

LISTINGS

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NB - Squatting advice is given at the Mutual Aid Centre every Monday and Thursday from 12 - 5pm. Helpers welcome, and we need to compile a list of empties, so keep your eyes skinned.

Sun 3rd Food Co-op meeting, 2pm, Mutual Aid Centre, 45 Seel St, Liverpool 1.

Mon 4th Anarchist Group meeting, 7.30pm, Mutual Aid Centre.

Tues 5th Talk and discussion, 'State or Socialism', 7pm, MAC.

Thurs 7th Liverpool Lesbian & Gay Action meeting, 7.30pm, MAC.

Fri 8th 'Time to go' public meeting, 7.30pm, Hardman St, TU Centre. Sinn Fein councillor plus others.

Sat 9th March Against the British National Party HQ, Welling, Kent. (Details inside).
Palestine Solidarity demo, 1pm, Hyde Park Corner, London.
Anti-Poll Tax dayschool for anarchists, Sheffield.

Mon 11th Anarchist Group meeting, 7.30pm, MAC.

Thurs 14th As 7th.

Sun 17th North West Anti Fascist Action meeting. 1 - 5pm, MAC.

Mon 18th Last Anarchist Group meeting of the decade! 7.30pm, MAC.

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Mon 8th, 15th and 22nd Anarchist Group meetings. 7.30pm, MAC.

Sat 13th and Sun 14th Class Struggle Anarchist Network meeting, Sheffield

Mon 22nd Anarchist Group meeting, 7.30pm, MAC.
Deadline for newsletter no 14.

Sat 27th Bloody Sunday commemoration march, London. Contact the Committee for British Withdrawal from Ireland, Box 353, London, NW5 4NH for details.

Mon 29th Anarchist Group meeting, 7.30pm, MAC.
Newsletter no 14 is out!!!!

<p>CLASS STRUGGLE ANARCHIST NETWORK - SHEFFIELD 14.1.90</p>	<p>The next CLASS STRUGGLE ANARCHIST NETWORK meeting is on SUNDAY JANUARY 14th, 1990 starting at MIDDAY at SHEFFIELD COORDINATING CENTRE AGAINST UNEMPLOYMENT (SCAU) 73 WEST STREET (City Centre), SHEFFIELD.</p> <p>On Saturday January 13th there will be a day of workshops</p> <p>MORE DETAILS FROM: P.O.Box 446, SHEFFIELD S1 1NY.</p>
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MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST

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newsletter

STILL 15p!



INTRO

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST NEWSLETTER, P.O. BOX 110, LIVERPOOL, L69 8DP

Here we are with newsletter number thirteen - Merseyside Anarchist bursts into its second decade with our first 20 page bumper issue and an increased print run (so somebody must like it !). Some people have been saying that the Newsletter has been getting a bit 'heavy' lately, so, just to piss them off, this one's the heaviest yet.

So, when Xmas threatens to engulf you, when you feel like opening up on visiting relatives with an automatic weapon, or kicking 'Songs of Praise' through the back of the telly - don't. Find a quiet corner, curl up with your newsletter, read and learn !

As this is a two month issue, the deadline for contributions to issue 14 will be MONDAY JANUARY 22nd. We welcome your articles and letters etc which should be sent to the address above by that date.

If you want to subscribe send us £2.00 for the next TEN issues (cheques and postal orders made out to 'MUTUAL AID CENTRE' please). Cheap at twice the price !

AS EVER WE MUST POINT OUT THAT THE VIEWS EXPRESSED IN THIS NEWSLETTER ARE NOT NECESSARILY THOSE OF LIVERPOOL ANARCHIST GROUP AS A WHOLE.

BASIC ANARCHISM

Anarchism is revolutionary anti-state socialism. In practical terms, anarchists aim for the destruction of the power of the ruling class and of all relationships based on domination and submission. This means taking over our industries and communities and changing them to meet the needs of all, as well as the ecological needs of the environment. Without this takeover we can struggle within capitalism but never replace it.

Anarchism will be created by millions of people, not a dictatorial elite (we are not Marxist-Leninists), and all will have their part to play in shaping it. Power will lie with the organisations thrown up by and for the revolution, not with the political parties who will try to dominate and destroy them.

The new society will not be born through abstract ideas, but will come out of the realities of struggle and the need for working class people to unite. Such struggle doesn't just involve resistance to ruling class power (strikes, mass protests and other forms of direct action), but also construction - the building of new, locally based federal organisations (examples of which go from the original Soviets of the Russian Revolution to the Miner's Support Groups of the 1984/85 strike), plus the forging of solidarity and the willingness to go further.

There is no truce in the class war. The answer to ruling class power is continual and widening struggle - for social revolution and anarchism.

LIVERPOOL A'S

POWER, CORRUPTION + LIES



In past issues of the Newsletter we have highlighted the case of Martin Foran, who was wrongly convicted of robbery in 1985. While in prison his health has deteriorated to the point where his life may be in danger, yet prison authorities have consistently refused him adequate medical treatment and have even, on several occasions, transferred him from one jail to another shortly before he was due for an operation. At last though, there seems to be progress on his case.

Martin Foran was arrested by the now discredited and disbanded West Midlands Serious Crimes Squad. Rumours about the corruption in the SCS had been rife for years (it was they who had beaten confessions out of the Birmingham Six), but it was only this year that their excesses became so blatant that the Chief Constable of the West Midlands, Geoffrey Dear, had to act.

In June, Ronnie Bolden walked out of court when robbery charges against him were thrown out after it had been proved that his confession was made up by SCS officers. While Bolden had been on remand the Squad had raided his house and took £4,000 despite the fact that it could be shown that the money was from the sale of the family car. This money was never returned and Ronnie Bolden is suing the police for theft.

In July, Keith Parchment was released from a five year prison sentence for armed robbery when his lawyers showed that his confession (the only evidence against him) had been fabricated, again by West Midlands SCS.

When trials in Wolverhampton, Stafford and Birmingham were adjourned amid allegations of SCS officers tampering with evidence, 'losing' files and making up confessions, the police corruption was so obvious that Geoffrey Dear had no alternative but to disband the squad. In all, 53 cops were suspended or transferred to 'non-operational' work and West Yorkshire police were called in to conduct an internal inquiry.

However, in an attempt at damage limitation, Dear has stated that only cases involving court decisions after 1986 can be looked at. This has implications for the Birmingham Six who, although convicted in 1974, had their appeal turned down by the High Court in January 1988.

In the wake of all this there have been two important developments in the Martin Foran case.

Firstly the Police Complaints Authority have agreed to look into Martin's conviction. They recently spent three days interviewing him in Frankland jail and seem to agree that the evidence against him is based on lies told by SCS

4 officers at his trial. This however does not guarantee that he will be released, as anyone who has followed the ups and downs of the Foran saga will realise. It is also indicative of the 'high standards of British Justice' that police and courts were, and still are, willing to let Martin and others rot in prison until it becomes too embarrassing for them not to look again at their cases.

The second initiative to come from the West Midlands fiasco is the formation of a group called 'Conviction'. It is made up of families and friends of people convicted solely on the grounds of their own confessions, often made up by the police or given after physical and mental torture while in custody. Conviction currently involves the Birmingham Six campaign, Martin Foran supporters and the relatives of the 'Carl Bridgewater Three', as well as those concerned with other, less publicised cases of 'framing'.

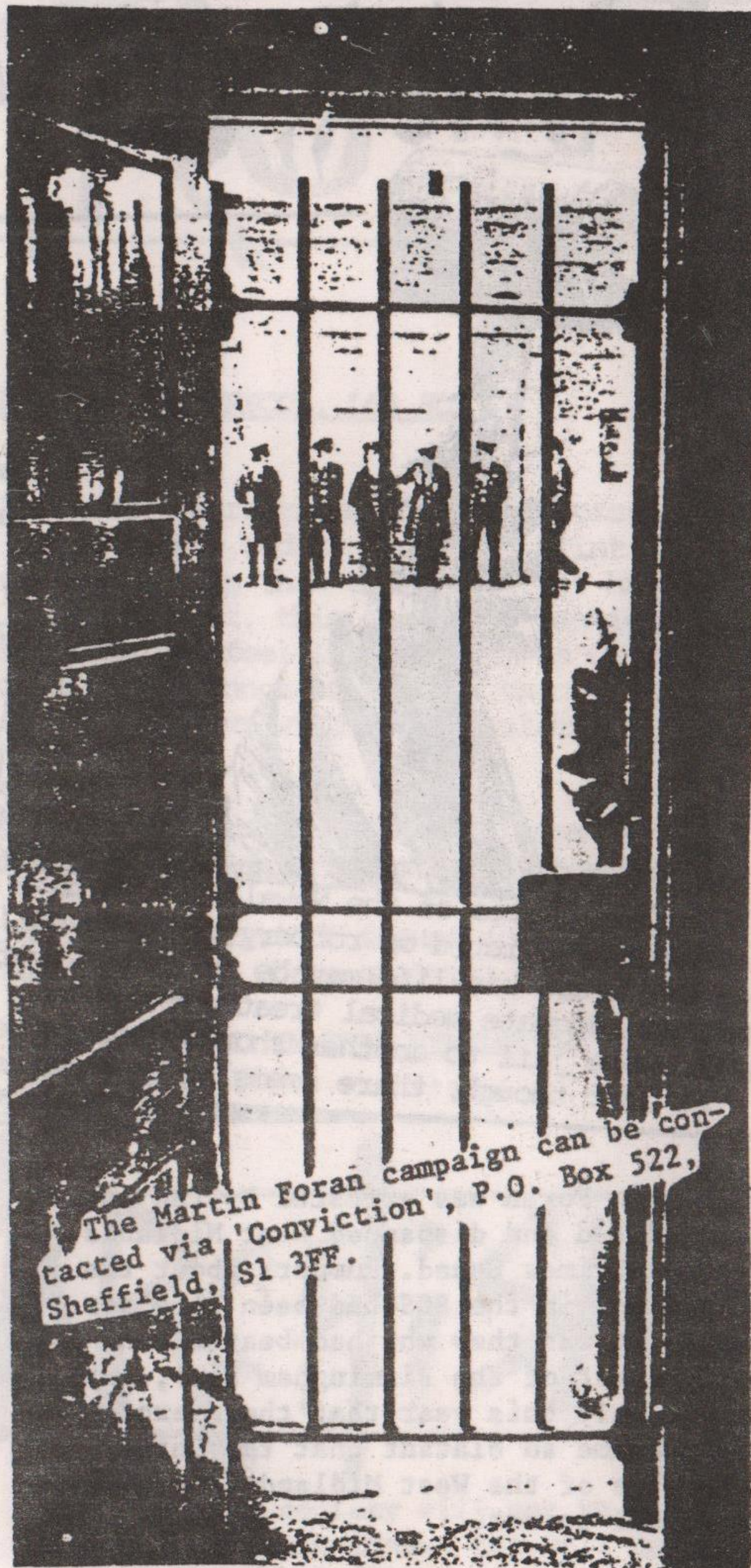
Further initiatives include a benefit LP and interest (better late than never), from the BBC and Ireland's RTE who want to make documentaries on Martin's case.

The disbanding of the West Midlands SCS, the investigation into Surrey police following the release of the Guildford Four and the recent revelations of RUC collusion with loyalist death squads all have strikingly similar features.

They all reveal the widespread nature of police corruption and the show the extent to which they will go to get 'results' - lies, intimidation, torture and outright murder. All the cases prove the utter hypocrisy of the cops who every day break their own much vaunted 'rule of law' by beating confessions out of suspects, framing them, knowingly sending people who've done nothing to prison and, in the 6 counties acting as judge, jury and executioner by setting people up for assassination.

The other theme running through these events is that in each case the state is trying to cover up its grim reality by setting in motion long winded investigations which will report (when the storm has blown over) that a few cops had overstepped the mark, that they've been tried, dicsciplined or retired and that everything is OK again.

By stressing the importance of these cases, anarchists can and must shatter the myths surrounding the judicial system in Britain and expose it for what



The Martin Foran campaign can be contacted via 'Conviction', P.O. Box 522, Sheffield, S1 3FF.

it is - merely another weapon in the state's armoury and a means for disposing of unwanted members of the public, and furthermore, that when 'legal' methods fail, it's clear that the state doesn't hesitate to resort to the only things which in the end hold its rotten structure together - coercion, violence and murder.

Martin Foran, currently facing his fifth consecutive christmas in prison, welcomes letters and cards - Martin Foran c/o HMP Frankland, P.O. Box 40, Frankland-low-Newton, Brasside, Durham, DH1 5XF.

I'M NO PAYIN'

5 Yes, the Western Isles and Shetland are the tax havens of the nineties. Statistics revealed by Strathclyde Anti-Poll Tax Federation show that an amazing 50% are not paying their poll tax after more than six months. For Scotland the full figures are:

Western Isles 48%, Shetlands 40-54%
Orkneys 33%, Strathclyde 20-30%
Central 20-30% Highlands 22%,
Lothian 20-28% Tayside 19-20%
Fife 15%, Grampian 15%, Dumfries &
Galloway 15%, Borders 6%.

(*Federation estimates.)

Meanwhile, it's I'M NO REGISTERING is the order of the day in England and Wales in the run up to the New Year NON-PAYMENT campaign. In Tottenham, where they have 70 street representatives, 30 workplace reps, and 9 locally federated Anti-Poll Tax Unions, some 30% have not yet registered, rising to an incredible 95% we are told on the Broadwater Farm Estate! Here in Liverpool, more than 50,000 people are thought to be unaccounted for with the legal deadline for registration on December 1.

RACING TO BEAT POLL TAX DODGE

By Chris Walker

HARD-PRESSED Liverpool Council staff have only about two weeks to clear a mountain of poll tax problems.

A total of 27,000 registration forms sent out in the city have still to be returned or completed satisfactorily.

That is likely to represent more than 50,000 people who have some kind of question mark against their name.

With the legal deadline for completion of the draft register falling on December 1, officials are racing the clock to find the answers they need.

Anti-poll tax campaigners are claiming a significant victory, but council chiefs are confident that any problems will be sorted out in time.

And they stress that many people will still have their names on the register, even if they have not returned their form or have filled it in inadequately.

This is because registration officers have other sources for the information they seek, including lists of ratepayers and council house tenants.

Unreturned forms pose a city headache

Of the 216,000 forms sent out to Liverpool homes, 12,000 have not been sent back and another 15,000 have a query against them.

Both figures are expected to drop between now and the end of the month.

Substantial

John Jennings, secretary of the Merseyside federation of anti-poll tax unions, said the high number of people still to register satisfactorily was a good omen for the non-payment campaign which would start in earnest in the New Year.

"If you take an average of two people per household, this means that more than 50,000 people have not returned their form or have a query against them," he said.

"That is a very substantial total."

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Merseyside TIME TO GO Group has a meeting on
MEDIA CENSORSHIP ON IRELAND
One year after the media censorship
Speakers include:
MAIRTIN O'MUILLEOIR Cllr, Belfast City
PAUL FOOT of the Daily Mirror
at MTUCURC, 24 Hardman St, Liverpool 1
at 7.30pm
on FRIDAY DECEMBER 8th, 1989.

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BLOODY SUNDAY BLOODY SUNDAY BLOODY SUNDAY BLOOD

There will be a march to comemorate
BLOODY SUNDAY
on SUNDAY JANUARY 27TH, 1990,
in LONDON.
More details can be obtained from
COMMITTEE FOR BRITISH WITHDRAWAL FROM
IRELAND,
P.O. BOX 353,
LONDON NW5 4NH.

BLOODY SUNDAY BLOODY SUNDAY BLOODY SUNDAY BLOOD

STATE OR SOCIALISM

PART 2



Below we print part two of 'State or Socialism', a criticism of 'revolutionary' political parties and their actions. (If you missed part one, send us 20p and we'll put it in the post !).

Political parties are hardened and closed leading to a bureaucracy, a tool for future rulers. This becomes even more obvious during and after a revolution. Lenin said that there can only be one party (his own, naturally) (3), and whatever party gets into power will use its position to repress others. Nowadays there are loads of parties running around claiming to be 'the' party of the working class, our representatives, the 'best', 'most correct', free from error and absolutely right. All this results in competition and division, not to mention elitism.. So, the idea of leadership becomes the elite party, the elite party becomes the government. So what's new?

There are socialists who recognise the bankruptcy of the vanguard party and the state but who nevertheless want a social revolution. What will happen to us when we disobey and want to practise our own methods? In the past this has led to shootings and imprisonment and no-one can say it will be no different in the future.

In reality, the aftermath of previous revolutions shows that party bosses are not true revolutionaries, but authoritarians who want control over people. All political parties have politicians, not delegates, making a career out of other people's misery and trying to reach the top of the ladder. The politicians of the 'revolutionary' party are no better, just exploiters of socialism, using it for their own ends and diverting it away from its true meaning. Even the few who aren't power seeking hide those who are.

They don't see, or refuse to see, that the problems of society are caused and compounded by authority and government.

That's why there's no such thing as a 'revolutionary government', revolution and government are two separate things, a contradiction. The idea of having a revolution is to do away, once and for all the class society of domination/ the state and exploitation/ capitalism. We stress that during the reconstruction of society there should be no interference from the state, with free development and expression. No-one should be in a position of exploitation and therefore, no-one must be in a position to command.

Political and economic power are mutually dependent on each other, they amount to the same thing - people exploiting people. Each individual, community and workplace needs to be free to bring about the conditions which suit their interests and those interests co-ordinated through community and workers councils. Each community knows what's best for itself and must be allowed to carry out their responsibilities through their own efforts.

The revolution will grow and be healthy if the masses are in full control. A workers government is a lie and false, it will destroy the revolution by substituting direct action for law and obedience forgetting that people live by economics, by having a roof over their head and enough to eat, not by laws and politics.

Those who govern are not workers, even if at one time they were part of the working class. They become the upper class by taking power. Do the party leaders queue

up for bread, dig holes, drive busses, look after kids, the old and the sick? Do they have the same standard of living as everyone else? (4). The state can never represent the working class, it can never be an accountable organisation, quite the opposite, the purpose of the state is to rule. The elusive idea of the 'dictatorship of the working class' is in reality dictatorship over the working class. It will be dictatorship of the central committee, of the party.

All political parties are set up and run by middle and upper class intellectuals, the concepts of dictatorship, leadership, party and state are ideas and institutions devised by those who want to be bosses. They are not the creation of working class people, they are establishments that have nothing in common with our interests. The above institutions are all based on maintaining power, not abolishing it and it is futile for working class struggles to aim at taking over state power.

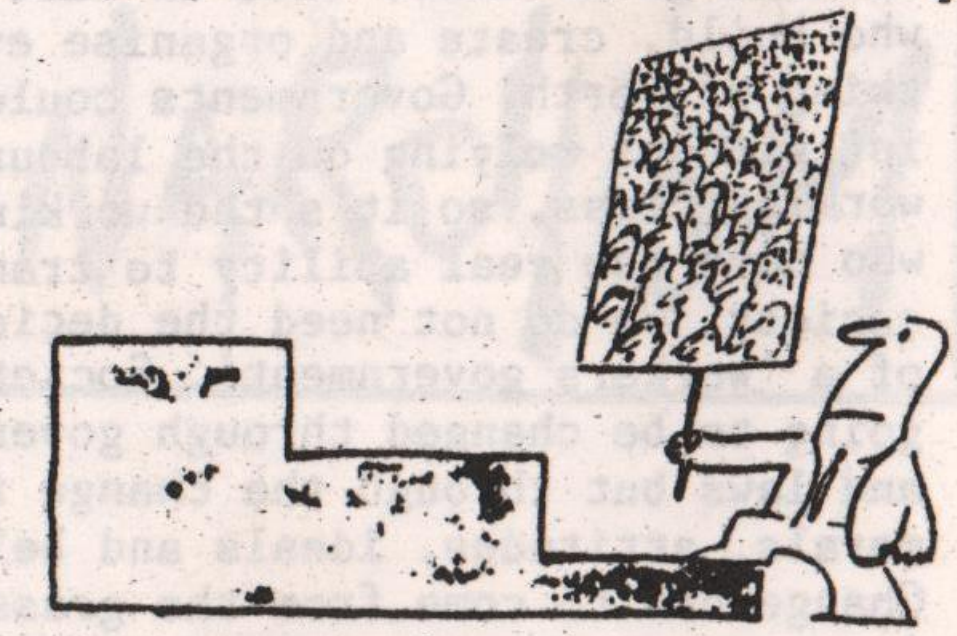
Marx and Engles may have said that the state would "wither away", as if through lack of nourishment, but try telling that to those who've taken power after revolutions. (5). If the state is so necessary and good why must it wither away to a stateless, classless society of anarchy? And if it must go, why not aim for anarchism in the first place?

In any revolution the ruling class never give up power freely, they always resort to violence and the revolution will therefore have to defend itself with the use of violence. It matters who is using violence and for what purpose. Violence needs to be used by the working class for liberation and defence but violence used 'on behalf' of the working class by a political party inevitably is a tool of repression - it is turned not only against the former rulers but also against the working class as the party gains and maintains its power through the state (6). All governments are founded on obedience and repression, and violence is in the end the only means of guaranteeing that obedience.

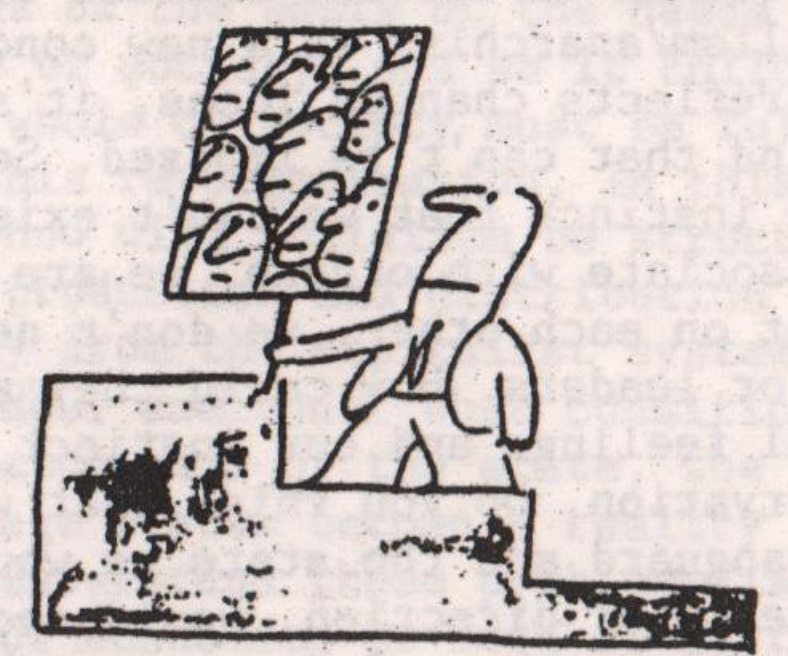
Violence is only revolutionary when used against the bosses and defenders of the state, it shouldn't go beyond that.

During reconstruction, people will want what they want and working class revolutionaries have no right to appoint themselves as the leadership, on the grounds that it's in the interests of the revolution. No-one can take charge with the justification that people might not do it right. We would simply be authoritarians no better than anyone else.

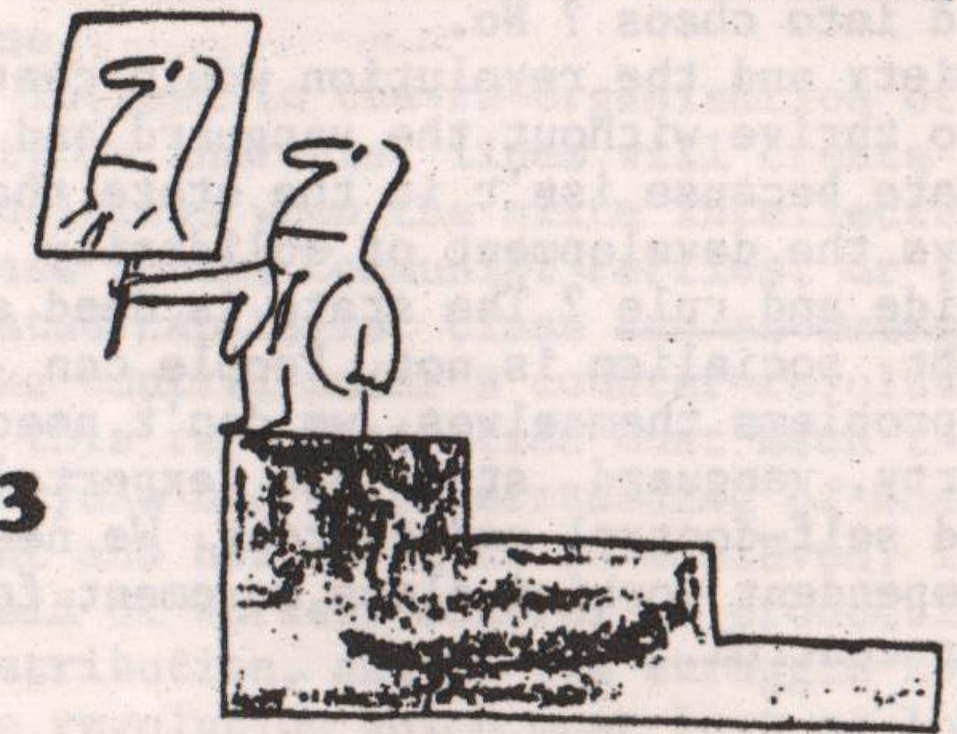
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No, a new approach is needed, and that means leaving people to develop their confidence, awareness and creativity through the voluntary and joint efforts of those concerned.

The state is the outcome of domination and competition for group well-being and class interests. Even though there have been 'revolutions' in the past, the state institution has remained intact and become a tool for the new masters. The state is an organisation that destroys people's development, individuality and autonomy. The state is the monopoly of power, a central body that organises and controls society by imposing ruling class ideals and a political programme on us. The state is a highly dangerous criminal organisation run by gangsters, terrorists and murderers and the existence of a state poisons a revolution and our struggle for freedom.

All governments make laws and control society from the top. In time, people come to believe that we couldn't manage

without government, when in fact it's us who build, create and organise everything of worth. Governments couldn't exist without relying on the labour of the working class, so it's the working class who have the real ability to transform society. We do not need the deceiving idea of a 'workers government'. Society isn't going to be changed through governments and laws but through the change in values, morals, attitudes, ideals and beliefs. Change has to come from the grassroots, from within ourselves, because stateless socialism/anarchism is a new condition that reflects changed ideas, it's a state of mind that can't be imposed. Solidarity is an instinct that we can't exist without, we associate with others, we are all dependent on each other, we don't need guardians or leaders. How could they add to our social feelings and our instinct for self-preservation. Do you think that without the vanguard and the state we would lose our sense of direction, would society disband into chaos? No.

Society and the revolution would continue to thrive without the vanguard and the state because isn't it the state that destroys the development of solidarity by divide and rule? The state is dead and bankrupt, socialism is not. People can solve problems themselves, we don't need the party, vanguard, state and 'experts'. We need self-control and anarchy. We need an independent working class movement for workers control.

References -

(3) In Lenin's own words.... "Our party aims to obtain political power for itself", "Those that don't support wholeheartedly the forces of order and discipline within the party are traitors and must be ruthlessly destroyed", "Unquestioning subordination to a single will is absolutely necessary for the success of processes organised on the pattern of large scale machine industry the same revolution demands, precisely in the interests of its development and consolidation, precisely in the interests of socialism, that the people unquestioningly obey the single will of the leaders of labour.... iron discipline while at work, with unquestioning obedience to the will of a single person - the soviet leader".

(4) The Bolsheviks created 34 different categories of 'worker' who all recieved different wages and rations.

(5) No "socialist state" has yet "withered away" or showed any signs of doing so.

(6) By 1919 the Red Army was under the control of ex-Tsarist officers and was in the service of the party not the revolution. "Shun the methods of the disorderly guerrillas, the self will of individual detachments who refuse to obey the dictates of the central authorities". Lenin. "We must eliminate the survival of the guerrilla spirit, use the military expertise of the officers of the old army and create a regular Red Army founded on iron discipline..... when we run out of party volunteers, we simply introduce conscription". Stalin.

57 varieties



All unfit for
human consumption

ECONOMICS + ANARCHISM

Anarchists seem to strongly neglect economics, one of the most important subjects in the struggle against the world capitalist system, vital to the building of a new society and its defence against capitalist re-emergence in one form or another.

Some Anarchists may say that economics is boring and tedious, and yes, this can be the case. But to neglect it can, and almost certainly will, be to the advantage of our class enemies - be it capitalism in the present struggle or the Communist Parties in the fight to build and maintain a socialist society.

"Know your enemy as you know yourself and you can fight a hundred battles without defeat". This saying is of great importance to the revolutionary struggle. To know that capitalism exploits the working class for profit and that, under Socialism, society will be structured so that there will be no exploitation by any individual or class is all very well, but to fight capitalism we must understand it in all its facets - not only what it does and why, but how it does it. Especially as capitalism has advanced from its 'feudal' beginnings to monopoly capitalism, or imperialism, with not only class but national oppression through the international banking system and multinationals. The same must apply to Socialism - understand what it is and why it is necessary, but also how it will be structured and defended. Everyone must understand this, not just the revolutionary "elite".

The new society that will be constructed after the revolution cannot be planned in detail by us now. This will be done by the organisations of workers and communities which spring up during the revolution, under the social, economic and ecological conditions prevailing at the time. But we can and must set out our ideas and principles of socialist construction, as Anarchists, based on historical experience and a continuous re-assessment of the needs of society and the planet.

The social revolution will re-organise

industries on the basis of the needs of the whole of society, and so it follows that the whole of society must be fully a part of this re-organisation. In this new society, how will Socialism be structured? How will production and distribution be moved away from the capitalist system of profit? How, and under what conditions, will the abolition of the state, the banks and the wage system become a reality? To know and understand these problems is a question of economics as much as anything else.

To fail in the re-organisation of society on Anarchist lines will create the conditions when the elite intellectual class in the Communist Parties, or the defeated capitalist class can re-emerge and take control under a counter-revolution. So this re-organisation must mean that everyone has an understanding of what they want and how it is to be achieved, in the field of workers control of production and distribution, and in the struggle to defend the revolution which must last as long as capitalism in one form or another still exists. A classless society cannot be achieved and defended until capitalism is dead and buried.

An understanding of economics is vital to this task. This doesn't mean that everyone should laboriously study pages of economic theory for its own sake, but all of us must have a good understanding so as to take the necessary collective and individual decisions that lie ahead and which are so vital to the needs of humanity. To neglect such things will weaken ourselves, as Anarchists, and the working class we belong to.

Revolution is not fun or a holiday. It involves a great deal of misery and suffering but as revolutionaries, we recognise it as a necessity for the creation of a new anti-state Socialist society. Studying economics is infinitely easier than the fight against the capitalist system and is an inseparable part of that struggle. We owe it to ourselves and to the future to study hard and study well.

THE UNKNOWN CRIMINAL

The Guildford Four are out! The Birmingham Six, Winchester Three, Carl Bridgewater Three, Martin Foran and many more who's names are as yet unknown are still doing time. These people are all regarded as special cases because they're inside for crimes they didn't commit. So far the state has been able to limit the damage to itself by portraying each case as an isolated aberration, and sacrificing a few individual pigs - bad apples doncha know, the system's perfect.... in a sense we make it easy for them to do so by continually reacting to individual cases as they become known to us. I'm not suggesting that we shouldn't agitate for the release of particular prisoners, but unless we devote as much time and energy to exposing the entire police/judicial/prison system as inherently, irreformably corrupt, the struggle will remain static.

For Anarchists this means an analysis centered on class. The Guildford Four case contains many lessons for us. To force their release it was necessary to seek the involvement of various politicians, celebrities and other members of the establishment. OK, it worked. and doubtless many people's perceptions of the system were changed. This doesn't alter the fact that the class message of the campaign became diluted and portrayed as humanitarian rather than political, redemption of the system rather than condemnation.

The Guildford Four case began with a crime. The pigs then had to produce criminals, in the case of the G4, Irish criminals. "Being Irish means you're guilty" as the song goes. The judicial system is an instrument of class domination through which working class people, our language, culture and aspirations are criminalised. The nationalist/republican section of the Irish working class have earned the compliment "Terrorist" because their struggle has an overtly political, revolutionary aspect.

The reaction of the ruling class to the Guildford Four case varies from the hardline Tory, "Unfortunate incident, tough shit", to the liberal "Oh dear, we mustn't let something nasty like this happen again". The "something nasty" being

of course, getting found out; they want to make the system more efficient, more acceptable to the (working class) voters. Ha!

The Guildford Four case is indeed special. Not because such things don't occur very often, but because it's not very often that the true nature of the beast is so clearly exposed. The Guildford Four case is in fact a perfect example of British Justice as dispensed by the ruling class. The nightmare process to which they were subjected (for 15 years!) can just as easily be applied to "The Unknown Criminal" (T.U.C! - yeh).

"Being Irish means you're guilty". But "being working class means you're guilty" fits the (old) bill just as well. But if TUC was simply pulled off the street every day, by the hundreds, for generation after generation, and the judges merely said, "You're working class, therefore you're guilty, go to jail", there would be an immediate explosion of working class consciousness, the judge would be strung up (alongside the pigs and screws and his class comrades) and the revolution would quickly take place. Nice fantasy tho'!

Unfortunately they're not as stupid as they are insane. The system is expressly to prevent the possibility of a collective class consciousness ever getting off the ground, and they've been at it for many many generations. Long enough, certainly to work out that the best way to prevent collective conscious action is to propagate feelings of isolation, fear, suspicion, apathy and helplessness. Sociologists call it individualisation, Marxists call it alienation. Anarchists call it class-war. Their most effective weapon in the war is ideology. The judicial version of this ideology is "The Law" a.k.a. "British Justice". Most of us have been wounded by this weapon at one time or another (the only known cure is riot, resistance and revolution). It's also quite easy to identify those who have been eliminated from the class war - they wear uniforms and carry warrant cards. Yeh, pigs and screws. You can change sides but not class, traitors! Bastards!

The ruling class ideologists have managed to disguise the crime of being work-

ing class by creating a massive, enormously complicated structure of crimes which come within the aforesaid "The Law a.k.a. British Justice". The judge can now say, "What, guilty because you're working class? Ridiculous! Here's the law. You're guilty because you're a thief. The law applies to everyone, even me, a judge, that's why I always buy my bread. And because we're all equal under the law, being poor, is



no excuse. No good complaining to me my good man, I don't make the laws, politicians do, and you're lucky enough to live in a democracy, so if you don't like it you can use you're vote to change it. Now fuck off and do yer bird!" *

But back to TUC and the Guildford Four. Before they even get in front of a judge they've got to get past the pigs. Firstly the clever chaps identify a "crime" then a "suspect", then they've got to make a "case" in order to secure a "conviction". In the case of the Guildford Four they were able to narrow the range of suspects down to Irish Catholic Working Class. In the case of TUC; working class, preferably poor and black. In any case it makes no difference whether they've done it or not. What matters is can they "secure a conviction" to clear their obscene books. In the case of the G4 they were dealing with "terrorists" and therefore a result was more urgent than usual. No time for the usual niceties, straight in with the boot, the hood, the torture. Imagine the thoughts of the Guildford Four when they were arrested; Fuck this insanity, tell the bastards anything, the crazier the better, it'll be all over in a few days (this is my imagination and shouldn't

be taken as fact). And they did, and now 15 years later they're out, but ask any one of them. It's not over for them and never will be.

TUC's a bit different. The pigs can afford to spend time playing with their computers, pretending to be detectives, just like on telly, where crimes are always "solved", or the baddy, overcome by guilt, "confesses". TUC sits there, alone and isolated in front of his/her interrogators. TUC knows they're violent, sadistic bastards. Knows that if s/he stays silent, family and friends will be threatened. Knows that if s/he stays silent there'll be an extra few weeks on remand, an extra few months on the sentence in revenge for the hassle of the trial. Remand, on bail or in custody = Nightmare. The effects on relationships of a long period of stress, uncertainty and suspicion; the gross and subtle effects this has on your personality. Better to just get it over with, confess, tell the bastards what they want to hear in exchange for a quicker end to the uncertainty and a quicker release. ** Bastards, bastards! Fucking Bastards!

All cops are bastards! They're also working class, "just doing their shitty job, like everyone else..." The corpses of the class war, their humanity removed and replaced by a uniform and a bit of authority. Brutalised and ideologically lobotomised, but they share a similar background, family, education and language with TUC. This can be a bit confusing because it tends to give the impression that the enemy of the working class is the working class themselves, when the reality is that this just disguises the face of the real class enemy.

* In reality, many if not most working class people - certainly those on benefits - must break the law simply to survive as human beings. In other words, survival as a human being is illegal if you're poor.

** Except they're trained and practised at lying in court, while TUC has to make it up as s/he goes along, and the jury are trained to believe the cops even when they're lying and to disbelieve TUC whether or not s/he's telling the truth (whatever that may be...).

P.S. Have you noticed the upsurge of "Free The Birmingham Six" graffitti in your area in the last few weeks? No? Better get yer bleedin finger out then hadn't you!!

IMPERIALISM.

REVOLUTION IS NOT JUST A DREAM THAT WILL COME ABOUT WHEN WE ARE DEAD AND GONE, IT CAN AND MUST BE ACHIEVED NOW. ANARCHISTS MUST ORGANISE.....

Capitalism, or more precisely, Imperialism is in the throes of a deep crisis, both economic and political. This is most sharply expressed by the international banking crisis; the increasing exploitation, mounting poverty and starvation of the oppressed people in the oppressed countries, the rise of unemployment and poverty in the imperialist countries and the growing inter-rivalry between the imperialist countries.

The banks feed and grow off the financial helplessness of others, especially the oppressed nations of the world. The super-profits of imperialism have been supplemented by the massive profits arising from international bank lending to the advancing industrial nations in the so-called 'third world', which have doubled over the last decades.

This has created a massive problem for the banks because by their exploitation of these countries, and the resulting impoverishment, the debts have now become unrecoverable. Latest estimates put the total third world debt at \$1,200 billion.

While most Asian and African countries are too poor to be considered "good risks" the banks have turned en bloc to loan to the "newly industrialising countries". Latin America holds 60% of the debts while South Korea, the Phillipines and Taiwan owe most of the rest. It is this concentration of debt that enables a crisis in a single country, like Mexico or Brazil, to rock the entire banking system.

The banks use the International Monetary Fund (IMF) as their political arm against the debtors. It imposes 'austerity programmes' in a bid to regain some of the money but this further increases the poverty and misery of the people in the debtor nations via mass unemployment, lack of social welfare and rampant inflation.

The fate of hundreds of millions of people - whether they starve or not - is being decided by a handful of imperial-

ist bankers, but they create their own downfall by increasing the poverty of the people and the revolutionary potential of



such societies. And should a revolutionary government, or better still an Anarchist revolution come about in one or more of the major debtor nations, who then refuse to pay back their loans, then the whole imperialist banking system could be threatened with collapse.

If the imperialist banking system collapsed, the consequences would fall on the working classes in the industrialised countries as they could no longer live off the backs of the poor in the third world.

Despite the fact that only 25% of the world population live in the 'developed' countries, they account for 83% of the world's gross national product, consume 75% of energy and 70% of grain, own 92% of industry and 95% of technical resources.

The present capitalist economic world crisis in terms of output, unemployment and trade doesn't yet match the severity of the Great Depression of the 1930's but the signs are that the present crisis of

imperialism is moving that way and is already threatening the working class in the west with levels of unemployment, poverty and deprivation not seen for over 50 years.

As the crisis of profitability deepens, each imperialist country attempts to protect its own economic interests at the expense of other countries through trade wars. Economic rivalry can easily develop into military confrontation and war. Each ruling class fosters the rise of nationalism and chauvanism in the imperialist countries to draw its people behind the ruling class. The imperialists are quite prepared to use military might to defend their economic and political interests.

Imagine what would happen if a major oppressed nation defaulted on its debts to the imperialist banks either through impoverishment or through the coming of a revolution. The imperialists would not hesitate to use their military might to occupy it and seize its assets.

The economic crisis of imperialism creates a political crisis - it sharpens the conflict between oppressed and oppressor nations and it also increases the divisions between the ruling class and the working class in all capitalist countries.

This situation is the realisation of the revolutionary potential existing in Britain in combination with all other factors. The capitalist system could be hit by this massive economic and political crisis at any time, exactly when would depend on the world struggle against imperialism and exploitation, and the victory of anti-state socialism in Britain would depend on the ability of the working class to exploit every opportunity that came its way.

The class struggle anarchist movement is a part of this working class. We must organise and build the movement now.



LEEDS
ANARCHA-FEMININIST
CONFERENCE

18-11-89



My previous experience with women's groups and the women's movement has not always been good: there are unacknowledged class differences between women, and the separatism of some feminists depressed me. Also, there is an assumption within the women's movement that to be a "feminist" you must also be a "socialist", preferably a Labour Party supporter.

I had hoped that the Anarcha-feminist conference would go some way towards challenging the orthodoxies of the women's movement but I found it disappointing. The topics chosen for discussion - pornography and Women in Ireland - were utterly predictable. The discussion on pornography followed familiar lines. It soon became a discussion on general oppression by men, but without anyone raising ideas on what women can do positively to combat this. However, unlike most similar discussions I've been involved in, the idea of direct action against pornography was raised, though the discussion centered mainly around whether it was better to target small shops or large distributors such as WH Smiths. Nobody suggested targetting the individuals or premises responsible for actually printing and distributing porn.

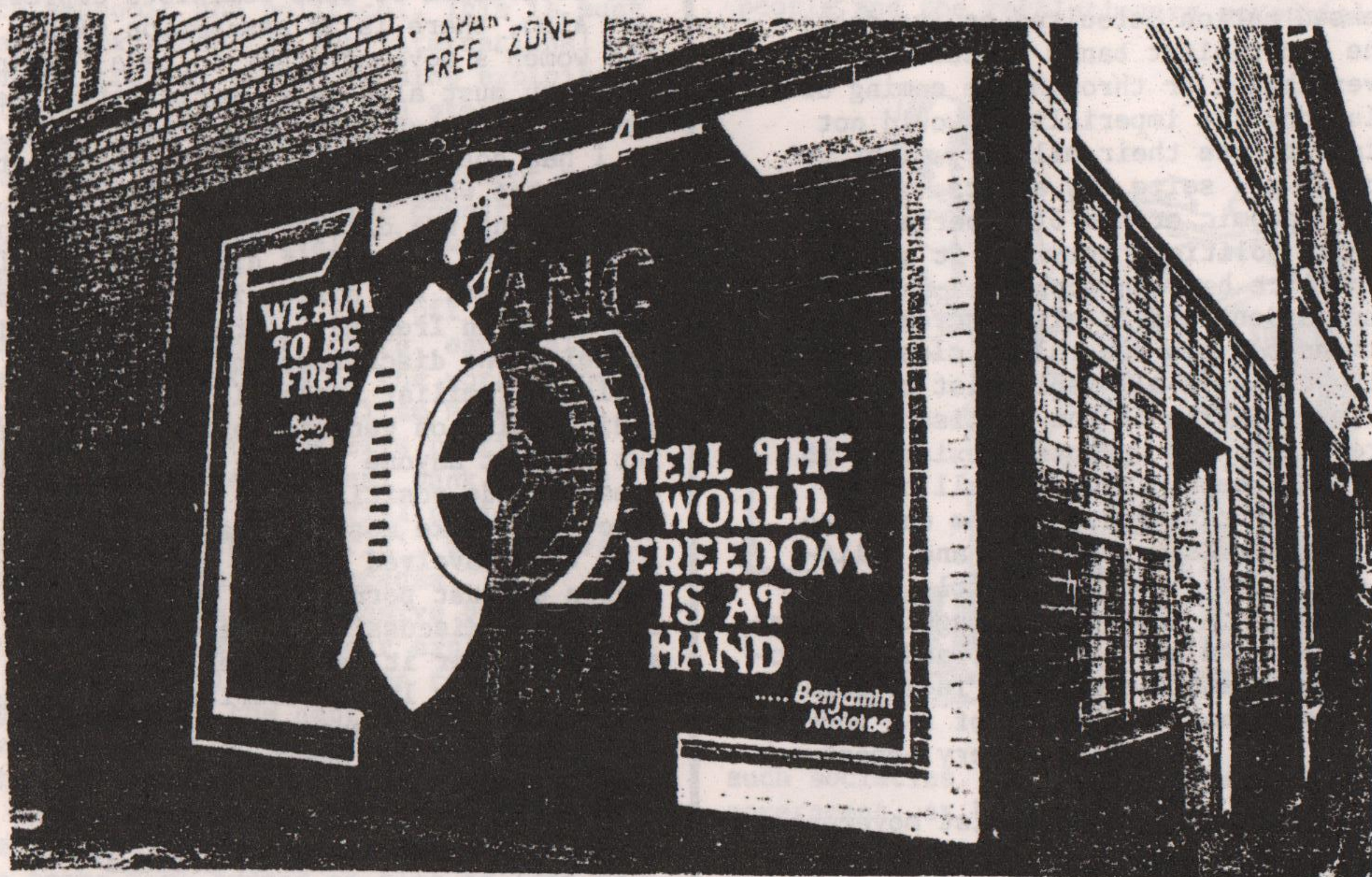
"Ireland" and "Women in Ireland" currently seems to be a highly fashionable topic for the Left, its been on the agenda of almost every conference I've been to. It may be important, but personally I would like to hear more about women in other countries. What about Peru, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Iran, India? There is much we could learn from women's struggles around the world, but they are seldom discussed.

The only thing for which I could raise any enthusiasm (apart from the excellent vegan food!) was the video on women's role in the Glasgow rent strike of 1915. The video illustrated the difficulty the researchers had in finding out more about the women involved in the strike, and showed how easily women's history, and particularly working class women's history is buried and forgotten.

NATIONAL LIBERATION

Anarchists have often been unclear about their attitude towards 'national liberation' struggles such as those going on in South Africa, Palestine and Ireland. This has led to some anarchists sitting on the fence and supporting neither side in a struggle because neither holds our views.

This article takes a closer look at the politics of national liberation and argues that anarchists must take sides.



Every people, however small in numbers, possess their own particular way of speaking, feeling, thinking and working. This character is the basis of their nationality: it is the result of that people's history, conditions and surroundings.

Anarchism is anti-state socialism, libertarian communism. It differs fundamentally from the Marxist-Leninist concept of the state. It believes that all forms of state (including Marx's "workers state", which is supposed to whither away after the "dictatorship of the proletariat") must be abolished. Anarchists argue that the 'workers state' just substitutes one ruling class

for another in the shape of the Communist Party. As long as the state exists, classes will exist and so it follows that workers control and an end to oppression can only come about in a classless, stateless society, organised on federal lines. In reality, if a revolution is not controlled by the workers themselves, power becomes vested in the new elite of the Communist Party which allows for the re-emergence of capitalism in a new form (state capitalism).

This revolutionary anti-state position is the basis for the creation of a future Anarchist society, but how is this society to come about in rel-

ation to the world situation?

Anarchist organisation is based on federalism - free and voluntary co-operation between workplace and community organisations. This is how we see production and distribution working. Once a revolution has begun and society begins to run in a collective or communist way, this federal structure with its natural limits would render the preceding political structure (capitalist) useless. Now, it would be absurd to imagine that the revolution will immediately extend over the whole planet, so if there is to be a revolution, it will start in a particular place and materialise in a given area and therefore you have territorial limits. But these wouldn't necessarily co-incide with the political confines of the state that had been smashed by the revolution. This is national liberation taken to its full conclusion.

Capitalism has 'advanced' from class oppression to national oppression in its search for new markets and greater profits. This type of capitalism has become known as imperialism. It used to happen by the 'developed' nations simply invading third world countries and taking the natural resources. However, since World War Two, many of those countries have become 'independent' states, but the exploitation still goes on through multinational corporations who are helped by western backed 'client' governments in the third world.

Imperialism is more than just economic force, it oppresses third world people's politically and culturally and this creates a struggle for national liberation in many countries. The position that the working class and poorer peasants take in those struggles will determine their revolutionary potential. Unless they raise the banner of social revolution and fight against the local ruling class as well as for national liberation, then terms like 'the right of a nation to self-determination' mean nothing more than the right of third world governments to unlimited exploitation their working classes.

In this way, national liberation can go far beyond simple demands for a change of rulers and can attack the roots of capitalism and imperialism by aiming for the destruction of the political state.

So 'the right to self-determination, coupled with anti-imperialist struggle is vital for the growth of Anarchism.

It is therefore in the interests of Anarchists in the 'developed' countries to take sides in national liberation struggles because to ignore them means that we're failing to put anti-state ideas into anti-imperialist struggles. Anarchists must recognise that the nationalism of an oppressed people is not the same as that of the oppressor.

Because Anarchists are against all states, we shouldn't hold blindly to an abstract ideal that ignores struggles going on around us; the Palestinian's fight for a homeland, the Kurdish struggle for self-determination and, closer to home, the struggle for a unified Ireland. To do so is to abandon the anti-imperialist struggle and our own class. Yes, Anarchists stand above the petty ambitions of nationalism and so reject the state in all its forms. A real and full solution will be possible only in conditions of Anarchy, but until then Anarchists do not and cannot deny the right of self-determination. We must demand the liberation of all oppressed nations and support every struggle for independence from imperialism as long as it is an expression of the will of the revolutionary working class and peasantry of the nation concerned.

Anarchists refuse to participate in national liberation fronts. They participate in class fronts, which may or may not be involved in national liberation struggles. The struggle must spread to establish economic, political and social structures in the liberated territories, based on federalist and libertarian lines.

Anarchists in the imperialist countries should not hold the idea that they know what is best for everyone else. Such a patronising position will only strengthen the imperialists and the class enemy. We should learn from other struggles and should unite as one, in our class interests, against the common enemy, towards Anarchism.

PALESTINE? PTO....

Second Year of the Palestinian Uprising

INTIFADA



DEMONSTRATION

Saturday 9th December 1989

1 pm. HYDE PARK, SPEAKERS' CORNER
⊕ Tube: Marble Arch

Speakers: PLO, International & others

Joint Committee For Palestine, BM2136 London WC1N 3XX

LETTERS



Dear M.A.,

Just read No.12 of Merseyside Anarchist, Good stuff although a touch heavy ? Anyway I thought I'd put pen to paper over a few things.

First, to reply to a question from a DAM/IWA comrade (is Class War Anarchist these days ?). Well, I reckon our politics speak for themselves, we don't really see the need (well I don't anyway) to label ourselves Anarchist (large 'A'!) I reckon people can get caught in a lot of crap over this. I've spent ages over a pint in the past trying to pigeonhole my politics - Anarchist, Anarcho-syndimajig, Anarchist-Communist or whatever. It's what Class War's politics stand for that count, we want true working class power based on workers control. This is basic class-struggle anarchism ain't it? Do we really need to put circled A's in the paper to keep in with the anarchos ? It's shite when you begin to hidebehind capital letters and slogans when it's the politics that should talk.

Class War's politics may have changed from a while back when it broke out of the anarchist ghetto, but it will never lose the basic principles of class struggle anarchism.

Good Luck with the future,

Dave Stupid
Manchester C.W. Group.

Dear M.A.,

I read Class War and I am part of the Class War Federation. I'm into Anarchist ideology, animal rights etc, and I also take part in physically doing something about things I disagree with, hence this article.

Firstly, it was brought up at a Class War meeting recently that "Anarchist" papers such as 'Black Flag' and 'Direct Action' have been slagging off Class War. Well well, what a bunch of open minded people you are, this includes all "Anarchists" and everyone who sneers at me/us/Class War for our stance. WE ARE NOT THICK (it's just a trick). We're certainly not thick enough to openly slag off other papers who are trying to achieve a similar aim.

Anarchism is very small. Probably the smallest it's ever been because it's turning in on itself and destroying all hope from the inside out. At the moment there seems to be more rules to 'be' an 'Anarchist' than to be in the Masons!

If you've nothing better to do than to try and make yourself an elite then you're in a sorry state. YOU'RE GOING TO HAVE TO GET REAL AREN'T YOU!!

Dear Liverpool Anarchists,

There are very few things I disagree with in your newsletter, but last months cover pissed me off a bit - symbolising a rat as a fascist. I have seen much of this type of symbolism in anti-fascist literature, snakes mice, sharks etc. Firstly, other species of any type are not fascists, fascists are scum. Secondly, this type of symbolism encourages hatred towards other species, e.g. folk tales brought about the extinction of wolves in many countries. Jaws caused a massive increase in shark hunting. When lies and untruths are told about certain species people who know nothing of the true nature of these species believe these lies. So, in future let's be a bit more advanced in our description of fascists.

Eddie

Keep an open mind,

David,
c/o Manchester Class War,
P.O. Box 39,
S.W.P.D.O.,
Manchester,
M15 5HN.

(EDS: OK, NO MORE
SECTARIANISM
PLEASE !)

A.F.A. ACTION

YORK - REMEMBRANCE DAY '89

This was my first AFA (Anti Fascist Action) demo and knowing about the violent situations that had developed on previous demos, I was very nervous. However, it turned out to be a quiet event and I didn't see even one real live fascist all day!

Remembering last year's Remembrance Day demo, when the police prevented anti-fascist coaches and vans from entering York, we travelled in small groups by car hoping we'd pass for "tourists" on a day out. But although we passed a few cop cars on the roads into York, this time we weren't stopped.

At York, we heard that the BNP had planned a rally at Clifford's Tower, (the site of a medieval pogrom when thousands of Jews were killed.) When we got to the Tower, there were already 4/500 anti-fascists there and no-one had spotted any BNP'ers. The only evidence we'd seen

ourselves of their presence were a few fascist stickers on walls and bus shelters (which we naturally scraped off.) However, there were a few rumours: a group of BNP'ers who'd arrived by car had been immediately taken away in a police van. John Tyndall, the BNP "fuhrer" was due to arrive to address a rally. Eavesdropping on a conversation between a high-ranking cop and a journalist, I overheard the cop say that he knew from "sources he couldn't disclose" that the BNP were due to meet in York at 2.30pm.

After a while it became obvious that nothing was going to happen at Clifford's Tower. Then we got word that some BNP'ers were going to lay a wreath at the Cenotaph, so about ten of us were driven down there by van. Scores of other anti-fascists were already there. The Cenotaph is just down the road from the train station and shortly some-one spotted a van parked outside it with BNP stickers on. This

pretty sussed. All were equally committed in their own way.

There was a lot of hanging around as the NF weren't due to march until 2pm and there were very few sightings apart from the odd bonehead on their way to the fascists meeting place. The pub where the NF were due to meet was occupied from 11am and the one fascist who did wander in for a drink ended up with a severe headache.

At 2.30pm the NF marched from Victoria to the Cenotaph. Anti-fascists had gathered opposite their meeting place, but a massive police presence kept the abuse to merely verbal. The police seemed happy to physically move the anti-fascists, or rather than to make mass arrests (although there were 30 plus arrests altogether on the day).

The NF march was 300 to 350 strong and contained only about 1/3 skinheads, the rest being well dressed cadre members and an assortment of middle-aged couples, children and ex-soldiers. The fascists were verbally abused all the way to the Cenotaph. A few of us did get to the Cenotaph, where the heckling continued during some hilarious

A group of Liverpool anti-fascists decided to go to London on November 12th as the National Front always march to the Cenotaph on Remembrance Day (if they manage to avoid fighting among themselves!).

There were 600 plus anti-fascists present who generally fell into 3 categories: the respectable politico's of Anti-Fascist Action; the punk style crowd who spent all day chasing half rumours but who at least bothered to turn up to oppose the NF; and thirdly a several hundred strong group of soccer 'casuals', men and women, who were

was as close to any fascists as we got all day; the presence of several cops prevented anyone from getting close to the station and the van didn't get any further into York. It wasn't parked for long before the police escorted it out of town again.

By late afternoon nothing more had happened so we wandered back through the town centre; still no sign of any fascists. At one point somebody spotted two men, one of whom appeared to be wearing fascist badges on his coat, but when they were challenged they turned out to be innocent shoppers who'd just been to a record fair!

Back at Clifford's Tower no BNP'ers had turned up and at 4pm the demo dispersed.

What were my impressions as a "first-timer"? Well, I would call it a successful demo, but my impression was confirmed that AFA - or at least Liverpool AFA - is limited in its tactics. Most of the (male) anarchists I travelled with seem to believe that the sole purpose of AFA demos is to thrash fascists. This is of course one good way of discouraging them from holding public rallies! But it marginal-

singing of the Lords Prayer. The only 'famous' nazi I saw was Eddie Whicker, a crazed dustman from Mitcham, though undoubtedly others were lurking about.

After their march, the NF dispersed quietly, there was none of the usual indiscriminate violence and attacks on the South African embassy picket. There was a large anti-fascist presence in Trafalgar Square in case of fascist attacks, but only two were seen and they were chased off.

In general, the day was O.K. in that there were no gangs of nazis marauding through London, but the Front did successfully march albeit with a huge police escort. The NF could well be attempting to put on a respectable face in that they were worryingly orderly, there were no beer swilling goons about and little violence. With so many police, there was little that anti-fascists could have done above what they did do to stop them. Many more people are needed if they are to be stopped and perhaps next year anti-fascists will more carefully consider where they go to oppose these scum.

ises those of us who do not feel capable of effective violence, or who disagree with it as a political tactic. Political violence can become an unthinking habit without any regard to whether it is appropriate to the situation. One or two of my comrades at York seemed disappointed that there had been no "action". Why? The demo was successful in that it prevented the BNP from rallying - and isn't that the purpose of AFA?

Discussions need to be held on broadening AFA's tactics. While it appears to be about nothing but "fascist-bashing", this will discourage more sympathetic people from joining it, and numerical superiority over the fascists at demos is important - there ought to be thousands at AFA demos, not hundreds. Also if the BNP and NF never attempt another public gathering, this will not change the underlying racist attitudes that make their existence possible, nor will it prevent people having petrol poured through their letterboxes or being otherwise secretly attacked. AFA could do much more to produce information leaflets to inform the "white" working class that although fascism appears to be principally aimed at Black people, it is also potentially a danger to them.

Carol.

MARCH AGAINST THE B.N.P.

SATURDAY DECEMBER 9th

A few months ago the Tory council in Welling, Kent gave the fascist British National Party the go-ahead to set up a bookshop in the town. The shop is now doubling as the party's headquarters and is attracting nazi scum from all over the south east.

A public meeting called to protest against the shop was broken up by BNP thugs and several members of the audience were injured.

Local anti-fascists have called for a march which will go past the BNP HQ and have appealed for support from outside the area.

The march will assemble on Saturday December 9th, at 11am on Plumstead Common, Welling, Kent. For more details, contact P.O. Box 46, 2Glengall St, Bexleyheath, DA7 4BS.