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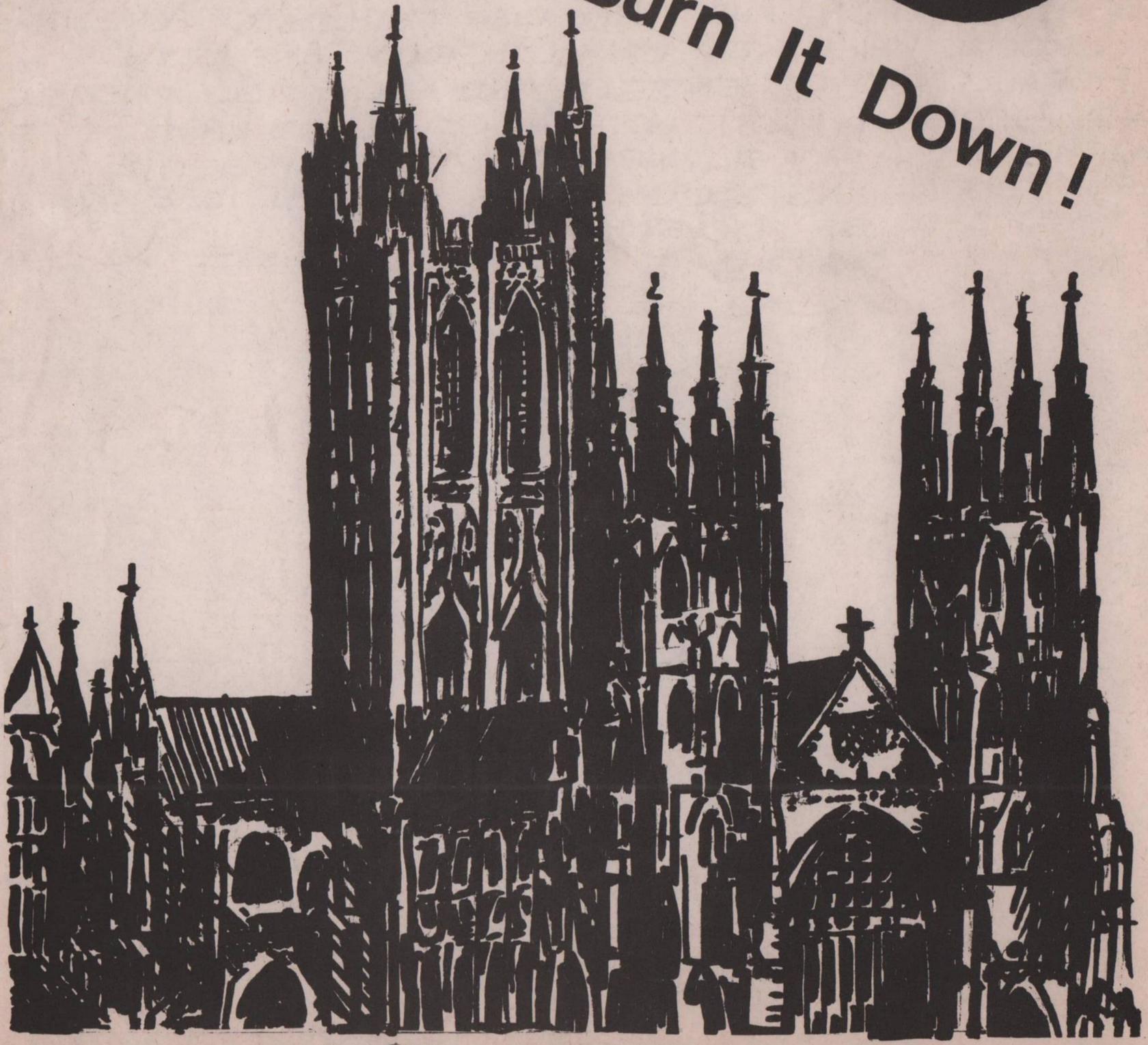
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25p

# BROKEN CHAINS

CANTERBURY ANARCHIST  
MAGAZINE

Blow It Up! Burn It Down!

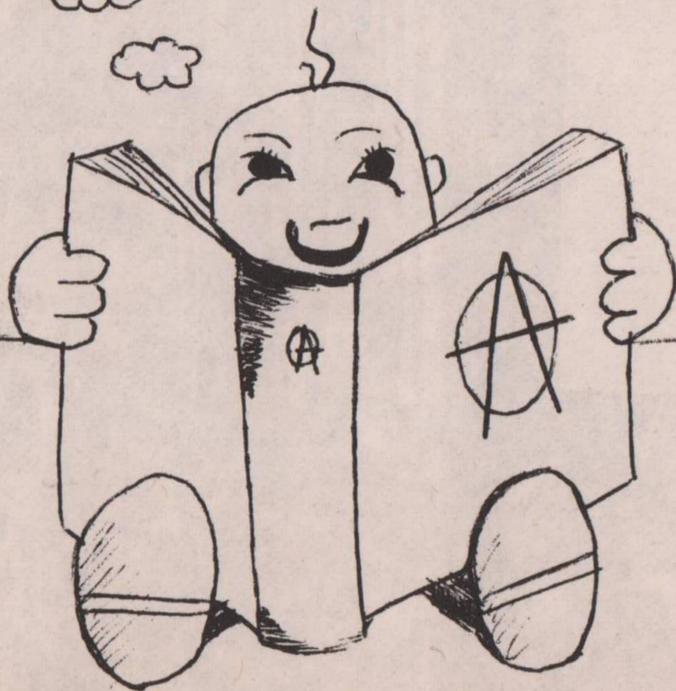
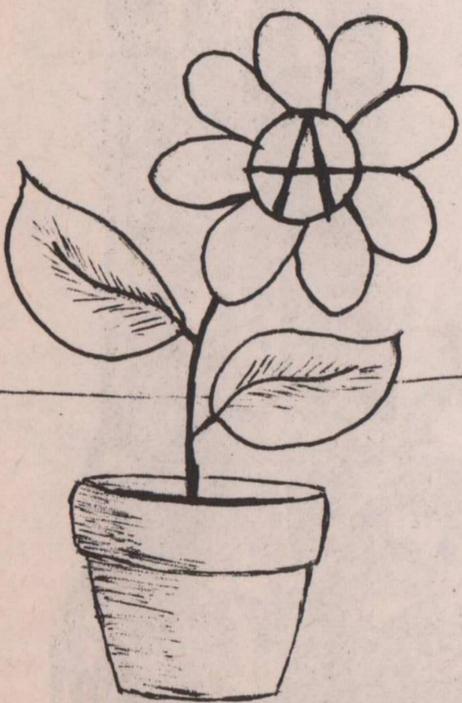
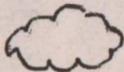
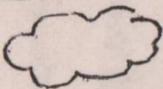


Kick It Till It Breaks!

HERE'S A SNIPPET OF  
INFO FOR ALL YOU 'WONDERFUL'  
PEOPLE OUT THERE WHO LIKE TO  
CRITICISE OR BE ASSOCIATED  
WITH ANARCHISM BEFORE  
KNOWING THE FACTS.

ANARCHISM:

A TERM IN POLITICAL THEORY DERIVED FROM THE  
GREEK - ANARKHOS - 'WITHOUT RULER'. IT DOES NOT  
MEAN 'WITHOUT ORDER'; MOST THEORIES IMPLY AN  
ORDER OF A VERY STRICT AND SYMMETRICAL KIND BUT THEY  
MAINTAIN THAT SUCH ORDER CAN BE ACHIEVED BY  
CO-OPERATION, AND THAT OTHER METHODS OF ACHIEVING  
ORDER, WHICH RELY ON AUTHORITY, ARE BOTH  
MORALLY REPREHENSIBLE AND POLITICALLY UNSTABLE.  
ANARCHISM MUST NOT BE CONFUSED WITH  
NIHILISM, A PURELY NEGATIVE AND DESTRUCTIVE ACTIVITY  
DIRECTED AGAINST SOCIETY AS SUCH. IT IS ESSENTIALLY  
A PACIFIST MOVEMENT.



ALSO 😊:

A BIG N.B. TO 'CLASS WAR'!!!  
SHARON

BROKEN CHAINS

"Broken Chains" is produced by the Canterbury Anarchist Group, who can be contacted by post at 20 Uplands, St Stephens Hill, Canterbury.. If you're interested in coming to our weekly meetings its best to write to the address to find out where and when they're held as it changes from time to time - or speak to us on Saturdays in the Longmarket when we do our paper-sales. The articles represent only the opinions of their individual authors (we don't all agree on everything). Your contribution of letters, articles, local news, details of forthcoming events etc, would be very welcome and would definitely be published so long as they are written from an anti-authoritarian/libertarian perspective.

IN DEFENCE OF DRUGS

Though in no way a thorough exposition of my own views in regards drugs, this short article does serve as an outline, and moreover responds to the scurrilous article on anarchists and drug taking in the first issue of "Broken Chains". That article I personally found offensive and imbued with a despondency that can serve little purpose to anarchism (understood either as lifestyle or political philosophy).

The "problem" is not with drugs per se, but rather the attitude an individual may adopt towards them. Certainly we are constantly reminded of the negative attitude that has developed both within drug subcultures (drugs as escapism) and outside (all drugs as evil and corrupt) What needs to be developed and expressed more openly is a positive (life-affirming) attitude with drugs represented as an adjunct to lifestyle rather than the basis of lifestyle.

Amongst drug-takers themselves the positive/negative attitudes can loosely be represented as a conflict between a "spiritual" and an "escapist" approach to drug use. The "escapist" approach is certainly what prompted the critical initial article on drugs, and is well known to all as indulgence for the sake of a transitory high - seeking through drugs (of any description and that includes alcohol) a feeling of obliviousness to the "real" world. This however merely perpetuates the problem in the constitution of the "real" world since there is no attempt to transform objective reality. Rather one retreats into a relatively momentary transformation of subjective reality. What we as anarchists should be striving towards is an objective transformation of everyday life - hence the necessity of continued political agitation and organisation and experiments in "alternative" lifestyles. As such anarchism must remain flexible, leaving the conception of anarchism open to each individual's needs and desires. Only thus can we develop, through people's experiences and not through a perfunctory adherence to preconceived doctrines (latent or overt).

This is where the "spiritual" approach to drug-use comes in. In essence it is the awareness that drugs can, if treated as a means rather than the end create within the individual an awareness of capacities and potentialities both internal and external (ie of wo/man and the world). This is surely what Leary/Watts/Huxley and the like were suggesting in regards mescaline and LSD. However I do not feel the spiritual aspect needs be confined to the hallucogenic drugs - personally I've had great insights, as I'm sure most have, on a wide variety of "illegal substances". The crucial thing is that the drugs as a catalyst to processes already at work in the mind and merely help bring such insights to the surface. If such insights are not to be wasted then they need to be acted on in broader political/lifestyle involvement, otherwise

the spiritual dimension degenerates into mere escapism or creates a habit of spiritual indulgence wherein the "flesh" of the Gods becomes the total, conception of God ie drugs become "worshipped" for their own sake.

In short, drugs can have a positive use in creating an awareness of wider possibilities - the distance still to be travelled between here and a truly revolutionary transformation not just of society but of reality itself..

Nestor.

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A Highly Neurotic, Biased, Emotional and Subjective Account

"Let's talk about hidden forms of violence," the man said - "for instance, sexism in language."

Not only did this sentence itself obscure the issue of actual physical violence against women - the most hidden and yet the commonest form of violence there is - by implying that feminism is all about calling yourself Ms instead of Miss, but the whole conversation that followed was based on a radical misconception: that women are the problem.

The setting was the recent S.E.A.F. Conference. It was getting towards the end of a tiring day, "business" was over, and the men decided to pay the women a little attention. "They feel left out otherwise", you could hear them all guiltily thinking. So without a moment's hesitation the men set about defining the problem - "Why don't women speak more at meetins?" - and then proceeded to demolish systematically any attempts by the women to define the problem for ourselves, my personal definition being that men speak too much.

The recurring though not explicit refrain from the men was: "Why can't a women be more like a man?" In fact, you had to be if you wanted to say anything - the men were constantly interrupting one another in their efforts to appear more-anti-sexist-than-thou, and any woman who wanted to contribute was forced to butt in rudely herself, thus aping one of the worst aspects of male 'assertiveness'. When I eventually managed to get in a suggestion that perhaps some of the onus was on men to change their behaviour (and I had to butt in with this remark because I couldn't wait any longer for a pause) this was instantly dismissed. As a matter of fact, I was interrupted mid-sentence by a man who continued with the conversation as if I hadn't spoken. A little later on I suggested that people ought to leave a longer gap between speakers to allow the less confident (or maybe just the less inconsiderate) people - mainly women - to gather their thoughts and to speak with the knowledge that they'll be given a full hearing. Obviously this was not the whole answer but it was a small practical step that I thought we could do with implementing there and then. It was completely ignored.

To be fair I have to say that it was at this stage that about half of of the women present were allowed to speak - once. For some it was the first time they'd spoken allday. But curiously enough, none of the men picked up on anything we'd said. It was as if our experience didn't count, simply wasn't recognized as valid. We'd had our say and we ought to be grateful for being allowed to speak at all, was the message I got loud and clear; while some of the men spoke again and again..

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It's one of the small ironies of life that a discussion on sexism in language should provide so many good examples of sexism in language, and it would be laughable if it wasn't so annoying. Personally I found the whole thing profoundly depressing: if intelligent anarchist men can't see the need to listen to what anarchist women have to say, what hope is there for any real change as opposed to polite tokenistic gestures? The fact that we still have to have these conversations at all makes me angry enough, but when they're conducted in such an overtly sexist manner, it just adds insult to injury. Come on anoks, you can do better than that...can't you??

Tracy.

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WHIFFY SMELLS!

Shit of the month has to go to Roger Gale, M.P for Herne Bay. He's the man who's encouraging more accidents and more deaths on the deadly Thanet Way - all in the name of tourism! What happened is this; last week (at time of print) the Cabinet -Office Enterpirze Unit published a "Blueprint for tourism", the Pleasure, Leisure and Jobs report. This deals with the mush needed road improvements constantly hailed from all directions. Only not in the region of those actually needed, just those which will encourage tourists to the areas that they are not already flooding. Basically this means the Thanet Way is to be widened streamlined, made faster, more encouraging for tourists and more dangerous for anyone but those with cars, motorhomes and juggernauts that are also likely to frequent the route.

- Pleasure? For the tourists and Roger Gales of this world.
- Leisure? For those that can afford the prices charged of tourists.
- Jobs? WHO FOR?

For the Roger Gales's who can expect to keep his seat cos Herne Bay will "flourish" and will have Roger Gale to thank for it.

Turdus Migratorius

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cont'd...from p.10 BLACK AND WHITE UNITE AND FIGHT

I can't help thinking that they're revealing more about their own ignorance than about the racist's. For there is a certain twisted rationale in racism inasmuch as the emotions can be said to be rational and despite the fact that racism expresses itself in the grotesquely misguided notion that "the blacks are to blame" when in reality capitalism is to blame. The average racist is not a 'fascist'. S/he is just confused and frightened\* - and God knows there is enough to be frightened of in this world. Liberal do-gooders would be well-advised to get their own house in order, to look at the rotten foundations of the system they support and maintain before peremptorily condemning working-class racists as 'fascists'.

Tracy

\* Thanks to A.Meltzer for a few choice phrases quoted from memory from his article "To Hell with Liberalism" (from an old 'Anarchy' magazine).

Is this the beginning of the end?

In the last issue of "Broken Chains" we described the immediate background to the Kent Messenger Dispute. Since then the only signs of movement have been vague declarations of common intent by the National Bureacracies of the NGA (skilled print union) and the NUJ (journalists union). The dispute has in fact reached a state of deadlock - the sacked printworkers are digging in for a long struggle while the Kent Messenger Group continues to produce its newspapers without yet going bankrupt as the NGA would have hoped. Why has effective solidarity action failed to materialize and what implications does this dispute have for the NGA in particular and the working-class in general? To understand this we must look at how the introduction of new technology will inevitably undermine the traditional power of the craft-based unions which rely so much for their power on the closed-shop.

NEW TECHNOLOGY

Both the bosses and the unions have been preparing for what the Sunday Times heralds as the "Newspaper Revolution" for several years. In June 1983 the Newspaper Society (Bosses Association) launched "PROJECT BREAKTHROUGH" aimed at reaching agreement with the print unions for the full and sensible use of new technology" (Solidarity Vol 1 No5). The central issue is the introduction of "single keystroking" computer systems which bypass the need for skilled "compositors" NGA members to type-set "copy" articles, adverts etc). In the present "double keystroking" system, journalists type copy on ordinary typewriters and the NGA "compositors" cast the copy in metal. Eventually the direct input computer "photosetters" will set the type. Thus the printers "composing room" will be rendered obsolete. The compositors or "type-setters" role has been a skill hitherto indispensable, so the NGA have been able to become one of the richest and most powerful unions in Britain. They fully understand that "single keystroking" threatens NGA members jobs, their control over the production process and their craft-based high wages" (Solidarity) However, despite initial opposition, the NGA realized that they could not prevent the introduction of new technology outright because the low production costs of single keystroking also creates new jobs. The Newspaper Society estimate that "a regional evening paper needs a circulation of 60-100,000 to be viable. Single keystroking would reduce that to 30,000..." (Workers Playtime Dec/Jan 1983/4). The NGA have realized that their members would prefer lower-paid de-skilled jobs to the Dole. In fact National NGA policy now accepts a negotiated three-phased introduction of the process. Wherever disputes have occurred it has been where the print-bosses have ignored consultative procedures which they had previously agreed to - not over the technology itself. In many provincial newspapers the NGA have negotiated some form of compromise whereby NGA compositors are retained, but only to sub-edit and re-type copy.

STRIKEBREAKING

Profit is not the only motive behind single keystroking since printworkers have in the past exercised their power by refusing to print offensive items (such as the front page of the Sun during the Miners Strike depicting Arthur Scargill giving what looks like a fascist salute). An important result of single keystroking is that many provincial printhouses could continue publication of scab papers in the event

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of a local and indeed national printing strike. Furthermore the Tory Employment laws enable printbosses to sack strikers for breach of contract and continue with scab labour.

Thus in the KM dispute even if the NUJ and SOGAT (the clerical print union) ordered its members not to cross picket lines then Edwin Boorman (KM Managing Director) could still break the strike using non-union printhouses until scab labour was recruited and trained to use the new technology. There is also the possibility of journalists in particular ignoring the strike call. The situation now is that journalists SOGAT members, non-unionized typist and volunteer scabs have continued to cross picket-lines and in Maidstone one picket was run over by a SOGAT van driver (whose intentions had been over-heard in the local pub beforehand). In fact this follows a general pattern within the print industry - whereby poor relations between unions are the norm. This is partly because many printworkers have been poorly informed about the implications of new technology and journalists have been especially slow to respond. Many journalists in the provincial press are more interested in furthering their careers and tend to regard their provincial jobs as mere stepping stones to the glamour of Fleet Street. However part of the problem lies in the organisation of unions on a trade and craft basis. This means unions fighting primarily to protect their own trades - and this narrow self-interest makes unions compete with each other for a monopoly on the high-paid, skilled jobs which the bosses have made artificially scarce. Altogether this constitutes the phenomenon known as "sectionalism".

Furthermore the NGA is frightened of illegality, especially after being fined in the High Court following the 1983 Stockport Messenger Dispute with Eddie Shah - soon to launch Britain's first single-key-stroking National Newspaper. The NGA are anxious to ensure that the dispute remains industrial not political ie they are careful to avoid being fined for "political" sympathy action with workers in a similar dispute at Wolverhampton. Therefore under the local title of the Kent Graphical Society, they have confined the issue to the violation of the house-agreement over negotiations of new technology. KGS propoganda always re-iterates that the union did its best to avoid confrontation, while placards on the picket lines declare "We are not on strike. We've been sacked". Given the present political climate, especially after the miners' defeat, the bosses are confident that they can break strikes thus the trend towards print-bosses reneging on house-agreements will certainly continue.

#### CLOSED SHOP

Since the NGA is a craft-union its power is exercised through the "closed shop". The successful use of this tactic has protected NGA members from the low-wages and bad working-conditions that other workers (unskilled workers ie most women, immigrants, young people etc) have come to expect. Basically the closed shop is an agreement between the boss and the union to employ only card carrying union members. This gives the union bureaucrats a great deal of power because if workers were expelled from the union they would also lose their jobs. Union officials at the workplace are thus able to exclude those workers they consider undesirable and so carry out the managerial function of policing the workforce. Although the closed-shop is used against scab labour, in many workplaces the cosy arrangement is used against "troublemakers" and "militants". Most socialists support the sanctity of the closed-shop uncritically but anarch-sydicalists maintain that a revolutionary union must have a voluntary, directly democratic and decentralized structure

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high encourages the "conscious" and active participation of all workers in an industry.

### ONE-BIG UNION

In an anarcho-syndicalist union its officials are unpaid and delegated to carry out a strict mandate which prevents them from making any real decisions without the consent of the workplace assembly. They are also recallable at any time, and have a limited tenure of office. This means that the union can be controlled by the membership not by over-paid bureaucrats. It also means that workers cannot be forced to join the union. The power of a revolutionary union will lie in the fact that workers will be united in one-big union that cuts across craft divides - and furthermore that they will be able to act on their own initiative and fight on their own terms, not dictated to by the bureaucrats who are prepared to stifle rank-and-file involvement for the sake of retaining their control of their members. Too often union funds are used by the bureaucracy to manipulate its membership into complying with their wishes or else be denied strike-pay, hardship benefits or legal representation. Strikers should never be deterred by High Court fines and seizing of centrally controlled funds - but rely for solidarity and financial support from the rest of the working-class as the spontaneous creation of miners support groups proves is possible. If militant workers were to create a genuine rank and file movement - the embryo of an anarcho-syndicalist union - then the closed-shop could easily be used against them by backpeddling union bureaucrats. In fact, the closed-shop principle embodies the "corporate" ideal of "institutionalized class-collaboration", of unions working closely with the bosses to vertically integrate workers into the capitalist State.

This perspective is perhaps too critical and destructive for many socialists to swallow and indeed it would be idealistic to demand that printworkers create one big syndicalist printworkers union and all their problems would be solved. However unless generalization of the various print disputes is organised at grass roots level then there may be no stopping the advent of a semi-unionized print industry (as it is in the USA) where no-strike "sweetheart" deals, job insecurity and new technology will prevent "luddite" printworkers from disrupting production. The KM Dispute must be viewed against the background of the deskilling of powerful craft-unions such as the NGA and Aslef (train drivers union) and defeat for the typesetters will be another major setback for the working-class. As anarchists, we must give the sacked printers all the support we can (visiting picket lines, publicising their cause) but we must also stress that house-agreements between bosses and unions are no substitute for a fighting union using direct action to achieve its aims.

D.A (Canterbury DAM)

\*KM UPDATE: Along with non-NGA workers at the KM printhouses, there are now people on Youth Training Schemes who are working on the new machinery. As far as the KM management is concerned they would rather employ kids at slave labour rates than re-instate the sacked printworkers whose average weekly wage was upward of £150. Furthermore we have also heard that Edwin Boorman is a member of the right-wing Monday Club group of Conservatives, some of whom have been seen at neo-fascist gatherings. Meanwhile Boorman was recently seen with Eddie Shah the man who claimed that the mass picket at Warrington made him feel like a Jewish shopkeeper attacked by Nazis. Small world isn't it Eddie!-

WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....WIN.....

GOD IS DEAD COMPETITION

What do we do with all those huge us less monuments and buildings after the revolution. William Morris suggested that the Houses of Parliament be turned inot a dung-shed. In the Spanish Revolution anarchists either burnt down churches or turned them into warehouses. In east Germany churches are used for bands to play and the punk scene is based around gra-veyards as a result. In an anarchist society where production is for human need not profit - the tourist track would be no more...and there would be no point in preserving a useless relic like the Cathedral. Bo Geldof said the Cathedral was built to represent the aspirations of humanity...so fucking what! We have to live in this shithole with slum landlords, DHSS snoopers, high bus fares, no community centre, no-where to go at night, no half-decent jobs, nothing but boredom, poverty and resentment which will eventually erupt. This is why we at "Broken Chains" want you to write in with your suggestions for the revolutionary transformation of Canterbury Cathedral. The winner will receive a years subscription to "Broken Chains" (you better believe it! and we will print all the suggestions and send them to the Archbishop so that the knows what's coming to him.

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BOLLOCKS TO THAT!

Swale Council have spent eleven years and tens of thousands of pounds draughting emergency plans in case of a nuclear war. So what will happen to Swale during the holocaust? Well according to the document 95% of the population could be saved but 2 council information offecers admitted that the borough could equally be annihilated. Nice to know that our elected parasites are spending public money well!

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Students on Ramage Shock

Two Canterbury Anarchists were fined £50 each and ordered to pay compensation costs for criminal damage to shop fronts in the twon. Police suspect that the "anti-stablistment" stickers spray paint and glued up locks were part of an unsuccessful world communist revolution, but felt that they did not have any evidence to press cnspiracy charges. The protest co-incided with the so-called "Stop-Business as Usual" event - an international day of action against the profit-system.

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A SHORT STORY IN MANY PARTS

(Easier to handle than Brookside and more fun than a good kick in the head)

Prologue

Has anyone noticed the feintly orange monstrosity in Canterbury that  
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calls itself the Marlowe Theatre? I ask if anyone has noticed it because I doubt many people reading this article will ever have been to any productions there, either because of financial reasons (it was decided by a committee comprising solely of Tory councillors not to offer concessionary rates to the unemployed) or because there's fuck all that you'd want to see there anyway. The fact remains, of course, that you must have seen it, as I said, its the feintly orange monstrosity.

Anyone that has lived in the area for any reasonable length of time will remember that it was the Odeon cinema, the main changes being the vast amount of money spent on it, the vast amount of money being lost on it, the colossal "backdrop" which the council would claim is not an eyesore....and lastly its feintly orange whereas before it was filthy-fifties white. Where did all the money come from? Where was the decision to carry out the plan made and why? Here beginneth the story of mystery, intrigue and suspense. Tune in for the next issue.....

### SHWaC - CLAIMANTS UNION

Long term unemployment, low-paid unskilled and temporary work, YTS schemes and worsening living standards in general; these are the only horizons for a growing underclass of people in this country. In this area alone the figures for May 1985 read unemployed:- 8.741, Other claimants:- 6.189. Most of us through experience know how mystifying the procedures are, and how frustrating it can be when we have problems with our claims. Many claimants are unaware of additional benefits to which they are entitled. It is estimated that approximately £10,000,000 went unclaimed in Britain last year yet the Government and gutter press are more concerned about the "social security scroungers" living it up on the Costa del Dole. Not satisfied with turning Bed-and-Breakfast tenants out into the streets, the Government is to employ 100 extra "Dole Fraud Investigators" (SNOOPERS) to catch those on the fiddle.... and the Fowler Reviews are yet to come!

For these reasons we must welcome the creation of the SHWaC - The Sturry, Herne Bay, Whitstable and Canterbury Claimants Union. But what does a claimants union do? To quote their leaflet they,

- \*) Support each others claims and appeals.
- \*) Publicize alterations to the welfare systems and discuss implications
- \*) Campaign against cuts, discriminations, media-stigma and high profile anti-fraud tactics....designed to frighten people. Campaign for fares reductions and adequate housing.
- \*) Display useful publications and lists. Provide office and information facilities.
- \*) Organise needed services free of charge eg child care.
- \*) Social activities, meetings...holidays...dances, sales, exhibitions, music and more.

The SHWaC has already been refused permission to distribute literature in the Longmarket by the City Council's amenities committee. Cllr Jean Fielding said "This use would be to the detriment of shoppers...I would like to see the area kept for entertainers only". This is not going to deter the claimants union, but claimants do need a centre to meet,

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exchange ideas, print literature and receive support and advice about their claims. In the past these have been little more than TUC-approved coffee bars, funded by the Manpower Services Commission and ignored by the vast majority of claimants. If you have anything to offer or if you need advice and support, the SHwAC says "Our experience is real and counts, not political theory or supposition", - telephone (0227) 741051 and ask for Johnny Plun.

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Report from the 4th South-East Anarchist Federation Conference - held in Tonbridge on 4th August 1985

About 20-25 people attended from Tonbridge, Brighton, Canterbury Hastings and Medway. Several groups were not present due to problems, over the publicizing of the Conference. First we were shown an ALF video followed by a question and answer session with an ALF press officer. After lunch each group reported on its local activity and then we went through an agenda of proposals, forthcoming events etc. Conference agreed to a levy for anyone who wants to be on the contact list. This meant that smaller groups and individuals could perform the secretarial functions. The levy will be £5 a year for groups and £1 for individuals, most of which will be spent on posting out monthly newsbulletins. We discussed possible projects which the S.E.A.F. could involve itself in, such as an anti-fascist front and an unemployed march but nothing concrete was agreed to. Several groups expressed an interest in having stalls at the Aylesham "Mines not Missiles" Festival on August 24-26th. After this "business" was completed we tried to have workshops on "non-violence" and "police violence" - but nobody was clear as to what was going on. There was an inconclusive discussion about women's participation in mixed groups. Part of the problem lay in trying to do too much in too short a time since there are no easy answers to problems about male domination of anarchist groups. Brighton agreed to hold the next conference in about two months time which they hope to make a 2 day event.

Archie Bishop of Canterbury

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MAN AND WOMAN, BLACK AND WHITE: ONE STRUGGLE, ONE FIGHT

I recently overheard a conversation in a pub in which an unmistakably educated and rather drunken woman attempted to explain racism. "It's just ignorance," she announced, "that's all there is to it." Like all neat summings-up of complex issues, this sentence immediately aroused my suspicion and prompted me to reflect on the widespread liberal fallacy that the cure for racism lies in 'educating' the racists to be more 'tolerant'. It became apparent the longer I eavesdropped on the conversation that the type of racism under discussion at the next table was not the sort of racism we notice every time we turn on the telly or open a newspaper, but was working-class racism; and it was working-class racists who the woman was calling 'just ignorant'. This reflects perfectly the belief very common amongst educated people that the working-class are somehow by nature especially susceptible to racist propoganda, a view I find repugnant for a variety of reasons.

Firstly, it rests on a perception of working-class people as somehow deficient in moral acumen. From this standpoint the working-class are seen either as a pack of wild animals, or worse still, a bunch of mindless sheep - either way, basically irrational and impressionable, a group from whom the most we can hope is that they're tameable. Which is where the essentially middle-class idea of educating racists out of their racist views comes in. (There is a resemblance here to the way in which children are looked on as slightly sub-human, when in fact they are 'under-socializ-

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ed'. But then ever since Aristotle the oppressors have always justified oppression by pretending that the oppressed are less than fully human.)

Secondly, the fallacy of this view - that racists are sick people who need a dose of good old-fashioned liberal-rationalist education to cure them - becomes apparent when we look at the educated middle-class's own contribution to racism, which is if anything more vile because more subtle, and because usually they are in positions of greater influence as educators, employers, journalists and so on. The middle-class educationist does not call people 'wogs' or 'Pakis' - instead s/he devises IQ tests in which most black and Asian children will inevitably score lower than whites because of language and cultural differences. The liberal do-gooder does not object to a black lawyer moving in next door - instead s/he swallows wholesale all the capitalist lies about xenophobia being a psychological condition, an unalterable part of human nature for which the only remedy is to weed it out before it rips society apart etc etc So goes the myth. It is a very clever lie, one which serves the purpose of masking the real causes of racism whilst at the same time making it appear that the bourgeoisie are concerned about it, are 'doing something about it'.

So what are the real causes of racism? To answer this it is necessary to look back at our history - a history of imperialism, colonialism, ruthless exploitation at home and abroad, and in the '50's a gap in the labour market that resulted in the importation of cheap immigrant labour. When Asians and West Indians were first allowed into Britain in substantial numbers this was no act of benevolence but was motivated purely by economic factors: the economy needed someone to do the dirty, low-status, dead-end jobs. As these jobs were gradually filled by immigrants, the white workers who had previously done them became 'upwardly mobile' and started to move out of the slums - just as the immigrants were settling into them. Given our history of colonialism when slavery and near-slavery had been justified by the colour of the colonial's skin - the racial difference was convenient, but had it not existed the colonialists would probably have found another excuse to label the indigenous people inferior, capitalism being very resourceful in this respect - given this background, is it any wonder that immigrants doing the most menial lowest-paid jobs and living in the worst housing came to be seen as inferior by many whites?

Today the majority of immigrants are still at the bottom of the pile and their predicament has been made worse in recent years by high unemployment and the housing crisis. This in itself would be bad enough, but in addition there seems to be a correlation between racism and high levels of economic and social insecurity. In other words, racism feeds on things like unemployment and the shortage of decent housing because these things create powerful feelings of insecurity and inferiority in people. Racists cope with these feelings by imagining the social hierarchy as a see-saw; if they put another group down, they themselves go up in their own esteem. Of course not every homeless or unemployed person is a racist, so we cannot cite a causal connection between the two. But what we can say is that people already prone to feelings of anxiety, inferiority and insecurity are more likely to resort to violent prejudice when genuine reasons for anxiety increase. As Tony Skillen put it, racism is a way of looking at the world in which membership of the human race depends on someone else's exclusion from it. It seems that the racist experiences her/himself as incomplete, experiences life in general as deprivation instead of enrichment,

Liberals tend to rail against prejudice, smug in their sense of moral superiority, without ever feeling it incumbent on them to do anything about the underlying causes of fear and anxiety in social life. They want blacks and whites to iron out their differences and live together happily in the slums; and then they call it 'race riots' when blacks and whites alike run amok in Brixton or Toxteth, literally throwing back at society what society has given them. Finally, the liberals nod in agreement when the racist police use these uprisings to call for more powers, when the racist courts hand out stiff sentences to 'troublemakers'. I am not one of those people who can see no wrong in the working-class. Racism is racism and it is to be fought against wherever it manifests itself. It is hurtful, divisive, destructive, sometimes violent, and it is the main recruiting point for fascists (though fascism does not have to involve racism). But when I hear university-educated people put racism down to 'ignorance',

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is to blame. The average racist is not a Fascist. S/he is just confused and fright-

BOB GELDOF MEETS BAADER-MEINHOF - The bankruptcy of Animal Liberation

The Anarchist movement in Britain has once again begun to flourish. Large demonstrations are always attended by a healthy contingent of anarchists and both the National and Left wing press have grudgingly started acknowledging our existence. However, I wish to criticize that part of the movement whose slogan is "Human freedom Animal Rights - one struggle one fight".

MORALISM

One weakness that always hampered traditional anarchism was a cultivated ignorance of theory which justified itself through a self-righteous moralism. In other words when you cannot fully demonstrate the desirability and practicability of anarchism you resort to "rhetoric" and denounce statism as "morally wrong". While this principled stance is no bad thing it is vulnerable to manipulation by those who insist that we must compromise our "ideals" for the sake of "realism". In fact moralizing is all very well if you happen to be the Church or State and you can use the threat of physical or psychological violence to make people behave the way you want. But we are not in that position and never could be if we were to call ourselves "anarchists". Authoritarian moralists get you when you're young and use systematic reward and punishment to teach you how to "behave yourself". Although we are not merely robots - people in this society need to be liberated from an internalized obedience to "slave moralities". In the modern shopping centre alongside Born-Again Christians, Third World Charities and Corpse-loving Trotskyites - just another moralist telling people how to behave is asking to be ignored. Yes, we must continually expose Statist contradictions and lies but using the watchword "power corrupts" as an unquestionable "article of faith" is not enough. We must demonstrate that our ideas can work or else anarchism will remain the marginalized "conscience of the revolution" and nothing more.

I now intend to show how these criticisms apply to the animal liberation tendency within anarchism which in my opinion is both futile reformist and incoherent. Animal rights propaganda appeals mainly to the emotions using vivid descriptions of factory farming methods, pictures of tortured animals plus a moralistic anger when nobody seems interested. This approach resembles the liberal paternalism of Bob Geldof rather than the revolutionary anarchism of Bakunin. I have yet to find a convincing argument for "animal rights anarchism" beyond a few slogans, yet so many anarchists today dutifully recite "meat means murder" and thus fall back on that old Christian trick of making people feel guilty in order to influence their behaviour. Occasionally some vague theory about human alienation from animals is waved around by Hegelian vegans as if they've just discovered Marx's long-lost "Manuscripts on Animal Abuse". All in all it doesn't really amount to much. But why theory? you might ask. Well, in the past traditional anarchism found its justification in revolutionary practice - In Spain 1936 anarchism was a mass movement which put libertarian collectivization to the test. Now we are in a much weaker position and we must return to arguing for anarchism at every opportunity in order to build the movement. Therefore we need a basic but coherent political theory in order to make sense of how society works. If we don't attempt to understand the dynamics of society we might never appreciate

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how revolutions happen and ultimately whether our political action is effective and fruitful or else irrelevant and futile.

### DIRECT ACTION

Animal liberationism combined with an anti-intellectual moralism does appeal to a growing movement today and its emphasis upon "direct action" is better than becoming a parliamentary pressure group lobbying a few trendy Labour M.P's. Indeed activists do benefit from achieving some immediate change in their diet, as well as the experience of dealing with the State through guerilla actions and arrest. But how many of these actions are carried out in the belief that bricking butchers shops is really going to change the minds of those who profit from the massive food and drug industries? - and how many actions are carried out for self-entertainment? The most that the ALF's direct action can achieve is making the bosses realise that there is a sizeable market for animal-free food and drugs - and some entrepreneur will profit eventually. The guerilla style of direct action is "propaganda by deed" and nothing more, but is it effective propaganda?

I took part in an action where members of our group marched into Macdonalds, chanted anti-meat slogans and abused customers and staff alike. I was acutely embarrassed. These were either low-paid non-unionized workers or ordinary families for whom shopping on Saturdays is routine and lunch at MacDonaldis a welcome treat. I consider this sort of action to be harmful to anarchism. There is an individualistic libertarian tradition wherein victims are blamed for colluding in their own oppression, since people are said to be free agents responsible for their own destiny. By this logic workers are blamed for acquiescing to capitalist exploitation. There is a similar strain of animal liberationism which starts from the same premise of "free will" and concludes that humans are guilty because we are free to choose and animals are innocent because they are not. I am aware that other people hold different views but nonetheless most animal liberationists continue to blame the consumers for perpetuating a profitable industry. Unless they come to see the destruction of the profit-system through the revolutionary class-struggle as their priority, activists will inevitably become disillusioned and misanthropic (human-hating) after much hard work and little reward.

### FIGHT FOR YOURSELVES

Perhaps in a libertarian society eating meat will be deemed unnecessary after issues such as health and ecology have been fully discussed. However anarchists have always maintained that oppressed groups are capable of "self-emancipation" - and it is necessary that they do not delegate this capability to unaccountable union or party bureaucrats or else new forms of class society will emerge. This cannot for obvious reasons apply to animals so animal liberationists have invented "animal rights" which we are told to respect. Anarchists have always known that "moral principles" and "human rights" are only respected when it suits the ruling classes. Feminists have always understood that the "right to women's self-determination" is only made possible by strong women not liberal men. In the same way anarchists must realize that animal liberationism breaks with this tradition of "autonomous struggle" and both its theory and practice are closer to the Marxism-Leninism of the Red Brigades, the Baader-Mainhofs and other terrorist

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LETTERS

The following letter has been edited to protect the identity of its author.

Dear Broken Chains,

I am a Penguin (I'm at King's School). You might think that we are all stubborn stuck-up snobs, but you have been misled. I admit there is a majority of hooray-henry's here, but thank god I'm not one. Our minority is as intent trying to disrupt the Set School life as you are in justifying your cause. I read your magazine and was impressed with its organisation and meaning.

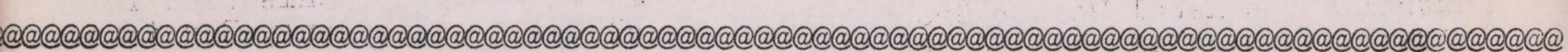
I just want to say that a few of us feel fucking prats walking round Canterbury dressed like clowns - but we are doing what we can to fuck up the organisation. Many of the students here are rich, and look down on others like the snobs that they are. We hate them and the system as much as you lot do, and we get really pissed off when we walk around town and get kicked in or insulted - many people don't understand that many of our parents are working class, with bursaries or firms paying for the fees every term.

I read in "Class War" about the school riots, and this gave our minority of "Rebels" (as the school calls us) good inspiration. The masters will go first, then the buildings, so we can totally destroy any trace of the "education" system.

The main point of this hurried letter was to inform you that we're not all posh wankers - next time you see penguins kick some arse if you want but just make sure its not us.

Anyway, we'll continue in our efforts to bugger-up the system. Keep up the good work cos we'll be keeping an eye on "Broken Chains".

Regards



DAM PUBLICATIONS CONTINUED

STRIKE ACTION: Laid out here are the basic tactics and methods of organisation which we as anarcho-syndicalists believe can be used to produce a successful strike. This pamphlet is aimed at all militants in industry both in and outside the unions. 20p.

RACISM AND STRUGGLE: The DAM is part of an international movement and totally committed to the ideas of solidarity among all workers regardless of race. It is therefore only natural that we should discuss our views on racism and how we can defeat it. 15p.

FORTHCOMING TITLE: TELL US LIES ABOUT THE MINERS

The British Press, its lies and anti-union propaganda. During the great coal miners strike 1984/5, the Press in this country surpassed itself with wholesale distortions of the events surrounding the strike. Dave Douglass, the Hatfield Main NUM delegate takes a good look at some of the press propaganda. First published by the Doncaster, Cambridge and South London DAM groups, 1985. 60p.

Also available from Canterbury DAM. 'Direct Action'-monthly newspaper of the DAM-IWA, and Black Flag-anarchist fortnightly.

ANARCHY: WHAT'S IT BECOME

Anarchy: the word that frightens most people is now fast becoming both frightening and confusing to me as it is to them.

Why? you ask!

There are now so many different anarchist groups springing up, ranging from out and out class violence and destruction to complete passivity; anarcho-syndicalists (I can hardly spell it) to anarcho-nihilists. Now, if the ideals of these groups are confusing to another anarchist, then how the hell do you think it comes across to the ill-informed, misguided and "non-thinking" people etc? It's all very well some middle class intellectuals writing their theories on how it should be and handing it out to your average working-class person and saying "This is it, this is ANARCHY". Him/her is going to get home, read the first line, and thats it, straight in the bin! Why? because it's written by some intellectual who reads books on things like "anarchy - the philosophy" or "Anarchy - how it affects the economy", who then goes and puts in words that the person reading has never heard of let alone knows what they mean or its put across in such a long-winded and boring way that that's exactly how anarchy comes across - boring, when it should be fun!

On the other hand you've got working-class "nutters" who hand out literature advocating violence against the rich, urging people to attack and beat them up, also supporting terrorism ie the Brighton bombing to the murder of policemen and women. OK, admittedly this comes across in a very straight-forward, no beating about the bush way, but there's no alternative to offer or long-term thinking, ie after the "revolution" how do we survive?

Anarchy is anarchy, there's NO need for all these useless and confusing divisions within the movement. We should concentrate on getting the people united and working together and taking responsibility for their actions. Anarchy is the only way but unless we put it out in a way that everyone can understand we're gonna be exactly where we were 5 years ago - no where. Do you really want change?

Solidarity and love from Gavin  
(an anarcho-fool from Ashford)

PS What happened to Love and Peace?

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Dear "Black Flag" supporters,

It was interesting chatting to you during the open-air we did a week or two ago about the different views we had on people's basic nature and on freedom. (I'm one of the Christians you talked to - we were doing sketches, you were out selling your newspaper - remember?). I found your info sheet very interesting, likewise the newspaper itself - though if you look at the "Q and A on Anarchism" on page 2, you'll find an interesting if short discussion about belief in God which hardly squares with what one of your party said, that

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Letters contd...

"If God did exist, he'd have to be abolished".

I'm only sorry we didn't have the chance to talk further - especially about God and Man, and Freedom, which my partner Dave and I didn't have time to explain fully - especially about the misconceptions which you had about God and authority.

So, free of charge (!) please find enclosed a couple of magazines - one on the theme of "God" and the other on "Man" which, I hope, will show you that we aren't pessimistic about people - we've seen and experienced already more freedom than you could imagine possible - and it all comes from the one who said "If the Son of Man sets you free, you really shall be free".

If you want to contact me - CHRIS GROWET - you can do so via our office in Leicester - likewise Dave.

All the best,

Chris

REPLY: I'm afraid that we have spelt your name wrong Chris - it would require a miracle to read your handwriting. On the subject of freedom I don't think it is worth arguing about who is more 'free' when you seem to be using a completely different definition of the word. When we talk about freedom we mean the free society, the self-managed society where people free from coercive, authoritarian institutions like the Family, school, church, army, state etc will be free to LOVE, WORK and PLAY according to their mutual needs and desires. In this society the ruling classes maintain that all repressive statist institutions exist to protect us from ourselves. In other words, if there were no state then there would be lawlessness, chaos and anarchy. This conception of freedom is what Isaiah Berlin called 'Negative freedom' and it is based on a negative conception of human nature ie. humans are inherently selfish. We however maintain that it is institutions which are corrupt and which determine character. The negative definition of human nature inevitably produces a negative definition of anarchy ie chaos. Traditionally the christian definition of freedom has always been the property of authoritarian and reactionary church leaders. More recently christians have looked to the anti-deterministic or existential tradition of philosophy to define what they sometimes call radical freedom ie. we are free in spirit because free will is the human condition. It would be facile to say that this is neither radical nor freedom - but it is true in the sense that the personal, subjective freedom of the christian has nothing to do with the objective, political freedom which anarchists talk about. In fact words like 'radical' and 'freedom' are used by so many different groups to mean so many different things that they render the words meaningless. After all Margaret Thatcher calls Britain a free country and calls her monetarist policies radical!

As for 'misconceptions' about God and Authority, our conceptions of God are based on living in a culture which hasn't fully recovered from having had religious propaganda rammed down its throat for the last two thousand years. As belief in God cannot be based on scientific proof it has always been based on 'Blind Faith' and therefore we have had to rely on religious leaders to supply us with interpretations. At worst therefore blind faith in the the authority of God and Church is used to excuse atrocities like witchburning and colonialism, at best christianity as an anti-clerical guide to living (eg The Diggers or the Anabaptists) has more to do with 'building heaven on earth'. Choose for yourself. m.bakunin