

INTERCOM 6

40p

Revolutionary Discussion Bulletin

SEPTEMBER

1984

A WARNING TO THE BORED



We understand how bored you are with the drab monotony of everyday life.

You hate the jobs we make you take to get money, and have nothing but contempt for us.

It's obvious that you increasingly reject our morality, along with all restraint. You steal from us, lie to us, break our laws, mock our culture, sabotage our technology.

We tolerate "rebels" with all sorts of causes, but you laugh at them. What you seem to want is revelry without any cause at all.

We recognize every "revolution" to make sure you and your friends won't break out of line everywhere at once, your only goal unlicensed pleasure.

We're afraid you'd rather be burning banks, looting malls or smashing computers than going to work -- our demands are what really bring out the violence in you.

This game has gone on long enough. Either you win or we will.

INTERCOM 6

AUGUST- SEPTEMBER 1984.

BASIC PRINCIPLES.

- 1 *Opposition to the class society which exists in every country in the world.*
- 2 *Commitment to the communist objective — abolition of nation states and the money/market/wages system, and its replacement by the common ownership and democratic control of the world's resources.*
- 3 *Rejection of 'nationalisation' as any kind of solution to working class problems.*
- 4 *Support and encouragement for independent working class struggle outside the control of the trade unions (including shop-stewards and 'rank-and-file' movements, and all political parties.*
- 5 *Opposition to all capitalist and nationalist parties, including the Labour Party and other organisations of the capitalist left. Opposition to all joint work with these organisations, including participation in front organisations such as the CND.*
- 6 *For the active participation of the whole working class in its own emancipation through social revolution which overthrows all governments, bosses and leaders.*
- 7 *Rejection of all forms of nationalism — for the internationalisation of working class struggle.*
- 8 *Active opposition to racism and sexism.*
- 9 *Opposition to religion and all other ideological mystifications.*
- 10 *Support for principled co-operation among revolutionaries, and opposition to sectarianism.*

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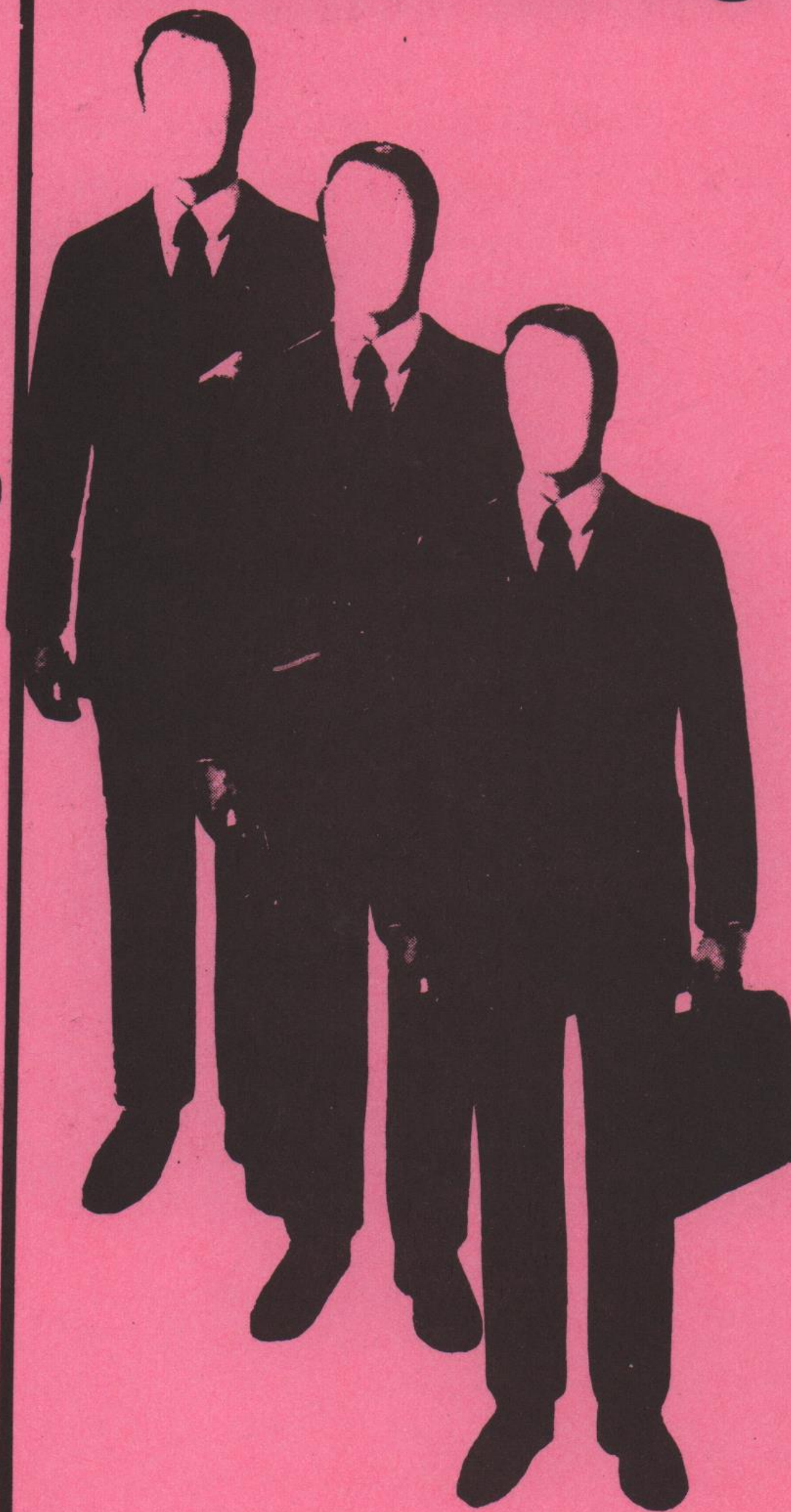
Anonymous of Eugene.



in brief

THIS ISSUE OF INTERCOM WAS PUT TOGETHER BY INDIVIDUALS CONNECTED WITH THE CLYDESID E ANARCHISTS. WE ARE HOSTING A CONFERENCE, the 1st/2nd SEPTEMBER, WHICH WILL DISCUSS AMONG OTHER SUBJECTS, THE POTENTIAL & CAPACITY OF THE INTERCOM NETWORK TO COORDINATE INTERVENTION, IMPROVE INTERCOMMUNICATION BETWEEN THE REVOLUTIONARY MINORITY — WHO DESCRIBE THEMSELVES AS ANARCHIST-, LIBERTARIAN-, COUNCIL- & LEFT-COMMUNISTS. ARTICLES CONFORMING TO THE 10 point BASIC PRINCIPLES & OTHER MATERIAL ARE INCLUDED AT THE DISCRETION OF THE EDITORIAL GROUP, WHICH IS CURRENTLY ROTATED ON A FEDERALIST BASIS. BECAUSE OF IT'S ESOTERIC INTEREST WE HAVEN'T INCLUDED A SITUATIONIST INSPIRED CRITIQUE OF WILDCAT IN MANCHESTER & ITS REPLY, WHICH IF YOU'RE INTERESTED IN DIGESTING, CONTACT THE WILDCAT ADDRESS DIRECT. ANY LETTERS, ARTICLES, COMMENTS, OR EXCHANGES OF MATERIAL SEND TO AUTONOMY PRESS(I/C) top floor, 64 QUEEN ST., GLASGOW & WE'LL FORWARD THEM TO THE NEXT EDITORIAL GROUP MANDATED BY THE NETWORK.

Attention College Graduates:



Your Future
Maintains
Our Leadership
Position

.....as long as you continue your life as you have for the past 20-odd years. We need strong, able bodies willing to give up all pleasure for our needs. We need you if you are willing to be satisfied with meaningless activity, if you are willing to accept our leadership and authority, if you are willing to conform your thoughts to our line. This system has worked hard to produce you as you are today. You've already shown us your patience--most of you spent your first 18 years in a nuclear family obeying the rules of your parents and teachers. In the University you've experienced more of the same rules and regulations, you've experienced an increasing workload year after year (so that you're too busy for anything else), as well as less and less control over your life. And you've shown remarkable restraint from anger over the petty problems of everyday life--finding a place to live, standing in long lines at the grocery, at registration for school, at finding a job (boring and useless that it was). And now we want to reward you. We'll offer you all kinds of gimmicks--we'll pay off your student loan, we'll give you a cash bonus, we'll give you professional status (even though we'll make all the decisions for you), anything we can think of to snatch you into our fold. After all, we're only asking for your life.

Is There Life After a Job?

An Unpaid Subvertism

Work & Pay

Anti-Militarist direct action in Italy

May and June have seen several thousand people participating in significant anti militarist direct actions in northern Italy. On Mayday 500 people defied a police ban and marched on the HQ of the NATO Air Command for southern Europe in Vicenza. A fortnight later 2-3,000 took action against an internationally important exhibition of naval armaments in Genova and several hundred people blockaded the U.S. nuclear weapons store at Longare on June 3rd. Now plans are underway for further direct action at Comiso -- the movement "cannot passively accept the installation of Cruise at Comiso; on the contrary it must intensify the forms of struggle and increase the participation of the mass of people" -- with this call the "Veneto anti-nuclear/anti-militarist coordinating group" urges all to participate in direct initiatives at the Sicilian missile base from 6-9th August.

Mayday In Vicenza

The blockade of the Longare base was originally planned for 25th April. But reformist elements in the peace movement, mainly allied to the Communist Party, postponed the action. To date state repression and reformist domination of the Peace Movement had largely prevented direct actions against military bases in mainland Italy. Considering it important to move towards breaking this repressive limitation, groups in the "area of autonomy" went ahead and called a demonstration and blockade of the major NATO base "Caserma Ederle" in Vicenza for Mayday.

The Vicenza Police Force issued a total ban on both the demo and the blockade. As we gathered at the meeting place (a good distance from the actual base) the police ordered everyone to disperse and go home. As their deadline approaches the police form up, menacing a charge. People move off in small groups, leafleting and moving towards the base. A while and we're all together again. An "illegal" demo, heading for the base. Taking up the whole street. No stewards. The musical rhyming slogans of autonomia operaia ring out. No police in sight yet. As we get nearer the base the streets are deserted. Suddenly, the road ahead is blocked by a big force of police. A quick right turn, down aside street. People start running. Police sirens start. Vans and cars full of Police scream round corners. Some panic. We run forward and back. We all

get split up. Police are jumping out of vans and pursuing fleeing comrades.

About 30 people were arrested. 3 were beaten up on arrest. Several were arrested while walking along the pavement or driving out of town long after it was all over. "Participation in an unauthorised demonstration" was the alleged offence. Now, following our lawyer's efforts, the charges have been dropped.

Genova Arms Exhibition

"Profit From Death" was the obscenity underlying the naval armaments exhibition in Genova. Opposition came from many and varied groups. School students in Genova went on strike and demonstrated. In addition to the autonomia and anarchists there was involvement from many "Committees for Peace" and some of the major factories in the area. The attempted blockade of the exhibition was partially successful, causing considerable disruption. Defence Minister Spadolini was forced to fly in by helicopter to carry out his planned visit.

Longare Base Blockade

The action at Longare military base on June 3rd successfully blocked the gate to the base. (Though nobody I asked seemed to know whether or not the huge base had other entrances.) The police didn't intervene, presumably having reached an agreement with the organisers from the Communist Party dominated Committees for Peace.

The blockade lasted from early morning to mid-afternoon. Then it was into nearby Vicenza. The Committees for Peace held a meeting plus music. Meanwhile the autonomia attempted a march through the city centre, "to carry the echoes of the day's initiatives into all of the city". In a sharp contrast to their earlier restraint the police attacked the demonstration. For a second time we were fleeing through the streets of Vicenza.

Back at the Peace Committee's meeting the chairman refused to let anyone speak to tell people about the police attack, even though all the speakers had finished. So we all went up to the platform and one comrade got up and spoke anyway, while another prevented the enraged chairman-bureaucrat from interfering.

Against Pollution Of The Power Station On The Po

On 10th June there was a day of activity against the pollution caused by a power station at Pila on the Po delta. Plans involved blockading the the river to stop the ships that deliver the oil that fuels the station. These ships have spilt oil into the Po, poisoning the river and fish. In the event the authorities called off the deliveries for the day. So the local fisherfolks' boats were instead used for a water-borne demo.

As in the Peace Movement many involved in this struggle have a totally reformist outlook, pinning all their hopes on an alternative "benevolent" form of capitalist development that they believe could both provide plenty of jobs and protect the unique delta environment -- whereas the gains that can be won in a crisis-ridden capitalism are in fact very limited, short of revolution. While they too could perhaps be criticised for partly sharing these reformist illusions, nevertheless the autonomia are actively trying to take the struggle further, urging a link-up with other struggles to assert people's needs against the demands of profit, and stressing the need for real direct action if the state electricity authority does not end the pollution-causing delivery of oil by ship.

The Politics of the "Peace Movement"

Like in Britain much of the "Peace Movement" in Italy is dominated by a politics that upholds the basic institutions of the very social system that causes war. The Communist Party and other reformist elements have been concentrating on holding a "self-managed referendum" on the siting of the Comiso cruise missiles as part of their campaign for an official state referendum on the question. Not only has this campaign no hope of success, it serves to perpetuate the illusion that something can be achieved through official state channels.

The autonomia are involved in anti-militarist action from a very different perspective, as the following excerpt from a leaflet produced for the Mayday action at Vicenza illustrates:

"LET'S BLOCK THE NATO BASES"

WE'VE HAD ENOUGH!!

-- of this government that doubles military spending, that installs the missiles at Comiso, that cuts wages and increases unemployment, that spends millions on building Special Prisons for the destruction of prisoners, that re-opens the lunatic asylums, that forces the elderly

to live on starvation-level pensions, that constantly discriminates against the handicapped, that turns social services into profit making enterprises and makes them inaccessible, that forces thousands of proletarians to live without a home and without any income.

WE'VE HAD ENOUGH!!

-- of the men of war who want to transform our country into an explosives store and society into a barracks.

LET'S BUILD INITIATIVES OF DIRECT ACTION
LET'S EXTEND THE STRUGGLE OF COMISO

And also let's say we've had enough to those who want to imprison us in ritual activities, we've had enough of the charlatans and peddlers of illusions who are trying to use for their own ends the proletariat's anger and desire to struggle and revolt against the dozens of NATO bases, the hundreds of nuclear warheads, and the presence of American troops in our country.

LET'S CREATE A MAYDAY OF STRUGGLE"

(published by the coordinamento anti-nucleare antimilitarista veneto, via Montecengio, Padova, Italy.)

How are we to evaluate this movement against war that has grown up all over Europe and North America? It's true that the "peace movement" cannot rid the world of the horror of war. Only a social revolution that overthrows all the competing states and blocs, along with the competitive profit economy, can create a harmonious world community. But it's also true that such a revolution cannot come about as a result of theoretical intellectual conviction -- it can only develop out of social struggles that assert the needs of the proletariat against the needs of the system.

Within the umbrella term "the peace movement" are very different elements. Prominent are organisations committed to reformist pressure group politics, such as CND. As open supporters of the society that produces war and open advocates of the murder of the proletariat by less technologically sophisticated means, such groups are worse than useless. But in addition there are moments of genuine social struggle that present real opposition to states' projects of building up arms, preparing for war and increasingly militarising society (e.g. the direct action against the new runway for the military at Frankfurt airport).

If this aspect is to become signif-

icant the participants must not only reject the open reformism of organisations like CND but also go beyond the pacifist concept of "non-violent direct action" which is too often no more than a symbolic ritual. We must oppose all war and militarism. And above all we must act with the perspective that anti-militarist action is just one of many fronts in a class war against capital, the state and all authority that is being fought in the workplace, on the streets, in the prisons, in all areas of society.

M.

REPRESSION IN ITALY

The "7th April" political trial of autonomia operaia in Rome ended on 12th June with 55 of the 71 defendants being condemned to prison. 24 comrades received sentences of 10 years or more, including 5 sentences ranging from 20-30 years. The defendants have submitted an appeal.

4 or so of those on trial had managed to flee abroad. The Italian government has now issued another request to the French government for the extradition of Toni Negri (30 year sentence) and Oreste Scalzone (20 years).

The political nature of the trial is well illustrated by the fact that the "crimes" of which 34 comrades were judged guilty were nothing more than vague accusations of organising or participating in a "subversive organisation" and an "armed band". This trial is part of the state's attempt to repress all independent class struggle outside the control of the parties and the trade unions.

5 years after the original arrests the Padova wing of the 7th April case continues, with 95 comrades currently on trial in a specially constructed fortified "bunker-courtroom".

But resistance has not been crushed. Struggle continues in all areas of society. On 23rd June people were due to come from all over Italy to demonstrate in Rome against state repression -- against "Article 90" which has removed many of the "rights" prisoners previously had, against the continuing use of preventative detention, for liberty for Italy's 4,000 political prisoners. The struggle outside prison is linked to that waged by the prisoners themselves -- over the last 10 months many prisoners have participated in hunger strikes against their appalling conditions, notably last autumn and in March and April this year.

Info -- "Comitato Promotore di Convegno Internazionale", Libreria Calusca, Via Belzoni 14, 35100 PADOVA, Italy.

INTERNATIONAL CONTACTS

People involved in the following groups said, at the International Conference on Social Movements and Repression in Padova on 6-8 April 1984, that they would like to receive English language material:

West Germany

RHIZOM BUCHLADEN, EISENACHERSTR 57, 1 - BERLIN - 62, WEST GERMANY. (A bookshop, contact point for autonomist groups.)

ITALY

(All the following groups are involved in the "area of autonomy".)

CENTRO SOCIALE, VIA S. CHIARA 6/8, 72100 BRINDISI.

VALERIO VERBANO, PIAZZA DELL'IMMACOLATA 28/29, 00185 ROMA. (A bookshop and cultural centre, they said they could use 3 copies of each publication for their documentation centre, for the autonomia Radio Onda Rossa, etc.)

COMITATO INTERNAZIONALISTA "SENZA FRONTIERE", VIA DEI VOLSCI 56, ROMA. (Produce a journal with info on struggles in different parts of the world.)

CENTRO SOCIALE GARIBALDI, CORSO GARIBALDI 89, MILANO 20100.

CENTRO DI COMUNICAZIONE ANTAGONISTA, VIA DI MEZZO 46, FIRENZE.

"COMITATO PROMOTORE DI CONVEGNO INTERNAZIONALE", LIBRERIA CALUSCA, VIA BELZONI 14, 35100 PADOVA. (The group that organised the Int. Conference, there's a documentation centre at this bookshop address and the comrades involved in it translate material received into Italian.)

LA POLITIQUE ET LA LANGUE ANGLAISE - by George Orwell, 10F + p&p from L'Insecutite Sociale, BP243, 75564, Paris Cedex 12. Also produce occasional magazines.

ALARME - French magazine, 5F + p&p from Boite Postale 329, 75624, Paris Cedex 13.

GROUPE LOUISE MICHEL - publish a number of pamphlets, including one on municipal socialism, 15F + p&p from 145 Rue Amelot, 75011 Paris.

Practical Organisation:local/National.

ORGANIZE FOR LIFE: The Anarchist Organism

The word ORGANIZATION gets disgracefully misused by some Libertarians. Certain people argue that we have to create councilist or syndicalist organizations which will carry us to and through revolution almost unchanged. Others believe that any forms of organization created now are counter-revolutionary because they inhibit the new forms of organization that will be spontaneously created during the throes of revolution.

My own view is that the councilist/syndicalist interpretation of anarchist organization tends towards stultifying bureaucracy, and the spontaneist interpretation tends towards disorganized chaos. Anarchist organization must avoid both these paths. A new theory of organization is required, and in this article I would like to take a few tentative steps towards this goal.

So how should this new wonderful anarchist organization be structured? Well, firstly it is necessary to clarify a couple of major points --

- o Pre-revolutionary and post-revolutionary organization must of necessity be different due to the massive change in circumstances that will occur. A realization of this must be inherent in any structure created.
- o The spontaneist view that pre-revolutionary forms of organization will be irrelevant after a revolution does have some validity, but this does not mean we should not be organized before a revolution, as many spontaneists argue. It means that pre-revolutionary forms of organization must be specifically designed to adapt to the changed circumstances or post-revolutionary society.

Anarchist organization must be alive -- fluid in structure, flexible in outlook and be able to quickly adapt to new situations. In short, it must be continually evolving, like humanity itself.

The word organization with its undertones, in many people's minds, of

bureaucratic hierarchies is probably insufficient to describe what we should be trying to achieve. A new way of describing this new form of organization seems necessary. I would like to suggest the word ORGANISM. One dictionary definition of this word is: anything resembling a living creature in structure, behaviour, etc. That is indeed what we need, a living organized movement -- THE ANARCHIST ORGANISM.

So, how should these ideas be put into practice, both locally and nationally/internationally?

The Local Organism

The following are just some suggestions for local group organization:

I. Groups must decide upon goals that are worth organizing to achieve. We tend to have limited resources, and only projects that are practically feasible and useful should be undertaken.

II. Groups of individuals could be commissioned to do longer term organizational and research work.

III. Short-term commissions to coordinate direct action activities are also necessary. The idea of specific, temporary organization for specific, temporary events should be developed.

IV. The printing of propaganda. This should not be churned out just for the sake of it. If it is poorly done then it is liable to be counter-productive, and a wasteful use of resources. Irregularly produced sharp, intelligent propaganda is better than regular rubbish. Regularly produced sharp, intelligent propaganda is best of all. The efficient distribution of propaganda into areas where it will have an effect must also be worked out.

V. The creation of some permanent posts (e.g. treasurer, contacts secretary, literature secretary etc.) is necessary. These posts should be held in rotation by all members of the group, if possible, say for one year only. Some temporary posts (e.g. meeting coordinator) will also be necessary.

VI. Lines of communication should be sharp, both internally and externally.

This helps build trusting relationships between activists, and we should aim for as near instant reaction to events as possible.

VII. Regular discussion meetings should also be held. It has to be realized that we take part in a continual educative process -- ideas are constantly evolving. Our ideas should never be finalized; once they are we join the mentally dead.

All of the above must be firmly aimed towards practical action, and not towards pure theorising.

The National/International Organism

I believe that the creation of a national/international Mutual Aid Network is necessary. The structure of this network must be clearly embedded in the practicalities of everyday activities and everyday existence.

There was a tendency in the past for only libertarian groups with a clear unity of ideas to organize themselves into national networks. But this very unity can be unhealthy also, and can lead to a static organization. In the Anarchist Organism agreement on a set of basic principles is obviously essential. But above these basic principles a certain diversity of opinion is also necessary if the movement intends to be progressive and allow unhindered evolution. It is only through the discussion and testing of many varied opinions and experiences that progress is made. This testing of ideas through practical application, and not just through talk, should be a central aim of the network.

Possible activities for groups in this network are --

- * The sharing of communicative skills (e.g. speaking at each others' meetings, writing on specialist topics in each others' publications).
- * The sharing of printing facilities.
- * The distribution of each others' literature, and possibly the coordination of newsgathering with the intention of producing a short, sharply written news bulletin.
- * The coordination of direct action activities.

- * Joint funding of certain activities (a national/international news bulletin being one example).
- * Joint participation in research projects.
- * Collectively working on the development of newer, more imaginative, and more effective ways of putting our views across.

It is not necessary for all of these activities to be collective (all groups participating at the same time). Some activities could easily be joint action between two or more groups. Circumstances will, to a large extent, dictate what is necessary or desirable, and the network must be designed to react to this.

A major stress must be laid on the cross-fertilization of practical and theoretical ideas. This could be achieved via regular group-to-group communication and local and national conferences (which could be on general business or on a specific subject).

All groups involved in the network would retain their local autonomy -- but this autonomy has to be used responsibly and sparingly. Sectarianism and self-seeking are out. Involvement in the network has to be approached in a proper spirit -- a true, determined and honest desire to cooperate for the good of all. A clear knowledge of the interdependence of libertarian groups is absolutely essential. And we must also realize that we are always learning, and that no one group or individual has all the answers.

THE CHOICE IS OURS.

At present we are disorganized, separated, occasionally bureaucratized, and disgracefully ineffective.

THIS STATE OF AFFAIRS CANNOT BE ALLOWED TO CONTINUE.

We must organize effectively, avoiding the mistakes of the past, and advance!

THE CHOICE IS OURS.

John Alexander,
Glasgow.

A COMMENT ON THE DISCUSSION ON SEXUAL STRUGGLES

AT THE LAST INTERCOM CONFERENCE

In this rather heated discussion, members of Wildcat defended our group's orientation towards 'workplace struggles'. This is a shorthand term which includes other struggles around the defense of living conditions such as rent strikes. Community struggles against state repression also come into this category, although (without going into details)

it appears to be much more difficult for them to develop in the positive way which is outlined below.

In the discussion we agreed that we should criticize the pernicious effects of capitalism on every aspect of our lives. However in many cases the aim of these criticisms will have to be restricted to "putting the case for socialism" in the manner of the SPGB. This is because the possibility for radical struggles around the issues of (for example) sexuality or ecology is very limited.

This is quite apart from the question of whether Wildcat should spend more time criticizing the 'male conservatism' inherent to many workers' struggles, or focussing on the role of women in these struggles. These and other similar criticisms may well be valid.

It should also go without saying that revolutionary groups should make a particular effort to avoid sexism and sexual stereotyping within themselves. But this is not what is at issue. The question is: is there a widespread social movement around issues such as sexuality, which can make a positive contribution towards the growth of a mass revolutionary movement?

WORKPLACE STRUGGLES

Workplace struggle is based on the collective power of the working class. But this has nothing in common with the faceless, anti-human collectivity of, for example, a capitalist army. In the process of workplace struggles the rigid hierarchical relationships between individuals which are characteristic of capitalism tend to dissolve. Individuals, who are accustomed to being ordered about, realise their own hidden potential for creative activity. The struggle is based on the simultaneous development of both the collective and individual power of the participants.

Through the liberatory experience of struggle, workers are able to see the limitations of their original demands, which usually (like demands for wages or jobs) assume the continued existence of capitalism. At the same time, in the course of the struggle they become aware

that even their original demands are unrealisable within capitalism.

The interaction of all these factors, coming together in the experience of struggle, provokes the rapid radicalisation of both the methods and aims of

the struggle, of forms of organisation, of interpersonal relations, and above all of the consciousness of the workers involved. And of course by this time the 'workplace struggle' must have merged with a growing anti-capitalist and liberatory movement throughout the whole of society.

Of course this is an idealised description of workplace struggles. For example, the struggle develops rather differently if it is stimulated by an external political event, such as the German defeat in World War I or the 1974 army coup in Portugal. More importantly, the vast majority of workplace struggles do not measure up to this ideal. Nevertheless there have been a large number of struggles, or series of struggles, where the process I have sketched out above has taken place. Whatever their limitations, workplace struggles have the overwhelming advantage that they exist.

CLYDESIDE ANARCHIST

Wildcat members were accused of ignoring other struggles, particularly those around the issue of sexuality. I replied by doubting whether these struggles actually existed, except in the heads of their advocates.

Issue No 1 of Clydeside Anarchist provides an opportunity to assess some of the claims of those who think that Wildcat's view of the class struggle is too restricted.

The "Introduction" on page 2 states that "We believe that the revolution starts NOW in the daily refusal to accept capitalist and statist values. We struggle NOW as individuals and as groups to undermine, to destroy, and eventually to replace the power and commodity relationships of this society.

SO START CREATING ANARCHY RIGHT NOW! "

Another article ("The Ideal of Anarchy") outlines some of the areas in which this daily refusal to accept capitalist or statist values could be expressed:

"...We have the Christian anarchy of Tolstoy, the individualist anarchy of Stirner, the industry orientated anarchism of the syndicalists. There are anarchists who put the accent on community living, on economics, on ecology,

on sex, on art."

As an aside, if the Clydeside Anarchists really accept the validity of "Christian anarchism", then they place themselves outside the "Minimum Points" for adherence to Intercom. (Point 9: Opposition to religion and all other ideological mystifications.) Nor do I want to waste my time arguing with people who have an individualist conception of revolutionary activity.

Of the other areas of anarchist involvement listed in the passage above, sexuality is not discussed in No 1 of Clydeside Anarchist, but four other specific issues are raised in articles in the magazine.

The article dealing with workplace struggle ("The Situation Today") is written from a similar viewpoint to that of Wildcat.

The article on art ("Art and Society") starts by dismissing a number of options open to the individual anarchist artist:

"The gap between 'art' as a specialisation and the people will not be bridged through liberal collaboration with the gallery system - the servants of capitalism - nor will it be bridged by taking art out into the council estates, where the artist becomes a tattoo artist, a collaborator, a fifth column social worker. To paint a mural in the lobby of a public hall or to place a statue in the lawn of a housing estate is certainly a form of democratisation of art, it is reform as against revolution."

The articles positive proposals are put forward in a quotation from the Strasbourg Situationists: "The visual arts must be given a new meaning - by deliberately forgetting the picture and the statue for the sake of a veritable environment, an environment that would extend from our clothing to our housing, from objects of everyday use to our town planning."

The problem is that although this is a fine slogan, it amounts to a call for nothing less than the reorganisation of the whole of society. But until then, what can the individual artist do today? We seem to be no closer to answering this problem. Or maybe its OK to start with the easy things like clothing, and leave the more problematical areas like town planning to the future. In which case, where is the link between the two?

The article ends with a typical Situationist slogan, "Culture is dead ... create!" - which is as stirring as it is meaningless.

The article on education ("A Libertarian State?") describes various suggestions made by libertarian teachers, but then

points out that these are very similar to suggestions made by Thatcher's 'Family Policy Group'. It also criticizes the idea of 'community education':

"Again, the idea of the school 'getting involved in the community' raises problems because the community as it exists today is not so much the site for radicalisation as the place where the agencies of the state, overlapping with the Left, work in trying to recreate a public sphere essential to the wellbeing of the State, where the rationality of the decisions made by the professionals can be amended and corrected by representatives of the community."

Where then is the scope for the anarchist to express his ideals in the field of education? Once again, as in the article on art, at the point where practical suggestions are needed, the author is forced to resort to abstract sloganising:

"While attacking these ideas of the reform of the community, which have been around for some time now, and those of the recreation of the individual (in the image of the economy), we shouldn't just sit back and expect to benefit from some new 'immiseration' and collapse of Capitalism, which, given the effects of Mass Culture, would be unlikely to give rise to individuals and communities living outside the logic of Capital. It is however in this area that the system enters disequilibrium and invites possibilities of its supersession by the real individual and the community."

What does this mean??

The short article on ecology does have a practical proposal, as well as sloganizing calls for 'direct action' (be more specific comrade!). It calls for anarchists to "support the ecology groups". This, which is the only practical proposal we can find in Clydeside Anarchist, amounts to no more than a call to give an anarchist 'tinge' to an existing reformist movement.

Without going into detail, we can state that the arguments against this proposal are similar to those against participation in CND (or for that matter, the Labour Party).

To sum up, nowhere in Clydeside Anarchist can we find evidence of what this struggle based on the "daily refusal to accept capitalist and statist values actually is. Apart of course, from participating in the political work of the Clydeside Anarchists - or other revolutionary groups like Wildcat.

WORKERS PLAYTIME

Workers Playtime has until now dealt exclusively with workplace struggles, and broader political issues, despite the theoretical concern of members of the group to deal with everyday struggles

around issues of sexuality etc.

THE WOLVERINE and the LONDON AUTONOMY GROUP

A member of the LAG recently attempted to communicate his vision of the development of a revolutionary movement. (see "The Future of Intercom" in Intercom 5 p9). This article comes up with the usual abstract slogans, such as : "It is through our own life that as individuals we contribute to the revolutionary movement"...But there is no explanation of what this means in a practical sense.

However in their propaganda the LAG do put forward a practical alternative to workplace struggle. This alternative is ... mob violence.

LAG's only comment to date on the miners strike has been a leaflet applauding the physical assault on MacGregor by Northumberland miners. The Wolverine, produced by an LAG member, advocates violence against rich people. These publications have several worrying features.

There will be occasions when the working class needs to use violence to further its interests. As revolutionaries we will support it. But in the case of LAG, there is a glorification, which could be accurately called fetishization, of violence for its own sake.

This concentration on the formal aspect of the struggle (ie its violence) is ironic given the energy which other London comrades have put into criticizing the supposed "formalism" of Wildcat. In fact, violence in itself - even mass violence provoked by a genuine hatred of capitalism - is not necessarily revolutionary, or even potentially revolutionary. The violence of a struggle is often a measure of its inability to move forward. The purely negative character of the most violent struggles renders them vulnerable to seduction by the rhetoric of reactionary politicians.

There is no sign of an awareness of this

danger in LAG's propaganda, which avoids raising difficult or practical questions, and seems to glorify intolerance as well as violence.

This is in complete contrast to the extremely academic approach of the theoretical texts distributed by LAG members, which would be quite incomprehensible to the rioters etc which LAG's propaganda purports to address.

The article referred to above concludes with a point with which we can surely all agree : "Finally our participation in a political movement which seeks to pose itself as revolutionary must challenge its limitation to a separate category of political discussion."

But in plain language, this means we must challenge the idea that politics is a "specialist" activity. LAG's activity challenges this idea less than any other political groups I know of. On the one hand LAG members advocate mindless violence. At the same time they seem to enjoy their role as part of an elite of "super-theoreticians", writing and distributing texts which no-one can understand.

LAG members need to explain their ideas more clearly.

A CHALLENGE

I conclude that the advocates of the "everyday struggle against capitalist values, etc" have still to explain clearly what this struggle is, to prove that it actually exists, and show how it is capable of developing in a revolutionary direction. They have also to explain what role, if any, they envisage for revolutionary groups in this process.

Your answers to these questions should make explicit and precise reference to real people and real events, and your proposals should be of a practical nature. No woolly situationist verbiage, please!

Andy, for WILDCAT

Publications

CTD BOTTOM P.27

SPLAT - local paper, 45p incl. p&p from 9b Fore St., Redruth, Cornwall.

PRACTICAL ANARCHY - agitational paper new issue, august, 20p incl. p&p from Autonomy Press, 64 Queen St., Glasgow.

HOW "SOCIALIST" IS THE SWP - 15p p&p from Wildcat, c/o Autonomy Centre, 8 Great Ancoats St., Manchester.

LIKE A SUMMER OF A THOUSAND JULYS - £1 incl. p&p from BM Blob, London WC1N 3XX

SOME OTHER GROUPS IN ITALY

UMANITA NOVA, VIALE MONZA 255, 20126 MILANO. (A weekly anarchist newspaper, includes reports of workplace, anti-militarist and other struggles.)
OPERAI CONTRO, CASELLA POSTALE 17168, MILANO LEONCAVALLO. (A paper with many reports of workplace struggles in Italy and elsewhere.)
COMITATO PER IL DIRITTO ALLA CASA, CALLE DELL'OCA, CANNAREGIO 4348, VENEZIA. (Autonomia group particularly involved in housing struggles.)
SENZAPATRIA, PIERO TOGNOLI, VIA C.BATTISTI 39, 23100 SONDRIO. (An anarchist paper on anti-militarist struggles, especially direct action.)
IL BOLLETTINO, c/o LIBRERIA CALUSCA, C.soP.ta TICINESE 48, 20123 MILANO. (Autonomia journal on prison struggles especially, also workplace.)

What is Meaningful Activity?

JIM MCFARLANE
(CLYDESIDE ANARCHISTS).

The intentions of the author of "A Comment on Discussion on Sexual Struggles" go beyond his interpretation of the Manchester group's contribution to a debate during the last INTERCOM conference in Keele. His concluding remarks establish A CHALLENGE to the "advocates of the 'everyday struggle against capitalist values' ", to define "clearly what this struggle is, to prove that it actually exists, and to show how it is capable of developing in a revolutionary direction".

I would like, as a contributor to the CLYDESIDE ANARCHIST to respond to this valid exercise. I do so, from the outset, determined to demonstrate 'good faith' and to reverse the tendency in such debates to adopt entrenched positions, polarised and expressed in such a way that emotional defence mechanisms get the better of imaginative and undogmatic analysis.

THE REVOLT AGAINST WORK

The first point, I would like to endorse is the continued potential and relevance in terms of widening out the possibilities beyond the original objectives, whether it be the Miners in this year or the Hospital Workers the year before. Usually, however, revolutionary groups are on the 'outside' looking in, rather than on the 'inside' reaching out. In so far as this is the case, revolutionaries through regular newssheets like PRACTICAL ANARCHY can only try and establish a regular and persistent voice that is OPEN to two-way communication and cooperation with workers, whether or not they are currently engaged in strike or other action disruptive to the workplace.

That workplace conflict EXISTS is undeniable and the potential for revolutionary ideas being generalised in this distinct sphere of human activity isn't totally reliant on any SPONTANEITY on behalf of the workers involved. The obstacles to such a development of class consciousness also exist, in abundance, and often are brought in from the 'outside' in the form of Unions reinforcing sectionalism, the media aiming to deepen divisions and self-interest, and so on...Workplaces, although they are insulated as centres of particular tasks & roles, do not exist in a vacuum, and as more developed conflicts illustrate - from the mass strike in France 1968 to Fisher-Bendix in 1972 etc,etc, that it is vital that struggles that arise in the workplace do not get isolated from communities, and the class in general.

Struggles in communities, whether it be rent strikes, or reacting to policing tactics, cannot, as Andy appears to say, be subsumed under the 'workplace' heading, and on a number of occasions (1) I've assessed the potential of struggles from claimants to squatting. The tendency is for such activity to be marginalised in the case of oppositional communities whose way of life is necessarily distanced from the culture of the class.

It is unfortunate, indeed confusing, that Andy's article is headed with reference to a debate on sexual struggles, as it is clear that this is not the main focus of his criticisms directly. In the 10 point list of Intercom principles, linking the groups participating in the network, there are numerous reference - if not clearly defined - to opposition to capitalist society beyond the workplace. Indeed, pt 6 calls for "the active participation of the whole working class in its own emancipation, through social revolution". This, without much doubt, takes us beyond the ossified and religious posturing of groups like the SPGB and demand that this be put into practice.

BLACK & RED CLYDESIDE ?

It is my contention, that in some of the writings

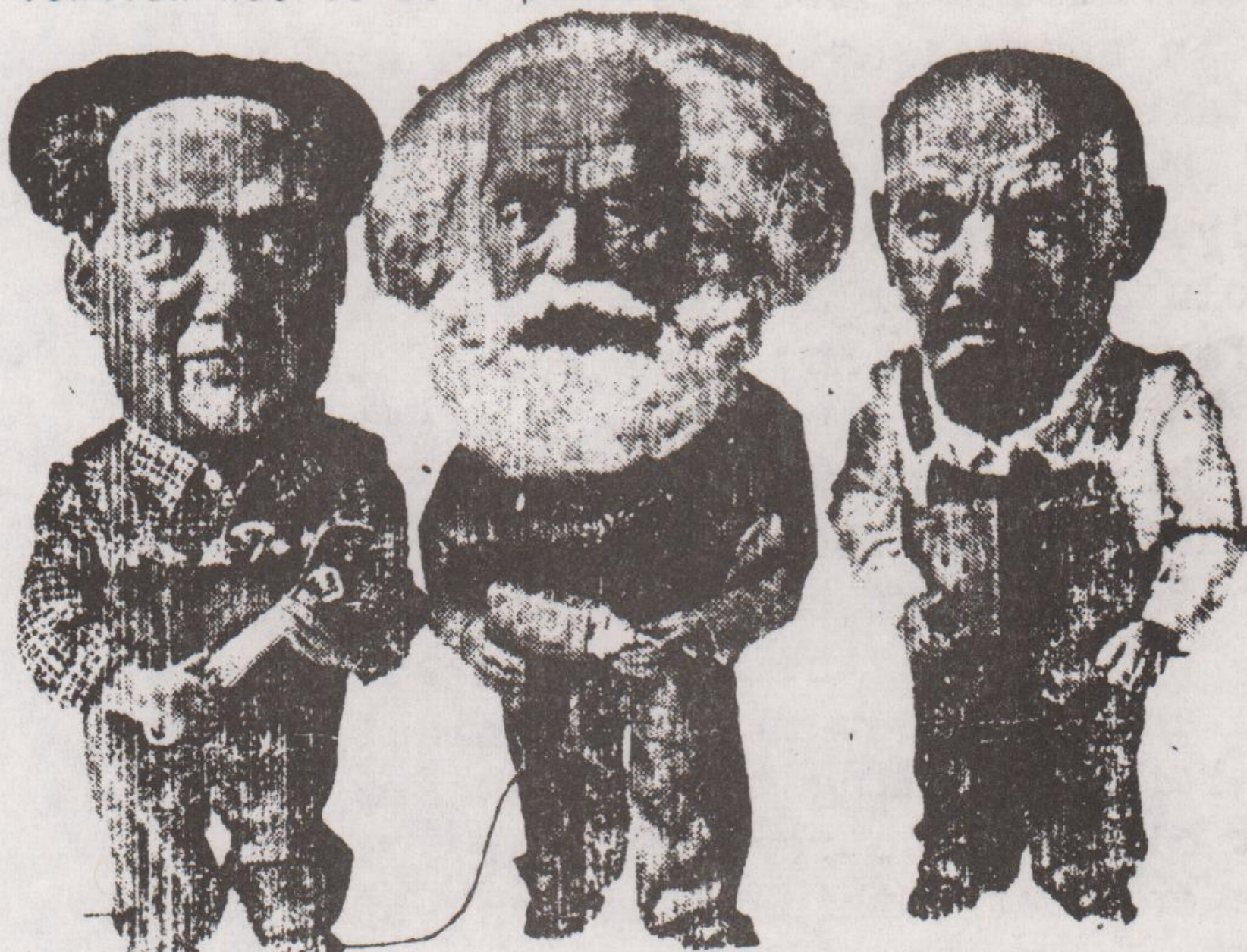
in the CLYDESIDE ANARCHIST and in a wealth of other revolutionary analysis, that there is a beginning of a recognition (or perhaps reawakening!) that the critique of capitalist values has to give way to the active subversion of them. Furthermore, far from being secondary to the class struggle, it is increasingly obvious that these values underpin the stability and adaptability of the capitalist system and that nobody is untouched in the period of REAL domination of capital. It is abundantly clear that youth, rebelling against their domestication are receptive to ideas that pose the question of LIBERATION. However, the system does not recoil in horror at the idea of ANARCHY but adapts it, markets it and defuses it by capitalising on the failure of revolutionary groups to communicate ideas of a permanent opposition which undercut all recuperation.

Before returning to how this can be elaborated as meaningful activity for revolutionaries, there is a need to clarify the nature of the publications that appear as collective creations of the CLYDESIDE ANARCHISTS, the range being:-

PRACTICAL ANARCHY newssheet distributed free to workplaces, demonstrations, dole & other queues. PRACTICAL ANARCHY paper sold on the street., & CLYDESIDE ANARCHIST, a quarterly journal of ideas & articulating strategies of organising.

The journal, therefore, offers a forum that is OPEN & not closed to syndicalists, individualists etc as is INTERCOM.

The articles - THE IDEAL OF ANARCHY & WHY ANARCHISTS SHOULD SUPPORT ECOLOGY GROUPS, have to be viewed in this light, and it is a little mischievous to say, that because Farquhar McLay refers to Tolstoyan mysticism, that the CLYDESIDE ANARCHISTS recognise any validity for "Christian Anarchism", whatever that might be! With the other articles, there is a greater coherence of views, confirmed by ISSUE 2, including the article I wrote on THE SITUATION TODAY, which does not exclusively deal with workplace struggles, but which attempted an overview of the areas where illusions have to be confronted and where intervention has to be expanded.



Andy, however, is correct in castigating the authors for not offering more clarity, and for retreating into sub-situationist jargon as an easy option instead of concrete strategies of breaking out of the revolutionary ghetto. I would hope, however, in his critique of LONDON AUTONOMIST material, that he extends the recognition that "super-theoreticians" are not restricted, in their role as purveyors of badly expressed ideas bordering on incomprehension, but that, coming from the cloisters of "World Revolution", he can recall the marxist version.

THE SPIRIT OF REVOLT

ctd p.14..

EDITORIAL / These exchanges refer to an article, by A.F. of Stoke, GAYS AND THE LEFT, which appeared in INTERCOM 5, April 1984.

A REPLY TO A.F.'s VIEW OF GAYS AND THE REVOLUTION

If the use of the term 'straight' people means those who are not gay or the popular attitude, then the fact that this attitude is a direct result of conditioning used intentionally by the ruling class against the working class can not be ignored. To ignore this leads to misplaced aggression and sympathy.

The so called realisation that '...in as much as we are agents of our own oppression so we have the power to overcome it' is misleading and must be clarified. The power to overcome the oppression created by ruling class indoctrination and control, lies only with the mass of the working class.

The idea expressed without criticism that gays were correct to support the left, but were somehow let down or betrayed is dangerous and reactionary. Would gays be advised by A.F. to support the Labour party if a little return of support could be expected? A little equality of oppression while we hold back the revolution, surely not!

The failure of the counter-revolutionary parties of the left to play a part in gay lib does not indicate that the social revolution will also fail to offer the liberation gays demand. Does A.F. believe that anti-gay feelings come from some mystical human nature? If not how will they remain when power of one individual over another and the mass social indoctrination of the media and school are no more?

The whole content of A.F.'s article seems to confuse the left-wing of capitalism with the revolution, this a very dangerous and reactionary idea. The place for anyone who desires liberation is within the movement for social revolution. We must not echo the divisions of today's society, we must fight them!

One other ruling class mystification that somehow found its way into A.F.'s article is to describe women as a minority.

M.S.

A REPLY TO M.S.'s CRITICISMS OF

Gays & the Left.

Although some of M.S.'s criticisms are valid, I feel there are areas he has either misunderstood or misinterpreted, and in some cases even misread what was contained in the article.

To begin with, he states that he is replying to my view of gays and the revolution. Perhaps M.S. would have preferred me to have written on this, and perhaps at some stage I ought to, but that was not what the article in INTERCOM 5 was about. There I dealt not with the revolution, but the position gays have found themselves in working with and inside various organisations of the left including those that are and those that claim to be revolutionary. It is in this context I think that many of M.S.'s points have missed their mark.

I would not disagree in principle with the first paragraph of M.S.'s reply, though I would challenge his assertion that the divisions and conditioned prejudices in capitalist society are the result of a capitalist conspiracy as is implied by the use of the term 'intentionally'. These divisions are used and exploited by the capitalists who do have a vested interest in maintaining them, but

they are not expressly their creation.

M.S. begins his criticism of the content of 'gays and the left' in his second paragraph when he claims that the so called realisation that '...in as much as we are agents of our own oppression, so we have the power to overcome it' is misleading. I think this has been taken out of context. The article itself puts the statement into perspective. This quote from the London GLF manifesto is referring to the internalised and self-oppressive image that non-come-out gays generally have towards themselves. The internalisation of society's homophobia resulting in an inner revulsion at what they are - HOMOSEXUAL. In this way they police their own sexuality and allow their conditioned prejudices to imprison them within a facade of normality and heterosexuality. It is clearly this to which the manifesto refers. Even then the quote is qualified by saying that 'IN AS MUCH as we are agents of our own oppression'. A recognition of the validity of our sexuality and the consequent satisfaction of our sexual needs and desires is a major step towards our own liberation and an open challenge to the prejudices and divisions in society. I do not deny that our liberation lies ultimately with the overthrow of capitalism through the

process of the self-emancipation of the working class - that is why I am a revolutionary!

M.S. then goes on to claim that I defend (uncritically) gays supporting the left as correct, but that they were let down and betrayed. I challenge him to find any such defence in the article! In fact I go on at length to show that the nature of those organisations (the far left parties) in which gays sought to work was such that they would never be viewed as more than just recruiting fodder to further the ambitions of the party - hardly an uncritical justification of their correctness! But M.S.'s criticism here has further implications - namely that it would be reactionary for gays to give their support in the expectation of gaining support in return. This view is arrogant and inexcusable! Why on earth should gays engage in giving altruistic support to others? We are not good Samaritans. We demand our liberation as well and we DEMAND support to that end!

In answer to his ridiculous question "would gays be advised by A.F. to support the Labour party" - NO! For the simple reason that I will not gain liberation through the implementation of law reform. On the other hand, if I were a non politicised gay, seeing that the Labour party and far left parties talk of 'gay rights' or 'liberation', I might find myself drawn towards them, as indeed many gays are. Contrary to the belief of M.S., most gays do not identify the use of the term 'working class' as synonymous with Gay Liberation, (counter revolutionary groups 'support' the working class but do not envisage gay liberation as desirable let alone implicit in their idea of working class emancipation, i.e. Militant) nor for that matter do most gays see the working class as their 'natural' allies, and who can blame them for holding this ignorant position when the majority of queer bashers are working class kids? These are current realities that revolutionaries should also be openly be challenging.

M.S. does not appear to believe that discussions on sexual liberation are a valid contribution to the revolutionary movement. All effort should be made in propagandising for the social revolution through the self-emancipation of the working class. The society that will replace this as a result of that revolution will have abolished all relationships based on dominance and submission and as such will will result in the liberation of gays. I

would argue that this is simplistic though in the long run correct. But M.S. seems to believe that as soon as the telly stops blurring out images of John Inman, prejudice against gays will disappear. This I believe is over optimistic if not utopian. There will be a radical shake-up in social attitudes, but the immediate post revolutionary society will still bear the scars of its pre-revolutionary socialisation. It will take time before all social prejudices are non-existent. As a gay, I do not believe that we should wait until that point to combat these prejudices openly. These issues should be on the agenda now and we should be addressing ourselves to them to publicise to the working class the falsity of these divisions and to counter their mystification under capitalism. Again, M.S. asks another naive question: "Does A.F. believe that anti-gay feelings come from some mystical human nature?" The answer is again NO! But I do acknowledge just how deep rooted the indoctrination is.

M.S. is correct that I did not make a clear and defined distinction between the revolutionary movement and the left wing of capitalism, though I do distinguish the Libertarian and anarchist movements from the 'hard left'. The reason was that with the INTERCOM being an internal and theoretical discussion bulletin, I took these distinctions as being read and did not immediately see the need for the clarification. I acknowledge that such a distinction should have been made clear, though at times it is difficult on the subject of sexual politics to see where that distinction lies. Comments made by comrades following the discussion on sexual politics at the last Intercom conference such as "You can't accuse us of using you as recruiting fodder, after all we never even mention you", and "We got heavily into sexual politics in the late seventies, but it did not increase our membership" and ultimately describing those who advanced the arguments for tackling sexual politics as: "...bleating about their personal problems" hardly allows us to see that distinction (on this subject) very clearly. We do not "seek to echo the divisions of today's society" as M.S. claims. We believe that whether we like it or not they still exist amongst us.

His final point is that I describe women as a minority in 'Gays and the Left'. I do accept that this is the implication in my article though that was not my intention. My use of the term minorities when talking of gays, blacks and women was in reference to their relative positions as issues among the left and not, as admittedly comes across, their numerical position in society as a whole. I accept that this was a misleading

use of the term and in hindsight would substitute "oppressed group" for it.

I hope that this reply to M.S. has helped to answer any confusions or misunderstanding concerning Gays and the Left, though I do feel that the article was not as open to misinterpretation as M.S.'s letter implies.

In conclusion, I felt that the general tone of M.S.'s article was an adequate representation of the position on sexual struggles put forward at the last INTERCOM conference by the Wildcat group advocating exclusively the arguments of socio-economic determinism. To justify this position they have produced a reply to that discussion on sexual struggles (printed in this INTERCOM). Their chief argument though is not that addressing such issues as racism or sexual struggles on a day to day basis or as an important component part of our revolutionary propaganda is not possible, but merely that those groups that defend the idea to address these issues actually make little attempt to do so in their own publications. This is not so much a measure of the inadequacies of addressing such issues, but rather a measure of the inadequacies of those groups which claim to seek to address them. To caricature our position (as was done at the last INTERCOM conference) by claiming that what we want is for revolutionaries to direct their resources exclusively or predominantly to these issues is to display the level of inadequacies of those groups that do not seek to address them in any form.

Despite changing their ground significantly since the last INTERCOM conference to the point of re-defining workplace struggle to include almost all forms of resistance against oppression and the state, Wildcat still concludes that the case for addressing sexual struggles is not proven. We argue that even if you find no gay picket line to leaflet, the value of openly challenging and discussing these issues with workers is to take an essential step towards de-mystifying them and thus help in breaking down the bigotry and prejudices that play and will continue to play such a major role in preventing the essential unity of the working class.

A.F. FOR THE 'CARELESS TALK COLLECTIVE'
(Stoke)

UNPOPULAR BOOKS , IN ADDITION TO PRODUCING "TOWARDS A GAY COMMUNISM" BY MARIO MEILI, 57p incl.p+p AND "WHAT IS COMMUNISM" BY JEAN BARROT, 67p incl. p+p.
WE HAVE AVAILABLE SEVERAL PHOTOCOPIED COPIES OF LONG OUT OF PRINT PAMPHLETS:-

SPARTAKISM TO NATIONAL BOLSHEVISM: THE KPD 1918-23	80p + 20p,p+p.
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.. WE ARE OPEN TO CONTACT REGARDS OTHER INTERESTING ARTICLES,PAMPHLETS,
etc, THAT COULD USEFULLY BE CIRCULATED. ALSO IF YOU HAVE WRITTEN OR
TRANSLATED SOMETHING WHICH WE MAY BE INTERESTED IN CIRCULATING, PLEASE CONTACT US.

ctd from p.10....

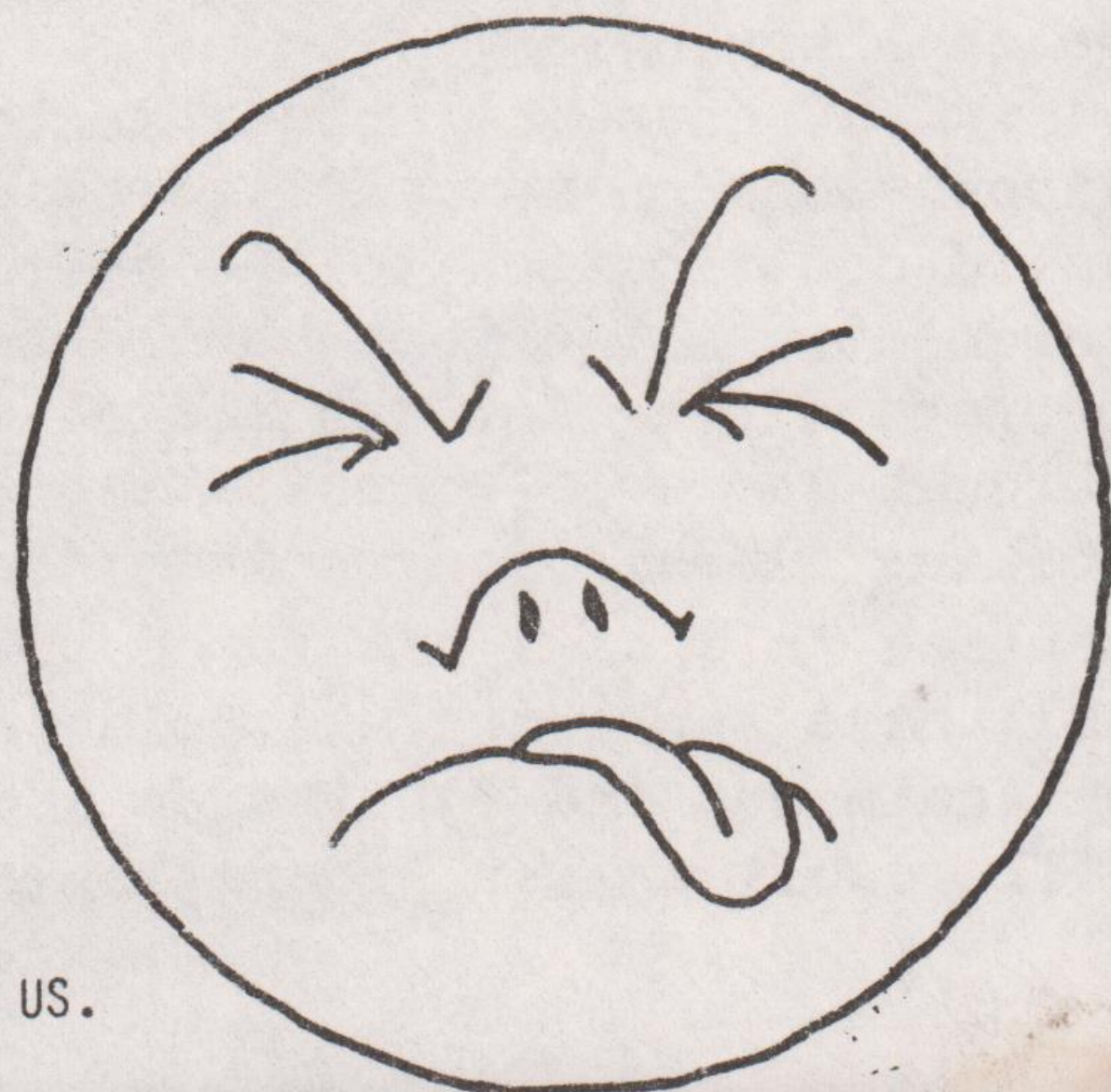
The contestation of the values of this society, can be attempted in a diverse range of pursuits. The sphere of advertising offers many possibilities, as the Australian(reformist) BUGA UP billboard defacing & feminists etc have demonstrated. The selling of commodities generally can be highlighted & questions posed with interventions in Glasgow recently over the opening of the "Virgin Mega-Store" in 1980 and by the Unemployed Diners Club in 1983 at the "Holiday Inn" over free meals for the unemployed.

Mystification also calls for active demystification! Within the past few months, for example, Bristol Anarchists have demonstrated at Billy Graham rallies, and by 30 anarchists and situationists at the "Bring your doubts along" rally of Luis Palau at QPR stadium.

Nor can all anti-militarist activity be so easily disparaged, especially if it is brought into City Centres and doesn't become a ritual. The riots of 1981, and general reactions to Police actions in the ghetto communities, offer some scope to communicate revolutionary ideas. FARE campaigns, in London, Glasgow etc have, somewhat inadequately, posed the question WHY PAY! There must also, despite the pervasive atmosphere of being soft on reformism, be some scope for women and gays to actively supercede the campaigns of the official movements and by direct action pose the challenge to the family, conventional sexual practices, and the opening to alternative career opportunities.

It isn't easy, but neither, as interventions of INTERCOM adherents in the Miners Strike has shown, is practical attempts to form links in industrial disputes. Branching out from propaganda that easily slides into purism, is essential for libertarian revolutionaries. A SPIRIT OF REVOLT has to be cultivated, successively enlarging the spheres of 'life' where intervention becomes commonplace and where an impact is generalised beyond being an irritant to 'revolutionary' gangs & tailending their projects. In so doing, a real attempt can be made to counter the demoralisation produced by leftist groups, who use the energy and vitality of young people in a manipulative way which reflects the alienation of present society.

A strong dose of 'reality' can be extremely positive, in the sense of linking struggles present within the working class. However, we cannot be restricted to a role as voyeurs getting excited by other people's efforts to fight back. What "exists" is partly a reflection of the retreat of youth into hedonism and alternative identities. Surely, a vital area for revolutionaries is the combatting of separation and fragmentation. The system is not going to collapse from such a voluntarist scenario of course, but there is a lot of truth in the phrase "LET A HUNDRED FLOWERS BLOOM" as ex-maoists will recall is an eastern equivalent of "don't put all your eggs in one basket". Imagination can seize power, in the sense that it enables a more receptive base for communication & subversion.



A LETTER TO DEAR COMRADES

Gays in political groups walk a tightrope. On the one hand, we see that class struggle is an indispensable means for our liberation. Drawing this struggle out of the gay movement in a genuine way is fraught with the same difficulties as anywhere else. On the other hand, working with the 'straight' comrades can only too often be a demoralising venture since the oppressive anti-gay attitudes of the straight world trickle in to the dialogue that we have with the heterosexual comrades. In giving priority to the socio-economic argument over the sexual struggle, the language of revolution can merely provide a smoke screen effect masking the constant of homophobia. Defining further the area of our political activity (in our case, Anarchism) makes that tightrope walk even more precarious.

Appearing to compartmentalize the struggle into neat packages of class struggle/gay politics is only a crude method and is at 'best' the rhetoric of the political opportunist. The struggle for our emancipation is not bi-polar — it is one struggle. Only the naive militant can believe it is other than this. For us revolutionary gays, we acknowledge the fact that the revolutionary process does not exist on a single dynamic — it exists on the unique contribution of those amorphous sections involved. This doesn't call for the political establishment of different caucuses, nor should it attempt to smother the differences, but in the process of class struggle the negation of the domination of capital throws together all those who have a vested interest in the destruction of this miserable system.

The working class by its sheer size, is the only class capable of initiating this task. And when it asserts itself as a revolutionary class, actively fighting for its self-emancipation, it cannot merely seek to liberate the white heterosexual male proletarian. As gays, our contribution to the struggle is uniquely the elimination of the heterosexual norm that lies at the basis of our oppression.

Our vision is not blinkered in assuming that the working class (as it presently stands) is our 'natural' ally. The domination of capital and its preservation of power relationships may indeed oppress us, but when it comes to direct repression using the very real threat of violence and intimidation against us, we know that the perpetrators of these acts will largely be working class

people. Queer bashers (repressed gays) are normally young working class males who are scarred with the guilt of their own homosexuality. This is something we have to confront people with and not sit back in isolation, resigned to hoping that overnight attitudes will change. It is our responsibility to combat that repression and in the process destroy the myths that surround our sexuality.

There are other things that we must also confront. We must be honest with ourselves and realise that we don't have a movement *per se*. We have an expanding gay milieu but its political development has been in part impeded by the growth of commercialism and the profiteering of entrepreneurs. When Gay Liberation started it grew out of the genuine desire to break the ideology of heterosexism and (vaguely) the domination of capital. Since then we've taken one step forward, two steps back. What we have allowed is a niche of bourgeois gays who have ridden on our backs, who have merely been vying for a more equitable slice of the capitalist pie — their market place is full of people too hungry to see anything beyond the temporary pleasure that the bright lights and weekend thrills offer but never genuinely satisfy. The 'pink economy' can only seek to sedate our abilities to break out of the ghetto and fight to change the world. We demand as sensuous beings the communication of our gayness to the rest of humanity. Withdrawing in to the solitary confinement of the 'scene' can only curtail this need for development and filter out any desire for real change.

Looking at the left, our critique of society has never really been taken seriously. Initially, our homosexuality had never been seen as anything more than a product of the social idiosyncracies of capitalism that diverted the revolutionary struggle in favour of a self-indulgent lifestyle-ism. It had also been seen as a product of the rubbish heap of counter-culture: just like junkies need smack to be satisfied, we'd be only too happy with free access to a good fuck. Gays have always been oppressed — there was no sudden realisation that this was otherwise. When as gays we started our own self-organisation, outside these 'revolutionary organisations', not only did gays provide an alternative to their ossified theories but we upset their recruitment plans (as did the self-organisation of women, black people, etc.). It became necessary to turn our struggle in to an 'issue' in an attempt to destroy the challenge and boost their membership. The obvious outcome of this was the strength of the gay critique was effectively neutralised for the sake of party policy and unity — 'comrade the working class isn't gay, we can't alienate them with talk of homosexuality.' Thus, the only way gays could become 'good-comrades' was if they sold the papers and kept their mouths shut.

The political racketeering of the left is of no

surprise. They do not present a revolutionary alternative to capitalism — they merely want to provide an equitable rate of exchange for labour power: alienation and repression will still remain but disguised under the thin veil of 'socialist rationality'. Class struggle is not just removing a nasty collection of bosses — it is about removing all forms of capitalist domination. The removal of 'Queen & Country' in favour of a 'Red Republic' will, for the majority of us, mean fuck all difference in our lives. Instead of a bourgeoisie ruling us, we'd have a select bunch of bureaucrats issuing work quota's and 'five-year-plans'. And of course we'd have witch hunts against gays in 'defense of the socialist family'.

The Anarchist critique that the only way to destroy capitalism and all forms of domination is by the destruction of the state is the only consistent critique. The ideology of individual freedom and social responsibility are truly represented here since any revolution must give to the individual the power over their lives which the state denies. Am I suggesting that the Anarchist movement presently encompasses our critique of sexual liberation? I'm afraid not! We demand total world revolution as a prerequisite for our liberation as gays, and this is a libertarian principle. However, in the process of discussing sexual liberation, I find I'm up against the same homophobic brickwall as anywhere else. Some groups passively discriminate against gays; some refuse to discuss sexual politics; and some are so 'libertarian' it's difficult to know what they're saying. This isn't so much an argument against Anarchism but against anti-homosexuality; I'm trying to find out where their revolution is if it doesn't include me or my homosexuality.

As in all predominately heterosexual groups we're confronted with masculine 'character-ures' within them. Whilst these stereotypes mask real desire they also preserve a given individual's homophobia. Let's take a look at a couple these models. Too often political groups can be the masculine crutch for emotional cripples. Unable to answer to the 'manlyness' in the outside world, they go to political meetings, take part in political groups where the demands of masculinity are not so much minimalised but masked. In this area they can act out their sterile fantasies of the 'big-man' (not realising that it is their passion to be loved by a 'big-man'). They can find security in the group since they can retain their fragile macho identity in return for playing the role of the 'good comrade'. The flip side of the coin is just as offensive. The heterosexual 'anti-sexist' anti-hero ludicrously believes that sexual oppression is a matter of attitude and not the corner stone of society. They vainly believe that oppression is something other people sort out amongst each other rather than changing themselves. And the heterosexual women who fight against male supremacism (and this is a critique of gay men as well) must also challenge the fundamental heterosexual 'normality' in their groups. As gay men we

are struggling for universal liberation and in the process we fight just as much against our masculine attitudes, but we must also call to the women to fight against their prejudices with a view to dissolving all their antigay resistances as well. Our intervention in 'politics' must not be compromised by prioritizing economic issues, we must work to undermine the phallocratic domination of society: if it helps we'll let the heterosexuals into a secret — homosexual is not what you become but what you uncover.

On a personal note, some anarchists have unjustifiably claimed something that isn't true — that libertarianism and sexual politics grew out of the political movements in the late 60's / early 70's. A broadsheet like 'Wolverine' grew out of libertarian strand in the gay movement, and not out of the Anarchist movement as has been suggested. In this instance straight comrades claimed the libertarianism of 'Wolverine' for themselves and discarded the criticisms made of them — they called our anger 'hysterical'. For that I'll let Meili reply:

"Anyone who says that we are 'paranoid' simply means that we are quick to grasp the insufferable atmosphere created by people who can scarcely tolerate us....."

As the crisis deepens the general tendency is to concentrate on workplace/ industrial issues. Unfortunately this tendency is accompanied by the trend that views all activity outside of this as peripheral, diversory, or at 'best' irrelevant to the 'main struggle': as gays we refuse to be sacrificed to the high altar of economic determinism. A political movement which seeks to pose itself as revolutionary must challenge its restriction to one limited category of political discussion — and this cuts both ways. As gays we demand of our movement that it actually moves. It must address itself to the problems that the crisis and the breakdown of capitalist relations will pose for it. But we also demand that the 'comrades' begin to actively question gender identity and the 'fixed' sexual determination which is created by capitalist social relations. It is our attitude to life that as individuals we contribute to the revolutionary movement. Inventing a thousand slogans to change the world won't count for much if the individual cannot change on the basis of one of them. For far too long gays have been contributing to the 'struggle', it is about time the straight comrades contributed to ours. It will, at the very least, create a more genuine and reciprocal basis of unity.

WOLVERINE

c/o Angel Alley,
848 Whitechapel High Street,
London E1.

Here We Go

— AGAIN, TO JUBILEE GARDENS ?

The miners strike is well into its fourth month and its clear that the striking miners are determined to stay out until they win. But it must not be forgotten that the quickest way to victory is to forge direct links with other groups of workers.

Even if MacGregor is forced to completely drop his plans for the industry a new "Plan for Coal" will not be worth much. Whatever happens the miners will be hit again and again in the future — perhaps with the "short sharp shock" that MacGregor and the Tories want, replaced by the sort of slow run-down of the industry seen under the last Labour government. Other workers are in exactly the same position — winning pay increases which are then taken back by inflation and so on.

The only "victory" that will have any lasting effect is the active solidarity created between different sections of the working class. This is the victory we should be looking towards rather than the empty rhetoric of union leaders about some abstract "victory".

The leaders of major unions, such as those in rail and the Post Office, have not just 'sold-out' their members by negotiating and accepting the pay deals on offer, but sold out the miners as well.

These same leaders (Ray Buckton in particular), have given plenty of blood-money to the miners, just as at a local level union officials in certain factories have authorised large donations to the miners strike fund in return for assurances from the NUM that coal will be allowed through to that workplace. Bill Sirs' famous comment about "my members being crucified on someone else's altar" is just a logical extension of this attitude. This "solidarity of money" leads nowhere. Miners need donations to strike funds — though it's important these are given directly to pickets rather than to the official union fund which is used to control picketing within union determined limits. But more importantly still they need active solidarity.

Scargill and his cronies have been all too willing to sacrifice miners on the altar of set-piece confrontations with the police and to organise demonstrations to keep the militants busy. The last march to Jubilee Gardens was intended as a miners' lobby of Parliament. Perhaps Scargill expected the MP's to walk out in sympathy.

The recent events at Orgreave are important because workers are making a stand against the State. Although they are not stopping the coal lorries, they are learning to spread the struggle — as when they attacked the police station at Maltby with the help of young workers who lived locally. Although the local union officials condemn the "police state", they were the first to condemn this piece of direct action against the police state as they have been first in condemning necessary acts of sabotage.

Whether it's miners attacking a police station or postal workers taking wildcat strike action, whenever workers take the initiative for themselves outside of the limits to activity imposed by the union apparatus it's always the union bureaucrats who are the first to condemn it. Nothing frightens them more than workers developing their own methods of struggle in pursuit of their own aims. For in beginning to discover their own power workers begin to see that there is nothing necessary or inevitable about the system which gives bureaucrats, bosses and politicians their power. 'Our Nation', 'Our Economy', 'Our Industry' 'Our Factory' 'Our Union' 'Our Police Force'. In other words the system based on our misery and our exploitation which all of them want to preserve.

SOLIDARITY IN ACTION

—NOT PASSIVE SUPPORT

There is a real need for unity between workers. If the teachers had been serious about winning they could have done a lot worse than follow the example of some of their pupils in Doncaster who walked out of their classrooms without warning and picketed the school in support of the miners. (In Fife, schoolkids joined a miners demo and were bussed back to school by the police). But this unity shouldn't just be on the basis of "support for the miners" — it should be on the basis of workers taking up their own fights and linking them up with the fights of other groups of workers, the unemployed and the unwaged — not just the miners. When the train drivers walked out at Charing Cross it was in direct response to one of their number getting nicked on the miners march the same day.

Many workers on strike at the moment say that they feel encouraged by the miners strike, and recognise that they have similar interests to other workers. So why are these struggles remaining isolated from one another?

Certainly the Government has been crafty in reaching quick settlements with rail and postal workers to stop the strike from spreading — but this would not have been possible without the collaboration of the trade unions with their professional caste of negotiators and manipulators to sell these pathetic pay deals to the workers.

Those who run the union machinery have a direct interest in defending that machinery as an established part of capitalism — as a means by which they can have a say in the running of particular industries, or sections of industries, helping the bosses decide where to make redundancies and so on. Not just failing to build direct links between workers within and between different industries, but actively preventing it. Just look at the way that 'NUR' guards and 'ASLEF' drivers crossed each others picket lines during the rail strikes in 1982. The same attitudes apply to workers in other countries. Just look at Scargill's nationalism ('Britain's energy future'), and his comment that the pits are the miners' industry (since when?).

Workers have often collaborated with this sort of sectionalism — now they must decisively reject it. Just because some open-cast miners are in the TGWU doesn't mean they shouldn't be approached by miners 'because they're in a different union'. Just because some local government workers are in NUPE doesn't mean they can't be called upon to strike by delegations of striking workers who happen to be in NALGO.

Other divisions within the working class must be rejected too — female health workers who joined miners picket lines in N. Wales can't have thought much of miners calling scabs "women". Nor of being invited to "show us your tits" as has also happened.

- * Workers, the unemployed and the unwaged should support miners picket lines wherever possible.
- * Where miners are invited to speak to branch meetings we must insist that the discussion be about ways for workers to actively participate in the struggle (whether aspiring bureaucrats like it or not) and not merely about taking collections.
- * Workers already on strike should go to the picket lines of miners and other striking workers and discuss how they can help each other and spread the struggle.

This leaflet was produced by some members of the London Workers Group. The LWG is an open group involving councillors, anarchists autonomists and anyone else interested in discussing class struggle from a revolutionary point of view and in developing links between militants in different workplaces and in other areas of activity.

It meets every Tuesday at 8.00 pm. upstairs at the Metropolitan Pub, 95 Farringdon Rd (junction of Clerkenwell Road). Nearest Tube: Farringdon.

Footnote for postal workers and others : The NCB Office mail is being rerouted to avoid picket lines. The last we heard it was going to 33 Cavendish Place, W1.

The Enemy Within

Thatcher is trying to turn public opinion against the miners by portraying them as 'this years argies'. Workers should respond by realising that their real enemies are not theie fellow workers in this or any other country, but the capitalist class throughout the world.

THE MINERS STRIKE

** FIGHTING THE POLICE

During the set piece confrontations at Orgreave the police superintendant controlling their side of the action was interviewed on Radio 4. When asked why the police did not use roadblocks to prevent miners reaching Orgreave he replied: 'We would rather have them at Orgreave, where we can control the situation, than stop them at roadblocks which could disperse the pickets to other areas where we may not be so well prepared.'

Surely this and the fact that the mass picket at Orgreave failed to stop the transport of coke, clearly shows that set-piece confrontations with the police are not the way forward. Picketing must be diverse to be effective. This means that pickets must take full tactical and financial control of their own actions. Picketing controlled by the national executive has been largely ineffective in this dispute.

**WHAT ABOUT MONEY?

After five months of fighting, the demands of the strike cannot stop at no pit closures. Miners must demand a big pay rise partly to help offset the cost of this strike and partly to avoid the need for another strike over pay in the immediate future.

** THE DOCKERS' STRIKE

Faced with a growing militancy in the docks which could have led to wildcat strikes of dockers joining the miners outside of union control, the union had to do something. Looking at the situation with only the interests of the union machine in mind they cynically calculated that now was the time for a quick victory at the miners expense.

In fact, they have only won an agreement from the authorities not to break the National Docks Labour Scheme. How much is this agreement worth? The original agreement was ignored and when the time comes when the dockers are on their own, this agreement will also be ignored. Why, at least, was there no demand for an increase in pay and for all ports to be registered?

Now, having made the union appear strong by using the miners' strike thus keeping their members in line, the dockers' union have abandoned the miners and returned to work. This is a perfect example of the way the unions divide the working class.

** UNION DIVISIONS

Time and again the way unions divide and weaken the working class have been shown. For example the productivity deal which gives Notts miners so much more money than miners in the older coalfields was imposed on miners by the NUM. (This action which has deepend the divisions between miners went ahead in 1977 despite the fact that a national ballot of NUM members rejected the idea, and all this took place under a Labour government.) More recently the NUR have accepted a pay rise which was obviously a bribe to keep railworkers and miners apart, and now the dockers' union has also taken a free ride at the miners' expense.

** RALLY THE FAITHFUL OR SPREAD THE STRIKE

Mass rallies have taken place in most cities, but these have not been used to the full. Striking miners should use these rallies as a chance to meet other workers and spread the strike. Miners could be talking one to one with other workers, arguing the case for the strike to spread, instead of marching along behind their union banners. These marches are a key opportunity to meet other groups of workers and organise joint action or an exchange of speakers but most people just walk along singing and leave all the initiative to the speakers at the end of the rally. The rallies are used to collect money but this alone is not enough.

** UNITE THE CLASS

A united class effort can secure a victory against the system today; this can be seen from the desperate efforts of the state to bribe off other sections of

the working class and keep the miners isolated. We must fight this isolation and work to spread working-class unity and spread the strike.

**** WHOSE INTEREST?**

The ruling class represented by the government, the opposition and the media, are obviously frightened that this dispute will spread. The reason for their fear is that when the working class begins to unite and win victories, where will we stop?

When we defy the logic of the capitalist economy and refuse to accept cuts in our standard of living despite the world-wide economic recession, then we defy the idea that profit is the sole reason for production.

**** PRODUCTION FOR PROFIT**

The acceptance of profit as the only reason for production has led to two world wars and the mass starvation of the 'Third World'. We can also see the effects of capitalist logic in our own communities, with homeless people existing at the same time as empty houses, and the difference in lifestyles between rich and poor.

**** PRODUCTION FOR NEED**

Alternatively the working class could organise production for need without the use of money or exchange. This would mean an end to the slavery of the wages system and a chance to organise our communities and our world in our own interests, instead of slaving away to support the rich and all that goes with them.

**** UTOPIA?**

This idea of the working class organising the world is a far cry from today, but the alternative is to accept the logic of the capitalist system. To accept all the cuts, the wars and the suffering, the destruction of the environment, and that we have virtually no control over our own lives. Even our freedom to travel on 'public' highways has been taken away during this dispute as and when required.

**** THE FIRST STEP**

The first step must be to begin an effective resistance to the attacks on our standard of living now. Workers everywhere are facing redundancies or pay cuts, higher taxes and cuts in services. We must join together and fight back now.

**** THE UNIONS**

The trade unions do not question the logic of the capitalist system. They do not question wage slavery, only the rate of pay and the number of slaves. They accept the basic principles of capitalism. Their form of organisation divides workers even in the same workplace, by trade or as skilled or unskilled, blue collar or white. The union operates and is designed for control of the many below by the few above. For all of these reasons and more the unions are the enemies of the working class. How many times will the unions be allowed to negotiate 'reasonable' settlements and false victories like the closure of Monktonhall pit, before we see them as the sham they are? How many more groups of workers will join those of the South Wales miners and Kinneil miners whose growing strikes were stifled by the NUM in January 1983? How many militant union leaders must become Lords before we will learn not to trust leaders with control of disputes and jobs for life?

**** WORKERS' CONTROL**

We can start to take control of our own disputes now by organising meetings and electing delegates at each pit to act on the instructions of those on strike. We can refuse to return to work until the demands of the strike are met, regardless of what any union or leader may say. We can also use every opportunity - such as mass rallies - to discuss the strike and how to spread it.

All pickets asking for support for this or any other strike must begin by offering a return of support. This has already happened in Manchester in the Phillips Rubber dispute with joint action by miners and production workers.

This leaflet is produced by WILDCAT, a revolutionary group based in Manchester. We welcome all comments, criticisms and enquiries. If you would like more copies of this leaflet, or have any information about the strike, please write urgently to
WILDCAT, c/o The Autonomy Centre, 8-10 Great Ancoats Street, Manchester 10.

GLASGOW REVOLUTIONARY NEWSHEET

Practical Anarchy

PUBLISHED BY THE CLYDESIDE ANARCHISTS

ONE BIG



PATRICK
HAMILL...
GLASGOW'S
MILITARY
GOVERNOR

BARLINNIE!

YOU'RE THE BOSS... that's the message Chief Constable Patrick Hammill has got from Strathclyde Regional Council.

The Labour controlled Police and Fire Committee was expected to give him a roasting over his paramilitary handling of the Miners strike.

But he emerged smug and smiling after a 'sympathetic hearing'.

The Council's given up any pretence of being in control, and have surrendered to the 'new style' political police.

Cavalry

Over 420 miners have been arrested in Strathclyde, in a systematic attempt to break the miners strike. Cavalry charges and mass arrests have been the order of the day.

Hammill's got a simple message for the miners: GO BACK TO YOUR VILLAGES AND STARVE!

Any striker unfortunate enough to get captured by Hammill's Heroes is taunted by the police waving their big fat pay checks.

Some people might say that the police are only doing their job. THEY ARE. The same job as the police the world over... protecting the Bosses' interests.

The Baillie Ba'Heids of the Labour Party may have succumbed to the men in black.

But the people of Glasgow have not been consulted: and they are unlikely to be chuffed with 'Polish-style' policing.

THE BEST WAY TO SHOW
YOUR DISCONTENT IS BY
SUPPORTING THE MINERS
TO THE HILT...

POLICE STATE GLASGOW

PROTEST MEETING

ALL WELCOME
ADMISSION FREE

McLELLAN GALLERIES

202 Sauchiehall St.

WEDNESDAY 30th MAY

7.30pm

Organised by Clydeside Anarchists

WHO SAYS
PIGS
CAN'T FLY?

McGREGOR'S FLYING CIRCUS

WHILE MINERS have their freedom of movement restricted, hundreds of police are being FLOWN from areas like Bournemouth to act as strike breakers in mining areas.



COMMON CAUSE ?

WHY IS IT that there isn't more solidarity between workers especially given the momentous developments in the miners strike ?

The obvious reason is the sectionalism of the Trade Union Movement. Many unions survive from their old 'craft' beginnings and perpetuate through the negotiating process the hierarchy of wages and job prestige. This despite the massive deskilling that has taken place over the decades.

Obviously, the Government tries to ensure that the annual round of pay bargaining is staggered so that the possibility of the Unions linking the fate of one set of workers with another is lessened. It has also toughened up the laws to restrict sympathy strikes and picketing and devalued the role of Union leaderships in controlling 'industrial relations'.

But this is far from the nub of the problem. The miners dispute is an exception, it is a struggle where the aim of preventing pit closures is one and the same as the realisation on the part of whole industrialised village communities that the death of the pit is the death of their community.

SELF-INTEREST

In the large cities this is no longer the case. Successive governments both local and national, have eroded this link between CLASS and COMMUNITY. The other main reason is the colonising of everyday lives by the logic of consumerism, self interest, isolation from our fellows, the synthetic pastimes of 'leisure' and the emphasis on sacrifice in the name of kids' futures.

With the gathering of pace towards the era of 'new technology', there has been the deliberate promotion of insecurity linked with the threat of unemployment. Many workers of course have 'sold' their jobs in exchange for redundancy payments, but others have been placed on the defensive or as with the Midlands miners, capitulated to the wishes of the bosses in pursuing the 'right to work'.

Outside the possibility of wage labour everything combines to limit our consciousness of the situation to the helpless feeling of being unemployed. In the riots of 1981 in England thousands of youths, black and white, threw off this strait-jacket.

In Britain today, the police operation of repression used then has been extended to the mining communities, where lines of police 'defending the national interest' drive a wedge between workers.

Only with the widespread realisation of what divides us, who rules us, and in whose interests do various 'leaders' and Parties intervene will CLASS assert itself and militancy give way to the prospect of social revolution.

THIS WAS ONE OF FOUR
NEWS SHEETS DISTRIBUTED
IN MAY (13,000) COPIES.

HOOOLIGANS ON RAMPAGE !

BY OUR
CRIME CORRESPONDENT

OVER THE PAST FEW WEEKS AN ORGANISED TERROR HAS SWEEPED BRITAIN. Gangs of uniformed thugs have been roaming the streets and hiding in Public Lavatories making it unsafe for people to leave their homes.

Even there people are not safe ; there have been reports of houses being broken into, and the occupants being dragged out and taken away in vans to who knows where. What do these molesters of freedom call themselves ? — THE POLICE.

A list of their recent atrocities include: mass arrest of innocent people who have seen fit to picket workplaces to save their livelihoods, intimidation of whole communities, such as Blidworth, Notts., who are prepared to stand up and defy the authorities and the plans of the Bosses. They have been using 'Cossack' tactics by riding down men, women and children at Silverdale Colliery, Ravenscraig and numerous other places around Britain.

Women at Alconbury U.S. Base near Cambridge, who decided they have had enough of militarism, had to suffer the degradation of being stripped naked and searched at the hands of these sadists. The police have also played the role of

agent provocateurs so that they can intimidate and humiliate gay communities.

This is the tip of the iceberg, who knows what goes on in their dens of violence known as cells. It's also known that they have support from another powerful gang known as PARLIAMENT who are supplying them with more powers to use on the population as a whole through legislation, financial support and more advanced weaponry.

ENOUGH IS ENOUGH ! We're sick of this country full of authorised police vandals and strike breakers; or the whinings of 'honest citizens' and worthy moralists — and most of all the lowest of the low, the scroungers who hang around places like stock exchanges, banks and boardrooms plotting their sly, callous schemes to control society.

We have to suffer at the hands of these professional wreckers of our lives who use the police, media and have full support of the State to keep us under their control !

Is THIS the type of world we want where we are at the mercy of capitalism and the State — or are we prepared to put an end to them once and for all, because it's US the ordinary people who prop this society up, but it's US who can also bring it down.

THE REAL REASONS FOR PIT CLOSURES

The spectacle of nearly ten thousand police, some armed, touring in convoys around the country and acting as a paramilitary force to stop miners' pickets from travelling to other pits (during which one young picket was killed), has shocked even a number of liberals.

The whole operation is being co-ordinated at Scotland Yard by the Association of Chief Police Officers under their president, Mr. David Hall. The ACPO is a non-elected body, accountable only to themselves, not set up by Parliament, yet in cahoots with certain Tory ministers. It's another step towards a police state.

'But all this is undemocratic!' whine these few naive middle-class liberals. Democracy? The middle class themselves devised this 'democracy'! It is their 'democracy'. Its purpose is to ensure that they remain the top dogs. And when at any time their 'democracy' gets in their way — as they believe it has done in trying to quell the miners — they throw it aside, just as any other of the so-called 'democratic' countries do. Just look at the villainous activities of the USA's 'democratic' regime in places like El Salvador.

Why are the leaders of this country's middle class so blatantly exposing the mailed fist through the kid gloves? It doesn't appear to be necessary.

The Coal Board and the Government have been saying they are not bothered by the miners' strike because there are enough coal stocks to last for many months, and the miners are bound to lose. So why the heavy stuff? Because they must crush the miners' revolt before many workers in other industries join in — and because there is a latent anger among large numbers of workers in the country, including the 4½ million unemployed, which could easily turn into a rebellious situation much more difficult to control.

Then why did they start the strike by closing pits? — an action which for over a year they have consistently lied about.

MacGregor, the Coal Board chairman, has categorically stated on several occasions over the last year that the board will not close pits.



the lie nailed

The closure of Corton Wood colliery in Yorkshire is said to have 'sparked off' the strike. Here was a pit where the lie of 'non-economic' was clearly nailed. Corton Wood, like other pits closed or due for closure, produces some of the best coal in the country. In fact, so useful was it, and so well had it been working, that £1½ million has been spent on it in the last year — only last October the pit baths were completely renewed at a cost of many thousands of pounds. It was miners from this pit who produced a leaflet setting out, in detail this and other information about their pit, and who travelled to the Nottinghamshire coalfields to distribute it and to persuade the miners there to support them. Some were stopped by police on the way and not allowed to go any further, others had their leaflets snatched, others were threatened with arrest if they tried to distribute any.

police smash cars

The police operation was described (23.3.84) by a BBCtv '60 Minutes' reporter as "a military-style deployment". The Daily

Mirror of the same day reported that Yorkshire miners going to Thoresby in Nottinghamshire were stopped at a roundabout just off the motorway. "They locked themselves in and refused to wind down their windows.... The police, wielding crowbars, smashed their way into the cars and dragged the pickets out." There were other reports of police stopping cars outside Thoresby, stripping miners and searching them and their cars.

Kent miners were stopped by police at the Dartford Tunnel and ordered to turn back—200 miles from the Notts coalfields! Coachloads of South Wales miners were stopped by police at an M6 service area near Cannock, Staffordshire. They were herded out and the drivers ordered to take the empty coaches back to Wales. Some thumbed lifts, others walked. These are only a few of the police terrorist activities that have shocked 'liberal-minded people'. One miner said: "Police operations while the Yorkshire Ripper was at large were like a vicar's tea-party compared with this. Our 'crime' is that we're trying to save the coal industry."

The point is, this middle-class Government doesn't want to save the coal industry. They want to run it right down. Another indication that this is being done is that British coal has by far the smallest government subsidy in the whole of Europe, £3 per ton. For example, the subsidy in West Germany is £9 per ton, in

France it's £18 per ton. Consequently, very little British coal can be sold abroad. MacGregor has been instructed to 'manage' the run-down and, as a first step, to reduce production by 40 million tons — hence, the closures. So we come back to the question: Why?

There are several reasons. Miners together have considerable power. (The leaders of the middle class, and a majority of the led, still remember the fear they felt when the miners brought down a Conservative government in the early 70s.) This power can be substantially reduced by running down the industry and making many thousands of miners unemployed.

nuclear power/weapons

But a large proportion of the coal at present produced is essential for the generation of electricity. With the coal industry shrinking, the way will

then be clear for 'the only alternative' — nuclear power stations. Many of our rulers believe this switch-over to be a vital necessity.

At present, workers in the electricity-generating industry have potentially more muscle than the miners. Whereas it takes some weeks for a miners' strike to bite, the power-workers could shut down almost the whole economy overnight. However, nuclear power stations can be highly automated, therefore can be run with far fewer workers — and even these can be subjected to the sort of control now being experienced by civil servants at the Communications Headquarters in Cheltenham.

Another important reason for the switch-over is that by-products of nuclear power stations are essential for the continued production of nuclear weapons.

A pointer to the fact that all this is on their agenda is the Government's plan to instruct the Electricity Boards to increase the price of electricity by 2%. It is not because the Boards are losing money — they made a profit last year of £372 million. An increase of 2% will double profits to £750 million. This will be a useful contribution to the vast sum such a conversion will cost.

The miners have been forced into a situation where they must take on very powerful enemies. Their prospects of victory are not good. The 'disarray' among NUM leaders where some are supporting (initiating? blackleg action, is yet another of the varied obstacles to success in stopping pit closures. But obstacles can be removed. With substantial active support from working-class people throughout the country, the miners could win. Their fight is our fight as well. Their fight—though many of them may not yet be consciously aware of it — is part of the fight against much of the rottenness in this society, including nuclear weapons.

WE HAVE TAKEN THE LIBERTY OF 'EDITING' A 4 PAGE LEAFLET PRODUCED BY SPLAT, c/o 9b FORE ST., REDRUTH, CORNWALL & CARELESS TALK c/o, W.Smith, 14 ELLIOT ST., NEWCASTLE, STAFFS, WHICH WAS NOT SENT FOR PUBLICATION BUT WHICH REPRESENTED AN EARLY INSTANCE OF A JOINT LEAFLET FROM 2 GROUPS FAR APART. BY THE WAY, WE ONLY MISSED OUT GRAPHICS & A FEW SLOGANS AT THE END. ONE OF THE GRAPHICS WAS REPRODUCED BY THE PRACTICAL ANARCHY NEWSHEET IN THIS INTERCOM.

Address to All Anti-Parliamentarians

For some time now members of the Wildcat group have been working on a project to republish, in the form of a pamphlet, a collection of articles from Solidarity, the newspaper published during the second world war by the Anti-Parliamentary Communist Federation in Glasgow. To the best of our knowledge we have managed to track down all surviving issues of Solidarity, and from this material we have selected articles which we think are worth republishing today. This project has progressed slowly but we are now at last in a position to appeal for financial support and advance orders to finally help us get the pamphlet published and into circulation.

The contents of the pamphlet will be arranged under the following four headings:

PRINCIPLES AND TACTICS ... a number of texts setting out the APCF's basic positions on capitalism, communism, the state, parliamentarism, trade unionism, leadership, the Russian revolution, and other fundamentally important issues.

THE WAR IN SPAIN ... articles about the Spanish civil war from early issues of Solidarity (1938 onwards), including one by the Spanish anarchist group, 'The Friends of Durruti'.

THE WORLD WAR ... the APCF opposed the second world war on revolutionary defeatist grounds, calling for the overthrow of all belligerent nation-states through world-wide proletarian revolution. Articles in this section explode bourgeois propaganda about the 'war for democracy' by drawing attention to the universal tendency towards totalitarian state control during wartime. Others document the continuing class struggle during the war, and the new tactics and organisational forms which this struggle was forced to adopt.

THE PARTY AND THE WORKING CLASS ... a lively debate which took place during 1941-1942, ranging over such issues as class consciousness, workers' councils, the role of the party, and the party's relationship to the class and to other revolutionary groups. The participants in this debate included the council communists Anton Pannekoek and Paul Mattick, the Trotskyist Frank Maitland, a DeLeonist named Abraham Zeigler, and the APCF itself.

Each of these sections will be preceded by a brief introduction establishing the context of the articles. There will also be a general introduction outlining the history of the APCF from its formation in 1921, and analysing the APCF's politics from the perspective of the lessons which this neglected but important strand in the anarchist/communist tradition in Britain has to offer revolutionaries today.

The cost of producing this pamphlet will probably be well over £100. Anyone wanting to see the project brought to fruition can help by sending us advance orders and financial donations, however large or small (cash or postal orders). We do not have a bank account in the name of 'Wildcat' so anyone unwilling to entrust large amounts of cash to the post should contact us first. All support will be gratefully acknowledged.

Our address is: Wildcat

c/o The Autonomy Centre 8 - 10 Great Ancoats Street Manchester 4 England, U.K.

History Workshop 18 - Leicester

16-18 November.

Advance bookings at £8.00. waged, £3.00 unwaged.

to: History Workshop 18: Co-operative College, Stanford Hall, Stanford, Loughborough.

WORKSHOPS include ANARCHISM IN LABOUR HISTORY which will cover a number of episodes recently researched by revolutionaries including M.S. on Spain 1936-39 and the impact in Britain. 20 other Workshops organised.

include: The General Strike. Spencerism and Company Unionism.

WHAT DISTINGUISHES WILDCAT?

What distinguishes 'Wildcat'. The WORKERS PLAY-
TIME criticism in INTERCOM 5, & the Intercom
Conference Discussion in Keele, April 1984.

We would like to comment briefly on the 'Workers Playtime' criticism of our politics which appeared in 'Intercom' No 5, mostly summarising points we made during discussion at the Keele conference.

Revolutionaries have a dual problem in their propaganda.

Firstly, it is necessary to distinguish what we mean by a communist society from all the misuses of that term by the various left factions of capitalism. These represent different reorganisations of capitalist relations, or different forms of capitalist government, as being different and better forms of society. We have to stress that communism is a completely different form of society in every fundamental aspect, involving a revolutionary break, not only with capitalist class society, but with ALL forms of class society. It is, if you like, the end of humanity's pre-history and the beginning of humanity's conscious creation of its own history.

Secondly, and in apparent contradiction to the first, we want to stress that this completely different form of society is never-the-less, not simply a utopian dream, but a practical solution to the major problems of working class life under capitalism. That the possibility of its establishment arises from the experience of workers in the day-to-day struggle under capitalism, and that it is actually pre-figured in small ways at the height of mass struggle against the effects of capitalism. We have to further explain how the working class can develop the organisational means to practically transform society from capitalism to communism.

These two opposing problems lay traps for unaware revolutionaries and we can see in certain groups within our own broad movement those who have fallen into them.

The first trap is 'utopianism'. Here groups are so paranoid about being tainted with the capitalist brush, in all of its many disguises, that they remove themselves from any organised connection with the everyday class struggle. They end up simply commentating on the passing events of the system and contrasting the beautiful picture of communism with the nastiness of capitalism. Whilst this approach may occasionally be a useful form of propaganda it can only be harmful if adopted as the basis of group activity. The Socialist Party of Great Britain is probably the most obvious group in this category but many anarchists also commit the same error. As an aside it is worth noting that this approach can often allow members of such groups to appear more revolutionary than any one else on paper, but to play quite a conservative role in the every day class struggle (eg. support for trade unionist practice).

The second trap is what might be called 'formalism'. It is this which 'Workers Playtime' appear to be accusing us of. This arises in revolutionaries attempts to answer the important questions of: 'How does the working class organise its struggle within capitalism', 'How does the class organise the transition to, and the early phase of communism' and 'What is the connection between the two'? If we are a serious revolutionary group we cannot leave these questions unanswered. However, if we become obsessed with this particular issue and with always appearing practical against the jibes of various leftists that we are just a bunch of 'utopians', we face the danger of reducing our concept of communism to little more than a series of organisational or administrative changes. This has clearly happened to certain groups, such as the DeLeonist Socialist Labour Party of America whose vision of communism is now little more than a new form of government based on industrial unions. The same criticism can be levelled at many anarcho-syndicalists and council communists whose sole definition of their alternative society resides in the more democratic forms of organisation they propose.

Whilst 'Wildcat' accepts that there is a problem here we should be aware of, we reject the charge that we have ourselves fallen prey to this latter danger. The charge that we have, is based on our use of certain terminology, particularly "the common ownership and democratic control of the means of production and distribution" which appears in our statement of aims. It is said that this could happily be accepted by all manner of radicals or leftists. If we were to be pedantic we would say that the omission of any reference to 'exchange' (as appears in the Labour Party clause 4) means that carefully read, it would not be acceptable to such people who generally mean by the phrase some form of state capitalism. However, we accept that as an isolated statement it appears harmless enough for many to accept it. But it is NOT an isolated statement. It is situated within political statements that make it clear we see communism as a great deal more than a democratic reorganisation, that we do see communism as essentially a change in social relationships and our whole way of life. None-the-less communism will be 'democratic' in a thorough going sense, as 'Workers Playtime' admit. We have found no other set of words that readily explains what we mean. We cannot invent a completely new language and inevitably certain words and phrases have to be given a 'new' meaning to suit our purposes.

Related to all this is the question of who are the working class. We have already said quite clearly that we do not restrict our definition to just factory workers, or even to those actually in waged work at any given time. We certainly do not see the revolution as simply taking over the existing means of production "as they are" and running them democratically. The means of production must initially be taken over but their use must also be transformed. The way people relate in the process of production will begin to change rapidly and along with this the actual technology of production as well. Obviously some forms of production and some techniques of production will be abandoned altogether and new forms developed. To say the revolution is not just about taking over the means of production does not however deny the crucial role that productive workers, as such, must play in the practical reorganisation of the productive process in the beginning. Neither does it deny the crucial role of workplace struggle generally, in the process of change from the working class "in itself", (a social category within capitalism), to the working class "for itself", (a conscious class against capitalism). This point is made in the Barrot text, 'What is Communism', favoured by some members of 'Workers Playtime'. Clearly the class struggle must go beyond the workplace but most evidence suggests it will; more often than not, start there.

If these views are not clear in our leaflets then with the help of comradely criticism, we will do our best to make them clearer in the future.

We realise we have not answered the 'Workers Playtime' criticism point by point, but we hope we have addressed ourselves to the core of their argument.

'WILDCAT' Manchester. May 1984.

THE HUNGARIAN REVOLUTION 1956 - Council Communist pamphlet no. 1, 60p incl. p&p from Scorcher Publications, Box 56, 1-0-8 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cardiff.

WORKERS AUTONOMY, CRITIQUE OF SYNDICALIST METHODS, ANARCHISM AND NATIONAL LIBERATION STRUGGLES - by A. Bonnano et al, from Bratach Dubh, BCM Box 7177, London WC1V 6XX. Also Ratgeb (alias R. Vaneigem) CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE REVOLUTIONARY STRUGGLE

THE WORLD WE MUST LEAVE - by J. Camatte, 50p + p&p from Unpopular Books c/o 84b Whitechapel High St., London E1.

COMMUNITY AND COMMUNISM IN RUSSIA - by J. Camatte, 60p + p&p from Unpopular Books, published by David Brown, 1978,

ECHANGES ET MOUVEMENT - publish in English pamphlets on the uprising in E. Germany and Pannekoek's Workers' Councils. 75p + p&p from BM Box 91, London WC1V 6XX, (also publish an international bulletin of workplace struggles.)

BULLETIN DE DISCUSSION - French liaison bulletin, c/o Eric Burman, Impasse du marche, 37320, Evvres sur Indre.

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NEW PUBLICATIONS

Not a massive number of new publications have come our way here in London — could groups reading this please note several London groups have new addresses.

- Workers Playtime Aug/Sept. Going to press as this is typed. Stuff on Miners, Docks, Germany 35 hour carve-up, Art models, Olympics, Rumania, Stop the City subject to space. Sub's £3 year. c/o 84b, Whitechapel High St London E.1. (NOTE NEW ADDRESS).
- Clydeside Anarchist. 2. 35 hour week, Dying of consumption, Anarchist organisation — for/against, in practise. Computing struggles, Playing the game. 15p plus postage from top floor, 64 Queen St. Glasgow. Please note: Very interesting local anarchist journal — recommended. all letters to Autonomy Press, room 1! Careless Talk. GCHQ, Police, Miners, Teachers, NWAFLocal Rev. Anarchist paper. 5p plus postage from W.Smith, 14 Elliot Street, Newcastle, Staffs. (Dont mention Careless Talk on envelope).
- Wolverine.2. Gay oppression and resistance. Class struggle. Homophobia. Second issue of interesting Rev. gay paper. Nice one chaps. 10p plus postage c/o 84b Whitechapel High St.(NOTE NEW ADDRESS).
- Fifth Estate. Spring 1984. Sadly hard to get hold of, long established Detroit based journal. In recent years have particularly featured critique of technology and 'civilization'. Unique among anarchist publications for the depth and commitment of its approach to the subjects that interest its producers, while retaining a revolutionary perspective on current events. This issue: Television, shopping, squats in Puerto Rico, El Salvador, daily barbarian supplement, draft, aborigine genocide, and more. Sub's \$7 year. Fifth Estate, 5928 Second Ave, Detroit, MI 48202, USA.
- Open Road. Spring 1984. Vancouver 5, Peace Movement, Chomsky, Solidarnosc, Spain, Nicaragua.....In marked contrast to Fifth Estate in every respect. Pure Anarcho-leftism from once interesting paper. . Distributed in UK via A distribution.
- Strike. June 1984. Another Canada based anarchist paper. Central America, lie detectors, France, critique of greens, religion, Bakunin, Pornography, etc. Politically eclectic but never less than interesting. Sub's \$7 year. P.O.Box 284. Main Station. St.Catherines. Ontario. Canada. L2R 6T7.
- Class War. Two current issues. Regular and Class War women's issue. Nice pair knoworimean squire — No? You're not a middle class scumbag are you? Militant Direct Action Anarchist Paper. 10p each plus post, Box CW, 36 Albany Street, London.NW1.(NOTE NEW ADDRESS).
- Solidarity. No.5. Coastelpress dispute, Direct Selling. Modern Socialism and Rev., More on Socialism. At first sight looks like an improvement on previous issues. London based rev. socialist journal. 40p. 123 Lathom Rd, London. E6.
- Green Anarchist.1. Love Peace 'n Ecology paper from ex-Freedom types. Aims to link punks and hippies. Coming shortly. Blue Anarchist linking policemen and social workers. 30p.Recycle after use.
- Workers Voice. 17. Paper of CWO. Hard left communist paper. Class struggle. France. Finance Capital. Bolivia.Miners. criticisms of other groups. Best UK left communist paper— enviable standard of clarity and willingness to accept implications of political positions, whatever you think of them. 20p.BM Box CWO, London, WC1N 3XX.

NEW PAMPHLETS.

- Miner Conflicts Major Contradictions. (30p BM Combustion. London WC1N 3XX). Interesting account of miners strike and state of contemporary class struggle but badly flawed by excessive triumphalism.
- The class struggles in Airstrip One. by a friend of junius. (The Ripple Press.)(No Address).Another situationist influenced analysis of class struggle in Britain, intended in part as a corrective to the above pamphlet."One must also say that a lot of what is written in (this pamphlet) is not uninteresting."
- Strike Action. (20p Dark Star/Direct Action Movement). Clearly written and well produced pamphlet on basic strike strategy from a syndicalist perspective. Augers well for a similarly clear explanation of the relevance of anarcho-syndicalism?
- The second councillist pamphlet from Scorcher Publications on the Russian Factory Committees 1917 has been sighted — available from them c/o Box 56, 108 Bookshop, 108 Salisbury Road, Cardiff, Wales. Another original piece of writing. Not sure of price.
- Processed World. 10. Another good issue of high quality San Fransisco journal devoted to office work, info. technology etc. Available from A Distribution.
- No Statist Solutions: Anarchism and "the troubles" in Northern Ireland. Reprints from Outta Control with interview with BAC member. \$3 post paid. Spooner Society, P.O. Box 806, Willimantic, CT., 06226. USA.

FRENCH LANGUAGE.

- LA BANQUISE. Revue de critique sociale. Current home of Jean Barrot who may be known to english speakers through translations (Eclipse and re-emergence of communist movement, Fascism/Antifascism, What is communism?). No 3.(20F).BP 214. 75623 Paris Cedex 13.
- La Guerre Sociale. May be known from participation in IDB. Seemingly engaged in fight against capitalism and also La Banquise....No 7. (27F).BP 88. 75623 Paris Cedex 13.
- ESSAIS Nouvelle serie: Revue de critique et de communication revolutionnaire. Requested exchange with Intercom. Situationist influenced journal. (6 Fr) BP 1013, 49015 Angers Cedex France.

Looking at the above list we should perhaps repeat that we haven't weighted it towards particular political currents — this is all the new publications we've come across.