital and  
the power of the working class.

### MERGE

In so far as anarchism has attempted to  
gain a base in the working class, it has had  
to abandon some of its individualist princi-  
ples and accept the need for collective  
organisation. Thus it has tended to merge  
with syndicalism, ie revolutionary trade  
unionism which rejects participation in  
'bourgeois' politics and the role of the  
revolutionary party.

It is as anarcho-syndicalism that anar-  
chism has come closest to Marxism, and in  
the wake of the Russian Revolution many  
anarcho-syndicalists were drawn to the  
Communist International. Nevertheless, its  
lack of theory, its absenteeism from politics  
which leaves the field to the reformists,  
and its failure to think through the realities  
of workers' power, continue to make anar-  
chism even in its syndicalist form inadequate  
for the working class.

Thus in general anarchism remains a  
negative and marginal doctrine. It condemns  
capitalism, condemns the reformists, and  
condemns the Marxists.

From *Socialist Worker*, August, 1984.

The first disagreement only comes when  
it says that Anarchism 'lacks any historical  
analysis' (we are usually accused of too much).  
Every theory has its own particular historical  
analysis, even fascism, but what they mean  
is that the Marxist historical analysis above is  
infallible (and divine). Marx held that social-  
ism is inevitably destined by history and he  
compared his economic theory of the evolu-  
tion of socialism with Darwin's theory of the  
development of biological species. (In effect,  
he rejects revolution as orthodox Darwinism  
rejects catastrophism).

The Marxists of today take Marx's analysis  
as an accepted truth, as the Christian accepts  
that Jesus died to save the world. Regardless  
of the truth or otherwise of the Christian or  
the Marxist claims, the dogmas are patently  
false: socialism isn't inevitable and the world  
isn't saved. Everyone knows those simple  
facts but expressed as dogma they are accept-  
ed as truths.

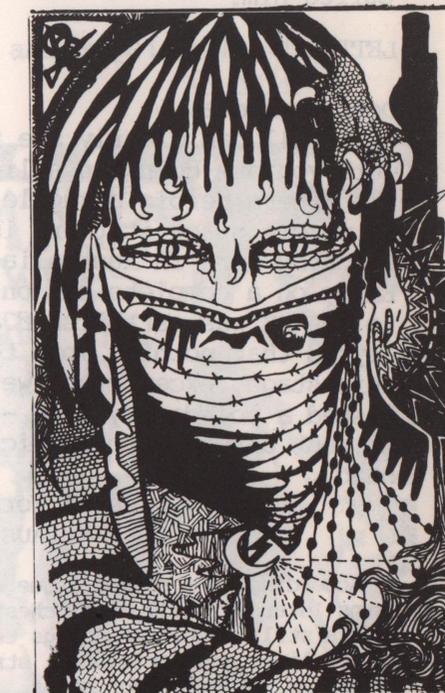
Despite her/his refreshingly fair analysis,  
the writer falls for the Marxist con-trick on  
anarchism. Words change their meaning and  
in Marx's day the term 'petty bourgeois'  
meant the self-employed worker, the book-  
binder, printer, mechanic, blacksmith, cook,  
cartwright, carpenter, dressmaker — as distinct  
from the real 'Bourgeois', the employer and  
merchant. The peasants worked on the fields  
and the 'proletariat' slaved in the factories  
for up to 18 hours a day. They couldn't  
it was presumed by Marx, have time to  
*think* for themselves, but as they accepted  
factory discipline and could — led by a  
'thinking' and educated class — accept party  
discipline and take over power. The self-  
employed, forced into the factories by  
capitalist concentration, were frustrated,  
independent, and undisciplined; they would

turn to individual violence or undisciplined  
unionism (either of the type seen in the  
miners' strike today! — through  
capitalist concentration, were frustrated,  
independent, and undisciplined; they would  
turn to individual violence or undisciplined  
unionism (either of the type seen in the  
miners' strike today! — though not self-  
employed, they have got used to more leisure,  
possessions and so on, in good times).

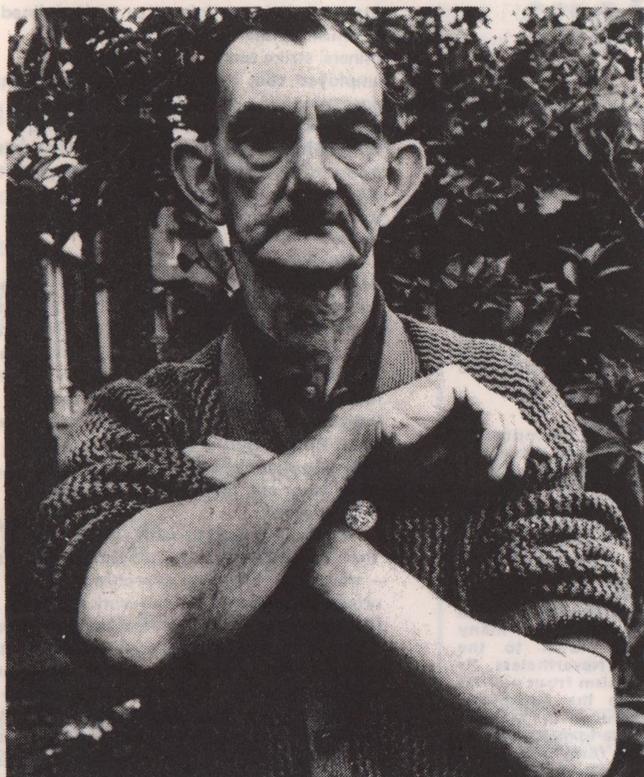
None of this makes ordinary common  
sense if by petty-bourgeois is meant what it  
means today, chartered accountants, solici-  
tors, bank managers etc. Marx wasn't that  
stupid! His followers are stupid or perhaps  
crafty.

The term individualism has also altered  
its meaning — since it has been appropriated  
by the bowler-hatted, striped-suited attache-  
case carrying Conservative. But if one looks  
say, at the story of the American IWW organis-  
ing the hoboes, farm workers, railway workers,  
miners, catering workers, one can see how  
individualistic revolutionary syndicalism can  
be! If Boxcar Bertha or Joe Hill weren't  
individualists but Olga Maitland and  
John Junor are, the term has just become  
gobbledygook.

Oddly, it is hard to fault the statement  
that 'anarchism, even in its syndicalist form'  
— that is, working class anarchism — has  
proved 'inadequate' for the working-class.  
(Perhaps a better word is 'inappropriate').  
Those of the working class who want things  
done for them and who accept things as they  
are, and those who have built up organisat-  
ions alike, have been pushed out of their own  
movement, anarchist or socialist, and as a  
mass hail Hitler or vote Tory. The reason for this  
has been the triumph of the 'educated class'  
on which Marx placed such store. But the  
important thing is that where anarchism is  
of little account there is no working class  
struggle at all. The British labour move-  
ment, and many others, is centred round  
reformism; the Russian scene is a crushing  
defeat for the workers and in totalitarian  
countries there is no room for anarchism but  
individual armed struggle. That is not to  
condemn anarchism. It is to point to its  
necessity.



# AS WE GO TO PRESS...



THE 'ENEMY WITHIN'.

A couple of issues back we reported on the fate of Sid Richmond (pictured above). Sid, a retired 70 year old miner, was stopped by cops as he was driving along in his car. Because he refused to turn back (he was on his way to see his daughter) they ordered him out of the car, knocked him around and handcuffed him.

## LETTER

Dear Comrades,

We all can clearly see the vital work you are doing in solidarity with the Miners heroic struggle. As much as we can gauge it there is widespread sympathy here in Australia for them. Early on a complete ban on coal shipments to the UK was established and maintained. Beyond that nothing more to report at this stage, except that we have established a solidarity fund - money will be sent direct when sufficient and at hand.

Rebel Worker Group  
(Australia).

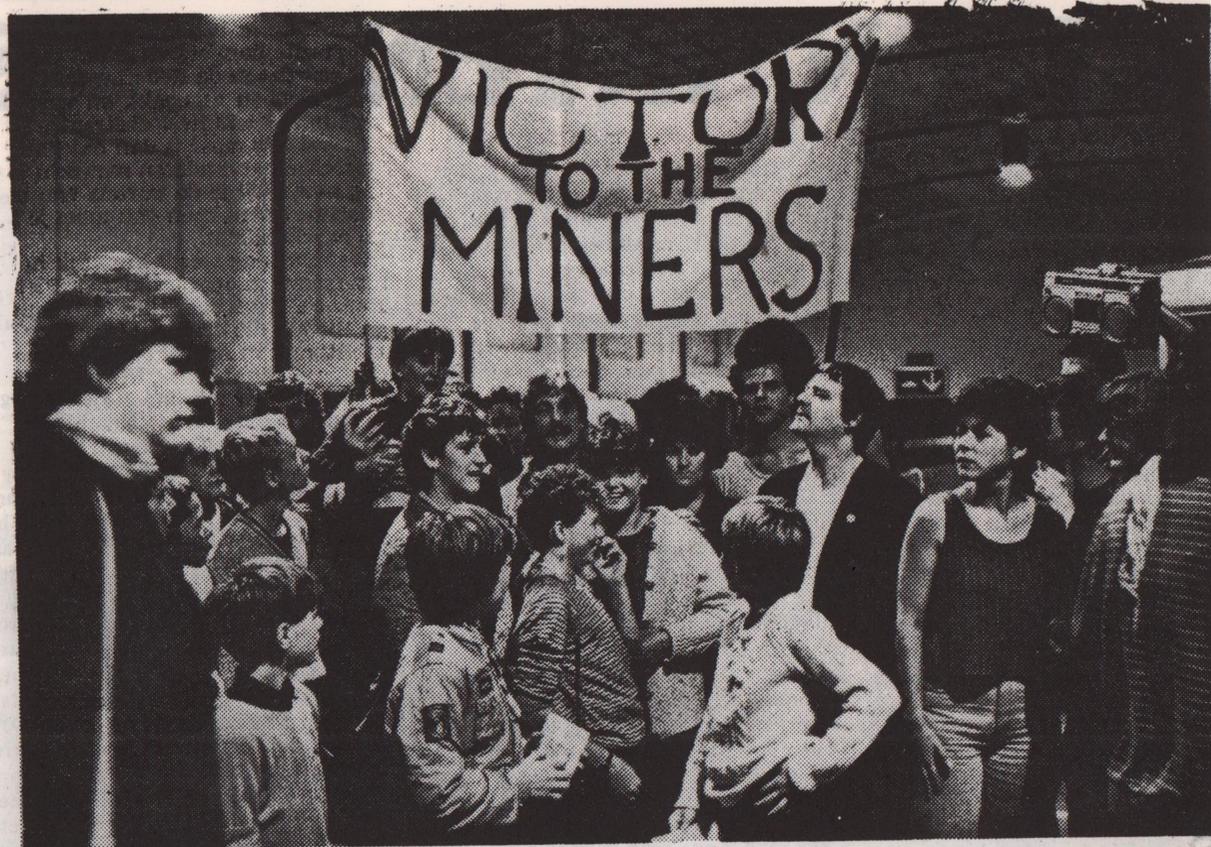
According to a recent issue of The Miner, Burns International, of Manchester, has been and is still recruiting thugs to break up picket lines and intimidate strikers. Also to act as 'minders' for scabs.

Medlock Bibby, the scab leader in Tilbury docks, is no 'ordinary worker, with no hard-fast political line'. During the period '80-'82 as Independent councillor on Thurrock Council (a post he had held, in fact, since 1968) he consistently sustained the one vote majority of a Tory led coalition. In addition Bibby is a member of his local housing committee - not very damning you may think, but then another member, and a 'social acquaintance' of Bibby, is the head of the London Ports Authority. Small world.

Is Frank Chapple, out-going head of the EETPU, an MI5 mole? Probably not, although he was once a card carrying member of the CP. Poor Frank ('we have a no-strike policy in our union') doesn't know what to do now that 9000 EETPU members in the NHS have decided to start selective strike action in a dispute involving pay parity. The EETPU leadership was forced to accept the inevitable and is reluctantly backing the strike threat despite official policy. No doubt they will get a quick settlement in their favour because of the 'political' strike that is taking place with the Miners dispute. (The government have a well exposed policy of avoiding any other confrontations, if they can help it, while the Miners strike is still on). The question is will Chapple show his gratitude to the NUM for providing the right conditions for his membership to secure the victory they so badly want? Hardly. But what is really making Chapple sick is the prospect of the EETPU strike spreading. Already EETPU members in the Power Stations have indicated that they are prepared to show solidarity with their NHS comrades - and if they come out, well nothing would please the NUM more.

And if that wasn't enough other EETPU rebels have recently opened up a 'third front' at the British Aerospace plant at Filton. They decided to stage a sit-in after manual workers at the plant were evicted by cops after a sit-in that lasted three weeks. Those EETPU workers that refused to cross the manual workers' picket line were threatened with dismissal by management and it was this threat that provoked the EETPU workers to come out and set up their own occupation. Latest news on the action is that the EETPU workers have blockaded some jets ready for collection by the USAF and are refusing to allow the US authorities to take them away until the dispute is over.

Labour Party leader, Neil Kinnock, has condemned any attempt to orchestrate the so-called 'big bang' approach for all-out sympathy action by trade unions in solidarity with the Miners strike. Commented Kinnock, (An all out strike) 'is not the way British trade unionism works. It would be importing attitudes from the US' (ie, the IWW) 'or the Continent' (ie, industrial unionism or anarchist-syndicalism) 'which British trade unions have never been prepared to accept.'



Miners kids enjoying a holiday in the Netherlands, thanks to the anarchist support network over there. Photo courtesy of De Vrie.

## LETTER

Dear Friends,

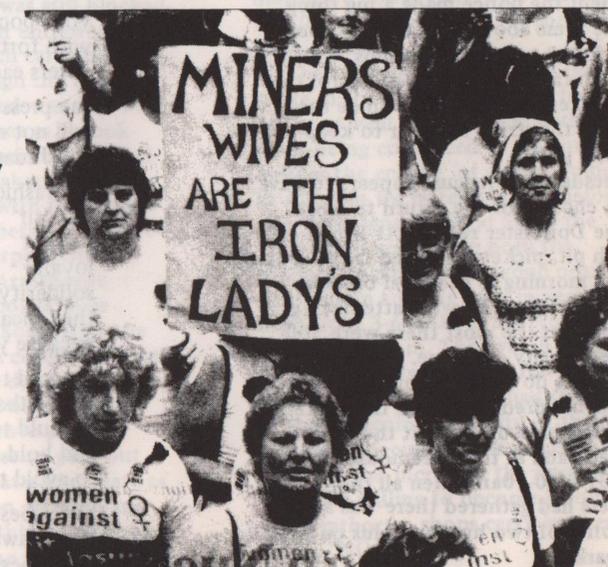
Thanks for the addresses you've sent us. We've asked the people in Doncaster to write an article about the women's support groups for our magazine. So they're of great use!

I think it's not necessary to say what we think about that fucking police raid at 121 Bookshop. Here in Holland things are going quite well with solidarity to the miners. We're involved in the same Amsterdam Support Committee as the two women who have visited you on their way to Derbyshire. The committee has managed to collect about £2,500, which was enough to pay a weeks holiday for 40 people. In fact Saturday 25 August, 32 miners children and 8 adults from Church Warsop in Derbyshire arrived! Some of them are sailing, others are at the anarchist camp in Appelscha (a month ago we've given some information about that camp to a guy who wanted to write an article about it for Black Flag) and others live at squats and with Dutch families for a week. We hope we'll manage to get another group here in the autumn holiday (maybe from Silverdale where life is very hard for strikers).

The press has already given much attention to the holidays of the miners children and in some cases we even ended up with some political reports and not just the usual 'human interest'. We are also planning a demonstration...The NUM video's are showing at many places (squatter's cafes, etc) over the country and punk bands are giving a series of benefits.

Good luck and keep in contact.

De Vrie  
(The Free).



# ACTION INTENSIFIES

The beginning of August has seen the first co-ordinated attempt to force a return to work in Yorkshire, prior to this there has only been odd attempts by a couple of winders at Barnsley, an office worker at Armthorpe, a couple of workers at the Selby complex and a suspected attempt by two miners at Rossington pit.

The week started with two miners going in at Allerton By Water pit near Castleford and one miner entering at Askern pit, north of Doncaster, these scabs were only met by small pickets. Meanwhile at Brodsworth pit near Doncaster a force of 90 pickets met a TV crew that was attempting to enter the pit to film the 'damage' underground. The reason the pickets did not want the TV crew to enter the pit, was because TV crews have previously been shown disused workings and because the majority of people wouldn't know if a pit was in good condition or not. The pickets had armed themselves with lengths of wood as a large force of riot police was brought in. The branch delegate persuaded the pickets to throw down their bits of wood, after the police 'promised' not to use their batons. Once the police had removed the pickets' batons the police attacked, (this is not the first time this has happened, it occurred a few weeks back at Rossington and the police also used an ambulance at Orgreave to get a barricade removed so they could charge). The pickets retreated back into the pit yard. A union official managed to get to talk with the TV crew who were being held at the local police station and persuaded them that if they insisted in entering the pit the heavily out-numbered, out-equipped pickets would end up badly beaten up. The TV crew decided not to try and enter the pit and left. After this incident the police made a big thing in the press about the fact that they had found two petrol bombs, which were in fact two bottles of petrol that the pickets had had there since the start of the strike in order to keep their braisier going.

Tuesday 2nd August appears to have been chosen for the return to work in the Doncaster region. At Brodsworth pit, pickets gathered from 7.30am in the morning as the local branch believed that scabs were attempting to enter, at the most there were 500 pickets at any one time. There is a short lane down to the pit of less than a hundred yards and the pickets gathered in two places at the top of the lane and at the 'gate house' to the pit. By 9.30-10am when all the pickets had gathered there was a force of police of two hundred plus on the pit car park.

After the pickets were refused their request to speak to the scab before he entered, a force of police in fire proof overalls, crash helmets etc. attempted to get behind the group of 200 odd pickets at the 'gate house' in order to force them back up to the top of the pit lane. The pickets fell back to the pit yard, there were minor scuffles, individuals were dragged up the pit lane and pushed through the police cordon. After about half an hour the police had managed to clear the pit yard and forced all the pickets into one place.

The pickets were then pushed back from the pit lane, leaving a clear run for any vehicle coming from the other direction which wanted to get into the pit. This resulted in some stone throwing and some quite heated debate amongst the picket, some wanted everyone to fall back 30 yards so there was a clear view so they could chuck stones at the police; others wanted everyone to get right up to the police lines ready to try and block the road if any scab tried to get in. After that a convoy of police reinforcements drove through the pickets, resulting in many smashed windows, dented vans and broken ariels. A small group of around 150 younger pickets broke away and attempted to run round the back of the pit. They were cut off by a group of riot police, who were stoned and responded with a baton charge which led to groups and pickets in running fights with police. More police and reinforcements were brought in by the coach and van load. At around 12, the scab was taken in and the pickets dispersed.

Although the majority of the

## SCAB

sick with disgust  
I would spit at you

your pockets bulge  
with forty pieces of silver  
slivers each of others future  
the press and the pigs  
will not stand by you forever  
vile Judas

old fashioned words:  
honour  
respect  
loyalty  
solidarity  
they mean nothing to you  
because you are worthless

I would turn away  
rather than soil my vision  
I would turn away  
and hold my nose  
to avoid the stench of betrayal

how does it feel  
to sell away the future?  
how does it feel

community responded in support of the pickets bringing out cups of tea etc. which isn't surprising considering the police insulted and assaulted old people, beat up a 14 year old kid and broke his leg, there was still some of the older people talking about using water cannons on pickets.

After the days events the scab went to the union and apologised and promised not to go in till the dispute is over.

At Armthorpe pit the same day three masked scabs were driven through picket lines totally unexpected. The result was that the pit entrance was blocked by pickets and a barricade built to stop the scabs getting out and more police getting in. The group of less than 200 pickets waited around for the scabs to attempt to get out. A convoy of police reinforcements arrived and were heavily stoned by the pickets, as they were unable to drive straight into the pit, the vans stopped before the barricade and the police jumped out and charged the pickets, supported by more police from inside the pit.

The police managed to block the road running past the pit and despite the constant stoning, the scab coach managed to leave. While the police were busy waging war on the people of Armthorpe and obstructing the highway, pickets were busy redirecting traffic around the police. Also once the scabs were taken out, and the police fallen back to the pit, people swept the stones and glass off the road.

At Hatfield pit, two scabs were driven through a small picket and after cars had driven round the local

to be embraced by the  
people who would do us dead?  
they'll suffocate you  
to turn you into heroic sheep  
who fight for the right to slaughter

forget history  
we will not forget.  
Who will explain to your children  
how do you explain  
betrayal

and when the face collapses  
who will save you then?  
Will Thatcher pull you out  
will MacGregor scrape the coal from you?  
heroic sheep who smile at slaughter  
will pieces of silver  
buy your self-respect?  
can dirty money buy that?

and when it's over  
you'll still do the filthy work  
you'll still be a slave  
will Thatcher love you still?

does pus fill your head, scab?  
you are nothing  
worth nothing.

Pan 30.8.84



ARMTHORPE 22-8-84 'Community policing' street meeting, 1984 style.

communities with loud speakers asking for all people, a large picket gathered. Pickets were batoned by police and one picket ended up in intensive care with a fractured skull and suspected brain damage. One of the scabs after seeing the violence walked out of the pit, escorted by union officials to a mixture of cheers for rejoining the strike, and abuse for scabbing and causing the injury of many pickets.

Barricades were also erected by pickets at Bentley and Edlington pits to prevent scabs entering and none did, but riot police still chased pickets through Edlington.

With Hatfield, Brodsworth and Askern pits secured in the Doncaster area, Armthorpe became the target for 2,000 pickets and a similar number of police, who sealed off the six roads into the village for a couple of hours, more to stop pickets getting out rather than getting in. A large barricade was built and set alight and riot police chased and batoned pickets throughout the length of Armthorpe,

broke their way into peoples homes and generally terrorised the whole community.

The majority of the pickets left without the scab being taken in, the police blockade of Armthorpe was relaxed, but the road was still blockaded 400yds from the pit entrance. At around 2.00pm a coach carrying the scab was rushed through the complete length of the village and was met with only symbolic resistance as it took everyone by surprise because the police could have easily taken the scab round the other way with no trouble whatsoever. This deliberately provocative act served no purpose other than to prove to the Armthorpe community that the police were definitely in control. Soon after the scab coach went in, a couple of South Yorkshire police vans drove past under the customary hail of objects. It is believed these vans drove past the miners welfare in order to pick out individuals for arrest at a later date as people have since been arrested and accused of throwing things at the vans.

The majority of the police involved

at all these incidents came from outside of South Yorkshire, including Kent, Greater Manchester, Somerset and Avon, City of London, Sussex, Essex and Metropolitan police, including those who arrived on the Wednesday morning a convoy of 20-25 coaches at 9.00am believed to have come up from London.

The attempted breaking of the strike in the Yorkshire region has not gone well for the NCB, with most scabs being convinced to stay out and besides the couple of miners going in at Allerton By Water near Castleford and Gascoigne Wood at Selby the only other scabs have been the solidarity scab at Silverwood near Rotherham and the only increase has been from 3-6 scabs at Kiverton Park near Rotherham. The overall effect of the attempts to drag a few isolated individuals into pits has had the effect of strengthening the unity of the pit villages, especially those directly affected and increased the numbers of police willing to become involved at Armthorpe, shops carry notices, saying 'NO POLICE'.

# PREPARING FOR CIVIL WAR



Crash barriers being hurled at police during the siege of Parliament.

In the last *Black Flag Quarterly* we reported in detail on the history and development of the state's efforts and plans to crush mass strike action and/or revolt. We also described how in more recent years the emergency network has been integrated into the home defence structure. This combined emergency/home defence organisation is crucial to the plans the state would prepare to deal with any threat to 'stability' or internal security. Whether the threat be a large scale uprising, a general strike, widespread and prolonged rioting, or even civil war. But let us not get overawed by such plans: we have to be realistic but we also have to develop our own counter-preparations as well. Becoming acquainted with how the state intends to act when faced with a threat to security is an imperative and essential step to take in making sure that when we act we do so decisively and with a degree of foresight.

## Part One State Contingencies

According to the (classified) *Army Land Operations Manual, Counter-Revolutionary Operations, Vol 3*: 'The fundamental concept (of successful counter-insurgency) is the working of the triumvirate - civil, military and police - as a joint and integrated organisation from the highest to the lowest level of policy making, planning and administration.' The manual explains that under a national emergency, such as a civil war, a National Plan (to break the resistance) would be prepared. This Plan would include the passing of certain emergency regulations to provide the state forces with whatever powers needed to crush rebellion. In addition an organisation for joint military-civil control would be given absolute powers to take over the running of the country. Volume 3 was last revised in 1979 and is the operational manual for UK Land Forces.

Back in 1974 Edward Heath, fighting for the survival of his government, set up a secret committee known as the National Security Committee. The NSC was briefed to advise the Cabinet on how the existing emergency measures could be improved to cope with a possible civil war scenario. The committee advised Heath to completely overhaul the Emergency Organisation, which was then renamed the Civil Contingencies Unit, and to integrate it within the Civil Defence network. According to a '74 edition of the *Sunday Times* the NSC was 'designed to make good the yawning gap in official intelligence and control which the (miners) strike had exposed. *Society had to be made less vulnerable* (my emphasis) to relatively small groups of workers, like miners or power workers or water workers...'

A year later the NSC, which had by then also been subsumed within the CCU organisation, prepared three top secret plans for the use of troops to assist police in the event of a national emergency. These plans were accepted and known as MACP, MACC and MACM,

or Military Aid to Civil Power, Military Aid to the Civil Community and Military Aid for Civil Ministers. The least contentious of the three was MACC, which set out plans for the provision of troops in disaster work (floods, gas explosions, etc). MACP spelt out guidelines for the use of troops for riot control (different guidelines existed for the north of Ireland); it also included a section on the sort of situations when the SAS would need to be brought in to assist government during times of widespread unrest. MACM detailed guidelines for the future use of troops in industrial disputes. The only time MACM was ever invoked so far was during the firemen's (sic) dispute, when troops were deployed on the 'Green Goddesses'.

The 'War Cabinet', that was mentioned at the beginning of the 1984 miners dispute links the CCU with COBRA (Cabinet Office Briefing Room). COBRA itself is in fact an amorphous body that changes according to the nature of the crisis at hand. If, for example, the crisis involves national security then COBRA would include various committee members representing the Intelligence Services, the military and the police. One such committee is the JIC - the Joint Intelligence Committee - which is a permanent committee of all defence intelligence chiefs that daily briefs COBRA via a sub-committee, on day-to-day defence/Intelligence matters. (A CIA linkman is also included on the JIC). Another committee that reports direct to COBRA is the OIEC - the Overseas and Economic Intelligence Committee. OIEC is responsible for commercial and industrial intelligence and makes recommendations as to how COBRA should respond, say, to a major industrial dispute in terms of securing business interests and investment. On the propaganda front, the IPS (Information Policy Committee) has a standing order to report direct to COBRA and take over all COI (Central Office of Information) work during times of national emergency. The IPS is chaired by the PM's Press Secretary.

The Home Secretary is nominally head of the CCU and is also responsible, of course, for the police. The NRC functions as the link between the police and the CCU. At regional level NRC liaison officers form part of the team at each Regional Emergency Committee (REC), which in turn are usually headed by the regional DoE Director. The REC's (see previous *Black Flag Quarterly*) function as the eyes and ears of the CCU and provide local intelligence, via Special Branch, on political and industrial developments. In addition the REC's coordinate and provide backup resources for strikebreaking activities. Each REC includes employees from the Department of Transport, local authority HQ's as well as having contact personnel in the County Constabulary HQ's. The REC's were originally devised according to their present set up in 1979 by Callaghan during the 'Winter of Discontent'.

The REC's are in turn linked to the SRHQ's (Sub-Regional Headquarters - the new name for the Regional Seats of Government). The SRHQ's will function as regional government centres during times of nuclear war or civil war and form an integral part of the state's Home Defence network. There are 17 SRHQ's throughout the country. They are responsible to a Junior Minister in times of 'peace'. Some of the SRHQ's are also designated AFHQ's

(Armed Forces HQ's), such as the one at Catterick (SRHQ 1.1). Others occupy the old RSG network, as do some of the SRHQ's (such as Dover RSG and Kelvedon Hatch). Some of them are based in deep bunkers beneath municipal buildings (eg, SRHQ 4.2, Hertford & 6.2, Basingstoke). The north of Ireland SRHQ is at Gough Barracks, Armagh. 8.2 SRHQ (South Wales), is at Bridgend on the edge of an industrial estate. All of the SRHQ's have access to Supply and Transport Depots and Buffer Depots (food). Generally there are around 10 such depots per region. Each AFHQ includes a Navy and a RAF senior officer as liaison, while each SRHQ includes a JSLO (Joint Service Liaison Officer) who advises and reports back, via the JIC at COBRA and the AFHQ.

Each Armed Forces HQ is headed by a Regional Commander, while the SRHQ's are headed by a Regional Commissioner. In theory the Regional Commissioner will form a regional government under an emergency, although the Regional Commander has complete autonomy when it comes down to military matters. Altogether there are 10 regional AFHQ's throughout the country and collectively they report to the UK Commanders in Chief Committee (UKCiCC - pronounced U Chick). UKCiCC is based at Wilton and comes under the direct command of UKLPHQ (UK Land Forces HQ), headed by General Sir Frank Kitson (counter-insurgency expert, creator of the pseudo-gang theory, helped introduce internment in Kenya, Malaya, Cyprus, the north of Ireland, author of Low Intensity Operations, a manual on how to combat civil war).

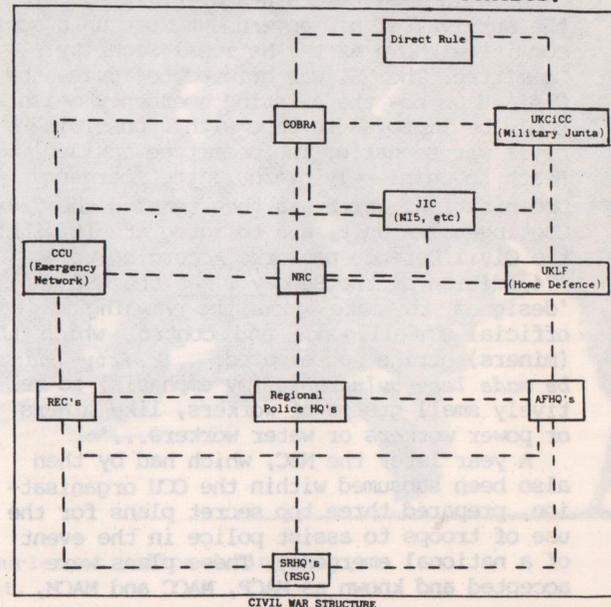
In times of Civil War UKCiCC will probably have the option of moving to the Hawthorn-Corsham underground complex, although this would be unlikely. UKCiCC is in itself divided into three commands: Air Command HDF, based at RAF Brampton; CiC Naval Home Command, based at Fort Southwick (Portsmouth); and CiC UKLF (Wilton). Under civil war UKLF takes precedent over the other two commands. The CGR (Composite General Reserve) will also come under UKLF command. The CGR will be an ad hoc organisation of loyalists who can be called upon to provide assistance to the state.

The 10 Army districts referred to are: N Ireland, Scotland, Wales, London, NE, NW, Eastern, Western, SW and SE). As for the Air Force, their HQ in times of national emergency is at Stanmore, while the Navy CiC is at Northwood. Strictly speaking the 8th Field Force (based at Bulford, near Salisbury) is responsible for Home Defence security and the assistance of police and civil authorities in times of national emergency. But a further 30% of all military personnel have also been allocated Home Defence duties, depending on the nature of the crisis. In addition there are 30,000 Territorials to call upon should the need arise. Just lately members of the Territorials have been taking part in counter-insurgency warfare exercises in W Germany at the Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol HQ at Weingarten, which is directed by a former SAS officer and comes under NATO jurisdiction. The BGS - the German Border Police - have also been taking part in similar joint exercises as part of their official civil war training. Other army units consigned to Home Defence operations are the 5th Infantry Brigade and the Home Service Front, first created in 1972 and providing an official complement of around 4,500 volunteers.

In times of emergency the police have their own regional setup. There are emergency regional police HQ's in Knock (Belfast), Edinburgh, New Scotland Yard, Lippettshill and Mertsam (London area), Bridgend, Hutton (Preston), Martlesham (Ipswich), Wakefield, Bristol, West Hill (Winchester), Arnold (Notts), and Colmore Circus (Birmingham). Under Home Defence regulations the police will come under the authority of the Regional Commissioner (CCU) at each SRHQ. Regulations allow for the police to enlarge the overall force by up to 50% if need be. They will be able to take over buildings for compulsory billeting of officers from non-local forces. The Emergency Services Division (F6), first created in 1971, is the main liaison section between the police and the CCU/NRC network. The ESD acts as a policy making section and advises on operational matters. One ESD recommendation is the need to form a National Riot Police out of existing PSU's (Police Support Units - the old Instant Response Units or Special Patrol Groups). Many of the existing Supply and Transport depots also contain massive quantities of riot equipment and armaments. (A few weeks back, riot police were seen casually sitting around inside one such depot at Pegwell Bay, near to the Kent coalfields, in readiness for any trouble at the mining villages).

As for the National Reporting Centre, this was first known as the Anti-Picket Squad. The APS was conceived during the '72 Miners strike and it became known as the NRC in '74. The concept of a national police force, or a pool of police contingents on permanent standby was no new concept: as far back as WW2 all Chief Constables were given a standing order to report direct to the regional Emergency Commissioners (predecessors of the regional CCU Commissioners) in the event of invasion or any threat to civil order. Even further back, in 1910 a special national force was cobbled together to deal with rioting in Tony-pandy (arising from a mineworkers dispute) and over 500 police were sent in from surrounding counties and another 800 from London to seal off the area and impose blockades.

During times of great civil or industrial unrest, police will be deployed to guard all key points, government buildings, power stations, fuel terminals, major industries, communication facilities and broadcast centres.



They will be backed up by army personnel on instructions from the AFHQ's. Freedom of movement will not be allowed: many main routes will have road blocks and on the whole most citizens will be forced to remain within their localities. Official Emergency Regulations also call for 'the restriction of movement of named individuals'. Currently on the MI5 arrest list of possible 'subversives' is around 20,000 names. If internment was introduced army camps (such as the one at Rolleston - used in 1980 during the Prison Officers dispute) are likely to be requisitioned as holding centres. If need be petty criminals will be released on parole from the prisons to make room for the internees.

MI5, based in Curzon Street, central London, has its part too in the state's civil war scenario. F Branch is the section in charge of domestic subversion. The head of F Branch is Tony Ransen. Ransen led joint intelligence operations in the north of Ireland and was also in charge of MI5 intelligence gathering, reporting direct to COBRA, during the '72 Miners strike. F Branch specialises in tackling all forms of subversion, including the investigation of trade unionists, political organisations, journalists, etc. A sub-branch of F Division, FX, specialises in infiltration into political groupings and trade unions. F6 is another sub-division - it specialises in anarchist and new left activity. According to the New Statesman the head of F6 (and F4) is Tony Crassweller. Crassweller lives at 3 Ponsonby Rd, London SW15 (telephone 01-788 9803). C Branch also has a role to play: policy and operational planning on combined joint intelligence (MI5, SAS, Special Branch, Army Intelligence, etc) activity for counter-insurgency. 'A' Branch liaises with Government Communication Headquarters (GCHQ) at Cheltenham and looks after phone tapping, general surveillance, burglaries, mail opening, etc. S Branch runs the computer department, the Joint Computer Bureau - which is linked in to the MI6 computer facility. Files on over 500,000 individuals are contained in the JCB. JCB is also linked into the police national computer as well as the Vehicle Licensing Computer at Swansea and the DHSS Computer.

During the pre-insurgency phase, an integral part of the state's civil war plans is the blanking out of all normal communication facilities. System X, steadily being introduced by British Telecom, provides total surveillance capability on all users as well as providing the facility for the blanking out of complete areas of the country or even selected subscribers on a mass scale. During the 1974 Miners strike the CCU recommended the setting up of a 'telephone preference system'. It was code named 'Federal' and in more recent years the technology of System X has now made Federal a reality. The system, when fully operative, can cut off up to 98% of all users if need be. The Telephone Preference System has in fact operated on a much cruder level ever since WW2. Three categories were devised: Category A - all essential industry, government, military, and police; Category B - all major commercial users and certain VIP private subscribers; and Category C - the remaining population. In times of emergency Category C subscribers (and B if necessary) can be cut off. The system also works on an area to area basis.

The state has several additional communication systems as backup in the event of major sabotage attacks on BT equipment. The Government Control Network (GCN), now called the Emergency Communication Network (ECN) is the main backup system. The ECN bypasses the main BT network and links together all SRHQ's, AFHQ's, other military bases, government communication centres, the Hawthorn-Corsham complex, major government departments, regional police HQ's, etc, all within one system.

## Part Two : The 5 Year Cycle

The state's civil war contingency planning seems to have occurred over five year cycles, coinciding with changes in government and major industrial disputes. 1973/74 saw the emergence of the CCU from the old Emergency Organisation, the decision to set up a national police force (the NRC) and the linking of the CCU network to police and military bases. 1978/79 witnessed the end of the Callaghan government and a reorganisation of the CCU within an updated Home Defence network. Through the REC's the CCU was able to significantly improve its intelligence gathering capability and strengthen its links with the Intelligence Service. A new Branch in MI5 - F2 - was created for this purpose. 1978 was also the year that Nicholas Ridley, now Tory minister of Transport, published a secret policy report on civil war contingency plans. Ridley made certain recommendations that he considered would take around four to five years to become fully operational. His report was passed by the CCU and the recommendations incorporated as official policy. According to the Economist magazine Ridley's report contained an annexe



Two pickets handcuffed to street lamps.

that provided guidelines on how a Tory government would deal with any major industrial or political threat. Ridley recommended a five part plan to counter such a threat:

1. *(The) return on capital figures should be rigged so that an above average wage claim can be paid to the 'vulnerable' industries.*

2. *The eventual battle should be on ground chosen by the Tories, in a field they think could be won (railways, British Leyland, the Civil Service or Steel).*

3. *Every precaution should be taken against a challenge in electricity or gas. Anyway, redundancies in those industries are unlikely to be required. The group (the CCU?) believes that the most likely battle ground will be the coal industry. They (the group) would like the Thatcher government to a) build up maximum coal stocks, particularly at the power stations; b) make contingency plans for the import of coal; c) encourage the recruitment of non-union lorry drivers by haulage companies to help move coal where necessary; and d) introduce dual coal/ oil firing in all power stations as quickly as possible.*

4. *The group believes that the greatest threat to any strike would be to cut off the money supply to the strikes and make the union finance them.*

5. *There should be a large mobile squad of police equipped and prepared to uphold the law against violent picketing. 'Good non-union drivers' should be recruited to cross picket lines with police protection.*

Since taking office the Tory government has acted on virtually every one of Ridley's recommendations. Under 1) perhaps the most recent examples were the rail workers and postal workers disputes - both ended up making settlements within the current rate of inflation and as a result both disputes were concluded very quickly at a point in time (during the 1984 Miners strike) when a prolonged strike

in those industries would not have been agreeable to the state. Under 2) the Tories were unable to get that one right. But it is interesting to note that they considered the railworkers and the car workers to be a pushover. With the steel workers under the guidance of toe-the-line Bill Sirs they were right. The Tories also won the GCHQ dispute which concerned the Civil Service.

The third recommendation indicates how vulnerable government is to any threat posed to the fuel and power industries and just how much it fears a major conflict in the coal industry. Significantly Ridley reveals just how much importance the state places on contingency plans. With coal it meant the stockpiling of supplies over several years in anticipation of a dispute, as well as making preparations for securing additional stocks through imports. Even as far back as '78 Ridley was recommending that the emergency organisation obtain lists of non-union and scab lorry drivers who can be called upon should a dispute break out. Under the Ridley recommendations the road haulage firms would be provided with inducements to take on non-union labour. As for the transfer of the power stations to oil, this has not gone as well as the Tories had hoped.

Recommendation 4 basically suggests that sequestration of union funds or strike funds (or their limitation - a policy recently put forward by the Adam Smith Institute) should be implemented as a tool to break union power as soon as possible. The NGA served as the test case in this respect and the sequestration of the South Wales NUM funds was the consequence. Finally Ridley made a recommendation for the consolidation of a mobile police force (perhaps on the lines of the original Anti-Picket Squad), under the direction of the National Reporting Centre.



Perhaps the most important thing to be learnt about all this is not that government, despite their protestations to the contrary, is constantly intervening behind the scenes in all major strikes - they've been doing this since trade unionism first began - but that state contingency plans are conceived and put into effect long before the predicted crisis ever materialises. Furthermore it is clear from Ridley's recommendations that state policy on industrial disputes is closely linked to a more comprehensive contingency arrangement involving the state's Civil War scenario.

The five year contingency cycle gives a clear idea of just how far the class enemy organises well in advance of any major industrial or political activity. The forces of State and Capital are on a constant war-footing; they are the real 'enemy within', conspiring to subvert and crush any threat to their power. The setting up of a mobile police force and the introduction of anti-union labour laws are only part of the complex arrangements that have been made by successive governments over the years. Although both current events and history have shown that, when it comes down to it, the best thing the state can hope for in any period of conflict is the disloyalty of the oppressed class within its own ranks. As far as the state is concerned sell-outs and scab collusion is far preferable and strategically more manageable than any last minute troop deployment or eleventh hour emergency legislation.

## Part Three : Mobilisation

The usual idea of a civil war type situation is open warfare, dividing a nation into those who support the government or a military/political faction and those who don't. However it is obvious that the state no longer subscribes to this dated definition (did it ever?). Instead civil war is seen as a constant potential, to be prepared for on an ongoing basis, while state contingency planning recognises no difference whatsoever between the daily conflicts that take place as part of the class struggle and those that contribute to the escalation of civil war. On this basis state strategy is to 'contain' conflict, given that any demand met is seen as a sign of weakness and so undermining the principle of government. It succeeds in doing this by a combination of classic divide and rule and by making sure that when we fight back we do so in terms of 'issues' and rarely as a unified movement.

State/capitalist strategy can teach us all the importance of long-term planning. With a strike as big and important as the Miners it was inevitable that the call for wider solidarity would meet with a huge and magnificent response, not only from within the mining communities themselves, but from workers and unemployed throughout the land. The support groups are a natural consequence of this solidarity and have shown everyone the part such groups can play in combating the state's strikebreaking efforts. But what Capital/the state has taught us is that the support groups need to be permanent, not only in the coal industry (where the battle is an ongoing one), but throughout all industry.

A network of Strike Support Groups, existing before and during a dispute and carrying on once the dispute has concluded, could function



as a strike contingency resource in opposition to the strikebreaking facilities of the state. Whatever the outcome of the Miners strike, given that the state's contingency arrangements are so well organised, it would be foolish if any of the support groups decided to disband. Instead all of us who are involved in support activity should do what we can to keep that activity going beyond the strike and help create new support groups around the industries and/or neighbourhoods where we are based. (Many Miners strike support groups have made it perfectly clear, from very early on, that when the strike is over they have every intention of carrying on.)

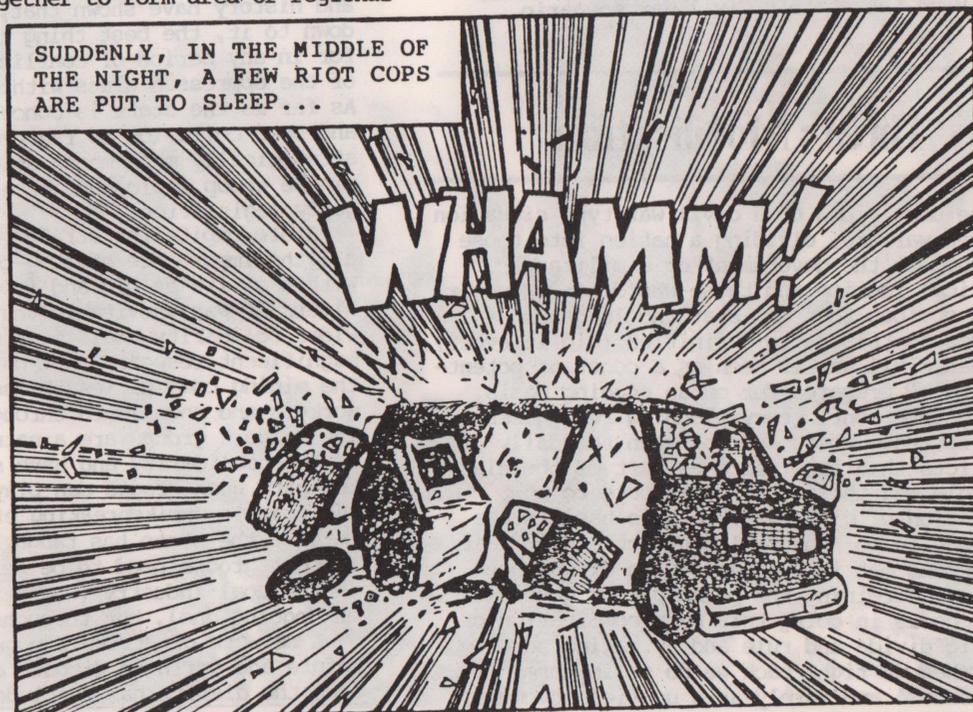
A permanent network of Strike Support Groups might grow out of the current situation or may end up developing out of other initiatives. Such a support network could be organised (as are many of the Miners Support Groups) around existing local facilities (neighbourhood centres, etc) and would need, of course, to be open to waged and unwaged alike. But so as to avoid the ever present danger of co-option and infiltration by local bureaucrats, party officials, reformists, trots and opportunists generally, each group would need to be self-managed, organised collectively, and place its priorities on direct action. Also each group would need to avoid local authority grants, direct funding from one particular organisation, etc; instead to get funds from a wide community base and directly from workers at rank and file level. Ideally each support group would try to provide support for all workers and unemployed involved in any dispute (official or otherwise), on a strictly mutual aid basis. Groups would not only be in a position to provide mutual assistance (where sought) on picket support and (ongoing) fund raising, but would also function as local support centres for neighbourhood struggles (eg, collective rent/rate boycotts, claimants actions), etc.

All in all a network of permanent strike support groups operating throughout the country could indeed pose a formidable threat to the state's contingency set-up. The groups could easily link together to form area or regional

federations and if ever such a support network was capable of mobilisation during times of widespread industrial unrest (eg, the lead-up to or during a General Strike) then all of us would surely be in a far more confident position to fight back than we are now. Bridging the gap between workers fighting in one industry and workers in another (at rank and file level), between the waged and the unwaged, and between workplace struggles and neighbourhood struggles, a self-organised support network would have the potential to form the basis of a much wider resistance movement that would help organise things under worker/community control during any pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary period - which is exactly how the community and workplace groups working within the Spanish CNT, the anarchist-syndicalist union, organised prior to and during the Civil War.

Such a support network is also capable of providing a solid base for any activists involved in rearguard support. Support of this kind may end up being undertaken by local defence groups (a 'citizens' militia') to fight, say, police or hired thug intimidation, or (if the activity is to cover a wider area and involves offensive as well as defensive measures) by guerrilla or 'commando-style' units. However organised, an intensification of direct action into an open conflict situation automatically prompts certain considerations.

Firstly, and most importantly, the question of security. By definition any group that engages in rearguard actions should be formed from an existing affinity group. False i/d's should, preferably, have been procured well in advance of any projected activity if the campaign is to be a long one. Combatants will need to decide at some stage whether or not they are going to operate 'underground' or whether they can still manage to live 'normal lives' and carry out actions as well. With the acquisition of transport, registration should be taken out under the false i/d. As for safe-housing, if this is necessary this can be either pre-arranged under a new identity or a number of trusted contacts can be asked to assist. In an emergency a house can



SUDDENLY, IN THE MIDDLE OF THE NIGHT, A FEW RIOT COPS ARE PUT TO SLEEP...



Ogreave: angled stakes in road to deter mounted riot cops.

be squatted for a temporary period or a 'second home' (in a rural area) can be taken over.

Secondly, skills. Some kind of training period is essential, if time constraints allow. Each member of the group (numbering between 5 and 8) should obtain a particular skill relevant to the work to be done (eg, medical aid, electricians/break-ins, demolition work, car mechanics, etc). Ideally every member should know how to drive and be skilled in weaponry and unarmed combat.

Thirdly, tactics. If actions are restricted to a small geographical area and other guerilla activity has not yet sprung up in other parts of the country then there is a high risk of getting caught, especially if the group members are known as 'militants'. Ideally any prolonged guerilla campaign should cover a wide area as possible throughout the country and involving as many combat units as possible (preferably where only one member of each group, if that, knows only one member in one other group). With widespread actions the forces of the state will find that their resources are quickly overstretched. Less confined actions make it far more difficult for the Security Forces to successfully infiltrate the combat units. Initially groups should not be overambitious but should work up experience by taking on 'soft' targets (eg, company property, court buildings, supply depots, fuel plants, TV relay masts, etc) before going on to the 'hard' ones (eg, police stations, army bases, power stations, armaments factories, etc).

Fourthly, supplies. Arms and explosives would need to be obtained by raids either from owners or from suppliers. In addition contacts within the support network can assist in the conversion of sporting weapons, or even by learning how to make improvised weaponry. Explosive materials can also be improvised if necessary. Once obtained, arms and explosives will need to be stored safely in the right conditions in strategically placed dumps.

Finally, organisation. Without the active (or passive) support of the civilian resistance, any rearguard actions will have been carried out in vain. However contact between support group activists and members of any rearguard group should ideally be virtually non-existent, or at least kept to a minimum, for security reasons. Any reserve personnel or back-up activity can be supplemented by the local defence militias, who may also be involved in organising safe-housing or a courier network. The actual support network can in turn help the combat groups by helping out in intelligence work, prisoners aid, etc. Also the propaganda activity of the support network will become ever more crucial as the conflict widens.

It can never be over-stressed that guerilla activity should always, without exception, complement the work of any support network. Any instances of vanguardism, or actions undertaken for reasons of self-interest/self-promotion or ambition, should be condemned and dealt with immediately: any combat group that adopts the role of a gang and does not refer to the wider resistance but acts in isolation, such groups are counter-revolutionary. Furthermore all actions undertaken by any member of the resistance must of themselves be self-evident: state propaganda will be employed to distort all resistance activity in an attempt to criminalise those involved and to isolate them from wider support.

Ken Newman.

Additional Source Material:  
*War and Order*, by Celina Bledowska.  
*Towards A Citizens' Militia*, by Stuart Christie.  
*War Plan UK*, by Duncan Campbell.  
*Low Intensity Operations*, by Frank Kitson.  
*Without A Trace*, by Partisan Press.  
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# Anarchy in Berlin

Recently it was announced that *Radikal*, the journal of the Berlin squatters movement, will no longer be produced. This decision was taken in the face of heavy and continuous repression (jail sentences, raids etc.) and the imminent death of the movement itself. There are at this moment only 11 houses left squatted in Berlin, and 5 of these will be evicted shortly.

With the end of *Radikal* and the squatters the time seems ripe for a short review of the Berlin movement, its relevance to Anarchism and the role and ideas put forward by *Radikal*.

After the first few months of 1981 the full force of the police state was turned to destroying the Berlin movement. The authorities took the occupation extremely seriously, as a direct threat to private property. The ruling CDU, backed by the constant media barrage, only gained credibility by attacking the squatters. Between Jan and Aug '81 3,500 charges were brought, 60 houses were searched (this involved sealing off the whole street etc.) and 10 buildings were evicted. As time went on the police built up a whole industry of repression, watching people, tapping phones, making new laws, people following people, controlling and processing people, cross checking everything with computers, arresting and imprisoning people. In June 1981, when the Movement was still at its height, the question came up for discussion in the Council, and an incredible 50,000 people took to the streets to support the squatters and rioting, looting and burning spread across the city. On Sept. 15th 1981 General Haig came to visit Berlin and 80,000 came out for the demo and further rioting. This wasn't just a squatters' demo, but they certainly got the blame for embarrassing the authorities worldwide. Next day the Insennator Lummer announced that 9 of the biggest squats would be evicted by the 21st September. Writers, artists and famous people moved into the houses to protest, but that didn't help. On the 22nd 1000s of riot pigs carried out the evictions. Lummer gave a victorious press conference inside one of the captured houses. Shortly after, as rioting began, 19 year old Claus Rattay, a squatter was killed when he fell under a bus during a fierce baton charge by cops. A gigantic crowd gathered and marched to the evicted houses, the cops were nowhere in sight, then they opened up from the squats with volleys of tear gas. It had begun, the worst violence in Berlin since the War (with the American army offering to restore order). Again and again whole convoys of armoured

cars were forced to retreat due to very heavy stoning and petrol bombing.

After the night of extreme rioting further evictions were postponed till after Easter '82, but a heavy depression had set in on the Movement. The cinema, the pirate radios and the *Bezetsler Post* (squatters weekly paper) all closed down. The movement was already split right down the middle by the policy of legalisation/criminalisation, about half the houses favoured selling out, rather than endless uncertainty and persecution. Most of those who did get legalised (about 50 houses to date) got a lousy deal, some who negotiated got evicted by surprise anyway. Whatever the splits amongst the squatters (and there were more between 'mollis' and 'mueslis', punks and politicians etc.) they always demonstrated violently after evictions. Some of the nastiest scenes happened right after the truce ended with surprise evictions in April '82, when 1000s of demonstrators were trapped and beaten to shit by 1000s of police to try and scare people off the streets before the Reagan visit of June 1982. However this policy only insured that the best rioters went to the Reagan demo, and the authorities were shocked by pictures of pigs running away and their vans burning going by TV around the world. After that the repressions and evictions came hot and heavy. The Lefties tried to organise a 'total solution' so that desperate squatters could sell out, but this collapsed when houses which were due to get contracts were evicted by the police anyway. 15 houses were 'searched' in one day (Aug. 82) by 1000 riot police. 2 hard line houses were evicted without warning. Numbers at demos were falling off as the police had learned how to totally control the streets. Vigorous attempts were made to revive things, like the 'KULTURSCHOCK' festival of late '82 and the Tent camps of summer '83, but the 'fantasy' and enthusiasm of early '81 were gone forever.

The squatters replied to the repression with 'Counter Violence' and the guerilla attacks of the Revolutionäre Zellen (RZ), which also stands for Red or Raging Zora, the womens' underground). The RZ are people who 'hide in everyday life', carrying out attacks on banks, stores, institutions, landlords' property, sex shops, American bases, etc. *Radikal*

accepted RZ quite rightly as an integral part of the movement, and therefore as the Movement paper they were bound to print their communiques in *Radikal*, along with commentaries and discussions. These make fascinating reading, the RZ were very conscious of the history of the RAF (Red Army Fraktion) of the dangers of becoming elitist, cut off and paranoid. Most of their attacks were those which anyone could do and were accompanied by appeals for more people to join in. *Radikal's* printing of the communiques was thus very important to them, and in turn they remained responsible to the progressive wing of the movement. The printing of these communiques of RZ was the excuse given for the trials of Benny and Micha, in which *Radikal* was 'proven' to be the central organ of a 'terrorist group'. It is fair to say that it was not however the raids, seizures, arrests, trials and prison sentences which finally finished off *Radikal*. What finished them was the death of the Movement itself. There are at this moment only 11 squats left, and five of these are due for imminent eviction, with most of the rest being legalised. Under immediate threat is the Kuckuck, the big LIVE-WORK-PALACE of Tuwat (Do something festival) fame, where a goodbye festival is now taking place. In Kuckuck also were the offices of Ecomedia, the International News Service which also has an office in Brixton. This has now moved to a legal house where a cafe and info centre have been set up. The Berlin Movement is just about dead, no one knows how or where it will erupt again. However we could do well to learn from their achievements and methods of resistance, as well as their use and adaption of Anarchist ideas...

*Comment: We hope the eruption will come through a co-operation between workers (waged and unwaged) and residents (tenants and rent-strikers) whose 'occupations' and 'insurrections' will overcome the divisions of 'marginal' and 'straight' which have plagued the modern rebellions of the West... Gimme that 'ole time Social Revolution Gimme that 'ole time Social Revolution It was good enough for Spain ('36) And, its good enough for me!*

★  
**radikal**

Zeitung für den run auf die Bahamas

A5023 E

Zeitungskooperative e.V.  
Eisenbahnstr. 4 | Berlin 36

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# Background to 'Radikal' Trial

## 1 Recent Guerilla Actions

Autumn '83 saw a spectacular attack on the computer centre of the MAN Cruise Missile launch trucks plant at Frankfurt. Over £500,000 worth of damage was caused. RZ graffiti appeared nearby and there was no disclaimer. MAN is the 7th biggest company in W Germany and specialises in transport and armaments. At the time of the attack it was involved in the manufacture of 465 vehicles for the transportation of Pershing missiles.

Other similar attacks on property relating to military hardware plants that occurred around this time included the Siemens raid and the Litton Systems raid. The former took place on June 8 when a Siemens building was molotoved. The latter happened on June 23 with the attempted firebombing of a Litton building in Dusseldorf (Litton, Canada, make the guidance system for Cruise). Also around that time an attempt was made on Vice-President Bush, who was on a visit to W Germany, when his motorcade was attacked by angry demonstrators.

Recently the RZ (Revolutionary Cells) have issued a stern warning to all revolutionary groups involved in direct action and guerrilla warfare to beware of pseudo-gangs - groups that undertake actions against seemingly legitimate targets but who do so out of self-interest or because of a strategy to discredit existing guerrilla groups. In particular the RZ point to the actions undertaken by the neo-fascist Hepp group, whose actions were immediately associated by some as being attributable to the RZ. The Hepp group's targets were US army bases, but the attacks were deliberately designed in order that there was a high possibility of indiscriminate injury. Afterwards, one W German leftist daily, the 'Tag', immediately condemned the raid but at the same time fell right into the trap of condemning leftist actions generally (which is the route some situationists have taken with regard to possible pseudo-revolutionary activity that has taken place in Italy).

The RZ also later stated that revolutionary groups should not confuse anti-imperialist or anti-militarist actions with any form of campaign directed against the US people in general. They clarified that they were not anti-American, but anti-US imperialism. The RZ considered that the Hepp incident has brought many lessons home to everyone. In particular the need for clearer analysis on what is happening and the need for any underground or clandestine organisation/network to make that analysis more widely available.

Fortunately the attempts by the pseudo-gangs of the extreme right have failed in their mission to break the solidarity of the left and anarchist resistance. The dirty tricks of the Hepp Gang were eventually fully exposed (by *Anarchy* magazine, for one, after initially coming to the wrong conclusion) for all to see. In fact it should be the responsibility of any revolutionary movement to develop its own intelligence capabilities and be constantly watchful at all times of the activities of the extreme right so that at any opportunity

their conspiracies can be revealed and their plans nipped in the bud. The fascist opportunists are always looking for the right moment to escalate their terror tactics, especially if the left resistance is itself on the offensive.

## 2. Repression

In Germany to go on strike is interpreted by the state authorities as an act of violence (disruption of the community by disrupting industry). Section 130 of the Penal Code criminalises 'incitement to class war' and agitation generally. According to one Supreme Court judge, any advocacy of resistance against the state is punishable... 'there is advocacy in the form of an indirect appeal, second advocacy in the form of an apparent distancing of oneself, thirdly the description of criminal actions which invite imitation, fourthly advocacy in the form of giving approval to a historical event with the intention of presenting it as a model to be imitated, fifthly advocacy in the form of an announcement or prediction of acts of violence which invite imitation, and sixthly advocacy of violence in the form of reproduction of the opinion of others in which the author identifies himself (sic) with that opinion in order to produce a particular impression. (Quote from, *Law, Order and Politics in West Germany*, by Sebastian Cobler.)

Section 131 of the Penal Code makes it an offence to 'glamorise or trivialise violence'. Clause 111 prohibits publications or meetings that incite criminal acts (the publishers of the biography of June 2 Movement Bommi Baumann were raided and charged under 111). Later a more catch-all statute was formulated to supercede 111. This new law enabled the prosecution of someone not only for incitement but also for 'providing the right kind of climate for incitement'. In other words, any informed argument that is critical of the state as an institution and could provoke anti-state ideas.

The big one is 129, which penalises anyone who supports or publicises or sympathises with any organisation or combination 'prejudicial to the state'. The same clause also provides for suspects to be placed under arbitrary surveillance, be raided, etc, in order that evidence of guilt by association may be built up. Those defendants who refuse to cooperate under Clause 129 provide the authorities with the 'evidence' they need: you're either guilty of non-cooperation or of supporting 'criminal' groups. Catch 22. Attending meetings and reading publications can be construed as 'support' for resistance under 129. One publisher, Klaus Wagenbach, published a book called 'On the Armed Struggle in Western Europe', written by a RAF member. He was sent for prosecution under 129. More recently 129 has been invoked against some squatters groups. In one test case the High Court ruled that under 129 a group of squatters can be defined as a criminal organisation in that the actions of that group threaten the state's housing laws and thereby the state itself.

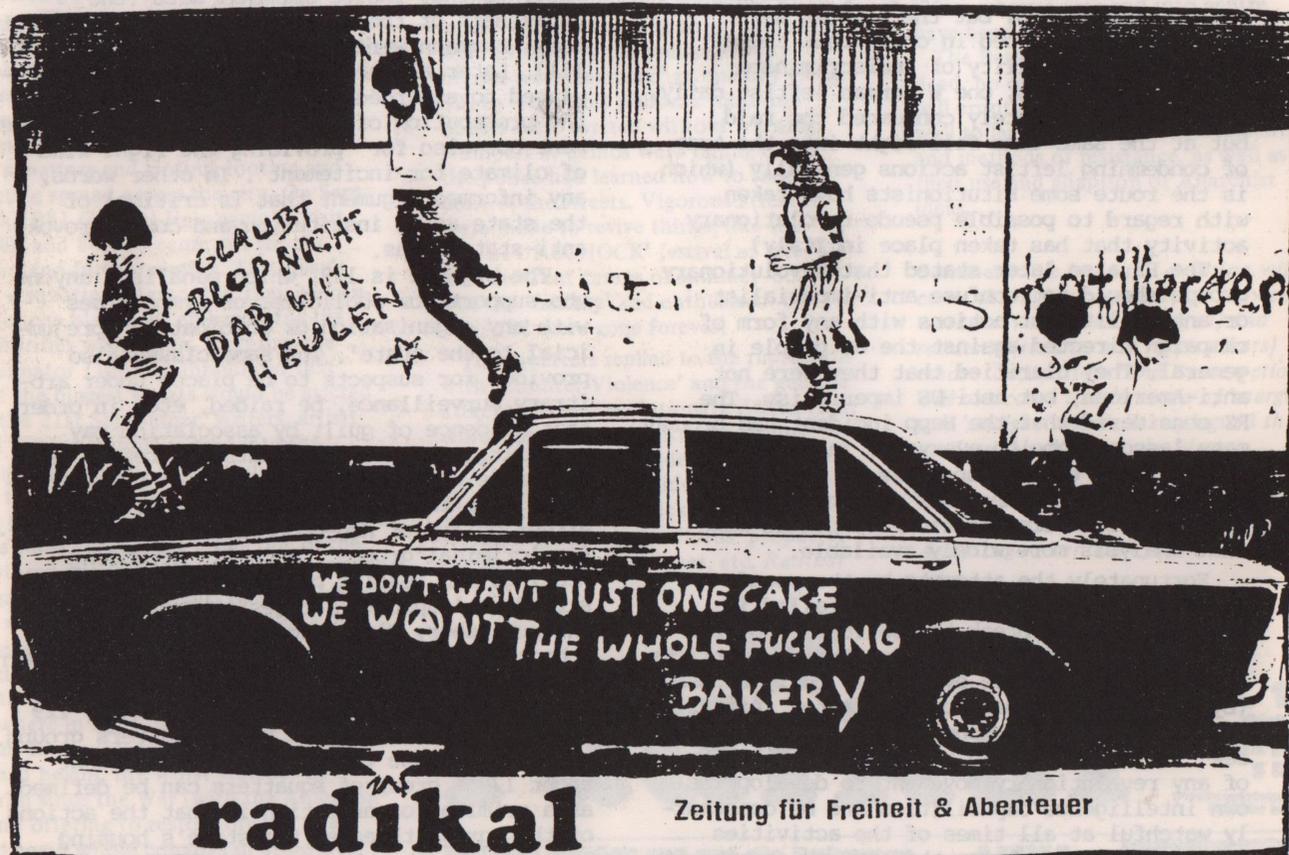
In another test case one woman got sentenced to nine months (suspended) for merely distributing leaflets about the RAF, on the understanding that in future she did not involve herself with any other sympathetic actions. Later the Higher Court criticised this judgement for not being harsh enough.

In nearly every instance where the censorship laws have been invoked it has been against anarchist or leftist groups, virtually never against the growing number of neo-fascist groups that are springing up. The same happened in the '50's, when over 20 left groups were criminalised, while the right received protection. The jail sentences handed out to the two editors of *Radikal* are merely part of the long term campaign in W Germany aimed at crushing all forms of resistance (whether active or passive) that is targetted at the state. With the cooperation extended between the intelligence and security services in different countries, and with the announcement that part of the work of *Radikal* was being continued at the 121 Anarchist Centre, in Brixton, it is not that unfeasible to speculate that the recent raid on 121 by members of the 'Anti-Terrorist Squad, 'looking for the European connection', may be but a continuation of this conspiracy to stamp out anarchist media in Germany.

We are already aware that the BGS (the paramilitary border police) who each year have to attend a compulsory 'civil war' training session, are working with British Home Defence Forces (namely the recently expanded TA's) on joint exercises on counter-insurgency. Furthermore, we are aware of the special school in Weingarten at the Long Range Reconnaissance Patrol HQ, where NATO counter-insurgency training is provided as part of joint operations on an ongoing basis.

Joint cooperation between the security states of Europe is moving into a new phase. The German model has led the way—as far as providing an example of just how far society can be manipulated to give total support to the corporate state. And other European countries are learning fast (eg, the wave of arrests against anti-state critics in Italy). That is why publications like *Radikal* (and others), movements like the RZ, and situations like the Berlin squatting scene are such a thorn in the flesh to the W German authorities. *Radikal* will hopefully rise again and there will be, no doubt, new publications to work along its side. The RZ have so far been untouchable; unlike their predecessors, the June 2 Movement and the RAF (Red Army Fraction), the arrest detection rate on RZ actions has been minimal. Also the support base for the RZ is much wider and their tactic of avoiding going underground and living a completely clandestine lifestyle has seemingly paid off. As for the squatting movement, there have been some defeats, but there have also been some victories too

Finally, it should once again be emphasised that the crucial mistake the W German authorities have made in their attack on *Radikal* (ostensibly for publishing material about the RZ, in reality for consistently providing an outlet for the anti-state opposition), is that by instigating and widening censorship they have forced the resistance into, inevitably and hopefully, becoming more polarised and thereby more solid within itself. A polarised resistance movement that has a wide base eventually takes on a strategic role within the class struggle and for Model West Germany that can only mean one thing: its days are finally numbered.



Below is an updated list of libertarians at the moment imprisoned by Spain's socialist government. We urge all comrades and friends to show their solidarity by writing directly to them or by sending money for them to the Anarchist Black Cross.

**CARABANCHEL PRISON:**  
Apartado de Correos 27007, Madrid 280 - 25, Spain.

ALVARO ALVARO DEL RIO:  
Arrested 1979 Sentence: 23 years  
GUILLERMO MARIN GAITAN:  
Arrested 24-1-83. On Remand.  
JOSEP DIGON BALAGUER:  
Arrested 24-1-83. On Remand.  
SOTERO DEL CAMPO BAZ:  
Arrested 24-1-83. On Remand.  
MARIO INES TORRES: On Remand.  
ARMANDO GARCIA PONS: Remand.  
RAIMOND SOLER SUGRANES:  
On Remand.  
JAVIER CLARAMUNT CICERA:  
On Remand.  
JOSE M. VIEITES ARCAS:  
Arrested 13-2-80 (Barcelona)  
Sentence: 16 years.

**SEGOVIA PRISON:**  
Apartado de Correos 113,  
40080 Segovia, Spain.

FIDEL MANRIQUE GARRIDO:  
Arrested 1-5-78. (Valladolid).  
Sentence: 32 years, CNT member,  
JOSE HERNANDEZ TAPIAS:  
Caso E.R.A.T. Sentence: 30 years  
GABRIEL BOTIFOLL GOMEZ:  
Caso E.R.A.T. (Armed Revolutionary  
Workers Organisation).  
Sentence: 30 years.  
MANUEL NOGALES TORO:  
Caso ERAT. Sentence: 30 years.  
RAFAEL SIMON GOMEZ:  
Arrested 3-2-78 (Valencia)  
Sentence: 11 years.  
GUILLERMO LORENZO TREVINO:  
Arrested 14-2-80 (Barcelona)  
Sentence: 12 years.  
FRANCISCO MEDIAN HERNANDEZ:  
Arrested 14-2-80 (Barcelona)  
Sentence: 10 years.

**MODELO PRISON BARCELONA**  
Apartado Oficial de Correos 20,  
Barcelona, Spain.

JUAN MANUEL FERNANDEZ  
ASENSIO: Arrested 23-3-81.  
Sentence: 19 years. CNT member.  
FRANCISCO NICOLAS GARRIDO:  
Arrested 1-8-79. Tried 3-5-82.  
Sentence: 43 years.  
JORGE GIL SALVADOR:  
Arrested 20-5-81. Tried 10-2-83.  
Sentence: 4 years and 5 months.  
MANUEL CRUZ CABAIREA:  
Caso ERAT.  
FRANCISCO JAVIER CANADAS  
GASCON: Sentence: 17 years - Caso  
Caso Scala.

**LERIDA I, Lerida, Spain.**  
ARTURO PALMA SEGURA:  
Arrested 16-1-78. Tried 1-12-80.  
Sentence: 17 years. CNT member.  
Caso Scala.

**LERIDA II,**  
Apartado Oficial de Correos 426,  
Lerida II Lerida, Spain.  
MIGUEL MULET NICOLAU:  
Arrested 1-8-79 (Barcelona). Tried 3-5-82  
Sentence: 31 years. CNT member.  
JOSE GRANADOS MARTINEZ:  
Arrested 1-8-79 (Barcelona).  
Tried 3-5-82. Sentence 31 years.  
CNT member.

**LAS PALMAS (Canary Islands)**  
Salto del Negro,  
Tafira Alta,  
Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, Spain.  
GUILLERMO RODRIGUEZ LOPEZ

**VALENCIA WOMENS PRISON,**  
Carcel Valencia de Mujeres,  
Valencia, Spain.  
MARIA LUISA ALVARO DEL RIO  
Arrested 1979. Sentence 10 years.

**MURCIA PRISON**  
Murcia, Spain.  
FERNANDO GARCIA MORALES  
Arrested 3-2-78 (Valencia):  
Sentence: 11 years.

**PUERTO DE SANTA MARIA PRISON**  
Carretera Jerez-Rota, Km.6 (Prision),  
Puerto de Santa Maria (Cadiz) Spain.  
JOSE RAMON CORNEJO SANCHEZ  
(Imprisoned through previous convictions).  
Tried: 16-11-82.  
Sentence 4 years and 8 months.  
PEDRO GARCIA PENA:  
Sentence: 20 years.

**RELEASED:** Juan Conesa SANZ;  
Fernando Simon FERNANDEZ;  
Miguel Angel Moreno PATINO;  
Fernando Merino DEL RIO; Jose Luis  
Piquero PEREZ; Emilio Nieva REPARAZ  
Guillermo PALLEJA; Eugenio Asensio  
NOGUES; Jose Ramon Sanchez RAMOS  
Augustin Garcia CORONADO!



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## SPANISH LIBERTARIAN PRISONERS LIST.

# HOW NEAR WERE WE TO REVOLUTION ?

How near were we to revolution in and after the last war? The first time was with the prospective German invasion of Britain. This never came off but the prospect was near enough for it to have influenced attitudes during the war for large numbers of people. The second time was with the Allied invasion of Greece, when the Govt. tried to take a large number of forseen measures to deal with the problem. The third time was after the war, when it seemed — despite the upheaval in Western Europe and perhaps because of the Soviet Takeover in Eastern Europe — that the soldiers councils had their 'Indian Summer' in Egypt.



At Abbasia (British uniforms, l-r McNamara, Meltzer, (seated) Gregory). The Sudanese did not take part in the strike (they were professional soldiers) and indeed took over guard duties from the British, but were friendly (as seen in the swopping of hats) — there was no resentments as is natural in an industrial dispute, partly because most soldiers felt that, strike or not strike, guard duties had to be done in the interests of life security.

The coalition formed in 1940 under Churchill's leadership was able to learn the lessons of the First World War, when many of the Labour Party had found themselves in opposition — industrial or military.

The most authoritarian Trade Union Leader Ernest Bevin was made Minister of Labour and he strengthened the industrial "conciliation" — in reality dictatorial — tribunals with trade union representation. In a determination to see that the shop steward movement did not branch out as a horizontal union movement inside the vertical movement (as it did during WWI, and still in part does) he tried to involve the shop stewards as much as possible in arbitration. This was finally successful after Russia declared war and the immense expertise of the Communist Party was thrown behind the State. The Trotskyists however, influencing groups of those ex-CP militants disconcerted by the Party's change of face, managed some minor successes in wildcat industrial opposition.

The policy of the Govt, very clearly inspired by Home Secretary Herbert Morrison (who loathed the CP as personal rivals in Socialist Hackney) was tolerance for political dissent (after it had banned the CP in its early pro-Hitler war time stance) except for fascists. This was because after Russia came into the war, Morrison wanted the CP to be exposed for its shifts in policy. Therefore he did not take any proceedings against Trotskyists or Anarchists who would certainly expose the CP forever in a way Morrison as a member of the Govt, allied with Russia, could not, until the last year of the war when both movements faced a series of prosecutions for what they had been doing with impunity for five years.

In the first world war, there had been a series of scandalous imprisonments with shooting and torture and death of conscientious objectors. Not so however in WWII. Those who could convince the tribunals they had objections to joining the Army mainly religious but often not were exempted unconditionally or conditionally. Those who had reasonably articulate anti-war beliefs faced a few years in prison at most. This invalidated the role of conscientious objection as an anti-war force. It made it a game. Most sincere libertarian opponents preferred to go into the Army, even if they did not accept the line of "getting within the forces" directed by the Leninists at the masses, themselves wisely perhaps ignoring it.

Thus there was considerable potential sympathy for the Anarchist movement in the Forces, beyond anything known before or since in Great Britain. Commonwealth, a body growing out of Socialists who did not support the Coalition (but generally were for the war) had already extended itself in the Army, but usually in higher ranks, and especially in the Education Corps.

Most people of the authoritarian as well as the libertarian left thought of "the revolution" coming at the end of, or precipitating the end of, the war. In the event, the vast majority settled for safely voting Labour; but both during the period when Hitler looked likely to win, and later when he looked

likely to lose, there was a general conviction there *would* be a revolution, and and many planned for it (hiding arms).<sup>1</sup> This will be denied only by those who use the oft-repeated lie "if Hitler had won, we would be German slaves"; if in fact he had invaded these islands, he would have met considerable resistance, which would have allied itself with continental resistance. It was because he *lost* that the revolutionary feeling subsided and hope was placed in the Labour Party because that meant taking no action whatsoever and playing it safe.

There had been one or two uneasy moments during the war when unrest (in other words the realisation that revolutionary feelings did exist in the Armed Forces) became plain. One such was in Cairo, where Commonwealth Army sergeants had formed discussion circles and finally what they called the 'Cairo Parliament'. It was nothing more than a debating society but the interesting thing was that it was modelled on Parliament, and had an overwhelmingly left wing majority. It also revealed that because of the overpowering effect of the four-year-long praise of Russia, and all its works from Dear Uncle Joe down to the delights of the rest camps in Siberia, with its forces doing all the work of fighting to the point of making all others superfluous, Communist Party influence was growing steadily (only checked by the anti-CP influence) and this applied to the European resistance

without opposition. — no Morrison there to modify repression!

It was also thought that Commonwealth was tending to be Communist, though in fact it had more in common with the SDP of today.

The 'Parliament' was disbanded, the sergeants dispersed, and all its influence washed away by the Army authorities. However, partly because of the imminence of the Second Front, a new situation arose where a very considerable body of soldiers resented the whole role of the Communist Party which had been thrust down their throat, and the fact of going to the aid of Russia with the implication they'd been in a rest camp all the previous time.

The CP's line of *Open the Second Front* and its continual protests that nothing but a frontal landing on France would help the Soviet Union "carrying the brunt of the war" tended to be less attractive to soldiers than to factory workers where, in any case, the CP was shaping itself into a disciplinary force: reporting "slackers" for declassification for instance.

After the invasion, revolution at home became more remote, but revolution on the continent became a distinct possibility, it was thought. Chance after chance was "missed" in Europe — the CP dominated Resistance movements, with Russian aid, by this time, and building itself up in Western Europe, taking over in Eastern Europe with the aid of the Red Army.

During this period, possibly under right-wing pressure, Morrison decided that the period of "tolerance" for Trots and Anarchists was over. It was just the time when either or both had the opportunity they never had before or since, and failed to contact the ball. There are several reasons for this (they deserve to be dealt with in a separate article, as the extent to which both grew, both faced internal dissensions and broke up under pressure and police infiltration, has not been told nor the lessons drawn from the reasons why both missed their chances.)

The Workers in Uniform (anarchist) grouping was broken up<sup>2</sup>, the correspondence societies of soldiers and the people concerned went their various ways, and were demobilised in due course. But the last flowering of the revolutionary movement was yet to come.

In 1945 the Labour Government came into power. The Communist Party by then was entirely a right wing movement — it campaigned in the Election for a "Labour Government with Churchill as Prime Minister" and certain Conservatives had countered with an appeal for the Communist vote "Vote for Churchill — Stalin's pal". Thanks to Morrison's policy of making sure their twists and turns from pro-Hitlerism to super-patriotism were known by the people who would make it known, it never revived as a considerable force. For a time the Trots, though now disunited and vanishing as a credible party

were able to fish for members in the shrinking CP pond.

The Labour Party, as one of its numerous anti-working-class policies, went on to decide to maintain peace-time conscription (unknown in Britain; when introduced a few months before the war it had been definitely promised that this was a temporary measure). Not only did they propose to continue National Service; after a time, the commitments they had made forced them to cut back on the rate of demobilisation, the very thing that had triggered off soldiers' strikes in the First World War. They felt they were invulnerable.

In November 1946, when it was thought that all was "safe" so far as upheaval was concerned, there were sudden strikes in Egypt. GHQ issued a laconic statement that as a result of the announcement of the new release dates, "soldiers of some administrative establishments at Tel-el-Kebir were missing from their work; similar incidents took place in Port Said, Suez and Abbasia". It tried to play the matter down though anyone knows that such a thing as strikes do not exist in the Army. It is mutiny.

The Secretary of State for War, Bellenger first tried playing down the protests, issuing constant statements reassuring the rest of the world — British soldiers were after all spread out in Europe, India, the Far East — that all was quiet, "a number had been missing, they had returned, normal conditions now prevail". But GHQ was contradicting him all the time. From REME in Tel-el-Kebir it spread to the Pioneers in Ismailia, from there to the massed soldiers centres in Abbasia, and finally there was a massive demonstration in the centre of Cairo, Ezbekiah Gardens. The demand was solely a protest against the slowing down of

demobilisation but at that meeting it was decided to appoint delegates to form complete co-ordination. The very dividing line over into mutiny had long been passed.

These delegates who met regularly during the week — ignoring all military duties and rules — went one step further and decided to push their luck and form soldiers' councils. They knew the Govt was afraid to go too far, that Egypt was anyway on the verge of rising, Palestine ready to explode (as it did with the following years' Arab-Israeli clash), and that for the Govt to further provoke their only conceivable "tool" in the Middle East, namely the Armed Forces would be lunacy.

The Army swallowed the pill by dealing with the delegates direct, thus enabling the soldiers' councils to exist. That this was a momentous occasion anyone with the faintest idea of revolution must concede. It was one thing to have a phoney debating society two years before in Cairo, organised by respectable sergeants, but this had been disbanded and anyway, all concerned must long since have been demobilised. This was a new generation, the post-1945 conscripts, though stiffened in the councils by people who had gone through the disciplinary battalions detention barracks and more inclined to agitate among the younger men. (No women, those in the Middle East were volunteers).

The soldiers' councils - the first in Britain - then decided to call a general strike (of Army personnel). At Christmas in Cairo, also in the suburbs of Heliopolis, Misri Gedida, Abbasia and other military barracks, not only all work stopped (except for German POWs who continued to work, and even organised their own discipline!) but every military duty except patrols ceased. (An overwhelming vote had determined that patrols continue,



The atmosphere of the strike and the formation of soldiers' councils was very relaxed and jokey. Some were held in leave camps, Naafis or Christian centres. At Port Foud (photo above) the waiters got in on the act. The committee consisted of Meltzer, McCarthy and Stanley (representing Cairo, centre) — seated.

largely because so many British troops believed they would have their throats cut in the night by the local population if they didn't. This mistrust made it impossible for the delegates to convince the mass meetings that they should co-operate with Egyptian workers.

The result of the soldiers councils and the mass meeting either caused the airmen to strike, or it may have been that they had already struck and this was the first time it was brought to the soldiers' attention generally. (Those who struck were not, of course flying officers, but the lower ranks of airmen). The RAF however faced different problems. The softly-softly policy adopted by the Army was not repeated.

The Communist Party was strongly represented in the RAF though not in the Army. This tended to frighten the higher ranks though in fact there was no attempt to form councils as in the Army, and on the contrary, most of what they *did* - apart from striking - was to pass resolutions demanding speedier demobilisation "to build the new Britain".

I understand a Marxist historian is writing the story of the RAF strike. Perhaps they will also cover the soldiers' councils?

It should be stated that in January 1947 most of the Army positions in Egypt were in the hands of the soldiers' councils. They could not spread. In Palestine, the soldiers' councils formed could not operate because of the tense situation; (or rather, because of the way in which the majority of the soldiers were inhibited by the local situation). But in Egypt the councils operated during almost the whole month.

It is interesting that the attitude of GHQ expressed again and again to delegates was, "It isn't us who wants you here. We want to get back to the old professional army with a pride in its work." Or as one brass hat expressed it sarcastically, "It isn't us diehard militarists who keep you here. It's your Labour government, your militants" - a true statement that, regretfully, impressed a great many.

Suddenly we learned that Bellinger was out and Shinwell, was in. GHQ in Kasr-el-Nil announced that the rate of demobilisation was to be restored and the new rate would mean most of those in would be out within the year, though National Service was to be retained (until the Conservatives abolished it, when they came to power - the Labour Party, being associated with anti-militarism, never quite plucked up the courage). Less happy was the outcome in the RAF where heavy sentences were inflicted, despite the Communist Party flying out top lawyers. (Though in fact many of the sentences, were later remitted, the example having been made, and those who had twenty years served only two at most). We have not had conscription

since though most of Europe retains the the male blood tax.

It has never been written up. But it should not be written down. Among so many setbacks it would be a shame not to record that for two or three months we actually achieved Soldiers' Councils in the British Army.

It may be asked by the cynical - was it so important that a limited mutiny occurred in Cairo, that it was successful in limited objectives in that the rate of release from the Armed Forces was speeded up and what has this to do with social change? Resistance to the State is always important, and the speedier demob (involving both British soldiers and POWs) a major reform.

When one thinks of the incredible State mentality that was building up arms bases and fancy officers' residences and hotels in Egypt, only for the ultimate benefit of an hostile Army (in the Suez war), in return for which families were separated so that had it not ended when it did, thousands now living would not have been born, for that alone the episode deserves its place in history. But above all, what distinguished it was the building of *Soldiers Councils*; the holding of regular meetings to which the councils were responsible. In the RAF general council a few Communists; in the Army councils, Communists were excluded but not Anarchists, and it was the presence of Anarchists that prevented the reactionary forces from swinging it on patriotic lines and provided an antidote to the pro (Labour) Govt. tendencies. In the First World War there had been in some towns (such as Glasgow) workers councils. If only there had been simultaneously and in the same town soldiers and workers councils, we would have been more than near to revolution.

Albert Meltzer.

1 After the war, an amnesty for all arms surrendered up to the police provided a staggering amount, and it was twice repeated. Typically, the Trots made sure a photographer was there to see them carrying a pile of weapons to the police station, while (alas, equally typically) the anarchists in London buried most of theirs for some future use in what turned out to be the site designated for a huge block of Council flats, unlikely now to be discovered except by some future archaeologist who may think they've dug up an Ancient British fortress...

2. See The Anarchists in London



## I Was a Teenage Junkie

I was 17 when I first picked up the habit. It was the time when those around me were starting to grow up - some were taking responsibility for their lives, working out what they enjoyed and doing it, but I felt I couldn't cope with this struggle to be free. I needed a way to escape from the problems of this world, from the feeling of powerlessness against the vast machinery that controls it.

At first it didn't make that much difference - I only needed a fix once a week, but soon I found that all my old friends had gone out of my life. I found myself spending more and more time among those with the same habit - I could only relate to people through the suffocating mediation of the drug. Normal relationships became impossible and any thought of enjoying myself & them was suppressed - healthy joy in life became a childish dependance on the other junkies, especially the older, more experienced ones, those who had stayed hooked over the years as an escape from their boring, alienated lives.

After a while doubts came in - what if there was more to life than this? It was then that I went to see Luis Palau at Croydon in 1983, and my doubts grew as I saw this great man. I saw the crowds, an impersonal mass, and I saw the stewards, many of them off-duty policemen, standing threateningly about the auditorium, watching the audience to ensure its passivity, not listening to the words of the master, some not even bothering to pray with him, as if their position of power put them above even the necessity of seeming to join in. The whole thing reminded me of the Nuremburg rally in Nazi Germany.

It was then that I realised that I was a junkie, that religion was my drug and Palau a pusher. The rally was perfectly orchestrated to make as many people as possible take the fix and continue needing it. His great charisma was based purely on the audiences need to bow down before him, to believe and be accepted. Those who queued up at the end for redemption were already his faithful followers acting out a pathetic ritual. It became obvious that his enthusing about the West's freedom of religion meant only his freedom to push his drug - the only 'freedom' he cares about.

Like me, Lies Palau got his first fix of the religious drug at a Mission Summer School where it is smuggled in behind a facade of games and sport. He got his experience of manipulating rallies on the Overseas Crusades, a front organisation to promote the American Dream and the reality of poverty.

He worked his way up to become a friend of various South American dictators such as President Montt of Guatemala, one of the greatest mass

murderers and torturers of all time (but of course the greater your sins, the greater your forgiveness, not that he stopped when 'born again'). He is proud to claim that he stopped a revolt in Ecuador against the dictator there, by converting the leaders of the revolt into submissive bible-junkies. He then went on to help dupe the workers and peasants of Asia into accepting their lot, and now he is coming back here to preach the morality that our rulers want us to accept, GET MARRIED, WORK HARD & SHUT UP. Turn the other cheek and let the boss exploit you some more, and the great sugar-daddy in the sky will make it up to you when work or the dole or war has killed you.

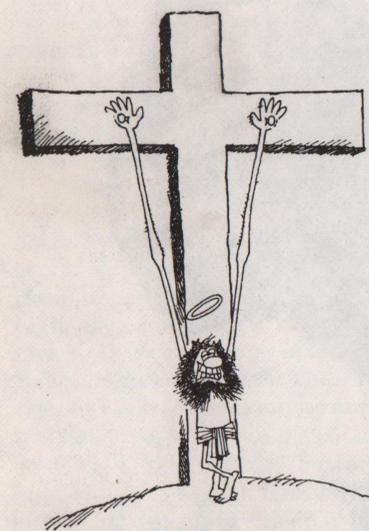
THE MEEK SHALL INHERIT THE EARTH UNDER WHICH THEY ARE BURIED.

His present campaign is being run by Saatchi & Saatchi, the Tory's answer for an advertising agency, and by Harvey Thomas, the Tory's publicity adviser, and paid for by bosses like Sir Maurice Laing of the building firm.

We want to live now, not spend a living death waiting for a non-existent life after death. Religion, like heroin helps to dull our dissatisfaction with this world; helps to justify our own powerlessness in this world. Capitalism forces us to sell our power to produce and control, to help create a world beyond our control. Despite Christianity, the fight is on, and will continue until we are in control of our own lives, and the bosses and gurus are hiding under stones where they belong.

Lets kick the pushers out of town, and storm the gates of heaven.

CAMPAIGN FOR REAL LIFE  
BM-CRL LONDON WCIN 3XX



## PERSECUTION OF MEXICAN INDIANS

In Mexico, the National Institute for Indigenous Peoples, a huge bureaucratic machine, has recently come to light as being one of the main tools of oppression of the 13 million Indian people living there. Since its foundation, the programmes and resources of the NNI have favoured its employees, or foreign groups instead of the Indians it is supposed to represent. Moreover, according to Genaro Dominguez, leader of the Co-ordinating Body of Native Nations, the NNI has remained completely silent about, for example, slaughters of people perpetrated amongst the Chiapas in Chacihualt at the end of March 1983 or amongst the Iriquis Indians in the State of Oaxaca. The inaction of the NNI seems to belie the fact that this top-heavy organisation is but a bureaucracy whose interests it is supposed to hold as a top priority. Government efforts to thwart the Indian's attempts to stop injustices are illustrated in the example of one man who is the leader of the Iriqui Struggle and Unification Movement who was jailed in Sept '83 together with ten of his comrades, on false homicide charges.

Meanwhile the *caciques* (local dons or bosses) control the coffee, banana and mango soils, pretending to be ignorant of the title deeds acknowledged to the Iriquis by the Spanish viceroys of Mexico, then by Benito Juarez who freed Mexico from the expeditionary unit of Napoleon the Third last century. In 1976 the army ignored new legislation laid down in the favour of the unions by the then President Luis Echeverria, and 200 Indians were slaughtered by the army. Still today they hold the Iriquian community at seige with frequent patrols and terror tactics.

The state of Oaxaca - 700 kilometres south of Mexico City - with a 70% Indian population is one of the most maltreated of Indian communities. Some lands 'ejidos' (Collective properties) are left for mortgage to the 'ejidatarios' (peasants) by the Govt. of Oaxaca, but the states's regards them as zones of small property for as a means of forcing the peasants to pay higher taxes and to break the communal solidarity. This is also the reason they force the Indians to grow non-food products as they must rely on markets for food and provisions. Consequently their economy of exchange and self-subsistence is gradually collapsing. Also there has been a discovery of uranium fields in the Upper Mixteque, where a method of exploiting the land is similar to that used in oil-drilling: a road is built, supposedly to help the people in the village, then some 'experts' come and work on the expropriated territory

where the natives are 'employed' (ie. exploited) as cheap manual labour, all under the guise of 'improving the area'.

The Lacandone jungle, after having been totally exploited by lumber companies has thus dispossessed the Tzeltak tribes, for the benefit of multinational companies, of their original links with their environment. Meanwhile the Chole, Tolojobale and Catchilquile Indian tribes go on hunger-strikes to demand the political freedom of their compatriots.

Among the Yaqui tribe living in the desert of Sonora exist many other forms of oppression. For example, foreigners rent land that does not officially belong to them and grow marijuana there. According to the Indians the Federal Drug Squads have introduced marijuana to the cash crop community for many reasons: to find an alibi to put in jail as many as an excuse to put in jail as many of the Indians involved in the struggle against their oppression, and to destroy the local morale and take away their power. It also justifies the credits that are given to the Federal Government and American authorities in Mexico in the fight against drug abuse.

The list of extortions against Indians is never ending. The Pajapan, Veracruz, Mexica Popolucas and Najuatals Indians are still protesting against the seizure of more than 5,000 hectares of their property/territory for the construction of the harbour of Laguna Ostian.

For the anthropologists committed to Indian problems and those most directly affected the only situation that could be an improvement is the dissolution of the NNI in which the Indians have no word or rights. Officially more than 80 million pesos have been invested in our community yet we see no result... The employers of the NNI are living off us! says a militant of the CNPI. Indignation is becoming stronger especially as the result of a recent scandal; the previous head of the NNI, Salomon Sitton, now in jail, was accused of having a hand in shadey business of trading fabrics, where he put the money intended for the clothing of young Mexican Indians into his own pockets. This is of course not isolated incident (his arrest is!).

Tonto.





Fifty years ago, on July 10th Erich Muhsam, the revolutionary anarchist poet and writer was murdered by the forces of Hitlerian barbarism in the concentration camp of Oranienburg.

Despite his being one of the most interesting figures in the German anarchist movement, little or nothing is known about him outside his native country, and even less by English-speaking anarchists apart from Roland Lewin's disappointingly short sketch which appeared in the Cienfuegos Press Review some years ago.

Rudolf Rocker, Muhsam's friend and comrade for the last part of his life wrote of him '... Muhsam was one of the most remarkable personalities I have known. Always generous in his actions he was a true and devoted friend. He was a born anarchist and refused to recognise any constraints. He had in him throughout his life something of a child which showed itself in the joy he got from his activities in his limitless optimism and the vibrant enthusiasm in which he firmly believed in the innate goodness of human beings. . .'

Muhsam, despite suffering ill-health and poverty throughout much of his life fought with all his energy every form of tyranny and injustice.

His anarchism, although not always consistent, (and he was always the first to recognise, and admit to his errors) was aimed at working people, especially the lumpen-proletariat, in whose company he always felt most at home. Like Bakunin he believed that these people above all, rejected and despised by both capitalists and 'respectable' socialists alike were capable of building a new society.

The anarchism that Muhsam fought for was for the now and not some distant future, and when accused by the state socialist of being a 'utopian' he always replied 'I attach a great importance to being a Utopian, for this means striving for goals which have no roots in the present. It also means planting the seeds for something different, something nobler and better than we have now!'

# ERICH MUHSAM 1878 - 1934

## PART 1

Erich Muhsam was born in Berlin on April 6 1878, the third child of a middle-class Jewish pharmacist. Soon after his birth his family moved to Lubeck where Erich spent his childhood and youth.

Muhsam's home life was far from happy. His father, Siegfried, a national liberal by political persuasion and an ardent nationalist by sentiment (for instance, he was very proud of his family name which in German means *tireless* and was given to his forebears by Frederick the Great for fighting tirelessly in his service during the Thirty Years War) was an autocratic and authoritarian of the worst kind who ruled over his family with an iron hand and took delight in beating his children for the most trivial of reasons. When, in later years, Erich made his desire to become a poet known his father tried to beat the idea out of him!

At the age of 10 Muhsam was sent to the Katharineum Gymnasium in Lubeck, a school run on authoritarian lines, which like Siegfried Muhsam, thought little of beating pupils. The school, in fact, was a sort of state within a state and served on the model for the school in Thomas Mann's novel *Buddenbrooks*. Here Erich soon began to show his rebellious nature and constantly resisted the school's attempt to mould his character to conform with their ideas. For this he was always picked out for the most severe punishment.

In January 1896 he wrote anonymously to the *Lubecker Volksboten*, Lubeck's local Social Democratic newspaper denouncing one of the schools more unpleasant teachers. The publication of this letter caused a scandal when its author became known, and resulted in Erich's expulsion from school for 'socialist activities'. As no other school in the area would take him, he was forced to continue his studies away from Lubeck at Parchim where he obtained his baccalaureat.

From an early age Muhsam showed a remarkable talent for writing and wanted nothing more than to become a poet. At the age of 11, he wrote animal fables, and at 16, unbeknown to his father earned a little money by contributing satirical verses based on local news and politics to the Lubeck circus.

On leaving school, Muhsam, at the insistence of his father, studied pharmacy and was later apprenticed to the Lubeck based firm of Adler. Soon though, the repugnance for the pharmaceutical profession, compounded with the oppressive home atmosphere and all too frequent violent disputes with Siegfried over his literary aspirations forced Erich to leave Lubeck and settle in Berlin. Later, looking back on his childhood, he wrote bitterly '... My hatred grows when I look back on it and visualise the unspeakable flailings which were supposed to beat out of me all my innate feelings. . .' All this left him with a permanent dislike for his father and authority in general.

Muhsam arrived in Berlin in early 1900 and soon began to frequent literary circles while working in a chemist's shop in the Weddingplatz. Later in the year he was invited by Heinrich Hart to join the *Neue Gemeinschaft* (New Society) circle. *Neue Gemeinschaft*, founded by young middle class writers and poets attempted to create the basis of a new society through communal living that would become 'a forerunner of a socially united great working commune of humanity'. Members of the group included Hart's brother Julius, Peter Hille, Wilhelm Bolsche, Martin Buber and most importantly Gustav Landauer. If Muhsam had any illusions about the *Neue Gemeinschaft*, they were soon to be dashed. Despite its vague attempt at communal living (cooking etc. being done in common), it was in reality only a debating society and soon both Muhsam and Landauer left the group, Landauer commenting that community was *not* organised like that. For Muhsam, the most important thing to come out of his encounter with the *Neue Gemeinschaft* group was his meeting with Landauer which was to have a profound and lasting influence on him. Although their subsequent friendship, which was to last almost 20 years was always somewhat stormy, Muhsam always recognised the debt he owed to Landauer, more than once referring to him as 'my friend and leader, my teacher and comrade'. Through Landauer, Muhsam was introduced to anarchist writers which he read avidly especially Bakunin, who he greatly admired. Muhsam's introduction to anarchism though merely clarified and directed his own feeling, as he wrote much later 'I was an anarchist before I knew what anarchism was. . .'

Muhsam now threw himself enthusiastically into anarchist propaganda and soon began to contribute articles to several anarchist journals including *Der Freie Arbeiter* (The Free Worker) the organ of the Anarchistische Federation Deutschlands; *Der Anarchist*, *Neue Gemeinschaft* and *Kampf* (Struggle) edited by Senna Hoy (the pseudonym of Johannes Holtzmann). Through the group around *Kampf*, Muhsam met many Russian revolutionary exiles as well as several well-known pre-expressionist and expressionist artists who contributed drawing to the paper including Otto Buek and Wener Daya. Of the journals that Muhsam contributed to during the period 1902-1905 *Kampf* was by far the most widely read, reaching a circulation of 10,000 by 1905. For a year or so (until May 1903), Muhsam also took over the editorship of *Der Arme T ufel* (The Poor Devil), a small



Johannes Nohl and Muhsam in Zurich 1904

weekly journal founded by Albert Weidner, writing articles under the pseudonym Nolo. Through his propaganda work in general and his editorship of *Der Arme T ufel* in particular, Muhsam soon became known to the police, who even then considered him as one of the most dangerous anarchist agitators and put him under constant surveillance.

During these years Muhsam continued with his literary career as an extension of his anarchist propaganda '... *The purpose of my art*' he wrote later, 'is the same as the purpose of my life: *Struggle! Revolution! Equality! Freedom!*...' By now a well known writer, at least in Bohemian circles, and gave readings of his satirical poems in cafe cabarets which brought him great popularity. He even became the founder and manager of the 'Cabaret zum Peter Hille', named in honour of one of the comrades of the *Neue Geimenschaft* group who had recently died.

Between 1904 and 1907 Muhsam, together with his friend Johannes Nohl, travelled on foot to many parts of Europe. In 1904 and 1905 they made long visits to Switzerland and Italy. In Switzerland they made a prolonged stay in the artists colony of Ascona on the banks of Lago Maggiore as well as staying in Zurich where Muhsam became involved for several months with the journal *Der Weckruf* (The Alarm Call) edited by Siegfried Nacht, the brother of Max Nomad. He also became very friendly with the Swiss

libertarian Fritz Brupbacher. From Zurich Muhsam made frequent visits to Geneva where he became active in the German Workers Union. In Italy they travelled as far as Pisa and Florence.

In 1906 they visited Austria and the following year France. In Paris Muhsam felt most at home especially in the cabarets like the *Chat Noir* and the *Lapin Agile* which were very libertarian in character. In Paris he also met Gustave Herve, then a militant anti-militarist, James Guillaume and former communards. He also spoke at many meetings and socials in the German Anarchist Club.

Where ever Muhsam travelled he spread anarchist propaganda using every means at his disposal, speaking in workers union locals, public meetings and even no doubt on street corners. He was closely followed by the local police in every country he visited who reported back to Berlin his every move.

Although always on the move during these years, Muhsam did return to Germany from time to time and continued to contribute to the anarchist press in general but mainly to *Der Freie Arbeiter* and its monthly supplement *Generalstrik* (General Strike). In the columns of *Generalstrik* Muhsam developed a strong anti-militarism. He called for the intensification and augmentation of the little anti-militaristic propaganda that had until then been carried out and recommended that May Day should become a mass workers demonstration against war. In a pro-

posal to the Amsterdam International Anti-Militarist Congress of 1907 organised by the Dutch anarchist Domela Nieuwenhuis he urged that individuals should refuse to be conscripted and refuse to pay the portion of their taxes that went on military spending. More importantly, he proposed that any threat of war should be met with an immediate general strike.

In an attempt to counter the poisonous reformism of the Social Democrats he also advocated the general strike and direct action as an alternative method of workers struggle: *Contrary to the tactics of negotiation, mutual compromise, hierarchical organisations, and the representative system, he wrote direct action is the ethical principle which tends to secure a higher standard of life for the workers and to advance their emancipation from capitalism and centralisation through immediate self-help.* When, in 1906, he wrote and distributed a pamphlet urging a general strike he was arrested and fined 500 Marks for his 'provoking class hatred and encouraging violations of the Law'.

In November 1908 Muhsam settled in Schwabing the North-eastern suburb of Munich. Munich, as the capital of the semi-autonomous Kingdom of Bavaria offered a welcome release from the stuffy atmosphere of Berlin, and many writers and political activists found refuge there including the playwright Frank Wedekind, Ernst Toller, Thomas and Heinrich Mann and the Socialist Kurt Eisner. In addition the city was the home for many Russian revolutionaries who were forced into exile after the aborted revolution of 1905.

Muhsam's move to Munich coincided with the founding of Gustav Landauer's *Socialistischer Bund* (*Socialist Federation*). Landauer's aim, through the *Bund*, was to create a parallel society outside the State through the founding of agricultural communities. This 'allotment anarchism' was also founded with the intention of pulling the rug away from under the developing anarcho-syndicalist movement which was at the time slowly gaining headway amongst German workers.

Muhsam immediately began propaganda work for the *Bund* in spite of his syndicalist sympathies (he always defended Landauer against his detractors claiming his 'revolutionary settlement idea was based upon the thought of an extremely militant boycott of capitalist production and consumption'), and founded the *Gruppe Anarchist* as its Munich section. Due to initial lack of interest though the group was soon disbanded.

Undeterred by this initial response Muhsam with the aid of Landauer's companion Margarete Fass-Hardegger, founded a new group, *Gruppe Tat* (*Group Action*) in May 1909. This time though instead of appealing to the Munich workers, who were in any case *blindly following their leaders and did not react to our idea of employing their labour solely for themselves.* Muhsam sought members from amongst the unemployed and lumpenproletariat: *I said to myself, he later recalled, in the ranks of these idlers, crooks, thugs, vagabonds and shattered men, are there not those who could be given a hope and a purpose in life by someone showing*

*them a new humane goal? Are not laziness and the inclination to crime often only a misdirected rebellious defiance against the State whose oppressive calculating characteristics are unwelcomed by them since it would foist unorganic drudgery upon this sort of person?*

Soon Muhsam found premises for the group which served both to house a small library and act as a meeting place. Although, these 'outcasts of society' mistrusted him at first they soon warmed to Muhsam's personality and over the next few years became the foremost anarchist group in Munich. They also organised many demonstrations including a protest outside the Spanish Consulate against the judicial murder of Francisco Ferrer during which the official shield was ripped down from the Consulate's home.

Muhsam's success in organising the lumpenproletariat was met with ridicule and contempt not only from the Social Democrats and the middle class press, especially the *Munchner Post*, but from within the Anarchist movement itself. Landauer had little sympathy with Muhsam's methods, especially as he imbued the *Bunds* idea with direct action and during an anarchist meeting in 1910 Muhsam was accused by another comrade (so-called!) of swelling the ranks of *Gruppe Tat* with tramps and the dregs of Munich's taverns *Indeed Muhsam replied, he had collected the dregs of the taverns but far from abominating these people he respected them and had showed them how to participate in socialist work because it was something that mattered as much to them as to so-called 'respectable people'.*

Muhsam's activities were also followed closely by the Munich police. Already in April 1909 he was tried and fined 100 marks for 'libel against the police' and on October 29th he was again arrested and charged with 'founding a villainous secret society' and 'incitement to instigate major crimes'. He was refused bail and held in prison until June 1910 when he was brought to trial.



Despite the State's attempt to win a conviction Muhsam, and his lawyer Max Bernstein, demolished every accusation the prosecution put forward, and after three days Muhsam was acquitted, when he proved that much of the evidence against him had been fabricated by the police.

Released from prison, Muhsam continued his work with a much enlarged *Gruppe Tat* thanks to the publicity gained from the trial, but now he had to contend with continual police harassment. In early 1911, the group which was always under police surveillance, was raided and all those present

were dragged off to prison charged again with founding a secret society etc. Released the next day through lack of evidence Erich Muhsam confronted the officer in charge of political affairs and demanded that the police stop persecuting him and other members of his group. In reply the policeman told him that he would not stop harassing anarchists like him until they were all behind bars where they belonged! Some time later, the groups local was again raided and this time all the non-Germans were arrested and deported for 'engaging in political activities'.

Muhsam was now portrayed everywhere as a villain and a dangerous anarchist and accused by the press of plotting every crime under the sun, especially the social democratic newspapers. Soon things became so bad that most publishers began to boycott his articles, even literary journals on whose money he depended on to live.

Confronted with this situation Muhsam's only alternative was to begin his own journal and so in April 1911 the first issue of the small format monthly *Kain* appeared, subtitled 'a journal for humanity'. *Kain* Muhsam stated would be *a personal organ for whatever the editor, as a poet, as a citizen of the world, and as a fellow man had on his mind.*



*Kain: Cover of first issue*

Over the next few years Muhsam used the columns of *Kain* to expose and condemn every excess and stupidity of the State and authority. He demanded the abolition of the death penalty. He led a long fight against the official censorship of the theatre, especially a continued defence of the writer Frank Wedekind who was always falling foul of the censor. He attacked the legal system and in particular the State's intervention in all aspects of everyday life. *The Law, he wrote orders the relationship between citizens according to what it defines as punishable acts.* He exposed the increasing power given to the police. *Now, he wrote things have progressed as far that the policeman is the master of all our decisions. He is always with us and paternally controls our most private affairs. He supervises our desires, life styles, habits, entertainments, sexual relationships and artistic tastes. When it*

*becomes necessary he refashions them to conform with the rules of property...*

As well, he chronicled and perceptively analysed international affairs which he saw as a head-long rush into war. In 1912 he prophetically wrote: *If a war breaks out it will be a world war more horrible than humanity has ever experienced. All nations will be seized by the throes of misery. Lives will be destroyed and entire families, villages cities and provinces will be decimated...* To combat this he once again called for an intensification of anti-militarist propaganda and in addition asked parents not to give their children toys related to military games and appealed to workers to refuse to work in firms having army contracts.

As *Kain* refused to take paying adverts its' financial position soon became precarious but Muhsam's printer Max Steinbach liked the journal so much that he agreed to share the cost of production.

In August 1914, the war that Muhsam had been predicting broke out. From the beginning the international anarchist movement was split into pro and anti-war factions. Peter Kropotkin and Jean Grave quickly abandoned their anarchist principals and openly supported the allies while Errico Malatesta, Alexander Berkman and Gustav Landauer 'led' the anti-war fraction. Other former anti-militarists such as Gustave Herve and Miguel Almercyda (the father of the film maker Jean Vigo) reversed their position completely and became 'super-patriots'. Muhsam for his part, adopted a momentarily quasi pro-war position before coming out in total opposition and taking part in the forefront of the German anti-war agitation.

Some days after the outbreak of the war Muhsam suspended the publication of *Kain* and issued a statement to it's readers which ended: *In this hour, when the fate of everyone is at stake, there is nothing essential and nothing at all that could concern a journal for humanity. That is why I have decided to discontinue the publication of Kain for the duration of the state of war.*

*Afterwards I will again resume my plans of finding a way to peace and happiness. May it be soon! For the time being let all dissension in the country cease. My basic principles remain unaffected by the current events. But I know I am united with all Germans in the wish that we will succeed in keeping the foreign hordes away from our children and women, and from our cities and fields.*

Despite himself Muhsam was sucked into the vortex of xenophobia and chauvinism that swept Germany. This, he explained later, was because a girl he loved was at the time on a visit to East Prussia which soon took the full force of the Russian offensive and the realisation that a victory for Russia would have the double effect of being a victory for: *Czarism and would unleash the most relentless reactionary forces in our country as well!* Ironically, Muhsam saw from the beginning the conflict between his anarchist ideas and the position he had adopted, as he wrote in his diary: *'And I the anarchist, the anti-militarist, the enemy of national slogans, the anti-patriot and implacable critic of the armament furies, I discovered myself somehow possessed by*

*the common intoxication, fired by an irate passion...*

Muhsam's position was of course seen by the press as total support for the war and made as much as they could from it. But his fellow anarchists saw it as a complete betrayal of his ideas. He was openly criticised by both Landauer and Fritz Brupbacher but the most relentless attack came from Franz Pfemfert, the editor of *Die Aktion* who denounced Muhsam as 'undeniably patriotic and nationalistic!'



Gustav Landauer

By the end of 1914 however, after much reflection Muhsam abandoned his 'pro-war' sympathies, became reconciled with Landauer and Brupbacher (but not Pfemfert, as he wrote later: *I will probably have to bear the sin of betraying my ideals for the rest of my life because Franz Pfemfert has planted this notion about me in everybody's mind...*) and threw himself into active opposition to the war. *Those who comfortably acquire and say 'we cannot change things'* he wrote *'shamefully desecrate human dignity and all the gifts of their own hearts and brain. For they renounce without a struggle every use of their ability to overthrow man-made institutions and governments and to replace them with new ones.'*

Soon Muhsam became one of the most outspoken agitators against the war which put his freedom, not to mention his life, at great risk (he was already under police surveillance for refusing to do labour service for the war effort). At first he approached well known friends and figures in the literary and academic circles who were known for their anti-war views, but apart from much talking nothing of value emerged and besides he found their arrogant attitude insufferable. As the anarchists were not really prominent in the struggle, he decided to work with dissident members of the SDP like Kurt Eisner, Franz Mehring and Karl Liebknecht with whom he formed the *Illegalen Aktionsbunde (Illegal Action League)*. Unfortunately

much of the work of the League was undermined by less radical SPD'ers including Kurt Eisner. In June 1916 he was prominent in organising a mass demonstration against bread shortage in the Marienplatz, Munich during which a number of people were injured by the police.

As the war dragged on the privation and suffering of the German people became worse and worse. In January 1918 thousands of munition workers came out on strike in Kiel denouncing the government and demanding an immediate end to the war.

On the 28th of the same month a delegation of workers from the Krupps factory in Munich suburb of Freimann invited Muhsam to the factory to speak in favour of a general strike. After his address over 10,000 workers came out on strike despite opposition from the official SPD and threats of reduction in food rations and forced conscription. After several days however the strike fizzled out when the SPD took over control of the strike committee.

Muhsam, although disappointed at the outcome of the strike, saw that after four years of suffering, the workers were at last pre-

# FREEDOM AS A SOCIAL PRINCIPLE

## ERICH MUHSAM

— text of a talk broadcast by the radio station of Frankfurt-am-Main on 7th November 1929.

The history of humanity in war and revolution, in the struggle to change, improve, eliminate or preserve certain situations and institutions, in political, economic, religious and social dissension and conflict, everywhere displays the inconsistency of its forms and purposes yet the orchestral accompaniment remains always the same. In every age and nation where opinion and solution confront confront each other, both the guardians of the old and the champions of the new advertise themselves to be the advocates of freedom. There is not, has never been, and never will be a movement which could hope to campaign successfully for support unless its commitment to freedom is emblazoned on its banners. Only where some moral purpose has been proclaimed will followers rally to the pursuit of aims which transcend material necessity, or rather which appear to transcend it; but it is as a moral concept pure and simple that all the various competing parties and associations extol the name of freedom, as a concept which incorporates and subsumes all other moral values and which to the ingenious understanding of every mass that stands in need of a leader

pared to do things for themselves. Now he saw not only the prospect of peace but also of revolution.

The Bavarian government however saw the strikes in a different light and began a general round-up of anti-war agitators. In March Erich Muhsam was prohibited by the Military Authorities from engaging in political activities, and on 24th April was arrested for refusing to comply with their wishes and interned in the fortress at Tranenstein.

For Muhsam, life at Tranenstein, where he was held with fellow anarchist Josef South-eimer was not too bad. He was able to rent a room and move about freely as long as he signed the camp register four times a day. He even fraternized with Russian prisoners of war expressly against the orders of the camp commandant.

Muhsam was released from Tranenstein on 3rd November 1918 and after demanding and receiving a certificate to confirm that his arrest and internment had been illegal, made his way back to Munich.

Paul Albert

To be concluded in next issue.

represents the sum of those lofty spiritual attributes of human society, honour, glory, civilization, natural order. There is after all no other word in the language which unites within itself the qualities of individual virtue and those of social ideal.

That every person clearly experiences freedom as a social ideal is an indication that the desire for individual freedom is rooted within human nature itself. No propagandist promising to effect a general improvement in the quality of human solidarity can afford to ignore this desire for some personal enhancement of life's values. It is partly for this reason, and partly because the aspiration to more refined forms of social intercourse is experienced in primitive and complex societies alike as being in all respects identical with the aspiration to increased freedom within the community as a whole, that almost every public contest for people's minds takes the form of a competition in which the representatives of opposing world views, political and economic creeds and social axioms do their best to demonstrate that home-bred freedoms are the most beneficial and to discredit alien and inhospitable conceptions as inimical to freedom. Were only freedom clearly defined as people's understanding of the language and its meaning universally

acknowledged, then there would be no need for this competitive extolment of social programmes in terms of what they have to offer in the way of freedom then it would be a simple matter to discover what in the system being offered came closest to or even matched up with the positive claims made on its behalf.

Unfortunately, however, the word freedom is for most people only of an indiscriminate sentimentality, and as a result it has been possible for its social meaning, which derives from the most powerful of moral impulses, to become no more than the most vapid of rhetorical generalities. In all the many centuries of recorded human history there is no tyranny, no repression and violation of the capacity for work and knowledge, that has not availed itself of the demand for freedom raised by its victims in order to seize power. The slave who concretely suffers under unfreedom scarcely ever imagines himself free and so is easily persuaded to shoulder the burden of a new serfdom, if only the master gives a credible assurance that it is he who will liberate them from their erstwhile bondage. Thus the reason why all previous struggles for social freedom have met with failure is that not one of them has ever been waged for the achievement of a genuinely free life, a social situation decisively imbued with freedom, but took as its point of departure the unbearable conditions and limited its aims to the purely negative one of liberation from this unbearableness.

The promise that "we will liberate you the people, the State, society, the human race!" and the exhortation to "liberate yourselves, the people, the State, society, the human race!" relate to freedom only insofar as the absurdity of these slogans is recognised and their injuriousness established. The proposed alternatives are in almost every case limited to the visualisation of relationships which will be distinguished by the absence of things the eradication of which is held to be the meaning of liberation. The defenders of the institutions, conditions or customs under attack, on the other hand, also respond to the call for liberation by arguing that everything that is to replace them runs counter to the spirit of freedom, and both the one side and the other point to their representations of the unfreedom of what is being fought against as conclusive proof that the values they propound or defend are of the essence of freedom. So it still remains to be seen whether it is at all possible to arrive at a positive formulation of the concept of freedom as a social principle, and how society would have to be organised if it were to pursue the aim of making freedom the dynamising force within the human community.

It is clear that the present context does not lend itself to a philosophical interpretation of the concept of freedom such as that undertaken by Schopenhauer with regard to his two fundamental moral problems. But this does not mean that we should turn our backs on the consideration of freedom as a moral principle. At the same time, to lay particular stress on the necessity of investigating the moral aspects of this problem is not superfluous only for the reason that the

discussion of social questions as questions of a predominantly ethical nature has long since ceased to be taken as a matter of course. Increased social freedom will help to establish the primacy of ethics in every debate concerning relationships between people. This presupposes of course that the concept of freedom as a social phenomenon cannot simply be interpreted in exclusively political terms.

It is true that both established and non-existent freedoms will in the first place manifest themselves politically, in the broad sense that all domination, economic power included, must be politically deployed if it is to be maintained. But the applications of politics to changeable institutions and obligations founded on a voluntary consent are far too narrow to allow a universal principle of human reason to be realised through its methods.

The question to be answered is this: each tries to fulfil their potential as an individual. It is their aim to develop and realise, freely and independent of enforced constraint, that which is unique and inimitable to their own character, their inherent capabilities, inclinations, strengths, and aptitude for achievement and pleasure. Such independence, embracing personal autonomy and responsibility, provides them with their concept of freedom; without it they cannot be free. *But people are dependent on the work that they do, each on the work of all and all on the work of each. The consequence is that every society faces the problem of finding a solution to the so-called social problem, in other words of organising production, distribution and consumption in such a way that the correct relation is established between output and the rates of work on the one hand and the natural resources of the earth on the other.* Now social freedom is generally understood to mean that the organisation of social production is removed from the arbitrary control of self-interested individuals and handed over to the totality of producers and consumers. So it is possible — and it is this which decides whether or not freedom can operate as a social principle — to regulate human relationships in such a way that the maximum quantity of goods is collectively produced for the benefit of all, while excluding self-interest — and at the same time to assure the personality of the full expression and development of its capabilities, the full expression of its strengths and the full satisfaction of its needs?

Marxist socialism evinces not the slightest doubt that there is an answer to the social question and that work can indeed be organised along lines which ensure that the return on every effort accrues to the worker himself. It also postulates — in common with all other socialist doctrines — the socialisation of the land and the means of production and with it the abolition of domination over the labour power of others. This without doubt satisfies one of the preconditions of not only collective but also individual freedom. But Marxism does not reach beyond the demand for economic equality between people. Marx and Engels, like Lenin after them, do indeed identify the ultimate objective and final consequence of the socialist economy as being the dismantling of the

State and the achievement of libertarian communism in which each will produce according to their capabilities and consume according to their needs, yet nowhere in their writings does this libertarian perspective receive more than the odd hypothetical allusion.

Their economic analysis of the existing and desired modes of production may run their theories to the point of exhaustion, but they hardly devote any space to the representation of freedom as a fundamental characteristic of social life.

The non-socialist theories of society, insofar as they invest the word freedom with a value greater than that of a propagandist cliché, base themselves on the noted contention of Malthusian law, that productive capacity will never be able to keep pace with the increase in the world's population and that the full enjoyment of life is therefore reserved by nature itself for a preferred caste. Malthus's proposition has been so completely discredited in practice by intensive methods of agricultural production, that there remains of it scarcely anything other than the formula for freedom set by laissez-faire capitalism: the free play of market forces. It is easy to see that there is no place for the concept of freedom in this context, where what is intended is simply uninterrupted competition between privileged property-owners, nor for that matter where the demand for freedom becomes identified with a xenophobic attachment to nation, race, creed, or class. The existence of sovereign power in any of its forms, whether as economic supremacy, as political authority, or as any other manifestation of privilege, is absolutely irreconcilable with the idea of social freedom for where the imposition of compulsion, authority, government, and State persists, there can be no freedom for the individual except to retain his independence nor for the collectivity to expand the range of its opportunities. *Liberalism wants to promote the self-regulation of production by proscribing State intervention and describes such a separation of political authority and economic competition as freedom, but at the same time this doctrine takes the subjugation of labour by property for granted; State socialism on the other hand proposes that the legal machinery should be invested with the governance of the economy and of relationships between people, but excludes thereby any control by individuals over the circumstances in which they live their lives. In neither of these cases is social freedom a viable concept.*

The underlying error of all doctrines that assume that the cause of freedom can be advanced while the principle of authority remains unquestioned rests on a confusion of the terms government and administration. The decisive factor in a reorganisation of society in conformity with the spirit of freedom is identified in Michael Bakunin's concise phrase: Not the government of people, but the administration of things! *The task of those whose aim is to promote freedom as the social principle is accordingly the transformation of communal production by interdependent people, turning it from being the execution of a duty to carry out orders from above into*

*the reciprocal fulfilment of comradesly obligations.* Nothing is more perverse than the belief that people will work only when driven to it by the overseer's whip. On the contrary: resistance to work, which in the past has often been taken to be an innate characteristic of humanity, derives solely from the experience of work as something imposed by and carried out under the duress of ruling order-givers. An acute awareness that to be a person means to be a comrade, that comradeship is as integral to the satisfaction of life's needs as it is to the enjoyment of pleasure and the endurance of pain, rules out the belief that the provision of food, shelter and clothing is assured only when there is legal constraint and disciplinary sanction. At issue here is not the democratic constitutionality of authority, but the very absence of authority and the extent to which every social function is a function of comradeship.

Democracy is a procedural technique by which the governed themselves install their rulers. Like every other system of government, the democratic process assumes that the necessities of social life are guaranteed only for as long as people are kept in a state of coercion. This assumption holds good only in as much as the worker cannot acknowledge that the work they are forced to do has any social value and sees that the return on it falls neither to them nor to the collectivity, but to an alien interest determined by power or profit.

Seen in this light the concept of social freedom corresponds almost exactly with that of generalised comradeship between people, and raises the major point of whether and how this comradeship can be made into the underlying impetus behind the beneficial activity of the whole community. The scientific approach to this question which Peter Kropotkin adopts in his fine study of mutual aid amongst animals and people not only leads him to answer in the affirmative, but also brings him to the conclusion that solidarity is an innate characteristic of all living creatures. All animals which come together in social groups base their communal existence exclusively on a natural disposition to comradesly fraternity and this, Kropotkin insists and Darwin confirms, constitutes a mode of existence complementary to the struggle between different species and ensures their survival. A wolf-pack on the hunt is just as much an example of freely organised social life as a herd of antelope migrating in search of more fertile pasture. Here there is no state, nor any centralised machinery of government, but there is anarchy, the essence of which is characterised by Gustav Landauer as being social order founded on a voluntary contract. *In the philosophical work which supplements his scientific study of mutual aid, the 'Ethics', Kropotkin asserts the absolute identity of the concepts of freedom and voluntarism, just as he equates ideas of justice and equality with the concept of equality of opportunity.*

Interpreted in this way, the words freedom and equality which in everyday usage are so insipidly colourless take on a social significance that is incapable of being misunder-

stood. When these concepts are correctly appreciated it immediately becomes apparent that there is no substance in Goethe's dictum that where there is equality there can be no freedom. On the contrary, freedom, understood to mean that every action is undertaken voluntarily and in unanimity with society as a whole, is unimaginable without equality in the sense of equality of opportunity. *And equality of opportunity for every member of society, in turn, requires that there are no disparities in the economic conditions into which people are born and under which they can develop their talents and abilities to their own benefit and to the advantage of the community as a whole.* It would appear that such conditions can be created only under socialism, which makes the question of whether collective or communist socialism is to be preferred less than urgent in the light of the recognition that it is stateless socialism without rulers, that is the necessary prerequisite for social freedom. Goethe's assertion was intended to anathematise the rhetorical emptiness of the liberal slogan of the French Revolution. 'Liberty, equality, fraternity'. If we take up this slogan and use it to convey the idea of voluntary production in the service of mutual aid by equal individuals, then we obtain the social programme of a human community in which freedom is the socially unifying principle.

This conception does not in fact contradict but rather reaffirms Goethe's ideal, that the personality should be the greatest joy of the children of the earth. Indeed, personality and society can only be conceived of as an integral whole, when viewed from a libertarian perspective. Founded on the comradeship of people who enjoy equal rights, the free society is an organic entity which embraces every facet of personality, even the individual's sensuousness, while every person who lives in a natural, ie. libertarian environment experiences themselves not just as a link in a social chain, a small cog in the gigantic machine of the social process, but equally identifies with every aspect of the whole, which for them is just as vital a reality as their own social, physical and spiritual being. *Where libertarian relations obtain, individual and society can never enter into opposition but function as equivalent and complementary expressions of the same reality.*

Thus in a free society the freedom of the individual would not be constricted by the freedom of all, as the staunch individualists maintain; in fact concrete social freedom could not impose limitations on the freedom of the individual since personal freedom would be destroyed if it began to act against the freedom of the whole. Self-interest which claims for itself rights that are disruptive of social unity has no point of contact with freedom; it is despotism which can operate only in unfreedom and as such is dependent on the readiness of others to subordinate themselves to authority and to coercive leadership. It would wrench open antagonisms between the individual and society which do not occur in nature and which would constitute a flagrant breach of the principle of freedom. The free society is an organic entity, ie.

a unitary and therefore a harmonious relation with a life of its own; that is what differentiates it from the State and every centralised power, which signify an attempt to substitute something machine-like for the functional, living organism, a refusal to allow the affairs of the community to be administered by the community and a perpetuation of enforced obedience by one group of people to the commands inflicted by another. Let the contrast between these two alternative forms of social life speak for itself. In the meantime, the system of government from above, the system of centralised power, has prevailed throughout the world and survives into the present with scarcely any realistic threat to its continued existence. The system of federation from below, of co-operation, of comradeship and freedom, this system of social order founded on voluntary contract, must prove itself workable in the real world by presenting the evidence gleaned from the dim beginnings of human history and from the everyday experience of the animal world around us. The person who truly believes in the future of humanity will not allow themselves to be robbed of this faith by the recalcitrance of the sturdily practical present.

The question of the means which people might adopt in order to create the conditions of their own freedom will not be entered into here, all the less so as there is considerable difference of opinion amongst the various tendencies which share this same goal. Bakunin, for example, would take a different road entirely from the one which Tolstoy, amongst others would choose. But who has dedicated themselves to the cause of freedom and without reservation holds fast to the idea that people will be free when such a society has been attained, remembering all the while that the free society can be constructed only by those who have themselves discovered an inner freedom, they by themselves will begin the work of liberation amongst those closest to them. They will be a slave to nobody, and will know that only they who do not want to be a master can be nobody's slave. Those who respect the freedom of all are themselves free and the society which binds equals together in comradeship and freedom is a free society.



# KINNOCK PLEADS FOR GOVERNMENT

Labour Leader, Neil Kinnock, was witnessed by millions on TV recently begging trade union delegates at the TUC (Trades Union Congress) annual Conference to reject the traditional union tool of direct action and to put all their faith instead into government.

Kinnock appeared to be at desperation point. It was clear that he considered recent events involving the Miners strike as a direct challenge to the *raison d'être* of his party. If workers could threaten government by direct action, then what use is the Labour Party as the traditional sell-out arbitrator?

Each time trade unions undermine the principal of government, then this in turn affects the future standing of a Labour Party government, while strengthening the hands of the unions as an independent body capable of uniting in opposition to Parliament. The very idea that the trade unions have the potential to become the real opposition - an extra-parliamentary opposition, would make someone like Kinnock go weak at the knees.

Of course the unions are far from that position and traditionally have always sucked up to the Labour Party giving them *carte blanche* to do more or less what they like.

Throughout the Miners strike, Kinnock has pressed the Tories to intervene and work out a compromise solution (i.e., a sell-out), which is what he, Kinnock, would have done if he'd been in charge. As with Labour the Tories have been secretly intervening behind the scenes for years - there's no such thing as a non-political strike anyway - and Thatcher's part in the current dispute has been to avoid compromise and to back the class enemy to the hilt. Kinnock has never had an interest in solving the dispute in the interests of the miners, only in securing a, vote-catching, role for the Labour Party and ensuring that direct confrontation (something the Labour Party has instinctively always shied away from) is avoided at all costs.

But at the recent TUC Conference it was significant to see Kinnock making his plea for the supremacy of parliamentary democracy. In doing so he was rejecting the powers of trade unionism; he was saying, 'use the Labour Party, we need you for our survival.' He also made it perfectly clear that he considered the ballot box to be the ultimate and sole means of challenging tyranny. In saying this Kinnock uses the same rhetoric as the Tory hardliners and the anti-trade unionists. They insist that the ballot must be the only way to make decisions and that the Miners strike - and all industrial action - can only be legitimised if voted on in this way. The same principle in which the class enemy is voted into office. Kinnock, like Thatcher, et al, support the ballot box and parliamentary democracy because they know it to be one of the lowest forms of democracy - a system that allows issues to be reduced to the superficial, decisions to be made in ignorance, power to be delegated to the few.

Kinnock rejects violence not because he is against violence but because his party receives power in the same way the Tories do: through apathy, through defeatism, through the rejection of responsibilities. If violence was proven an effective weapon to challenge and threaten the authority of one government, then it can prove to be an effective weapon to challenge the authority of another. Kinnock knows this. He knows that if he even gave tacit approval to the use of direct action by the unions then that would in turn weaken the power and legitimacy of the Labour Party. Kinnock's plea was a plea for the TUC to reject any advances the Miners had made and to put their trust in the Labour Party as a negotiating body. Kinnock desperately sought a role as he saw his party being delegated to second place. It was an act, perhaps, of a man who had a fleeting vision of a future society where it was the workers and communities who controlled their own destiny, without the intervention of government or any other authority. And the thought sickened him.

## UPSTAGED

Tory policy on the Miners strike has been to string the dispute out as long as possible so as to exacerbate the rift between scab and striker and force through a collapse in solidarity. With the coming of the winter months, however, and the prospect that the NCB might be losing its nerve, slimey Leon Brittan (Home Secretary, well-known child molester and darling of the hang 'em/flog 'em brigade) made his well-timed back-to-Victorian-values speech threatening dire retribution - life sentences and everything bar deportation to 'the colonies' - on any striking trade

unionist who continues with Luddite style direct action.

The speech was thus yet another attempt by the government to sabotage any possible NUM brink-of-victory settlement. It was also Brittan's way of trying to upstage Kinnock for the award of 'guardian of law and order'. The only difference between Kinnock's speech (see above) and Brittan's was that extremist-of-the-centre Kinnock used the rhetoric of restraint and capitulation, while Brittan (shitting himself at the idea that Labour might be perceived as the party of moral indignation)

applied the rhetoric of constraint and coercion. As a classic soft cop/hard cop duo they make the perfect team.



# ANN HANSEN INTERVIEW

**QUESTION:** Facing life in prison, would you have done anything differently?

**Answer:** I'm definitely still a feminist and an environmentalist and an idealist. Obviously the most serious mistake that we made was the Litton bombing itself. We should not have placed a bomb beside a building where people were working. I was very shocked to say the least that the building wasn't cleared, when the bomb threat was phoned in. It was explained in the bomb threat that there would be a van parked right up against the building. There were relatively few employees working at the time of night. It would have taken nothing for them to have cleared the building. It wasn't until the bomb squad arrived that they cleared the building, and then, for some other unknown reason, the bomb exploded prematurely — 12 minutes early.

**Q:** Do you take responsibility for the injuries that the Litton workers suffered or do you blame the guards and police for not clearing the building earlier?

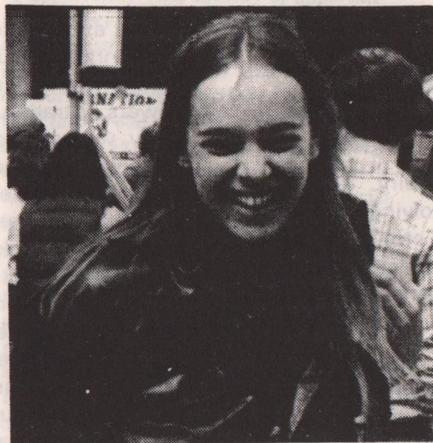
**A:** No, I take responsibility for it. The mistake was that you can't rely on the police or security guards to act. Someone could have been in the washroom and not heard the evacuation order. So that was a mistake and I take responsibility for that... of course the amount of explosives used was well in excess.

**Q:** When you heard what had happened at Cheekeye-Dunsmuir, at Red Hot Video stores in the Lower Mainland and at Litton, did you feel you had scored success?

**A:** At Litton, I didn't feel any elation at all when I heard what happened. It was one of the most traumatic experiences I've ever had. It was just horrifying.

With Cheekeye, I felt happy, I had no bad feelings at all. I consider that thing a piece of garbage and I was glad to see it destroyed. Nothing stops B.C. Hydro, but we wanted to stop the progress at least for a year or so. So I felt happy about Cheekeye, and the same about the Red Hot video — the firebombings did seem to help. The media scrambled to every feminist's door trying to find out what the issue was all about, and that hadn't happened for months.

**Q:** Do you wish you'd come clean at the very beginning and made a political statement or do you believe you had to let your lawyers attempt to argue about the admissibility of evidence such as surveillance.



Ann Hansen

**A:** In retrospect, it would have been more politically honest if I had just refused to collaborate in the beginning and I would have just pleaded guilty as well, because if you don't collaborate, the trials just go along without you. There's no point in sitting around for two or three years waiting to be sentenced.

**Q:** Did you ever consider getting a job? Why did you steal guns and money?

**A:** When you're living underground, trying to avoid the police, you can't have jobs or be on UIC or welfare because that tags you to the police. The weapons are got for self-defence. There was never any plan to kill anyone. Some people have wondered why there were so many weapons. We had a lot more than we really needed.

**Q:** If you had guns, isn't it a corollary that violence can happen?

**A:** We would have fired back if we were fired at.

**Q:** How do you feel people reacted when tapes were played (in Court) of you saying you would have shot to kill at a Brink's guard?

**A:** Probably we lost some support because most people don't plan robberies so they don't sit around in their house talking about it.

The wiretaps were so false. If you're sitting around your house, you say an awful lot of things you wouldn't say in public — weird jokes, gossip, jealousies — things that happen in everybody's home or family. I feel a lot of the things said in our house we had the right to say in private.

**Q:** Your mother has said you wouldn't hurt anybody. Your friends have said you're an animal lover and an essentially gentle person. Yet in the press and in Court you came across as a terrorist who would shoot at human silhouettes and stopped at nothing. Which is the real Ann Hansen?

**A:** I don't think I would hurt anyone. I've never shot at anyone and I've never killed anyone. I can't say I wouldn't shoot if I was shot at in a robbery situation. But anyone,



Brent Taylor

a conservative person who belongs to the Sacred party or any member of a gun club, fires at what is essentially a human silhouette. It's a standard procedure. We shot at oil and other cans and drums too.

**Q:** You've been portrayed as the ringleader of the five. Do you feel you led others, for example Julie Belmas, down the garden path, or were you all equally committed to these actions?

**A:** I certainly wasn't the ringleader and Julie has said that herself. She has said in her defence statement there are things she regrets. When you have people with different levels of political experience — some are 25, some are 30 — perhaps there's differences in levels of responsibility and those that have been politically responsible, active for 10 years might assume a leadership role, even if it's just at a demonstration. But there is no way any of us manipulated others or talked them into anything.

**Q:** Of course, if you're committed to doing illegal actions, you have to be prepared to spend some time in jail. Were you really prepared to serve a life sentence?

**A:** We all had different levels of preparedness for jail. I don't think everybody should consider being an urban guerrilla. It is a full time occupation and takes a lot of energy, and it's true you could be killed or you could go to jail for life — those are the realistic consequences. If you're not prepared for that, then you shouldn't be a guerrilla.

**Q:** Did you bare your teeth and shriek as you threw a tomato at Judge Toy? Do you think that trivialised your political statements earlier?

**A:** Of course I didn't bare my teeth and I didn't shriek. He was such a cold and merciless judge. He didn't believe Julie's statement of contrition about the injured people at Litton and she really meant it. He sentenced me to life and 20 years without even looking up!

THE PROVINCE Sunday June 24th 1984

# BRENT TAYLOR INTERVIEW

My purpose for speaking today is simply to reaffirm my commitment to the basic values and ideals which motivated me to struggle. I believe that both the ideals, and the struggle, are just and that they hold the promise of a better future. I continue to desire the creation of societies based upon feminist, humanist, co-operative, ecological, and non-authoritarian principles.

Illegal activities were one part of my political activism in the struggle against the injustices and threats to life manifest in modern industrial civilization, and the political and economic system of imperialism. The overall purpose of any illegal activity I was involved in was to further develop this struggle and thereby contribute to the possibility of a better world — one in which all people can finally live in freedom and international unity. Even if this does not come about in my lifetime, it is my hope that one day our future relatives will live in such a world.

I first began to become aware of social reality during the latter part of the 1960s. Since then I have never been able to accept the existence of so many horrible injustices within human society, nor could I ignore that so many of the injustices resulted from deliberate decisions by the economically and politically powerful people of western industrial nations. The widespread protest and social movements, which took to the streets in the 1960s, opened my eyes to a whole different picture of what life is about than I had previously seen in nursery rhymes, children's tv programmes, or school. I paid attention to what was happening because I felt that something had to be fundamentally wrong with the system since so many people were putting their hearts and energies into protesting against it.

I learned about racism. I learned about the Vietnam war. I learned about the inhumanity of capitalism, and the evil greed and hypocrisy of the powerful. I learned why so many people rejected the spiritually vacant, obsessively materialistic lifestyle of the status quo. I was inspired by people's dreams for justice and liberation and for a society based upon love and sharing. I considered myself to be a child of peace. I was not then, nor have I ever been, a violent person.

For the whole of my adult life, I have participated in a variety of political activities involving many issues. I have learned a lot about the real character of the system we live under and why it is the way it is. I understand that there are common links between the many grievances and critiques that people have about the system and the quality of life generally in industrialised societies. I understand the sad truth that some human beings really do consciously exploit other people and knowingly per-

petuate suffering in order to secure power and profits for themselves. I understand that the nations of Canada and the United States were founded upon campaigns of genocide against the indigenous peoples of this beautiful continent and that the basic intent of these genocide campaigns continues to this day. I understand that industrial development of the scale occurring in the world today will inevitably kill the earth's living biosphere. I understand that the escalating war preparations of Western nations is the result of imperialisms desperation to prevent further losses of its empire to ongoing liberation movements in the Third World.

In my opinion, it is essential that we stop industrial civilisations destruction of the environment and that we stop imperialist war and the launching of nuclear weapons. It is not enough to simply be concerned about such things, or even opposed to them. We must stop them from happening! I believe that moral and political responsibility requires of people that we develop an effective resistance to such things. I say this resistance struggle is essential because unless we can prevent such things from happening, life on earth will very likely be extinguished.

It is as a direct result of this analysis that I felt the need to take action to do what I could to directly resist the escalating life-threatening tendencies of imperialism and modern industrial civilisation. Even though I recognise that there are many important and necessary forms of illegal legal political work that people must be involved in as part of an overall struggle to make better societies, I was involved in illegal protest work because there is a real need for direct action now against the most critical threats confronting the people and their environment. Ultimately I believe that the destruction of the imperialist system is necessary for the wrongs it causes to be righted, and that only by popular revolutionary struggle can people ever take control over the direction of our societies from the greedy and powerful and thus begin to build truly just ones.

Although the Court says that the only thing of concern is whether or not I broke some Laws, I submit that the actual reality of this case is distorted and obscured by the State's legal definitions about what is relevant to this enquiry. I say that people should not allow their perceptions of what is really at issue here to be distorted and debased by the self-serving and moral hypocrisy of the State. The State has assumed the power and authority to put me and my activities under intense scrutiny, but I say it is really the imperialist system and industrial civilization that should be scrutinised, because it is their

activities which really place us all in very grave danger.

Far more important than the fact that I've broken some Laws of Canada are the reasons I did so. State militarism is slaughtering people in ever increasing numbers. The ruling class of the western world is preparing for imperialist war to stop the advance of anti-imperialist liberation struggles. The entire planet is threatened with nuclear war. Western civilization is forcing its domination throughout the world — exploiting people and suppressing their cultures with the production of every M-16 rifle, automobile, television set, rock and roll supergroup, or can of hairspray or underarm deodorant. The earth's precious environment upon which all life depends is being relentlessly destroyed by industrial development from the rain forests of the Amazon basin to the dying lakes of Northern Ontario. It is only because of my active opposition to these enormous injustices that I am in Court today.

It may seem like arrogance, but I mean this in a most humble way — there are too many people in our society who have their heads in the sand concerning these enormous injustices. I realise that there are many reasons for this, and therefore I feel sorrow — not anger — in regards to the overall spiritual and moral poverty of

Canadian people generally. The struggle in Canada, I've come to believe, is for people living under this system to overcome their allegiance, acquiescence and participation in it. We have a great task before us in Canada — to create a better world, a better society, not for bread and shelter for ourselves, but because we recognize that it is wrong to live the way we do: off the spoils of imperialism and the plunder of the earth. This will take moral and spiritual understanding and strength. I pray that we are able to find it in ourselves.

Finally I want to say that I am a human being — not some stereotype. Like all of us, I am imperfect. But I am not an evil person. I deeply care about this world and the people living in it. To me, the struggle for freedom and liberation and to protect the earth is more important than anything else.

Brent was sentenced to 22 years for the conspiracy to rob a Brink's truck, break and entry, theft and possession of stolen property, dynamite and weapons. He will be going on trial in the fall for the Litton bombing.

# DECENTRALISED TOTALITARIANISM

It seems fairly obvious that when Futurologists and some economists talk about a third industrial revolution they are not exaggerating. The continued innovation and spread of what is called the 'new technology' (a term that covers anything from industrial robots to computer controlled electric toothbrushes) and the deliberate rundown of heavy industry point to a future socio-economic system that is markedly different from what has existed in the recent past. At the time of writing the miners strike is in its 15th week with neither side willing to back down and in some cases the miners taking the struggle out onto the streets (for example the attacks on the police station at Maltby in South Yorkshire). In many ways this strike is of decisive importance, not just for the mining industry but for society as a whole. The government is deliberately attacking the coal industry not just to destroy the miners and class solidarity but because it is an integral part of a policy of smashing heavy industry right across Europe.

I should perhaps point out that I know fuck all about economics so anyone interested in figures and graphs should look elsewhere. What I aim to do is sketch a few of the trends which are visible already and suggest how they might develop.

The trend in the capitalist class that Thatcher represents is probably the most advanced and powerful. They have definite plans and aims for the future, they are very forward looking. What they aim for is a Decentralised Totalitarianism that would guarantee total profits and almost total control.

They no longer see heavy industry as vialy profitable in West Europe and so they have deliberately run it down. The organised working class (even those in reformist unions) demand too much in the way of pay and conditions. Nationalisation the tactic of one section of the ruling class is being largely abandoned. The answer has been to destroy industry in West Europe whilst investing in heavy industry in the third world. The reasons are obvious, the third world states guarantee low pay and no strikes. The present miners strike is a direct result of this policy. The state wishes to turn the mines into highly profitable small scale units, with few workers and no unions.

If we accept that the state no longer wants or needs a manufacturing industrial base what is it replaced with? The answer seems to be small scale hi-tech factories with few workers and in-house (i.e. bosses) unions. The trend would be away from centralised industry with centralised workers movements and toward highly organised decentralisation with no real workers movement. These small units engaged either in hi-tech manufacturing (computers, tele-

com, weapons systems etc.) or services (programming, analysis etc.) would depend on the manufacturing bases in the Third World for components and raw materials.

A good example is Sinclair Research, one of the pioneering companies in this field. The mother (or father) company, Sinclair Research, employs less than fifty persons. Mostly highly-paid professionals. The actual assembly of products (home computers) is sub-contracted to Timex in Scotland, who get the components mainly from the Third World (Korea, Taiwan etc.), where they are produced in appalling conditions to designs by Sinclair Research. The distribution was originally by mail order but that too is now sub-contracted. It's no surprise that Sinclair Research is held up as the model to follow, (notice that its owner is now Sir Clive Sinclair). Any industrial action or improvements in conditions which threaten profits anywhere along the line could simply mean switching sub-contractors.

The government has bent over backwards to accommodate this sort of system. Places like South Wales have been opened to hundreds of new-tech companies. Nearly all of these companies operate in small units. IBM the biggest company of them all operates internally in the same way. Small units of professionals are given corporate autonomy to work almost independently, only staying within the IBM 'family'. It's no surprise that unions are not allowed at IBM. And of course all the shit work is done by poorly-paid women in South East Asia.

Supposing this hi-tech decentralisation spreads, what happens to those unemployed? In areas where heavy industry has already been destroyed the

hi-tech firms are encouraged to move in. Previously militant work forces, having faced misery on the dole, gladly accept employment in new small factories vastly different to what they had before. Unions, where they exist, are powerless and bound by no-strike agreements etc. And of course small units employing at most a couple of hundred people can close up and open somewhere else just by moving the machines and computers (less bulky than car plants, you'll agree).

Those not employed in the new industries, either personally because of previous militancy or because the area they live in is unsuitable for exploitation, will become part of a permanent underclass of unemployed. These people will never work. They will be a class to frighten the employed and who are simply not needed anymore. The tensions this will create will be the new terrain of the class struggle. The tensions between North and South in Britain will spread, become almost permanent. Black people will almost certainly be a large part of the permanent unemployed, and excellent for exploitation by racists. Inner city and suburbs, professional and manual. All the tensions that already exist will get worst, much worse.

The state is well aware of what is coming and they are already arming themselves with new laws. The miners strike and mass demonstrations give them more experience and are leading to an evolving national police force. Again the new technology is just what the state wants (why do you think it exists?), computers, better communication, new arms all are excellent instruments of oppression. The police will equip itself with all that it can use, and it can use a lot. And it will all be aimed at the inner city unemployed, at the population as a whole not just the minority of revolutionaries. Places like Brixton, Toxteth and St Pauls will be under police occupation, the likes of which only Ireland has so far seen.

At the root of all this is the new technology. Possibly the most technophobic section of the population is the Left, and that includes anarchists. Most radicals seem to think of computers as evil incarnate. The truth isn't that simple. When industrial robots take over an unhealthy, boring and badly paid task should we reject it? Of course not. What we should object to is what capitalism does when that task is given over to robots. The problem is not robots but capitalism. The new technology is potentially liberating, capitalism will pervert that and liberate our class straight onto a life-time of the dole.

Innovation in electronics has not finished and it's impossible to tell how

far it will go. But what shall be a problem (it exists already), is the revolution of application. What will happen is that the separate pieces of equipment will be integrated and reduced in scale. The application of this equipment will cause immediate problems. For example combined video/TV/computer/telephone/security systems will come to dominate homes and lives. And the systems will work two ways, they'll be able to watch us as we watch TV. Shopping will be by computer/TV linked straight to your bank account. Money will almost become redundant, except for the working class who will be the only target for muggers. Centralised computers will be able to follow us everywhere. It's not a nice vision of the future.

But computers readily adopt themselves to decentralisation, to local networks, direct person to person communications. Central computers are vulnerable to attack and interrogat-

ion by home computers. Central computers can illegally be accessed by home computers who can either copy the info, re-arrange it or wipe out files completely. In the US it's already a major problem. Computer crime is costing the banks millions. And those who get caught usually don't get punished, in jail it would be easy to spread the know-how. Also just as they monitor us we can monitor them, who they are, where they are and what they do. If it doesn't sound too fanciful I believe in a few years the state will have to come to terms with the problems of computer guerrillas!

So if what I've outlined above is anywhere near correct then Britain will be transformed into a powerful decentralised totalitarian state. The class of professionals living in the suburbs will have considerable economic power and social freedom (as long as they don't get stroppy). They will live in computerised houses and

most likely work from home using home work-stations (this already happens on a small scale). Those still employed among the working class will have less freedom to organise and be less central to the economy. The large number of permanently unemployed will be stuck in the inner city with little hope of getting out. They will be permanently at war with the police, and unfortunately, among themselves.

It's not hopeless, this process of moving industry to the Third World will take time. The working class here still has power. It's by no means certain that the in-house unions will not turn into genuine workers unions. The unemployed can do much to organise. Resistance is vital. And of course we can start by using their weapons against them, get over the techno-fear. Smashing computers won't get rid of them.

M. Black

## Greek Workers Movement in Egypt 1872 - 1911

The following piece was written by a Greek Marxist-Leninist historian, Gianni Kordatou, and is part of the thirteenth chapter in his *History of the Greek Workers Movement* (Athens 1931). The book covers the period from 1880 up to 1920 and despite some distortions, snide remarks and patronisation he cannot deny the great influence of the Greek anarchist movement.

In the period covered the Greek worker was spread across the Balkans and the Middle East, and like the Spanish worker of later years, spread their knowledge and the activity of socialism, which in those days was generally anarchism. In almost all cases the Socialist groups consisted of a tiny minority of Marxists (at odds with each other), usually intellectuals, and a large number of anarchist workers.

Egypt, in particular the cosmopolitan cities of Alexandria and Cairo, was home to various immigrant communities of workers for a large period of time. Chief among these were the Jews and the Greeks and indeed large Greek communities existed in Egypt until they were expelled by Nasser in the late 1950's. The piece that follows deals with the workers movement mainly among the immigrant communities. Any snide remarks are not my own and are to be expected even from a reasonably honest Marxist-Leninist. I have added to some of the notes to give a greater outline of the later activities of some of the anarchists.

A lively workers movement appeared at around that period (1910) in Egypt, mainly in the big cities of Cairo and Alexandria where many Greek workers were employed.

As we have seen the Greek workers of Alexandria, most of whom were from Corfu, founded the workers club with the name of *Brotherhood of the Workers* in 1872.

Later the *International Cigarette Workers Club* was founded in Cairo. This was at the high point of the Egyptian tobacco industry. <sup>1</sup>

In 1907 the workers paper with the title *The Worker* was distributed, it was brought out weekly then monthly by the old socialist from Athens, N. Doumas, a shoe-maker, who stayed at Haret-el-Nous Nousara. Doumas did not have a Marxist education (*sic.*) and was mostly a supporter of anarchism. However until his death he stood up for and by his convictions. In 1912 an anarchist pamphlet *Down with the Mask* was distributed, written by Stavros Kouchtsoglou <sup>2</sup>, a tobacco worker. Like the doctor Sarafides, Asteriades <sup>3</sup>, and Joseph Chionis, he was also a helper on the paper *The Worker* with Doumas.

In this period the print workers organised themselves into an *International Syndicate of Printworkers*, which had a Greek section, with Joseph Chionis as its secretary. Another printworker Gerasimus Luzis, with Chionis and the Italian anarcho syndicalist printers Vozai, Lotzi and Pitzoritti influenced all the print-workers in Egypt at that time (1907-1913). As their organ they had the weekly *Buletino Typografico*, and with the active movement of the print-workers they won the eight hour day where previously they had 12-14 hour days.

The *Buletino* (it came out from 1909 until 1914) gave great service to the syndicalist movement in Egypt. In the period 1909 to 1911 two of its pages were writ-

ten in Greek by Chionis, Luzi and Luca Christofidi. The Italians Vozai, Lotzi and Pitzoritti were expelled from Egypt in 1911. Later Doumas together with the Italian anarchists Jabio and Antonio were also expelled.

*The Worker* Doumas' paper, in 1908, after only a years publication, stopped coming out. However its propaganda had great affect among the Greek workers (printers and cigarette workers). Generally the cigarette workers of Egypt, came to Pireaus and Volos where they played a vanguard role in the Greek workers movement.

(Translation: P.P.)

1. The *International Cigarette Workers Club* was founded around 1894. In this year the first strike in the tobacco industry (cigarette makers) took place in Cairo and another occurred in 1899. In these strikes about 1600 workers were involved. Both of these strikes were won thanks to the workers solidarity. At the head of the 1899 strike were A. Pappas N. Chrysoudis, S. Blachopoulos, N. Xaidis, Muhammed Sidley and Solomon Goldenberg who was, it is said, the leader of the Cairo workers movement in that period. Also active were the Boursonides brothers (anarchists), N. Gdanis and G. Mavros.

2. Stavros Kouchtsoglou was one of the greatest of the Greek anarchists. In contact with anarchists in Europe (he met Malatesta among others), he was active in Egypt, Turkey and Greece. He took part in armed expropriations of banks in Constantinople (now Istanbul) and in Alexandria. He also represented the tobacco workers at the first two conferences of the General Confederation of Greek Workers where, along with K. Speras and Fanouraki, he led the anarcho-syndicalists against the Marxists. His pamphlet *Down With The Mask* published in Cairo in 1912 with an introduction by another Egyptian-Greek anarchist G. Sarafides, was reprinted in Athens in 1984 by the *International Library*.

3. The worker K.S. Asteriades, published a pamphlet *Capital - work or property - money* where he propagandised the ideas of workers clubs and syndicates, in Cairo (1900).

# WHAT IS THE ANARCHIST MOVEMENT?

The first time I was taken to Court — and was assured it was “not political” — that couldn't happen here! — the prosecution none the less brought up the shock horror stories against anarchism including (of all things) Sidney Street Siege.

I protested. The 80 year old judge, who loved the chance to appear controversial and paradoxical and be quoted in the Press, commenting, after ascertaining that the seige was a one-off affair, “What a wonderful record — a political movement with no criminal scores against it for over 25 years”. (Unfortunately for him, next day the Press was full of the Munich Pact).

Sidney Street is now over 75 years old. The fiction writers who created the “shock horror” caricature of anarchism are dead and sometimes forgotten (William le Quex, G.K. Chesterton, Joseph Conrad, Phillips Oppenheim). New caricatures have been offered. Yet the old caricature still exists; still newspapers carefully refer to “self-styled” Anarchists lest they be accused of libelling someone on trial: still the Le Quex image is conjured up by hack journalists; still we have politicians referring to Statist and nationalist gunmen as “anarchists” because they are using illegal violence as opposed to legal.

Though numerous articles have been written by journalists discovering anarchism or particular anarchists with naive surprise — and very often portraying them sympathetically — though tonnages of anarchist literature have appeared and been read, and innumerable meet meetings held, some of which must have percolated through to the purveyors of news; though book reviewers have commented on books by Anarchists (very often falling back on “the gentle anarchist” cliché to distinguish from the cliché), the situation has not really changed since 1935.

At one time the late J.B. Priestley discovered anarchism — and how it would work for “ordinary decent people” presumably thinking that it had previously been advocated by lunatics, and that he had worked out the logic of it all by himself (he got very cross when Herbert Read claimed to have got there first, and abandoned it).

During the peak of post-war European Resistance the German police, and through them, the international cops, were giving directives to the press to distort the word anarchist, in a plain effort to disorientate the growing

movement. (In this the Russian cops may well have co-operated). Marxists were referred to as Anarchists, Anarchists were referred to as Nationalists, Nationalists became Anarchists and Marxists combined; nobody was ever to be referred to as what they were. On the various consequences, sometimes comic, sometimes tragic, we have commented throughout the years.

But one, perhaps intended, result of this has been on the anarchist movement itself. One lesson of history is that persistent caricatures can beget the very thing lampooned or distorted. The Christian caricature of witchcraft for instance, led to old women thinking they could or did fly broomsticks and kiss the Devil's backside: they only learned about this through the religious opponents of the old religion. Italian Communists not wanting to break from Christianity have said they are Protestants, but haven't a clue what that means except that it's against the Roman Church.

Now one of the biggest problems of the Anarchist movement is that it is beset not only by professed opponents but opposed by some who claim to be Anarchists while fundamentally disagreeing with its basic principles.

Many would like to filch the history of the Anarchist movement. Take some examples. The Marxists often refer to anarchist episodes in working class history as if they were concerned in it. The Trots will cite episodes in the Spanish struggle though in fact they persistently opposed it — and equally the National Front, in its new Strasserite direction, quote the struggles against Bolshevik tyranny as demonstrated at Kronstadt, by those who would have used fascists as target practice had they appeared. There is not much difference between this and say the liberal pacifist claiming to be an anarchist and appealing to ‘our long and honourable’ struggle in Spain, Russia etc — as if it had anything to do with those who would neutralise and dilute anarchism with the prior qualification ‘non-violent’, thus stigmatising the Anarchist movement as ‘violent’ (to the delight of the shock-horror brigade).

The shock-horror brigade has induced two complementary though apparently opposing tendencies. On the one hand Anarchists are placed in the position of denying they are random homicidal maniacs (and by denying it being identified with pacifism, as if there was no

position in between, to which the vast majority of society belong — neither ‘non-violent’ in the Gandhian sense nor ‘violent’ in the mad axemen sense); on the other hand they are apparently undersold by the Nationalist and ‘armed ‘armed scholar’ theory of revolution which proclaims the mantle of guerrilla action for conventional militarism and uses revolutionary phrases to cover divisive military tactics.

This type of reactionary ‘revolution’ — the ‘liberation’ movement with one foot in “the revolution” and the other in inter-State terrorism — is something the international police once tried to identify with anarchism — and parts of the Press still do.

Claiming to be within the Anarchist movement, however, equally trying to ‘undersell’, are those who claim to be so revolutionary that they are against revolution, so much into action that they reject all action, so much more ‘anarchistic’, than the Anarchists that they are not into anarchism. This is merely the High Camp of revolution, that appears to be activist but uses one cause to discredit another. It is against strike action because “the masses” are misled; it is against solidarity because they must be prodded into action. This is apparently the antithesis — but really a synthesis — with the quietist who opposes any form of action and is cynical of any social revolution or workers’ advance.

In rejecting any of this rubbish as ‘anarchism’ and putting its proponents firmly outside the door of what we regard as the anarchist movement, we may be accused of setting ourselves up as a kind of party leadership. Certainly the party formation has a vast number of deficiencies; but it does not follow that there are no problems by having no party structure.

If we are to assume all these tendencies are within the Anarchist movement it is a very peculiar movement indeed, rent by differences and arguments. If we confine the term ‘Anarchist Movement’ to mean, what it plainly ought to mean, that movement which developed out of working-class struggles and consists of those who believe that anarchism is desirable, is immediately achievable given the will, and who work to those ends, it can be seen that the Anarchist movement is (perhaps) smaller, but has a distinctive contribution to make, and a purpose and determination equal to any thing in its history.

It is a development conditioned by the would-be encroachment on our movement that today the Anarchist movement is generally inseparable from anarcho-syndicalism.

A.M.

## LETTERS

Dear friends,

As regards your excellent publication, you are surely the finest 100% hardcore revolutionary anarchist paper around. Consistently and regularly every two weeks you deliver the critical message in your coverage of world-wide anarchist actions that the bastards are vulnerable and that the State can be hit, hit hard, hit repeatedly and hit effectively through direct action, sabotage, and guerilla warfare. This fundamental truth being disseminated to as many people as possible is absolutely essential if we're to have a shot at winning the whole caboodle.

*Black Flag* really hits all the right targets and some of the information you people dig up is truly astounding. I also very much enjoy your features “Anarcho-Quiz” and “Questions and Answers on Anarchism”.

Much continued success to you people in all your endeavours.

Very truly yours,  
P.D. (Montreal, Canada).

Dear Black Flag,

Of the few instances of autonomous anarchist societies that have existed in the modern world, none was ever free of statist aggression, and each was ultimately defeated by it. It is somehow assumed therefore, by anarchists at least, that should such a society ever end or win its “war of existence” (which could be by becoming acceptable to the Statist elements surrounding it) then it would be able to both sustain this improbable situation and retain its anarchist nature. This is patently absurd. Any society employing entry restrictions alone, which require some sort of legislature to decide them and, presumably, some sort of policing to enforce them, would evidently not be anarchist by nature as we normally think of the word; whereas any society not employing these restrictions would be open to entry by all kinds of exploiters and extortioners, such as heroin traders for example, offenders against society (by any definition) on the run from their own countries, capitalists merely seeking a tax haven, political refugees of all persuasions including fascism, and so on — in other words all the social dross of the surrounding statism, not to mention its own political agents and, in the end,

even its armed forces. Everything in the anarchist garden is only lovely when we make the mistake of conceiving it as being in a vacuum.

I would suggest that the existence of autonomous anarchist societies in the modern world was by virtue of the fact that they were subject to Statist aggression, which justified for them the presence of “anarchist” armed forces and the postponement of such ideological

questions as were not directly relevant to the struggle at hand. It may even be argued that there are instances of autonomous anarchist societies that have won their wars of existence and become “acceptable”, but that, in doing so, they have ceased to be anarchist.

All this would seem to suggest four possible options for anarchists: —

1. To advocate the establishment of an autonomous anarchist society which would be committed to eternal armed struggle with neighbouring States.
2. To hope and work for the overthrow of every State at the same time — surely a much further off ideal today than ever it was before the World Wars.
3. To retain the anarchist ideal and work for the implementation of its policies within the extant States and with no intention of their removal, as a sort of “permanent opposition”.

I should hope that any debate prompted by this letter may help lead to the unification of the diverse tendencies within anarchism (which are today more diverse perhaps than ever before) toward a common aim.

D.T. (Cardiff)

*We do not accept the reasoning behind the last paragraph — that there are ‘diverse tendencies within anarchism’ and that these are increasing; there are a few different definitions and tendencies but “within” anarchism very slight. The problem is that diverse, and often contradictory tendencies claim to be anarchist when they are nothing of the sort, and are even cynical about the anarchism they profess. Need we mention names?*

*Other than that we accept that this is a valid criticism which has never been effectively stated or answered. Of the “options” offered:*

1. *Would lead to militarism and crush anarchism.*
2. *Is certainly far off.*
3. *Would be pure liberalism.*
4. *Hedges the problem.*

*On the other hand many difficulties are argued against societies that do not exist; whereas once these are established difficulties can be lived with.*

Dear Black Flag comrades,

Congratulations on your, increasingly better, coverage of the current miners' dispute. Unlike other anarchist journals, you haven't joined in the arrogant position of high and mighty analysis which, in the final analysis, is comparable with the Sun's etc. anti-Scargill stance. All that maybe important at some stage or another but at the moment it's more important to get on and support the miners (which isn't the same as supporting Scargill and the NUM)! For the miners and families have been doing things on their own initiative eg. miners wives action. So its best to find those positive things and report/support them not get bogged down in ideological clap-trap.

Its a great pity anarchists couldn't have done more during the builders strike of 1972. The State of that industry now is a good indication of how workers can be divided by not having a clear objective. The miners have one albeit not our ideal, but a goal just the same. The building industry is rife with “self-employment” a misnomer if ever there was one — how can wage-slaves ever be self-employed? The only real kind of self-employment is collectivisation and that needs revolution! Some anarchists and libertarians were telling us then that it was better to be “self-employed” than directly employed & heaped scorn onto the campaign for direct labour. Well, history has shown us that they were wrong, for all it has achieved is a generation of petit-bourgeois scabs and an industry far too competitive to bother about unless you want to burn yourself out by the age of 40 and make enemies of all your workmates.

All in all there's too much desire to be different than the rest of the “left” to the point where some anarchists can not see the wood for the trees.

Obviously anarchism is unlike the “left” but I object to putting down people's genuine sincerity, and a hell of a lot of non-anarchists are getting on with supporting the miners families which can't be bad. Some anarchists ought to be doing more leg work than pen-pushing unless they believe “the pen is mightier than the sword”. That's only true if you're backed up by armies and police forces.

Here in Plymouth, where there are South Wales miners pickets and speakers, fund raising has brought out hundreds of closet pro-miners, from young unemployed to the old age pensioners who both donate the little they have each week. A claimant's Union benefit -do raised £163-65½ for them. This is a great achievement when one considers that many politicoes come to Plymouth for a while, say the place is entrenched in reactionary ideas, then hot foot it off to London where the streets are paved with radicals.

Best Wishes,  
G.S. (Plymouth)



# REVIEWS

The *Unsolved* magazine, published weekly, has as its latest issue to hit the stands "The Case That Shamed America" — the trial of Sacco and Vanzetti. It is a reasonable fair review, with some typical reservations at the finish (fashions come and go, sometimes it's Sacco who might just possibly have been guilty, other times it's Vanzetti, but no one doubts that it was not a 'fair trial', and that it was loaded with prejudice from beginning to end).

The case may have shamed America at the time, but thousands came out on to the streets both in America and throughout the world and testified to the fact that there was a living conscience science which protested at innocent workers being condemned just because the two men were anarchists, and at that time it was still felt that it was

shaming beyond belief that hard-working people could be framed for any crime just because of their never-contested sincere belief in the possibility of a better world.

Just look at the photographs, could you imagine crowds like this, admittedly not all anarchists (but the majority must have been some way sympathetic) coming out onto the streets in these times, deadened by atrocity?

The same prejudices of Judge Thayer are echoed in a King-Hamilton (the judge who presided over the Persons Unknown trial in 1979 and has now gone on to judge TV small claims). Courts are still treated to anti-anarchist prejudice in order to convict libertarians an often self-defeating piece of chicanery by lawyers which they never apply to anyone belonging to an establishment party. Newspapers can still peddle even greater distortions about anarchists than they could get away with in the States during the Sacc-Vanzetti trial.



## PUBLICATIONS

**SOLIDARIDAD OBRERA:**— "organ of the CNT/AIT in Catalonia". c/o Calle Reina Cristina No 12-2'-2<sup>a</sup> (12), BARCELONA - 3 Spain. Excellent fortnightly anarcho-syndicalist newspaper in Spanish language with news from Spain and abroad.

**DIRECT ACTION** — monthly paper of the Direct Action Movement/International Worker's Association. The voice of anarcho-syndicalism. 20p Available from: Box DAM, 59 Cookridge St Leeds 2

**ANARCHY** — now an Anarchist investigative journal,

researching into WAC and the SAS - next issue postponed until funds permit, but hopefully soon. 50p Available from: Box A, 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1.

**REFRACT PRESS** — published jointly with Anarchy the book Stefano Delle Chiaie, portrait of a terrorist; which examines the role of modern fascism and the career of this fascist and the disruption caused to the Italian Anarchist movement by these Statist provocateurs. £4.75 from BM REFRACT, LONDON WC1N3XX

**A State of Siege and The Iron Fist**, both reports by Trade Unionists to the Yorkshire Area NUM.

*A State of Siege* is a report on the policing of the miners strike during the first six weeks and *The Iron Fist* on the second six weeks. Both can be guaranteed to dispel any last illusions about the police. The message which comes across in all the incidents detailed are that the police are BASTARDS. The authors' both NALGO members, survey different incidents, with much first hand material. It's a frightening reality.

In particular *The Iron Fist* details the rise of the 'radical' Right that now controls the state. People like the Freedom Association, Monday Club, Economic League, League of St. George, various private armies all firmly in control of much of the Conservative Party. Regular readers of *Black Flag* should find much of this information familiar. However all these disparate facts are drawn together to show that the state has deliberately prepared and engineered the miners strike in order not to attack the NUM, but to crush the working class, to destroy any organised opposition.

Let's make no mistake about this. If the miners lose, it will be our defeat and victory for the fascists. The miners strike is central. If we lose this one, then we can look forward to a dark age. And if the miners win then the struggle moves onto a higher level. The civil war is on. Smash the bastards. Fight to win.

M. Black

Recommended Price £2 from better bookshops or the authors: Paul Holmes, Greenwich Branch Nalگو Staffside Office Basement, Borough Treasurer, Wellington Street, Woolwich SE18. Cheques made payable to 'Greenwich Branch NALGO'.

### FACERIAS: ANARCHIST EXTRAORDINARY

**Antonio Tellez, 400pp**  
Their own battle against fascism lost, the exiled Spanish anarchists fought on virtually every front in the Second World War. They played a prominent role in the French resistance and fought with the British at Navarik in North Africa and even as guerrilla units behind German lines in the Ukraine. After the fall of Hitler and Mussolini, many of the survivors then returned to take up the struggle against Franco. This book is a small contribution to the anonymous men and women who maintained a rearguard action against Franco's regime until the shattered working class movements were able to re-form in the late fifties. The story of Facerias demonstrates that 'the individual is never helpless, the possibility of rebelling and defending an idea which one considers to be just is always present even in the most unfavourable and adverse conditions — which were those he found and those in which he fought'. *Refract Publications* need assistance to help cover the printing and binding costs. Those who wish to help get this title into print should contact: *Refract Publications c/o Cambridge Free Press, 25 Gwydir St. Cambridge.*



'DON'T JUST VEGETATE  
— FEDERATE!'

## ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS

In the near future we intend to organise a meeting, somewhere central but outside London, to which all Black Cross contacts in Britain are invited. Those contacts who wish to attend should write in soon and we will send the details on.

The purpose of the meeting will be to discuss the organisation of the Black Cross network and how it can be expanded, the work of the Black Cross, tactics, propaganda, mutual assistance, improved intelligence work, as well as short and long term strategy.

ABC — London Chapter.

### ANSWERS TO QUIZ

1. As Villon was born in Paris when the Duke of Burgundy owed his allegiance to the King of England, and Napoleon was born in Corsica when the English were temporarily in occupation, such is the absurdity of Statism that these two famous Frenchmen were originally of English nationality.

2. Miscenegation (union of people of different colour); Lucy Parsons claimed she was not Black, as her man could have been sentenced to imprisonment in many States at that time.

3. Destruction of churches as redundant and also converting them into warehouses and community centres.

4. Piracy.

5. In all the countries of the Inquisition, animals could be sentenced as 'accomplices to witchcraft'; and for illegal entry into England dogs and cats can still be sentenced to quarantine.

6. The intention was to call it 'Victoria' and the Cunard chairman went to George V to ask if he might name the ship "after our greatest queen of all time" — the silly old fool thought he was talking about his wife Mary and so the chairman didn't feel like disappointing him,

