

Animal

The Magazine Whose Layout Marginally Improves With Each Issue

Glad You're Dead



You Won't Be Playing Away Again

Reasons We Hated Alan Clark No. 326

Interviewer: The fact that we supply highly dangerous machinery to regimes like that doesn't cause you concern?

Alan Clark: No, never entered my head.

Interviewer: I ask the question, because you are a vegetarian. You are seriously concerned about the way animals are killed. Doesn't that concern stretch to the many humans, foreigners, who are killed?

Alan Clark: Curiously Not. No.

Inside This Fun Packed Issue: **Football** - Protests- The Top Ten, Update on the Hillsborough Campaign, Karren Brady, Football and the Media, Revolutionary Programme for Sport, Surveillance of Supporters, Class War on the Terraces

Non-Football- Interview with an Activist, Policing, J18 - The Carnival Against Capitalism, Reviews and News

LETTERS PAGE

All Correspondence to be addressed to: Animal
c/o LCW
Po Box 467
London E8 3QX

Acceptable English Patriotism

Dear Sir,

I am writing to complain, in the strongest possible terms, about the pseudonyms used in the current issue of your organ (Issue 3).

The names concerned are those of Captain Peacock, Miss Brahms, Mrs Slocombe, Mr Lucas and Mr Humphries. Nowhere in your supposed revolutionary publication is an article signed by the one honest working man on the shop-floor at Grace Brothers - that great leader of wildcats and working class hero, Mr. Harman.

I can only come to the conclusion that you have been led astray by Bourgeois elements such as Mr Rumbold, or worse that the hidden hand of young Mr. Grace is behind your publication.

Yours

Arthur English
Equity Rest Home for Aged Actors,
St. Leonards on Sea
Sussex

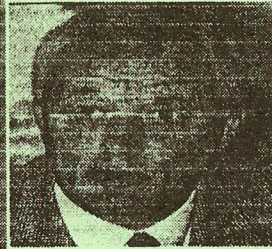
Blowing Our Own Trumpet

Dear All,
'Animal' is the best magazine I have ever seen.
Yours
Tim T. London N7
(How about a few more letters like this? - Ed)

Football Shorts

England Recall

Plans by the Post Office to issue stamps of the 20 England Premier League Chairmen have been recalled.... people could not figure out which side to spit on.



Tragic News

We at the *Animal* offices were deeply upset to hear that Barry Hearn, the chairman in charge of Third Division Leyton Orient, had suffered a suspected heart attack.

Hearn has made Leyton Stadium unrecognisable from the crumbling 2nd Division ground he took over just four years ago. He has turned it into a 3rd Division joke. Having knocked down one side of the ground to make a car park, and now an overpriced plastic stand, he plans to do the same with another. Such adventurous proposals do not come cheap, at least not for the long suffering O's-supporter, for Hearn has increased admission charges by 25% in two years, to a whopping £11 to stand on a now crowded uncovered terrace. With evidence like this we knew the rumours of a heart attack were untrue - *the bastard hasn't got a heart.*

English Football League Top Ten for Season 1998-99: We'd Just Love It

	Position	Aggro Quotient
Liverpool	1	44
Oxford United	2	42
Nottingham Forest	3	37
Manchester United	4	25
Hull City	5	24
Newcastle United	6	20
Doncaster	7	17
Crystal Palace	8	15
Bournemouth	9	12
Leyton Orient	10	11

Asset-strippers, chairmen wishing to knock down the ground or arrogantly insulting the local population, and the threatened interventions of Rupert Murdoch have been the catalysts for further fan activity this season. So although there is no extra trophy for the Reds, we must applaud the Man United fans spirited assault on the proposed BSKyB take-over. Also, not forgotten are Hull City finally ridding themselves of the parasite David Lloyd and Bournemouth's success in becoming a community owned club. But the Animal award this year means a rare trophy for Merseyside - for the continuing Hillsborough Justice Campaign.

Its not too late for your team to win the most coveted title of the football season: The AXA-non-sponsored Most Radical Fans Award for the 1999-2000. Send your reports to the *Animal* address. Glamorous prizes include some sort of once overpriced, now obsolete, football nick-nack we don't want any more.

Just how thick is Kevin Keegan? After the Man United versus Fulham FA Cup tie during the 1998-99 campaign, the Man U fans, celebrating their teams coast to victory, started sarcastically chanting 'Keegan for England', in the same way as they had humiliated Ron Atkinson with the 'Atkinson for England' chant the week before, when Forest lost 1-8. Keegan in a TV interview after the game said he was convinced he should take the job when he heard the Man U fans' support.

Brilliant Display at St. Andrews
Birmingham City and Leeds United Fans made unlikely, but highly welcome, allies. They finally succeeded in pressurising the St. Andrews authorities into installing a memorial to 15 year old Ian Hambridge who was killed by a falling wall after a game between the two sides on the 11th of May 1985 (the same day as the Bradford City disaster).

Laws Of the Game

When governments wish to curtail our abilities to protest, to place pressure on those with power, to curtail our civil liberties, it will often do so in the guise of 'protecting the public'. Various pathological menaces are conjured up, whether these be fascist thugs, Islamic extremists or football hooligans. One such piece of legislation are the little known amendments to the 1998 Crime and Disorder Act (CDA).

Many fans protesting against the management of their club have taken to wearing mask, balaclavas or scarves to hide their faces from CCTV, police or private cameras. Photos have been, in the past, used to ban even non-violent activists. Now under section 25 of the CDA police can demand the removal and seizure of face coverings where authorised by an officer of inspector rank or above. Section 27 makes the failure to comply with these requirements an arrestable offence. The offence on conviction could carry a month imprisonment. This is not to say that masking up is to be avoided, some may still consider it a worthwhile precaution.

Legislation which is often portrayed as helping to protect the public is often designed more to assist the rich and powerful. The new Anti Stalking legislation, legitimated primarily on the basis of genuine fears for women's safety from persistent attention was in fact first used against animal rights activists organising against the far-right Countryside Alliance Rally held in Hyde Park in 1997.

Dave C. (Researcher at Middlesex University) For More information contact the Animal Address

Dead Man Walking

After his links to Loyalist paramilitaries was uncovered, former Rangers (now Motherwell) goalkeeper Andy Goram was withdrawn from the game against Celtic. A shame as many fans throughout Scotland, would have enjoyed, in line with the Northern Ireland Agreement, dis-

arming him... then dis-

legging and dis-heading him.

An Irrational Hatred of Brighton

A Lapsed AFA (Anti-Fascist Action) member went to see his local team play against Brighton & Hove Albion. He was understandably upset when, as the game kicked off, hundreds of the visiting Brighton fans seemed to give the Nazi salute and chant 'Zeig Heil'. Our hero, now totally distracted from the game, stared at the mass ranks of scum, and wondered why such organised racism had never come to his and his comrade's notice. It was only as the game entered injury time that he realised that the visitors were innocently punching the air and chanting their teams' nickname 'scagulls, scagulls'.

A Short Rant About Hillsborough - The Boycott and Other Stuff

The Boycott of Hillsborough on the 8th of May 1999 was a resounding, unprecedented success - so lets pat each other on the back over this one, lets indulge in a little smug self satisfaction over this particular victory. It is not often that we say we've won anything these days, but the Boycott showed that if we stick together then no smart arsed Clubs Directors can treat us like shit and get away with it. Supporters have turned the tables on the greedy directors, Sheffield Wednesday have lost over £200,000! And yes I feel fucking good over that. Let's face it, we haven't exactly seen much of anything in 10 years. No mass demonstrations, no angry crowds besieging local MPs or councillors, no mass leafleting campaigns. All we've seen is history re-written, the odd petition, and a Justice concert (not to mention the one minute silence) - Let's face it, we've been lead up the fucking garden path! Did we really think the British Establishment was going to give us justice because we've been well behaved and quiet? I'm sorry, but anyone who thinks 'Quiet Dignity' can take on the Establishment is sadly misinformed.

The Hillsborough Disaster means fuck all to a lot of people out there - fair enough there is a lot of sympathy, but all the sympathy in the world means nothing if all it ever means is people just feel sorry for the Families and Survivors. Some of us just 'felt sorry' for the Birmingham Six, but believe it or not, it was people shouting their fucking heads off and a massive pro-active campaign which freed them. If we they had a campaign of 'Quiet Dignity' and Respect for the Establishment - they still be in fucking jail.



Just look at any successful campaign for Justice - those who make the most noise, put out the most publicity and link up with people, organisations and even Q.C.'s who take on the Establishment, those campaigns come up with the goods. No-one can convince me that the Hillsborough Family Support Group has ever attempted to pursue all of those particular avenues and because of that I feel that the Hillsborough Justice Campaign deserves my whole hearted support for its efforts.

I am not looking to stir up controversy, and I'm merely expressing my feelings in the language of the ordinary bloke or girl in the street. I'm sick of listening or reading the experts views of Hillsborough - Thousands of us know that there's been a massive COVER UP but were expected to just sit on the sidelines, although most of us know there is strength in numbers. If I was fighting for anyone I knew - I'd want to see thousands of people outside the courts etc. Duckenfield and Murray (two of the Filth responsible for Hillsborough) must be breathing huge sighs of relief every time their court appearances are devoid of protestors. But on their last appearance in Leeds in '98 - they were visibly shaken when some of the Mothers vented their feelings on these two cowardly bastards.

The injustices we are faced with cannot be allowed to continue -- we have a duty as Human Beings to try and make the world a more bearable place -- if not for ourselves, then for our children. If you ever find yourself the victims of injustice and blatant fucking conspiracy - you'll be praying that people recognise that duty, and act.

Some people still believe the lies which the journalistic scum printed at the request of certain South Yorkshire Police. The same journalistic fucking filth were even at the funerals of the '96' - creeping between the gravestones for 'good snaps' of the grieving parents watching their loved ones being buried.

The night of the Hillsborough disaster saw video evidence stolen from police control boxes at the fucking ground. The coroner took it upon himself to mention the blood-alcohol levels after he had read out the names of the '96' - thereby linking alcohol with the disaster (drunken scousers etc). People who were alive at 4pm were said to be legally dead by the coroner at 3.15pm. West Midlands coppers were given the task of altering South Yorkshire Police statements. And the families and survivors have been well and truly fucked by the vested interests of the British Establishment, the proof is so obvious an 'A' Level student could pick up on it.

This 'rant' has nothing to do with any of the groups campaigning for Hillsborough but -- as stated previously -- I consider the Hillsborough Justice Campaign to be an organisation which, because of its pro-active approach, is more likely to get Justice. I guess I've blown any chance of an OBE for this particular contribution to the debate.

An Ex Koppite

PS Liverpool FC can kiss my arse for throwing out someone with a Justice banner on May 1st 1999 on the Kop at Anfield.

Killing 96 Not Enough

Jack Straw Suggests Gassing Them
Home Secretary Jack Straw has give the police powers to use CS Gas on any crowd disorder within the confines of a football ground. Merseyside Chief Constable, Sir James Sharples has decided that its a good idea and instructed his officers to this effect.

Hillsborough Survivors, Relatives & Supporters for Justice Campaign can be Contacted at 134 Oakfield Road, Anfield, Liverpool, L04 0UG.

FOOTBALL REVIEWS

Karren Brady: United!, Little Brown and Company

Karren Brady, Managing Director of Birmingham City, has a great number of critics, many she complains, are male chauvinists who don't think women have a place in football. No doubt there are many such Neanderthals, but most opponents of Brady-as-football-executive and Brady-as-author see her as a conniving Thatcherite with no love of football, little understanding of fans and the type of boss (towards both male and female employees) who drives even conservatives to search out anarcho-syndicalist unions.

It's hard to separate the dislike of the author from the contents of the book. The reason for this is simple; the heroine, of the novel (Sara) is a cipher for Brady herself. Sara is a boarding school-educated, successful businesswoman, albeit, demonstrating Brady's own arrogance, a 'beautiful' one. There is nothing wrong with idealising oneself in print, except when the author mistakes cliché for imagination, melodrama for profundity and caricature for characterisation. The plot, if you can call it that, is Karren's, I mean Sara's success at beating the opposition and falling in love. Dull, predictable, trite crap.

To think trees died to make this. If you must read it - and there are less painful ways to lobotomise yourself - the local discount bookshop must have a dump-baskets full of this book, or scan your local tip. Better still why not dissect stale dog shit for worms, it would make a less offensive read.

Benjamin F.

THE CLASS WAR ON THE FOOTBALL TERRACES

Football was once the game of the working classes and the local club was at the heart of the community. This is still true to this day, but mainly in the north.

Football was and is an important focal point for people to help relieve the oppression many found themselves under at the workplace, and still do. You would stand shoulder to shoulder on the terraces with the people you worked, drank and lived with, and it was ours. Cloth caps were worn on 99% of peoples heads on the Sheffield Wednesday terraces and loads of others besides. The people were packed in the grounds like the overcrowding at their own homes as everybody took part in the welfare of their club and community.

Players knew what it was like to grow up on those same streets and kick a ball around in the same local park, treading in the same dog shit. They became idolised, but they knew exactly where they had come from. And they were **expected** to remember. Common experiences bred common attitudes, and people were all in it together.

Today, football is business; they don't want the local working classes who sustained the club anymore - they want people to drive up from the Home Counties in their

Range Rovers and company cars. People who can spend, spend, spend. The Boss, his wife and their children, William and Sarah-Jayne - they are the people they want. That is when the boss cannot get on the golf course or the kids have become bored with their horses or their holidays in Tuscany. A good result means a check on the share prices more than anything else. Watching the right team or wearing the right tie can help close that business deal in their executive boxes because football is trendy and rapidly becoming a major profit making industry for the capitalists. Good fashionable small talk for those embarrassing quiet moments when you're trying to rip off other people.

in the old days the programs and ticket prices were cheap, and so was the beer. A good day out at the match was in the reach of everybody, and their family. Now a train ticket, £25 match ticket, food and beer money leaves one bloke with no change out of £60. And if it is a European game £250.

In the streets surrounding every ground in the country there are families having to survive for a whole week on less money than it would cost to buy one team strip. They have to put up with their community being invaded every other week or so, but the clubs do not give a fuck. After all, they are only the people that the club is meant to be representing.

Different Supporters, towns and cities have become categorised: if you are rich you can watch big games and internationals and you are welcomed wherever you come from, but if you're poor then you're allowed to watch only when the opposition is poor. You only have to look at the cheap/free ticket schemes some clubs like Sheffield Wednesday now operate to see this is true. If you can't afford the ticket, then fuck off to Stockport and if you're really poor, then go to Doncaster, but wear our shirt in any case, just to let people know you are loyal to us. Let them know you're one of lifes' winners.

Clubs are weighed up for the amount of support that is willing to pay extra money to get into the new out of town stadium and buy the new strip, while the old inner city location is sold off for 'development'. In a word our lives are being ripped apart by GENTRIFICATION. The new middle class wants to live in the inner city in fashionable new housing buying stuff from the fashionable new shops. Built on the waterside or more often now on the former football grounds in working class heart-lands.

All of this, you might think, only applies to big clubs. Does it bollocks - look at Blackburn, Derby, Sunderland, Middlesborough or Newcastle! They loved us when they were shit because we are loyal and we kept them going. It is we who pay the wages when a club is on its knees, because we know what it's like.

We don't want to stand next to the people who dictate to us for 40 and more hours a week - we want to stand together and shout our heads off on the terraces that we have paid for year after fucking year. That's what we do to relieve the stress and enjoy ourselves, meet new and old mates. But when success comes, it's not US that reaps the reward. They screw us, take the piss and bleed every penny until there is no more, then kick us out into the street like some kind of undesirable. This allows in the new breed of trendy middle class supporter who bores us with his new 30 inch digital TV screen and Dolby stereo, and subscription to On-digital. Yes, this is your club we are talking about.

The saddest thing of all is that we have allowed this to happen. We let those who run football introduce seats, let them divide us and let them screw us for money. We have let them treat us like shit and then we allow them to throw us out onto the streets to listen to our sad radio.

They CCTV watch our every movement in the grounds, railway stations and town centres. Make us unwanted on our own doorstep and take our identity, and our clubs away. But we are not without power yet by a long way, because without supporters the clubs are nothing. Clubs may choose their 'customers' carefully, making the choice in relation to the size of their bank balance, but we can drive them out and take back what is rightfully ours - our birthright. We must let them know we have had enough and start fighting back together and harder. We have let them take the piss for too long and now we must take our game back. Just what is the point in our teams having the best play-shut out at our expense, see them is on satellite TV.

As REAL supporters, not to come to watch the game only when the teams doing because there are more of and when we get angry

Look what happened at simply had enough and take a stand and the chair-he knew his money grab-Too scared to meet the real

Brighton, those fans had were brave enough to man went into hiding cos bing ways were hated. supporters who paid for the team over the past 100 years, he was driven out and told by the authorities to stay away for his own safety. That's what works, mass angry direct action targeted in escalating and well informed campaigns that cannot be bought off with token gestures.

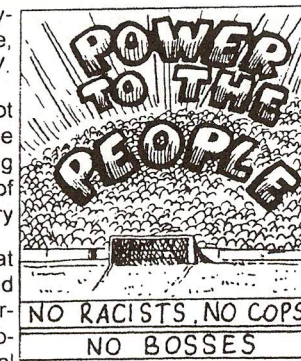
At Brighton they tried to blame it on the Nazi scum that hide in corners in some football grounds. But this was bollocks because they were too scared to admit that they had angered the mass of genuine fans and that they were powerless against the anger of the people who they had been screwing for the last 15 years.

We must learn from the Brighton fans and others. Don't forget, Brighton was only one battle in the ongoing war against miserly weaselly chairmen who have stolen control of the people's game.

They have divided us far too long. Moderation in the pursuit of Justice is no virtue - Violence in the defence of our lives NO Crime.

Anger is their reward,
aggression our justice.
All power to the people.

Andy Myson



The Revolutionary Programme of the Football Fan

We had a few drinks and the anger has not abated. We've watched a particularly dull game of lower league football, been ripped off by the chairman, the stadium has had one of its terraces closed - facing a bleak all-seater future, and the team we support has lost 3-0 at home. Our beloved Chairmen, who faced some criticism for this rip off then started taking the piss out of the fans. So we determined to put our favourite activity to rights.

We have drawn up a list of our proposals we would like to see implemented in football. Some require fundamental changes in the balance of power, some others just limited reforms, some are light-hearted, others deadly serious.

1. All grounds to have safe terracing, making up at least half of the stadium. There should also be adequate provision of seating and proper, decent arrangements made for fans with disabilities.

2. A section of terracing will always be made available to away supporters.

3. No CCTV cameras to be permitted.

4. Pricing to be as follows:

i. No terrace ticket will be above 6 pounds (at 1999 prices). With half price concessions for UB40, 60+, under 14s.

ii. No seated ticket to be above 8 pounds. With concessions for all UB40, 60+, under 14s

iii. The aim must be to eradicate any commercial transaction and to make football entry, like everything else, free.

5. David Mellor to be banned from every football ground. No, better still, just ban David Mellor.

6. Executive boxes, to be built facing away from the pitch, as they aren't interested in the game any case.

7. Running on the pitch after the game to be decriminalised. Although during the game this may still be prohibited, due to interrupting the enjoyment of other fans.

8. Fans to have a direct say in the running of the club, through mass meetings before or after big matches. These meetings will decide on manager, club kit, ground provision and all matters which affect the running of the ground, pitch and their team. The players' revolutionary council have temporary veto power over any matters directly af-

fecting the team. A similar workers committee comprising the secretaries, club-shop staff, administration support and turn-style operators would have veto powers on decisions which affect them.

9. All violence directed at fellow supporters is condemned unless the other supporter is:

- a. A copper
- b. Involved in racist or other extreme discriminatory practices
- c. Part of a body seeking to reinstate hierarchy back into football
- d. a journalist (especially a Murdoch journalist)

10. Players to be docked two weeks wages for the following offences:

- a. Blaming the fans for the teams' poor performances
- b. Swearing at the fans
- c. Not coming over to greet the fans after an away game (fine doubled for away journeys over 2 hours)
- c. Missing the target during a penalty
- d. At a corner, kicking the ball out of touch before its arrived in the penalty area.
- e. A defender clapping a linesman's off-side decision

11. The revolutionary football supporter will undertake acts of solidarity with all other fans, from their club and others in campaigns which involve:

- i. Eradicating racism in football
- ii. Reversing the gentrification of

the game

iii. Hindering the administration of the game by unelected and unrepresentative middle class elites

iv Critical assaults on the policing of football matches

v. Combating the ever higher prices at football matches

vi Any other area which weakens the wealthy and powerful and benefits the everyday supporter

12. In arranging times and dates for matches, priority of consideration to be given to fans wishing to watch the game live, rather than to the TV companies and police.

It's not a tight set of demands. Many proposals, might not apply to your team. Most non-league clubs for instance have the terrace and pricing policies outlined above. We welcome contributions on these proposals, we hope to encourage action.

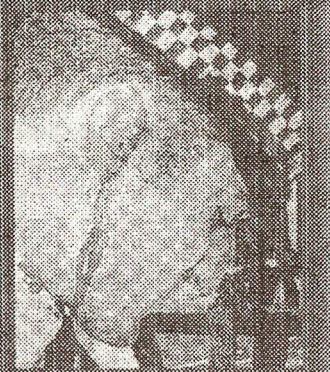
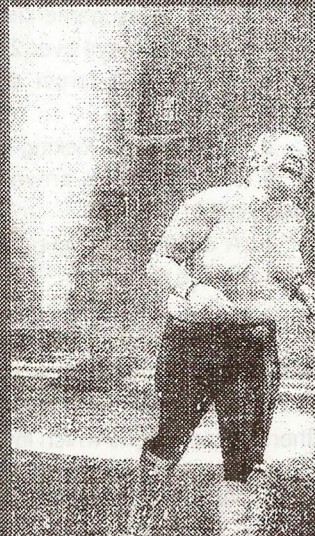
RS & CW 1999

A Class Struggle Football Fanzine

After the positive feedback on *Animal Number 2* (the Football Special) it has been suggested that a regular class-struggle libertarian football fanzine should be set up.

We at *Animal* will gladly co-operate on this venture, and we know there are others out there. Anyone else want to be involved and get the ball rolling?

J18 Carnival Against Capitalism - New Urban Experiments



Pay Television: What You See and What You Get

The decision not to allow the take-over of BSkyB for Manchester United was welcomed by all football fans even those who hate all things to do with Old Trafford, yet this has not stopped the further development of Pay TV and the monopolisation of major football events by BSkyB. This should be viewed with alarm for a number of reasons. First, events which were freely available on terrestrial (free) television, are now only available to those with access to Sky. The prices are massive, even by fans used to Nationwide and Premiership rip off. Not only do you need a dish, a receiver, a decoder (a few hundred quid outlay), you also need to subscribe to Sky's sports channels. And you can't just buy the Sports channels to have access to them you have to buy a package including movie and select channels. On top of that you will be asked for additional payments such as the £7.95 for the Oxford versus Sunderland match.

Such is the expense that the Colchester versus Manchester City last season cost £7.95 on Pay TV while it cost only £7 to watch it live.

Pay per view does not increase access, nor is it meant to, it's just about fleecing the supporter for ever greater amounts. No pay-to-view event has reached 1 million world wide since 1997. Tyson v Botha in Jan 1999 had just 700,000. Sport is increasingly being used to restructure the communications/entertainment industries.

The economic policies that characterised the Thatcher and post-Thatcher eras saw the dislocation of traditional working

class forms of resistance and the concessions they wrought. The trade unions, the (old) Labour Party, Communist Party were destroyed and the (barely adequate) welfare state was slowly disbanded. So too in leisure working class activity was subject to decomposition.

The terraces were where fans could meet up on their basis, where they had greater potential power than the state or the owners could deal with. This was sometimes used self-destructively (racism, fan-on-fan hooliganism) as well as productively (attacking police, carnival atmosphere). Through legislative changes, technological change which saw the development of mechanisms of control inside and outside grounds and the private armies of stewards managing regimented all-seater mausoleums, fans power was increasingly stratified.

The power of the fans at the ground has dissipated as the revenue from other sources such as television, sponsorship and executive hospitality has increased. This seems likely to continue, as telecommunications and the digital revolution makes pay TV a more realistic revenue spinner.

According to a report published last year by sports consultants Oliver & Ohlbaum, there are 18 million football fans in England and Wales, all of whom Sky thinks, could be persuaded to watch more matches featuring their favourite team. Pay-per-view is predicted by the report to bring in £280 million annually for Pre-

miership clubs by the 2003-04 season. Clubs could earn a further £240 million from selling a television "season ticket" offering a package of 60 live games a season to their fans. That compares with the £135 million the entire Premiership receives from Sky for live rights this year.

The balance of power will of course become increasingly oligarchical, with the main influence lying with the big five or six clubs, their owners and the controllers of the television networks.

By 2003-04 about 2.5 million British households will pay to view football, boosting Sky's already considerable annual profits by £100 million. The fact that seven million of England and Wales 28 million fans claim to support Manchester United, Liverpool or Newcastle and 95 per cent have never visited a football ground and would prefer to watch from home is all grist to Sky's mill.' [The Guardian, 22.2.99, 6]

Such innovations are at the cost of the working class supporter. With ever greater income coming from TV (and other media) rights, the percentage of club revenue attained from the attending supporter has decreased making their interests markedly less significant to the clubs' boards, ironically the price has nevertheless increased. In 1991 the cheapest ticket for an unemployed person at Birmingham City would cost 7.5% of a weekly giro. In 1999 it would cost 25%

of a weekly giro. Prices have shot up so much at neighbouring Aston Villa that despite being second in the league gates have declined on previous years. Traditional football fans from the working classes who support their local teams are being replaced by wealthier middle class late-comers who'll watch the most fashionable team that year, whether it be

Chelsea, Man United or Arsenal and will do so via the TV and Computer screens. Their wishes supplant those of the working class fan.

Of course such restructuring meets new forms of resistance. The pub with the TV screen has begun to replace the football ground as the arena for social revolt. Even here attempts have been made to counter such football based socialising. On Digital have tried to restrict sales only to individual households resisting sales to pubs and clubs. However, resistance in the form of stolen signal and sharing access resists attempts at the monopolisation of our life-styles.

Although the stadium is no-longer the arena for post-match uprisings, this has not stopped outbreaks of unrest. Look at the anti-police uprisings which took place throughout the country when England were knocked out of the World Cup, and the disruption in Eldon Square, Newcastle city centre after the disappointment of their FA Cup final in 1999. Rebellion has not ended with the over-policing of grounds, but been dispersed.

Colin West 1999



INTERVIEW WITH AN ACTIVIST

Being politically active sometimes appears to involve sacrifices. Rising early on week-ends to go on demonstrations, sitting through interminable meetings - and a particular bane of those involved in the anarchist milieu - having to listen to another punk rock benefit in a stinking pub with shit beer. But this summer (1999), I was sitting on a beach on a hot day in Tel Aviv, sharing a few beers and discussing politics with an entertaining, friendly, if slightly eccentric, 62 year old local class-struggle anarchist, Ilan Sharif. Yup the sacrifices I'm willing to make for Animal.

Such was Ilan's infectious bonhomie that the taped part of the interview alone lasted for nearly 2 hours. Topics ranged from the Israeli elections which had taken place six days earlier, the war in the Balkans, the Palestinian peace process, privatisation, the Internet, Maoism, the nature of Zionism, differences between class struggle anarchism and autonomous Marxism, and the victory of the union (Histadrut) backed Hapoel Haifa over the Likud and bank backed Betar Jerusalem in the football league championship, making it the second defeat for the nationalist-right in a week. This extract deals with class struggle anarchism in the Israeli/Occupied Palestine context.

Benjamin: Which anarchist groups exist in Israel/Occupied Palestine?

Ilan: There's the Organisation of Libertarian Communists (Matspen) which started in 1962, which came about in the aftermath of the XXth Congress, when people started asking questions about the centralised structure. Two of the founders of the Organisation are still with us, which is magnificent. We were, when we started the only anti-Zionist, non-parliamentary organisation active in Israel, it drew Trotskyists to the organisation. In the 1970s, they split from us, when it was clear they could not take over the organisation. In 1973 those who were members of the Fourth International [also Trotskyists] tried to take-over the organisation and they failed. I came across some of the Platformist texts on the Internet, and I realised is exactly like our perception of libertarian communism.

Benjamin: So you use a mode of organisation similar to that in *The Platform*?

Ilan: We didn't do so knowingly, but we realise we came to the same conclusions on our own.

Benjamin: These being?

Ilan: About the collective, about democracy, about finding strategies together, about collective action, about not being individualists but being a collective. About being an active struggle and propagandist team and not elite leadership. We were most active from 1967 after the six day war until the early 1980s. We were the most active that time because we have "monopoly" on specific niche - because we were the only one to give a real criticism of Zionism [in Israel], the Communist Party never did. The Communist Party was supportive of Israel, because they were Statists, (not communists) and Stalin supported the establishment of Israel.

Benjamin: What Did you Do?

Ilan: We were the first to call a demonstration to condemn the occupation [of Arab

land by Israel].

This met opposition from the Stalinists in a later demonstration, in 1970, the 1st of May we joined the Communist Party parade. We shouted 'down with the occupation'. On separate demonstrations the Communists reacted with hostility to this demand. The Jewish splinter of the Communist Party hit us, as they considered the 1967 war a 'defensive war'. But on an earlier demonstration the bureaucrats of the more to the left Jewish-Arab Communist Party had also threatened us but they were restrained.

Later, for sure, they came round to agreeing with us. First the leftist splinter, then many years later even the other fraction. The Zionist part of the Communist Party split and The Jewish splinter that hit us on that parade become more explicitly Zionist and became part of Meretz [the Left-Labour part of the Barak's coalition government]. Some of our demands from the 1960s are becoming more popularly accepted.

In 1974 we stood a candidate for election, who had been in prison for nine months. The sentence was for about three years if I am not mistaken for speaking to the P.L.O. One member alone gained 500 of the 1000 signatures needed to put the comrade on the ballot. It was done as a demonstration. And a way to get time on the monopolist state radio and television for nearly free.

We were very involved in the campaign against the occupation. For many years we held the flag alone until mainstream groups

of the left of Zionism and liberals have now taken up the flag and put it higher.

Benjamin: How many people are in Matspen?

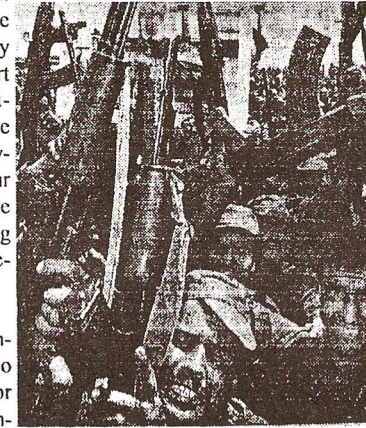
Ilan: At the moment when we have a gathering we have six people. Sometimes we have many more when things are happening. There are people who are not active, but through our wider social connections they come along. At special meetings we'll have more.

Benjamin: Who else do you work with?

Ilan: More individualist anarchists, those who do not want to be bound into groups. There are bands like Dir Yasin, a group named after a massacre of Arabs. The most famous massacre of a peaceful Arab village people adjacent to Jerusalem. (Could see the village from the windows of my class room at the grammar school - both before and after the massacre.) Such things are now called ethnic cleansing. These [more individualist] anarchists are now doing things. They are taking part in environmental activity, and Animals Right, support for Mordechai Vanunu the jailed anti-nuclear activist and support for army refuser(s).

The environment people are involved in direct action, also individual anarchists are involved, and they are gaining an understanding that capitalism is against the environment.

They are also involved in the [June] 18 events. We had a gathering of 80 people in Jerusalem of mostly young people where we



had a work-shop, and over ten per cent were anarchists. But a lot of these people are shy of becoming a collective. They tried to set up a Food not Bombs group. But this is not really suitable for Israel because [due to the welfare state] no one has to starve as even the most wretched can get enough food. It is not the same situation as America.

There is also the [Mordechai] Vanunu Campaign, where they join up with us. We are very small. But we are active in the Vanunu Campaign mostly, and one of our comrades is active in a substitute for a trade union for the foreign workers. First for the Palestinian workers from the occupied territories, then after the Palestinians were partially shut out of Israel, foreign workers were brought in. On the 1st of May they had a gathering of 300 people most of them foreign workers involved with members of a group trying to protect the rights of foreign workers. The Histadrut only recently have become marginally active with regard to Arab and foreign workers (but mostly with the aim of collecting dues.)

Lately, the Histadrut trade union starts to be involved with issues of Liberalisation, like "Bezek" the state telephone company. They fight privatisation and flexible working entering the economy. People are being fired and hired back through agencies and this is beginning to shift the unions. There is only one general union in Israel. And the "flexibilization" of workers started years ago without the Histadrut fighting it. They even employed themselves workers through man-power agencies. Only as the phenomena become generalized (and the temporary workers do not pay dues) the Histadrut started to take this seriously.

The unions have to become more active. They have to as they have no longer the economic strength they once did when they ran the health service [membership of the union gave access to state health care],

which was taken from them after they nearly bankrupted the government. In the past people joined unions because they had a monopoly on health care insurance. Now that link has been broken [through the restructuring of the health service] and the unions rely on the dues of their members. So they will become more and more militant -and they now stand candidates in elections, and now have two MKs'.

We are also work with organisations against serving in the army in Lebanon, and the occupied territories -not a general refusal, against the occupation.

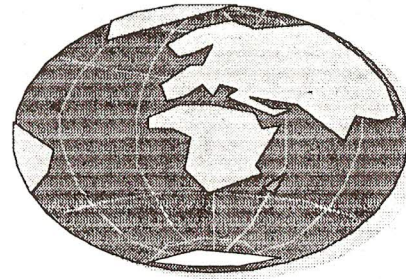
Also animal rights, some of these are anarchists, and there are also anarchist-followers. Most of them are high school students. There are small groups in Haifa and Jerusalem who come to Tel Aviv. There are fanzines and bands but no proper collective, they are good people. We are also starting up an Israeli anarchist mailing list but it has not really got going yet.

Ben: Do you have any links with Palestinian people?

Ilan: In our group we were Israeli Jews and Israeli Palestinians (from the 1948 occupation) in the same organisation. But with the Palestinians in the occupied areas (since 1967), those who share are [our] ideology are in too much danger to make a formal connection. In the 1970s we used to sell widely our newspaper which included up to half of the text in Arabic. We would sell it in Palestinian village and towns included in Israel since 1948. We also did it in East Jerusalem and in a Palestinian village which was split between Israel and Jordan and sell our newspapers there.

At the Second Encounter in Spain in 1997 there was a Palestinian student there and we found each other. She and I found time for a chat, after half an hour we could not find a single thing we disagreed upon, and we

parted. There are Palestinians, for sure, who share our ideas, but it is very hard for them to be in the open. There is too much persecution from both sides [Palestinian Authorities and the Israeli occupiers].



There is some joint activity in Human Rights and in Ecology. There is a Palestinian group and a Jewish group working together on some environmental issues. Also those involved in the trade union are also involved with Palestinian trade union activists.

Benjamin: What are your views on a Palestinian state and self-determination?

Ilan: We are for the right of Palestinian self-determination. But we know that the corrupt capitalist state they are now building is only partial solution to the Palestinian working people.

Benjamin: This is different from a lot of anarchists who reject 'self-determinism'. As in Kosovo there is a problem in demarcating which 'self' is being determined, is it a worker or bourgeois 'self'?

Ilan: [At the moment] We know that they have no chance of them determining themselves as socialists, but they have the right to choose to be exploited by capitalists who are influenced by democracy, than to be exploited by capitalists from abroad which suppress them ruthlessly and in the case of the Palestinians and Kosova even prefer the

expelling to exploitation. It is not the same if the exploiters are local capitalists which are living in the country, who are using the health services and are part of the core community. They are still the class enemy but they are part of the community.

A lot of people say that it does not matters to the Palestinians if they are expelled and abused and tortured by the Israeli capitalists country or they are manipulated by the corrupt Palestinian authorities. But the Palestinian authority would give them more freedom, the Palestinians now don't have a night curfew. The Palestinian [Authority] does not kill children as the Israeli military forces did. There is more freedom under the corrupt Palestinian self-government than they had before. Anarchism's first rule is maximising freedom. Freedom is not all or nothing, freedom is a matter of more or less. The Kossavans like the Palestinians, with their own capitalists would have a bit more freedom than they have under the occupation by the Serbs.

Anarchists are not dogmatists, we are against states, capitalism and exploitation for practical reasons, because states are against freedom. When it comes to these difficult questions we have to look at first principles, will this [Palestinian] corrupt state give them more freedom? For sure.

Benjamin: Do you have links with other groups outside of the Middle East?

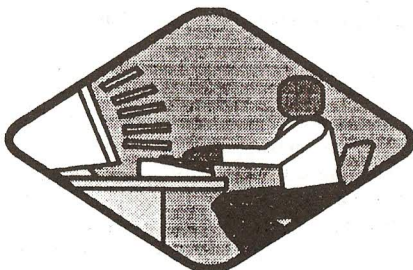
Ilan: We had all along the years connections and communication with Palestinians and like minded people from the middle East through members and like minded Israelis living abroad. Except for the international Vanunu committees and connections of the alternative trade union for foreigners, I am the only one [in Matspen] who is really serious about it overseas contacts. I do this through the internet. I have connections through the Internet and E-mail (including web pages in Hebrew and English). I'm

involved with the Internet Anarchist news service and archive. The [member] involved in the [alternative] union is also involved in an international committee for the welfare of workers [help for the struggles of workers in ex-communist Russia].

I also have more intensive contact[s] with anarchists like Andrew Flood of the WSM, [he is] [from Ireland, they are] very active on the Internet. Through the Internet I am in contact with anarchist throughout the world. I also went to the encounter where I met up with autonomous Marxists that are involved in the struggles of the general libertarian communist movement and sympathizers, against the Globalization and neo-liberalism.

Benjamin: Do you see any difference between autonomous Marxism and anarchism?

Ilan: There are a few trends in the Marxist autonomist spectrum. The libertarian communism is one of the trend (this is the one I communicate with) it is not significantly different from that of the class war social anarchists... except that the autonomist Marxists try to relate too much of their analysis to the good things in Marx, but they are more serious in their analysis of the capitalist economy which most of the anarchists tend not to do.



Benjamin: What are you working on at the moment?

Ilan: My main individual projects involve putting my own libertarian alternative to psychotherapy texts onto the Internet and advising the interested people for free. With regard to my anarchist web pages my main efforts are to put there Hebrew texts I translate with help of comrades and currently finishing working on a translation of Murray Bookchin article about the unbridgeable gap between social anarchism and life style anarchism into Hebrew.

Ilan's Web-site can be found at:

<http://www.shalif.com/anarchy/anarchy.html>

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Knowing the Enemy - A Review of PAJ Waddington Liberty & Order: Public Order Policing in a Capital City UCL Press

It might seem strange that a book written by a tame sociology professor at Reading University should be recommended to readers of a class struggle publication, but with good reason. The subject is how the police attempt to control the streets during demonstrations in London. The author was granted privileged access, over a period of three years, both to police planning for such operations, and what happened later. It is written from a pro-police perspective, even dedicated to a former Met Police Commissioner, and there are no revelations of police brutality, indeed the very possibility would not occur to this author. To establish his credentials, Waddington argues that the Public Order Act of 1986 didn't mark a massive increase in police powers for a novel reason -- they already had so much power there 'was precious little scope for any further reduction in civil liberties' (p.37). I don't think Waddington is right here -- proposals to give 6 days notice for marches, and the provision of organisers taking legal responsibility definitely moved the goal posts.

The most important aspect of the book is his detailed explanation of the police use a variety of procedures and techniques to incorporate march organisers into their web of control. The minute a march is proposed 'the first imperative of the police is to bring the organiser of the demonstration into negotiations, preferably on police premises. As soon as organisers consent to visit the police premises the police acquire home ground advantage' (p.75). This is because organisers are isolated from their comrades, don't have freedom of movement and are invariably outnumbered, often heavily by police. Police chair meetings and Waddington faithfully reports their manipulative techniques including asking opinions from other police before answering, thus emphasising the priority of intra-police communication. Even the introductions by organisers as to who they are serve as intelligence-gathering opportunities. Central to the incorporation process is the ritual exchange of the 'Route form', which Waddington candidly admits seeks far more information than the law requires. Police monopoly of expertise on the viability of actual routes suggested, and their ability to play off marchers against various parties such as residents of the Royal Parks (for Hyde Park) and local authorities, is all used to the full.

Particularly revealing is a section entitled 'spurious friendliness' whereby the police pretend to be on good terms with the organisers only to in almost all cases slag off their 'veracity and competence... the moment they left the room'

(p.87). I am pleased to report there was only one occasion when things didn't go to plan, prior to the Anti-Election Alliance rally of April 1992. The person concerned 'rejected such overtures and impugned police motives. Officers genuinely took umbrage. [He refused to] shake hands and his overheard observation about the police's contempt for him and colleague was palpable, the subject of resentful comment and gossip for weeks afterwards' (p.87). Another group the police seemed to have in for were *Outrage!* the gay rights group, because they do not 'play the game', a reference to the fact that their demonstrations do not follow agreed routes, often supplementing them with spontaneous actions.

Special Branch do not come out of this book very well, providing little or no useful information, but then their role is more to hype violence than prevent it. Police attitudes to lawyers knowledgeable about public order legislation is hostile, they are described as 'most threatening' (p.119). Legal observers are not welcomed either, which shows they are probably a good thing.

The most useful thing about this book is from a careful reading you can get an idea of how exactly to undermine the police routes/attempts at control most effectively. These are:

- 1) Don't enter into negotiations with the police prior to demonstrations - the June 18th example.
- 2) If you have to negotiate with police, don't do it at the police station.
- 3) Send at least three people so that the police do not psyche you out.
- 4) Don't have a demonstration on a prescribed route, instead have a general 'area' that is difficult for the police to control/defend -- again June 18th scored highly here.
- 5) Do something in/near Royal palaces -- these are a top priority for police to defend.
- 6) Do things in/near ritual state occasions like the Opening of Parliament
- 7) Use Legal Observers

The above is not exhaustive, but a good start. Anybody planning demonstrations or looking for tips on how to make them more fun should read this. Waddington doesn't say what would happen if organisers actually used some of the tactics mentioned above. It might be tempting to believe the success of J18 showed there is no need to organise demonstrations in advance with police. That won't be an option for everybody however. And the way the Met Police allowed the City of London to get a beating was no accident -- it looks like part of a clear plan by the Met to abolish the autonomous City of London force entirely. Not our problem.

Larry O'Hara

Dixon In The Dock Green, Written by Jack the Lad, Edited by Pablo. HMP-ABC, (available from Fran Vigay LOFT, HMP-ABC, PO Box 19, Penzance, Cornwall, TR18 2YP price 50p)

Jack has written a passionate and entertaining denunciation of the class-bias in the criminal justice system. It tells of the different experiences of policing faced by the poor than the rich, and the sentencing and prison regime your average convict faces compared to the 'regime that makes Butlins look austere' which wealthy fraudsters receive.

There is not a lot in there which will surprise class-struggle activists already involved in prisoners support, but its brevity and eloquence make it an excellent introduction to those just becoming interested. Go on, send off for a copy and support the ABC section which is run by prisoners themselves.

ANIMAL received an article by Mark Barnsley concerning the importance of Prisoner Support to class-struggle anarchism. We were going to include it in this issue, but due to delays on our part, Mark has now had it published elsewhere, in the magazine **Black Flag**. It is well worth reading. If you cannot get hold of one, write to us, and we'll send you a copy of his article.

Howl - Issue 68 - Magazine of the Hunt Saboteurs Association, PO Box 2786, Brighton, BN2 2AX - £1.50

Howl is a skilfully produced 32 page magazine that appears approximately twice a year. At the time of writing the HSA is in the most critical period in its history - if hunting is not abolished now, the chance is gone for a generation, and those charming men and women in red coats and double-barrelled names will be laughing at us for years. This heightened political situation means that the Countryside Alliance is working overtime, striving for maximum publicity away from the field, and increasing violence towards saboteurs in it.

Against this background the HSA

has concentrated on what it does best, and what has provoked the hunters so often - successfully sabbing their hunts, and having a bloody good time into the bargain. Remarkable goals have been scored here, for example the case of Copper the fox, who completely disproves one of the hunters favourite myths, that of the quick kill.

However, from 1997 onwards the terrain has changed, and it is time to adapt with it. The Countryside Alliance, a political and economic giant, is determined to fight not just in the corridors of power (where we can

hardly follow anyway) but in the media and, more importantly, on the streets. It was on the streets that the so-called animal rights movement and the so-called class-struggle movement put up such patchy resistance to them in 1998. Put simply, all of us - HSA included - need to raise our game, and fast.

There is a huge groundswell of public support for the HSA, and like minded groups, that remains untapped. *Howl* for instance is not the easiest magazine to get hold of and is poorly distributed even within the Anarchist movement. Cases like that

of John Gill, a former steelworker who spend his time destroying snares on country estates after his dog was killed by one, are still largely unknown. These and similar stories are tucked away in *Howl* and should be shouted from the roof-tops.

Its time for the anti-hunt movement to network and build. The fox-hunters are no-longer just rampaging through fields on winter mornings, but are rampaging through your town centre. What are we going to do about it?

Terry Scott

Notice Board

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Next Issue

A special feature will be appearing in the next issue of *Animal* on the COUNTRY-SIDE ALLIANCE - and we welcome correspondence and ideas concerning this grouping and potential threat.

Write to *Animal*, c/o PO Box 467, London, E8 3QX

For Sale Videos:

Death to the Monarchy - First Shown on the BBC and *Riot Against the Royals* -Shown on Channel 4 available for SEVEN QUID EACH From MA'M PO Box 14672, London, E9 5UQ. Please make cheques payable to MAM.

Appeal for Witnesses - June 18th - Did you witness an arrest or injury during the J18 Demo. Do you have Photos or Video of arrests or injuries? Please contact Legal Defence & Monitoring Group. BM Haven, WC1N 3XX, 0171 837 7557

Congratulations

To all those involved in the Hillgrove Cats Campaign. Another victory. The Cat torture complex has been closed down thanks to the mass protests and direct action, despite the best efforts of the security services. Collective actions wins again.

