

ANARCHIST

INSURRECTION



ISSUE TWO / 50 PENCE

COMMUNIQUE

On July 21, while working in the Ardèche in the South of France, anarchist comrade Orazio Valastro was kidnapped by three individuals in plain clothes qualifying themselves as policemen, in the town of Privas (about 100 miles from Lyons).

He was taken by car to open countryside where he was beaten and threatened with death if he refused to collaborate with the police by infiltrating presumed armed groups which exist in Paris according to the police.

Orazio was also offered financial reward. Moreover, he was questioned about the groups 'Action Directe' and the 'COLP'.

Orazio naturally refused to collaborate with the police in any way, nor did he say anything about the groups, which he knows nothing about.

On July 25 there was a phone call to Orazio's house asking for his reply, and death threats were repeated in the case of his refusing to collaborate.

Immediately after the event, Orazio denounced it to the judiciary. The case is now in the hands of Juge Borel, Privas.

We must do everything we can to defend our comrade, and to denounce the incredible machination the police are trying to bring about to his cost.

ORAZIO VALASTRO we remember, was the anarchist comrade who deserted the army in Italy, and was sentenced by a military tribunal to five months' prison for having refused, as an anarchist, to do military service. He had been living in exile in France for the past two years.

Comrades and friends of
Orazio Valastro

Protests against this absurd and extremely dangerous act of intimidation can be made to:

Substitut Procureur de la Republique,
Juge BOREL,
Parqué de Privas,
PRIVAS, Ardèche, France.
(tel. 75/642044)

French Consulate General,
24 Rutland Gate, LONDON SW7
(tel 01/581 5292)

INSURRECTION

year 1 — Issue Two — 1984

Graphic Editor: Clifford Harper
Design and Layout: Verushka
Editor: Jean Weir

Orders to: Elephant Editions,
London, WC1V 6XX.
(5 copies and over, less 40%)
Cheques payable to: Jean Weir,
Nat. Girobank Acc/No 50 249 8307

Trade Distribution by: A Distribution,
A Distribution,
84b, Whitechapel High St,
London E1 (tel 247 9249)

Printed by: Aldgate Press, 84b
84b Whitechapel High St, London E1
(tel 247 9249) September 1984



THE WHOLE AND THE PART

There can be no doubt about the fact that society is divided into opposing classes. The difference between those who enforce exploitation and those who suffer it is radical and irreconcilable.

Of course, there are various levels of participation in both classes. Not only the dominators, but also those faced with the perspective of exploitation are responsible to varying degrees, according to how much they consent to its continuation.

What interests us here, however, is the relationship between the *exploited as a whole*, and the part, or *specific minority* of the same.

This is not just a question of definition. Much confusion arises from misuse of the terms, or from expecting certain behaviour or events to take place that have no basis for doing so. **THE EXPLOITED AS A WHOLE** do not have a precise identity. Often seen as the industrial proletariat, they also include farm labourers, and the unwaged strata known as the 'lumpenproletariat'.

Temporary workers and those in the services sectors (transport, commerce, exchange, schools, the cultural industry) as well as low level clerical workers, also go towards making up this whole.

Its characteristics are extremely fluid, and can in no way be a fixed point of reference for the aims of re-

volutionary action.

Nor is it possible to identify one *substantial part* of it, ie a precise class constituting a point of reference for the rest. Any attempt to do this is based on a particular political bias, usually that of the party and the quantitative illusion (ie industrial workers leading the proletariat, or lumpenproletariat driving force of the revolution).

The dominant characteristic of the whole in question is its *unionist consciousness*. This both regulates it and limits it.

Over a long period this whole has outbursts of *self-organisation* which has the effect, among other things, of nullifying attempts by the various parts to take it over. Basically, the unionist consciousness is transient and limited to short-term interests.

THE SPECIFIC MINORITY is a part of the exploited, and there are various kinds within this whole. Some have an *ethnic basis*. For example, the blacks in America, although they have their spokesmen among the dominant classes, are largely contained within the exploited and constitute a *specific minority*.

The same, with different characteristics, goes for the Irish, the Basques, the Corsicans, Palestinians, etc.

At other times the minority has a *sexual basis*, as in the case of women. Other times again it corresponds to a particular attitude towards dominant moral codes, as in the case of *homosexuals*.

These minorities define themselves through selective mechanisms that are imposed by the ruling class, and which are accepted by the rest of the exploited.

These are: a specific *culture* (often referred to as sub-culture); subordination to the production process; considerable presence in the lower levels of social organisations; a very limited presence in the professional sectors, the media and higher education; ghetto sentiment, and so on.

This kind of minority has little mobility into higher or lower social strata. It tends to remain fairly stable, or at least stable enough to maintain a certain equilibrium. Cultural osmosis is kept to a minimum, just enough to guarantee control by the enemy over the behaviour of the minority, and to eliminate possible 'deviant' demands. **THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT**—this is not a minority in the sense we have been speaking of. It is an *active minority* and as such is also specific. It is characterised by its level of *self-awareness*, which usually goes beyond unionist levels to prepare for action in two successive levels: the *party* (or quantitative level), and the *social* (or self-organisational) level.

The revolutionary movement usually contains all three of these levels (union, party and self-organising), and they are often interwoven, making clear distinctions difficult.

Even anarchists, who by definition support the third and highest level, of revolutionary awareness, have not failed to acknowledge unionist and party levels, although criticism has nearly always prevailed and the struggle been redressed.

The fact is that the revolutionary movement is partly a direct and indirect result of social and cultural changes that are constantly taking place within society: the forces of production, class composition, etc.

THE SPECIFIC ANARCHIST ORGANISATION—putting aside trade unions (and anarcho-syndicalism), and parties, a third specific solution remains: that of the anarchist group, or the coordination of various groups.

This becomes the basic instrument for the spreading of ideas and actions necessary for the social changes we want to bring about: the final destruction of today's order that is based on exploitation.

We can see then, that the specific organisation is part of the revolutionary movement, therefore also of the exploited as a whole. Through it and its level of consciousness, elements who had been a part of the dominant class can abandon their origins, and join in the struggle of the exploited against the class enemy.

STRATEGY & METHODS

Exploitation is at the basis of the capitalist system. Without a terroristic dictatorship based on poverty, fear and death by a few over the many, capital's dominion would come to an end.

This determines the class struggle. Although they seem to adapt and compromise, the exploited are constantly on the defensive and ready. They follow the enemy's difficulties with interest, regard their traitors (who call themselves their defenders) with suspicion, and wait for the best moment to rise up and insurgé.

The social clash alternates between acute confrontation and quieter spells. New theories and practices are developed that are never a simple repeat of what has gone before. Each historic moment produces new opposing sides: new bosses, new traitors, new exploited, new strategies of attack against exploitation, new attempts at repression.

Roughly speaking, we can say capital is moving from repression through use of the economic apparatus to that using the political one. In the past, in happier times for capital, wide strata of the population were prepared to offer themselves in exchange for a wage, so everything was left to illusions of self-regulating market forces. As these strata diminished, with a consequent rise in the cost of labour, or when social pressure forced employment to grow out of all proportion, the system's automatic margins of equilibrium are reduced and it goes towards more overtly political and repressive strategies. The State intervenes massively to regulate both the economic and social process. Troubles become acute, the police becoming the cardinal element in maintaining social order, with the army waiting in the wings.

The exploited's strategy also passes from a trade union type of organising—corresponding to the free market phase of capital—to a more disjointed procedure, apparently uncertain and contradictory, but which is lively and creative and more amenable to self-organisation. This process heightens the level of the struggle, possibly even allowing the use of armed struggle.

It should not seem contradictory that the exploited respond to the State's attempts at enforced order with creativity and self-organisation. Increasing repression triggers off many mechanisms, one of them precisely that of heightening the level of the social clash. Moreover, this comes as a result of deteriorating conditions where large wageless strata are no longer waiting patiently to enter the world of production, even at starvation wages. Hopes of better times, more consumer goods and better wages are far more effective reins than police or army.

REPRESSIVE STRATEGIES AND METHODS

Strategies are the choice of certain methods that are applied in the social clash. *Methods* are stable and well-defined procedures, so much so that they cannot be changed, at least within the present framework of exploitation.

Whereas strategies are linked to short-term conditions and must constantly be up-dated, modified, discussed and, when necessary, declared unsuitable; methods are fixed, guaranteeing a continuity that characterises the struggle on both fronts. Strategies are constantly changing in the clash between classes, but the methods used remain the same.

As we have seen, capital uses different strategies at different moments: it goes from a free market logic to nationalised production, mixes increased productivity with less military repression and vice versa. Sometimes it intensifies consumerism, at others it reduces it, using monetary mechanisms instead of taxation. At still other times it uses overt repression, establishing a closed regime using nationalistic puppet politicians and uniformed torturers to



eliminate all dissent in bloodshed.

But all these strategies are based on four basic methods:

Information controlled by the power structure. This is not only the work of the media, but also of everything that appears to be based on consultation with the people: elections, choice of work, choice of culture, use of free time, consumerism, political opinions, scale of ethical values, etc.

Differentiated education of the various social classes. Not just a question of schooling, this is a continuing process. It is the method that corroborates and instills controlled information that would otherwise disappear into a void. A series of coordinated processes that produce and confirm ethical values, they are often applied at mass level, but are sometimes restricted to a minority.

Political and social reforms. Any one of power's single projects must be seen as part of a constantly changing whole. Even the most tyrannical regimes of the past moved towards adjusting and compromising with the oppressed. Absolute repression is a myth, an ideal that no reigning power can maintain for long. A mixture of pure repression and reformist compromise is always preferred. Modern democracies have gone a long way in this direction.

Terroristic repression of any behaviour deviating from the established norm. It goes from social condemnation to organised terror by police, army, courts, prisons, etc, against anyone who tries to regain what has been taken from him. In the latter case the State will use either specific organisations (police, secret services, army, etc); organisations designated to other activities, but which carry out terrorist duties when required (trades unions, parties, political movements, schools, hospitals, cultural structures, newspapers, television, etc) or specifically terrorist organisations created by the State itself, drawing from the army, police, judiciary, extreme right

political movements, professional killers, organised crime syndicates, etc.

It should be said here that any one of these methods does not exclude another, but that they are all applied at the same time with interesting results. Think, for example, of the effect the development of information is having on the educational process. 'Informatics' are still very much in the air. Basically, as we have said, repression is intensified when the other two methods show signs of slowing up and becoming inefficient. The inverse process, a reduction in State terrorism, tends to be slow as the organisations and mentalities whose usual methods are those of violence, torture and murder, tend to die hard.

REVOLUTIONARY STRATEGIES AND METHODS

The difference between strategies

and methods is constant, as it is a question of the forms of action man possesses. Whether policeman or revolutionary, cannot avoid studying the strategically different application of some basic methods.

Strategies are directly related to the conditions of the social clash at a given moment, not simply a consequence of it. The revolutionary is constantly trying to act on reality, to penetrate it and change it with his actions. But these actions, if they are to go beyond the field of illusion, must take account of the level the clash is at.

When the level of the clash is low, with wide strata of the proletariat excluded from wage-earning and capital abandons itself to irrational market forces, the revolutionary strategy will be that of strengthening the movement, penetrating the various sectors of the world of work and unemployment among workers, housewives, labourers and students.

At a higher level, capital begins to show signs of instability. The State intervenes heavily to rectify an intolerable situation created by the capitalists' inability to manage the economy. The State's terroristic repression increases, along with lack of work and 'well-being'. Here the revolutionary strategy will go towards intensifying armed attack, therefore to a progressive growth and qualifying of clandestine armed organisations.

Between these two directions—which do not contradict but support each other and interact with considerable force—there is a whole series of strategic choices. They show the profound differences existing within the revolutionary movement: the anarchist tendency towards *quality* of the struggle and its *self-organisation* and the authoritarian tendency towards *quantity* and *centralisation*.

The methods at the basis of the various revolutionary strategies can be divided as follows:

Free information. Keeping to events as they are, without political or ideological deformation. Of course this is often an impossible ideal, but the method of informing must strive towards this, transmitting real events as far as possible, making situations known that would otherwise be distorted by the information controlled by power.

Theories about conditions of the social clash, analyses of events focusing on facts and putting them in a wider context. This second methodological stage serves to make information more comprehensible, make it talk, seizing it from the dumb context of the criminally false news circulated by power.

Intermediate struggle, where revolutionaries intervene in particular aspects of the social conflict: schools, factories, housing estates, the land. Taken indivi-

dually, each struggle risks becoming re-absorbed and often contributes to strengthening exploitation by rectifying some of its irrational aspects. Although it is partial and circumscribed, information and theory can be understood by proletarians during these moments. Things would remain at a purely theoretical and meaningless level otherwise. It is in the struggle itself, even the limited one in defence of rights or already existing conquests, that we prepare for a possible heightening of the clash.

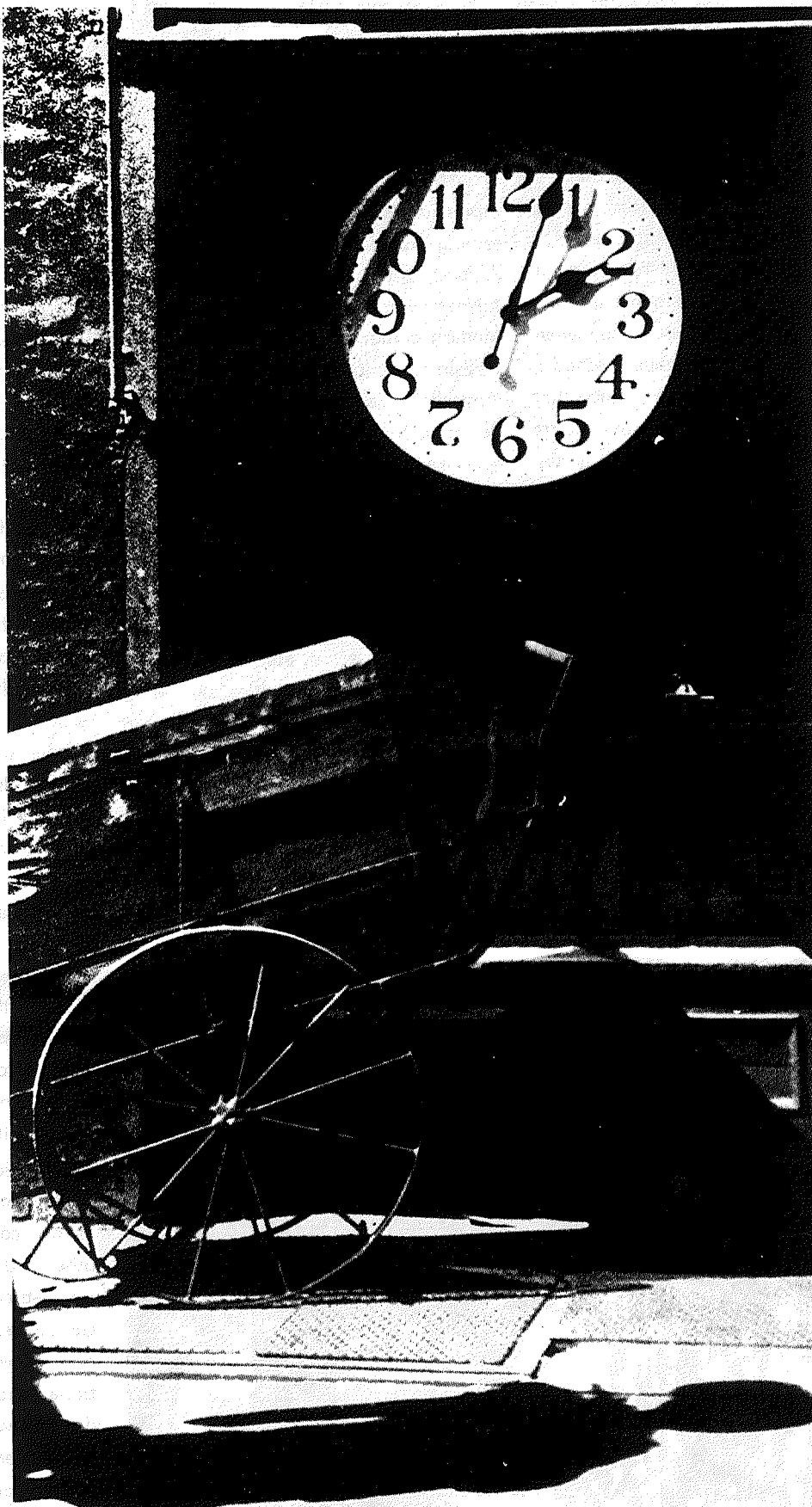
Armed struggle employs the method of violent attack against the State, its organisations and structures, its men, wealth and projects. The fact that this method is often part of strategies at higher levels of the social clash does not mean that it is a 'higher', or more efficient, or more revolutionary method of struggle than others. It is a different method, with its own characteristics, limitations and qualities, but which cannot be placed in a hypothetical scale of revolutionary values. One level of consciousness pushes a proletarian to hand out a leaflet in front of a factory, another to arm himself to take back what has been taken from him, or to shoot a policeman or judge. Another again pushes him to attack a factory, sabotage its production and damage stocks. Still another will make him associate with others in the same situation, men and women conscious of the need to come together to work out an attack against the class enemy.

No one of these methods excludes the other. On the contrary, they interpenetrate and support each other. It is therefore never possible to positively identify one precise moment where a given method should be used. They are used together and bear fruit according to the limits and perspectives of the various strategies they are applied in.

THE PROBLEM OF STRATEGY

A strategy of attack is of little importance for the dreamers of revolution. There exists an illusion that truth will triumph in the end, so, like the Christian martyrs one marches onwards, holding high the torch of ideological purity, but often remaining very far from the reality of things.

In actual fact, the proletarians and exploited in general, the lumpenproletarian strata who undergo very acute levels of oppression, do not have clear ideas. The equation exploitation/clarity is not at all true. One can live one's whole life in chains, dragging them along, and still believe one has lived thanks to them rather than in spite of them. This point cannot be overstressed. Information on its own is not enough. Struggles must be developed, both in the intermediate and long term. Clear strategies are necessary to allow



different methods to be used in a coordinated and fruitful way.

As anarchists we are pursuing a qualitative growth in the movement, and support its self-organisation. We distinguish ourselves in this from the authoritarians and stalinists who support a massively quantitative growth based on total control and 'democratic' centralisation. But not for this can we wait till infinity for the people to organise with their quality and creativity. We must act more directly, moving as a specific minority. This means taking on the task of carrying out actions that the exploited, at a certain level of the class struggle, cannot develop on their own. If we fail to do this we will simply end up consigning ourselves into the hands of the stalinists, and the proletariat along with us.

Let us give a few examples:

When setting out information we must

adhere to reality as clearly as possible in order to avoid any ideological re-elaboration. We cannot expect the exploited to act immediately on reading our information, putting it to their own spontaneous use. We would be heading straight for failure, and end up circulating a horrible mixture of platitudes and meaningless generalisations. We should apply a revolutionary critique to contributions to our publications, so as to place them within our strategy more coherently. Our work will never be purely 'objective' without denying itself as information.

We must force ourselves to see things as they are, not how we would like them to be. Our innate love for utopia—of great nobility and sentimentality—must take second place in the face of the need for analyses based on reality. To do this, or even to simply understand it when it is done by other com-

rades, we must provide ourselves with some basic instruments. We might as well limit ourselves to pub talk if we don't possess some basic awareness (and perhaps a bit more than that) of economics. The point blank refusal to widen our study of certain instruments such as economics, history, philosophy, State administration, public finance, etc, is based on a mistaken interpretation of the anarchist concept of destruction. **Anarchists are often reluctant to involve themselves in intermediate struggles.** Their basic purity causes them to have nightmares. They imagine being compromised with other not always 'clean' political forces, and of not being able to compete with them at the level of intermediate claims or political sophistry. This blocks many initiatives at the simple stage of information. In so doing we are showing lack of faith in the great clarity of the anarchist discourse which demonstrates the need to refuse delegation of the struggle. Then they are surprised and almost disdainful about the fact that proletarians do not have clear ideas, fail to understand why they should not delegate their struggle to others, and continue to be conned by the professional politicians. This tragicomic situation often becomes clear in public debates, conferences and demonstrations that have been organised together with the forces of the more or less revolutionary left. The anarchists start off with great gusto, go all out to organise demonstrations, work out their own information with great precision and clarity (through leaflets, posters, talks, conferences, etc), then reach a mental block. They abandon the political management of the event to other forces. It is usually these forces who exploit the anarchists' great propagandistic energy and manipulate the media, implying they are the only ones capable of doing anything against power.

The anarchists, in the meantime, have returned to their own groups and are asking themselves how on earth, yet again, they have failed to prevent a political take-over of their initiatives. At the same time they remain prepared and available for any future requests of collaboration.

We cannot stop half way in these things. Once begun, we must continue to prevent attempts at being taken over, even using political means. After all, we too can intervene before the stalinists take over. And we too, especially when we are among the organisers of the demonstration, can get particular motions passed at the end of the conference or meeting without feeling more 'dirty' or compromised than when we set out to work with other left political groups. To brush these problems aside, considering them unimportant or pointless compromise, we risk losing the

THE QUESTION OF THE MINERS

fruits of the intermediate work and of appearing to the proletariat as comrades who are there purely by accident, alongside other political factions that are far more organised than ourselves. This gives the exploited the idea that party leadership is indispensable, the stalinists are given a hand in their grim quantitative work, and what we had tried to build at the start is lost.

There is no need to be afraid of dirtying our hands by using methods of intermediate struggles, so long as the aims of anarchists remain clear throughout, showing up the tricks of the professional politicians and the risks of authoritarianism. This can be achieved to a certain extent by not backing out of arguments with the authoritarian political sharks.

In clandestine armed struggle things cannot be left to improvisation or to the spontaneity of individuals or very small groups. This method is extremely articulate and lends itself to applications of great strategic importance along with the intervention of other methods. From sabotage and the actions of individuals or very small autonomous groups, quite wide levels can be reached, capable of drawing in dozens of groups and hundreds of comrades. It is important to note here that the qualitative development of armed revolutionary action comes into contrast with some of its indispensable quantitative needs. A few comrades cannot do much, but it is a mistake to think that a simple growth in numbers gives rise to a correct use of armed struggle as a method. Generally, what is being looked for at the organisational stage is the creative development of ideas, theories, analyses, interpersonal relations, actions, contacts with the outside, and a spreading of the strategic project. An increase in numbers follows afterwards, and in turn will have a considerable effect on the quality of the organisation. One should not go too far in either direction: neither thinking purely in terms of number, nor going to the other extreme, believing that quality is the only thing that counts. This apparent contradiction only exists when the method is seen as something immediate and circumscribed, instead of being seen in the long term.

Certain aspects of armed struggle can also be used in the intermediate stage, that of information. At this point it will not be likely to spread, but to accentuate the information itself. The 'angle' one gives to this is important. Not being 'mealy mouthed', saying things clearly, and backing them up with 'harder' forms of intervention, can stimulate an awakening of consciousness, and is a creative contribution to a quantitative growth in the future.

Alfredo M. Bonanno

For a capitalist country such as Britain to be shaken every now and again by huge strikes in the nerve centres of its economy is quite a normal matter, and in fact helps to correct the production process.

We well know that economic crises are not the exception in a country's particular situation, but that they are the rule by which the process of capitalism regulates itself.

Through a crisis, certain important results are obtained by power: it puts its own house in order, and implements a restructuring of production relations. The workers' lines are weakened, especially when so-called trade union 'combativeness' is drawn out over a long period. The bosses find plenty of excuses for introducing privatisation, relaunching archaic systems of exploitation ('black work', etc), and stepping up production, more efficient controls and generally safeguarding their interests.

On the other hand, trade union combat as seen today in the miners' strike, for example, does not increase heighten the conflict, because it always remains under the control of the trade union leaders who, by confronting the police (as though this comic opera style heroism were the ultimate in extremism), bedeck themselves with new medals as the defenders of the working class.

We must therefore conclude that a strike such as this sets out from the very start on a reactionary basis, and is carried out using methods that plagiarise direct action, as they are rarely spontaneous, and *always* remain under the control of the trade union leadership.

How, as anarchists, should we act?

By doing everything we can so that the bosses' and union leaders' accounts don't tally.

Their project is that of weakening

the working class. Not only Madame Thatcher, but also Mr Scargill. It is important to understand this.

A working class exhausted by the long and unproductive effort that has been going on for months will be more malleable to both Thatcher and Mr Scargill for the future restructuring of this country's productive system—which it must be said isn't going too well at the moment—requires.

But the game remains an extremely dangerous one. Important variables could emerge to thwart the reactionary project on the Scargill/Thatcher front. The ever present possibility of things going beyond the trade union leaders' control, or of the government tightening the rope too far.

For example, the miners are not being paid. That must be averted one way or another. The unions are trying to do something, and when they fail, the government *must* intervene (directly or indirectly) to supply the necessary funds. They cannot allow themselves to *really* starve the workers. If that happened, they would no longer be controllable, and would go towards forms of struggle far more serious than the banal blocks in front of the mines and steelworks, or the equally banal clashes with the police.

This is the way things have always been. During the Paris Commune, Baron Rothschild gave 1,000,000 gold marks to the Commune to guarantee and defend the Bank of France from possible assaults by the starving people. And so-called revolutionaries are always ready to fall into such traps.

Today, even anarchist groups are quite happily busying themselves collecting funds to help the starving workers, while it is quite obvious that our interests cannot be the same as those of Mr Scargill (preventing the 'degeneration of the struggle'), nor parallel to that of Mrs Thatcher (to control the

struggle so that it doesn't go beyond the point of 'no return').

They can permit themselves to have collections or to send money to the workers 'under the counter'. Not us. *For us the radicalisation of the struggle is a positive fact.* If the workers don't eat there will be two positive results: the clash will quickly come to a head, and it will immediately become obvious which side the trade union leaders (whose actions are even being supported by some anarchists) are on.

That is why we are against collections, which are stuff of the Salvation Army.

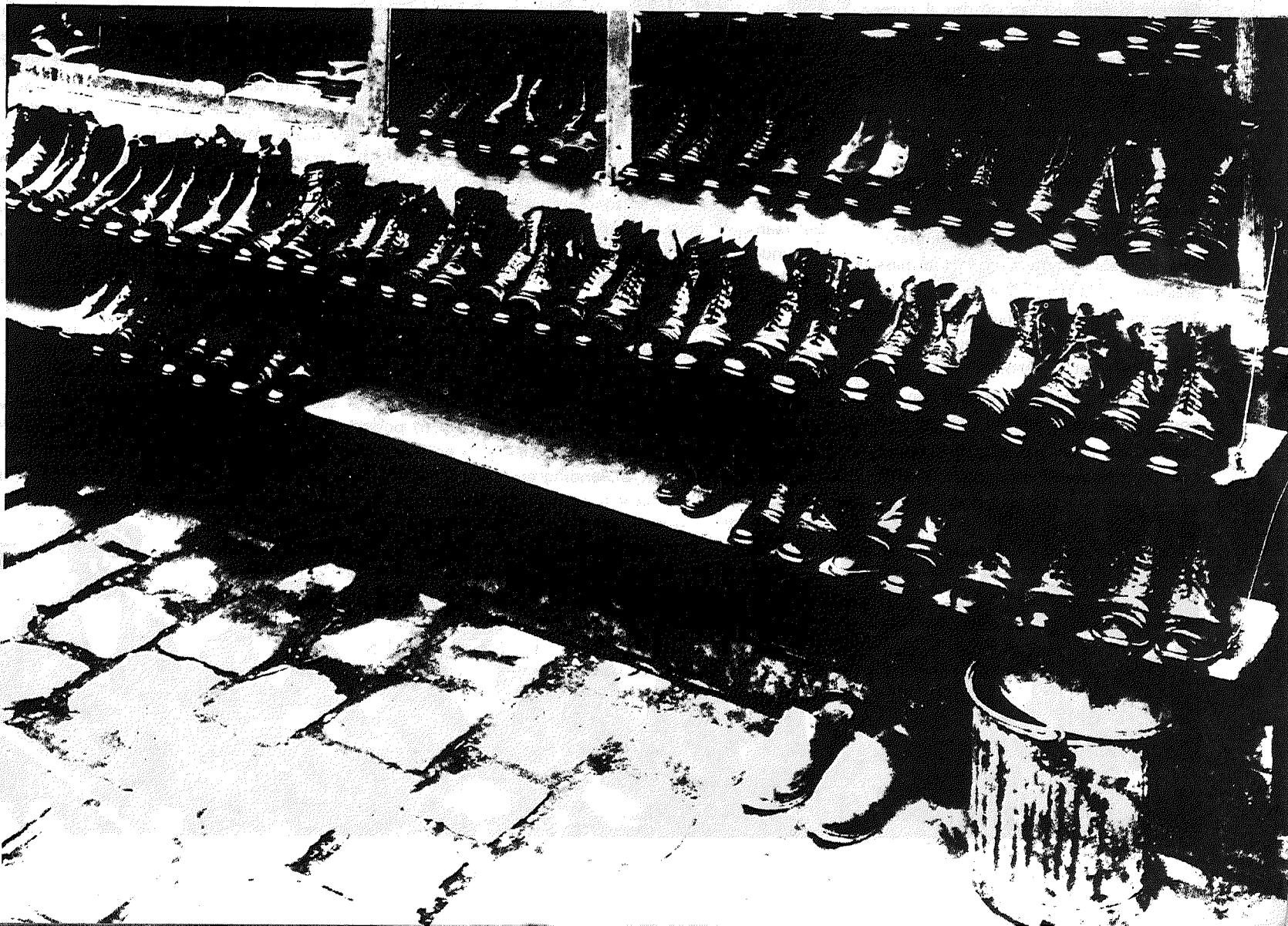
The revolutionary concept of *solidarity* with workers in struggle has always been intended differently—radically differently.

Revolutionary solidarity consists of two things: *information*, not a simple echoing of the media or trade union papers recounting the fact that the strike is going on (which everybody knows), defending one 'side' in what is a global project to save capital's economy through use of government (including the 'shadow' one) and unions. But real information, denouncing this reactionary project and reporting the actions that go beyond this logic of control.

Secondly, revolutionary solidarity consists in striking the enemies of the workers in struggle, their interests, their practical realisations, their people.

Any other form of solidarity is simply hypocrisy and guilty conscience.

If we are not capable of organising revolutionary solidarity as it has always been intended, it is useless (and even harmful) to have recourse to contributions and such kinds of support. One only turns the knife in the wound of those who are carrying on a struggle they are paying for in first person. One becomes a collaborator of those in power.



NEW FORMS OF COUNTER-REVOLUTION

At a certain point in their development, capital and the State succeed in rationalising exploitation.

That is what is happening at the present time to a certain extent. Pure and simple repression is giving way to 'being involved'.

It is important to study these new forms of repression so as not to remain tied to out-of-date forms of revolutionary activity.

These not entirely new forms of involvement are now being developed in more original and highly dangerous ways.

The permissive State, although it still uses dissuasion (for example police and army), has a tendency towards dialogue, allowing a certain amount of freedom of movement and self-regulation, so that everyone is controllable at all levels.

In this way the counter-revolutionary role of so-called dissent is very important to maintaining order and continuing exploitation. Both the bosses and their servants are depending more and more on these forms of recuperation, in preference to pure repression by armed forces, although they remain the ultimate element in convincing and repressing.

So the State is asking the revolutionary movement to collaborate in maintaining social peace.

Comrades shouldn't jump back in horror at such a statement. The State can ask what it wants, it is up to us to understand whether we are being drawn into a manoeuvred consensus, or whether our dissent still has an element of rupture. The State's projects are continually being updated. One moment they are putting up a wall of repression, the next they are softer, decodifying behaviour that was once condemned and persecuted. The State and capital have no moral code of conduct. They adapt according to the Machiavellian thesis of using the brute force of the lion one day and the cunning of the fox the next.

Today might well be the moment of the fox's velvet paw.

One thing that is extremely useful to the present situation, giving capital's restructuring an aspect of a spontaneous process of adjusting, is the massive presence of 'dissent'. We must say 'no'. They are putting through anti-union laws, we must say 'no'. They are putting missiles at Greenham Common, we must say no. They are subsidising the bosses at the cost of the poorest in society, we must say no. They are building more and more prisons with

special wings all over the country, we must say no.

This no must be shouted aloud, not be a simple whisper of platonic dissent. It mustn't pass over into direct action, but must simply remain a 'minority' demonstration of disagreement. It is then up to the same government forces to explain the practical impossibility of such a choice, which is based nevertheless on the 'highest moral values'. As good a way as any to make a fool of people, to extinguish their potential aggressivity constantly in accumulation, so as to direct this impetus of rebellion towards activities that are dissent in appearance alone, and are in fact counter-revolutionary in every aspect.

This is what is being asked of the peace movement, and that is what they are supplying. Pacifism itself, as an ideology, lends itself to being exploited for the production of social peace. An indigestible mixture of Christian sacrifice and millenarian fideism, it is much appreciated by the State as a means of involvement. Even peace demonstrations that comrades are so impressed by, are an element that is much appreciated in the spectacular framework of exploitation. The fact that these demonstrations are innocuous has nothing to do with whether or not there are clashes with the police, they are recuperated on all sides because of their irregularity and passivity as far as the State is concerned, and because of their basic lack of ideology as far as the peace movement is concerned.

These new priests, clutching at the altar of their own sacrifice, are incomprehensible to people who would like to participate in struggles, but who not for that are prepared to abdicate their patrimony of violent attack against the State. This is what the State puts its trust in, their 'lack of understanding', allowing demonstrations that are forbidden to others, but intervening immediately when any signs of an outside presence appear within pacifist organisations.

The same can be said for trade union struggles, even autonomous ones, 'self-managed' ones, or those carried out under the leadership of the few anarcho-syndicalist organisations. The State is also asking them for the maintenance of social peace. Their ineffectiveness is the guarantee of their possibility of continuing. Revolutionary ineffectiveness immediately transformable into complying with the State's counter-revolutionary requests. Their function today is that of lending cre-

dibility to the restructuring process that is taking place, at least in the most sensitive areas, extinguishing dangerous attempts at isolated actions of attack totally in disaccord with any kind of trade union representation.

The old criticisms of trade-unionism (and revolutionary syndicalism) are all the more meaningful today in view of the new request that is being made of them to participate in maintaining social peace. The State will listen to trade union demands, and, in the next few years, almost certainly to those of the microscopic anarcho-syndicalist centres. What it wants in exchange is the control of the minority groups who do not accept the logic of claiming. It wants control over the revolutionary movement. It is in the logic of syndicalism to accept this exchange. Otherwise it would mean throwing the syndicalist organisation and all half-way demands to the winds to return to autonomous nuclei, permanent conflictuality, and so to the real struggle.

In this sense we should look more carefully at the function the CNT has had in Spain over the past few years, its present situation and future perspectives.

Concerning supposedly attacking syndicalism, we should look more closely at the repression function of *Solidarity* in Poland, how spontaneous attempts to attack constituted order starting from the factories were repressed from the very start.

In the same way, we need documentation on the counter-revolutionary role of the movement of the new communes, the vegetarian and ecology movements, the anti-psychiatry movements and all the tendencies that are trying to split up the real contrast with power, or are trying to reduce it to simple, platonic and formal dissent.

For example there exists an anti-racism that borders on racism itself. A privileged series of peoples are put in an exclusively positive light which ends up drawing in—often without their realising it—the warmongering and racist politics of the governments acting in their name. Many decisions made by the Israeli State, for example, claiming to represent the Jewish people, are themselves racist and genocidal. So the classical positions of anti-racism become instrumental to new forms of racism, opening the road to a repression that is considered inevitable.

We can also consider all forms of strictly formal dissent and all attempts to divide the class conflict into a multitude of sectors, as being functional to power. This is exactly what the couple capital/State want to happen.

Many comrades in good faith fall

prey to this contradiction.

The best of them, those really in good faith, are only misinformed, or simply stupid due to lack of analytical clarity. They are the ones who limit themselves to great declarations of principle against nuclear weapons, or are abstentionists every time the elections come around, or hand out leaflets against special prisons, then return to their holes and wait for the next time to repeat the sacralised ritual of the eternally obvious.

The worst, those in bad faith, are the sceptics who have lost their enthusiasm of times past and now understand everything about life; and the ambitious ones trying to get a little allotment of power on which to seminate their swindles. On the one hand the super-intelligent who look down on those who are limiting themselves to carrying on with the struggle; on the other those who are advancing their careers by kissing the hands of the labour party or the arsenals of the dissenting church. The nausea that overcomes us on seeing the first equals only that which we feel on seeing the second at work. There are many ways of gazing at one's navel or furthering one's career, but these are among the worst.

We shall try to oppose the advancing counter-revolution with our modest strength. First of all with analytical clarity.

It is time to put an end to uncertainty or shyness. It is time to come out and say things clearly and without half measures. Beautiful declarations of principle are no longer enough, in fact they have become goods of trade for power. We must engage seriously in a struggle to the end, an organised and efficient struggle which has a revolutionary project and is capable of singling out its objectives and means. We might find that the dissection of mummies is no longer an interesting operation. The sun of the future will not rise from the old hills. We must decide to look to where the class struggle is really leading.

The article which follows of Page 7, 'Interview in Segovia Prison' and others that we shall publish in future issues of this paper should be seen in this perspective, one which we consider to be of primary importance. Although limited and insufficient, they open the way to a critique that should be of interest to all revolutionaries.

In our next issue we shall be looking more closely at the role of the peace movement today and some of its limitations. In so doing we hope a debate will develop on these problems that are becoming increasingly urgent.



INTERVIEW FROM SEGOVIA PRISON WITH THE AUTONOMOUS GROUPS

On the problem of armed struggle; the reactionary function of the CNT; and possible future developments of the anti-capitalist struggle. By the comrades of the 'Spanish Federation of Anarchist Groups' (F.I.G.A.)

What do you mean by 'Autonomous Groups' and what, in the last analysis, is your ideological position?

Before anything else, we must point out that we don't represent the whole of Autonomy, but only ourselves, through our own experiences. We consider ourselves to belong to the area of Autonomy.

Up until the Spanish State murdered Salvador Puig Antich in March 1974, people who were acting independently, rejecting parties and trades unions and called autonomous in certain circles, had not yet worked out wider coordination to obtain greater effects. Around the time of this murder there was an unleashing of armed actions which brought with them a project of coordination with other groups of a similar character in the Madrid area.

As far as Barcelona is concerned, at the end of 1969 Autonomous Groups already existed, some of which evolved to the Autonomous Workers' Groups, falling into a narrow workerist dimension. On the other hand there were some young comrades who really engaged themselves in armed struggle, and later on formed the MIL.

In the first place we started off from a series of minimal agreements, as opposed to the classical organisations of the past which usually needed some very schematic theory to apply at all levels. In Barcelona these minimal agreements were simplified in the theoretical and practical development of the 'Platform of the Factory Workers' Commissions', an organisation created at the beginning of the 70's which united a whole series of organisations that rejected the CP's patronage. It defined itself anti-capitalist, autonomous, anti-syndicalist, anti-authoritarian and clandestine.

Up until then the Autonomous Groups had recognised themselves in the 'Independents' of Madrid, the MIL, and to a lesser extent, the GOA, having already formed an organisation with its own practical/theoretical plans and integrated in the 'Platform'. In the middle of 1974, internal disputes concerning the 'Platform' led to a number of people joining parties or unions. Others stuck to it, but with ideological nuances: anti-authoritarianism, anti-syndicalism, etc. They ended up uniting with what remained of the Barcelona groups, then with those of Madrid and Valencia.

Now we are all united by minimal agreements that can be summed up in what we have already said.

We refuse to establish or develop a new 'ideology', the ideology of autonomy. We are struggling against capitalism globally, and our coordination starts from a minimal agreement for action: *Abolition of salaried work and merchandise; Destruction of the State and any form of power; Destruction of prisons and all the State's repressive apparatus.*

We conceive of organisation as only for concrete tasks. Our practice is our theory, and we put our theory into practice.

We are against ideologies, elements of separation within the real communist movement. It would be absurd therefore to make an ideological opposition, as we are against all ideologies. What we can do is elaborate a theory of the development of capitalism today, the present state of the communist movement, our work, our successes and relative failures.

We see the autonomy of the individual as the refusal of any delegation of responsibility at any level: organisation, action, propaganda, etc. All delegation of responsibility generates power, because any delegation hands in its bill sooner or later. Real individual autonomy, and that of a group or class, is realised by taking on one's own revolutionary responsibilities, one's global responsibilities in the face of capital.

One could say then that you are against the State?

That's the least one could say. Obviously—it is impossible to imagine a State without authority.

Do you think it will be possible to re-organise life, one way or another, on the basis of anarchist principles?

One of the first points we all agree on is that, with the aim of coordinating groups, we put ideologies in second place and give priority to practice and our needs on the basis of certain minimal agreements. An anarchist can therefore agree perfectly well on that basis. There are in fact people among us who define themselves anarchists. That doesn't mean to say we support the anarchist ideology, but that, as well as being in agreement with the first definition, we are against parties, unions and salaried work.

How do you envisage the re-organisation of society then, for example human relations and those of production?

We think there shouldn't be the separation that exists today between work and study, but that a whole series of activities should exist through which work would be done. This should not be paid of course, and should be linked to the needs of the community, aiming at use and rejecting pure consumerism. We don't see work as necessarily some thing that has to be done in eight or five hours; by work we mean creativity, not the pure slavery that takes place at the present time. We see it as something based on the needs of society, not on economic benefit.

So, one couldn't say that the Autonomous Groups are a specifically anarchist organisation?

No, not specifically anarchist, nor specifically marxist. For us the coordination of autonomous groups is an organisation defined by its concrete tasks. We have already said we are leaving ideology aside in favour of a practice suited to the present social situation.

We don't want to spend years discussing things so as to give birth to a dazzling political theory then set to work from there.

We reject the alienation caused by adopting a precise ideology; and we are trying to avoid a centralisation of tasks. Each individual in any group must be responsible at the level of the coordination for action, propaganda, etc. We never delegate responsibility to anyone else, each person must accept his own full responsibility. We met and organised on the basis of concrete tasks; when these tasks disappear as such, the organisation will announce its dissolution.

What do you think of the CNT?

Well, to be clear, we'll answer that question in two parts.

Historically, the CNT had the possibility of bringing about the revolution in 1936 after crushing the military uprising almost single-handed. Four months later it entered into the formation of a non-revolutionary, or should we say counter-revolutionary, government with four ministers. We don't agree with the idea of personal error

the green light. Those who believed the CNT to be a valid choice did so on the following analysis: it would assemble all the distinctly anti-authoritarian and anti-capitalist tendencies, thus galvanising all the forces that aspired to social change over the whole country. They participated in the reconstruction of the CNT on the basis of that analysis, without for that abandoning the Autonomous Groups.

Today, after four years' experience of the CNT in the social movement, our critique is the same as that which can be made of any syndical organisation or party as an element of integration that capitalism uses to maintain its equilibrium. We also think that there are revolutionary nuclei within the CNT, but that, obviously coming into contrast with the syndical bureaucracy, they cannot evolve towards a clear position.

Can we say in that case that you are against the CNT?

Yes, in as far as it is a syndical organisation. Very well, but we must point out that we don't have any particular phobia against the CNT; it simply



on the part of Montseny or Garcia Oliver, but consider it was the organisational structure of the CNT that allowed such a situation. The CNT, which went from union to revolutionary organisation before and during the coup d'état, did not know how to come out of such a situation, congealing at the decisive moment. After that it was towed along by a government that was almost as reactionary as that which brought about the coup d'état.

At first, the re-constitution of the CNT revived the argument within the Autonomous Groups. Some found the possibility of change represented by the CNT valid; others thought it was a political mistake favoured by the mirage that things change with democracy. They also thought an analysis of the evolution of Spanish capitalism and the workers' and social movement was necessary before giving the CNT

enters the critique we make of unions and parties, to the extent that we do not consider them adequate instruments for a social revolution.

Without doubt it has happened that some of those among us have belonged to the CNT at individual level, and connections and responsibilities have been drawn from that. In fact, when the Barcelona ones fell, both the police and capital's propaganda apparatus did all they could to make them into the 'armed wing' of the CNT; the thing was repeatedly denied in front of both the Guardia Civil and the judges, and in communiques later sent out of prison. At most the police found some CNT membership cards at some of our homes because some joined at the beginning; but what the police presented as a 'find' doesn't correspond to reality.

What do you think of the FAI?

Which one? Because there are a number of them, aren't there?

The only element we have to judge is the meeting that took place at the beginning of 1977. Our critique of them is that it doesn't seem right to us for people with no real base to meet with a view to building point blank a complete organisation, given that if the base groups that they claimed to represent existed, they evidently didn't have any concrete practice. But, in the end, we don't believe that the FAI exists at the moment.

Now, if it's a question of the historical FAI, things become more com-

For us revolutionary armed struggle is the radical contestation of capital. It is the only form of coherent struggle against the institutionalised repression of the State; we don't see why proletarians shouldn't use it.

We have a different opinion of the armed struggle carried out by these two organisations. In the case of the ETA, we agree if it is a question of a strategy for struggling against the State; now, if it is to edify the Basque 'socialist' State, then we don't agree. We think that the ETA should clearly expose their social project; as far as that is concerned the military ETA seem to

the Autonomous Groups are there in prison at the moment?

About thirty.

Do you identify with any movements in other countries?

We identify with the autonomous movement; concretely, with those in France, Italy, Germany... The Autonomous Groups are not a nationalist but an internationalist movement; finally, it is practice that identifies us with other groups and organisations.

How do you think prisoners' struggle should be at the present time?

We have often said that we don't want economic solidarity, for people to send us clothes or food, etc. We understand solidarity as being in action. We understand by prisoners' aid actions going towards their liberation, as well as the global attack on the capitalist system.

Have you received aid from the CNT?

Some of us at the start of our imprisonment and during the first months, constantly received economic aid from the CNT. Still now we get money orders now and again from some unions such as the Chemical of Barcelona. But, on the other hand we must add that the CNT has also boycotted demonstrations or meetings organised for our support such as the Manleu one in 1978.

Have you received any other kind of aid from other organisations?

Some of us, from the Association of Prisoners' Families and Friends, and, at the beginning of our imprisonment, from Madame 'J'.

What do you think of the youth of today?

In the present youth there are new aspects to take into consideration. Vast sectors of this youth are refusing to take on their roles of exploiters, exploited or intermediaries in this kind of exploitation; in a word, they are refusing salaried work.

Today capitalism can give itself the luxury of leaving certain sectors of youth on the margins of the production circuits, but not on the margin of the circuits of consumerism. This marginalisation has shown capital's true nature very clearly, giving rise to a generalised refusal, and a revolutionary consciousness in the same sectors of youth. The direct recuperation of clothing, food, books, etc has become a generalised practice among the young to supply their daily needs. In this way they are taking back a minute part of all that capital steals from us.

What do you think about drugs?

That they are very good. But we don't attach enough importance to them to adopt an agreement at organisational level on the subject. In any case, the problem is how and why one uses them.

How do you envisage daily life in the street?

Well, apart from the fact that we enjoy ourselves more there than we do here, daily life conditions your social position. For us, armed struggle is the struggle against a society that doesn't allow us to develop as whole individuals.

Do you consider hold-ups as a means of subsistence?

The coordination of groups, in as far as it is a project of action or joint action, requires certain economic means in order to function. For the moment we have nothing against having recourse to expropriation to cover our personal needs when necessary. Of course we don't live from expropriations as a group, because some of us work and others don't. In other words, each one organises his life as he can and as he likes.

Obviously, we don't devote all our efforts to that, although the actions we have done have been in that area. There are some we don't want to disclose for obvious reasons, and others again that have been claimed by groups like the GRAPO or the FRAP, who have even been sentenced for them. Well, they must have their reasons...

Are you following the preparations for the next CNT congress with any interest?


Yes, we have read something on the subject, but we're not very up to date. We only know the items on the agenda a little.

So, if you have seen the agenda, what do you think will come out of it?

Our first impression is that it's 'wild' because of the assortment of themes, and we think that it would take a long time to discuss them all conscientiously. But above all we note the absence of a profound critique of the CNT's interventions during the Spanish revolution, a self-criticism of the ideological positions and organisational structure that allowed so much personal failing. One thing we want to point out — although out of the question at the moment — is that, although we are against unions and parties that doesn't mean to say we are against intervention in the factories and workplaces. In other words all workerist positions seem bad to us, but it seems right that the workers should meet and organise in meetings to decide on their struggle. What we don't like is institutionalised union practice.

You don't think that in the last analysis it is the workers alone who must emancipate themselves, and no other social class?

Yes, of course, because in spite of the fact that some of us are not salaried workers, we consider ourselves to be an integral part of the proletariat. Without being exploited in a factory, we are none the less oppressed in social relations mediated by power and money. Our concept of proletarian considers all those from capital has taken the means of production.



plicated. Our critique of the historical FAI is the following: although a revolutionary situation had been made possible by the use of armed struggle, we believe the FAIist movement began from the spontaneous organisation of the workers to physically protect themselves from the *pistoleros* of the bosses at the beginning of the 20's, but that, in establishing itself as a permanent organisation, it reached the point of substituting itself for the working class in the field of its own tasks. We recognise that it created a revolutionary situation, but we maintain that they were just as incapable as the CNT of making the revolutionary perspective triumph. We believe that this lack of initiative is the logical consequence of a lack of clear ideas on the way in which the working class must take on its tasks, without ever delegating its responsibilities to anyone.

The other fault we see in the FAI is that it takes on the role of ideological management of the CNT in as anarchists, which has favoured the entry of intellectuals; and it is these groups of intellectuals who have always prevented things reaching a revolutionary outcome.

You are continually evoking armed struggle, but, as you know, there are other organisations that practise armed struggle, for example the ETA or the GRAPO. What do you think about that armed struggle and its organisations?

be more coherent to us, even though still very vague on this subject.

As far as the GRAPO is concerned, the first inconsistency we notice is that they are struggling with arms for a republic; because even Manuel Fraga Iribarne could fight for a republic, and even without arms. The second inconsistency that we see is that the GRAPO appeared precisely at the time of the transition from dictatorship to 'democracy', and appeared with anti-fascist projects; while in reality a coherent project of armed struggle at that time was only possible on anti-capitalist bases that go beyond the evolution of the State. Fascism and democracy are two forms of capitalist dominion. The third inconsistency is that no one, especially ourselves, can understand the majority of their actions, given that only a minute part of them can be justified from a revolutionary point of view.

What do you think of the FIGA?

Well, first of all, we lack information given that we got to know each other in prison and haven't really gone into deep discussions. Moreover, we don't remember any of your actions that would give us an idea where you are going. In spite of that, you give us the impression of claiming to take the place of the historic FAI.

How many individuals belonging to

Do you think the revolution is viable today, bearing in mind above all the macro-structure of capital and the means of communication, etc?

We think the French movement of May '68 demonstrated clearly that conditions for a social revolution were really present, with a greater possibility in the countries where capitalism is more developed.

It seems to me that there is a contradiction in what you are saying, because over-developed countries such as the United States are further away than ever from revolution. That's how I see it at least. What do you think?

None of us know the United States, but we do know countries like Italy, France, etc, and we think the conditions for a revolution exist.

You don't think that May '68 was a failure in as far as nothing concrete crystallised, and that nothing of the possible conquests has survived?

We absolutely don't consider it to have been a failure, but quite the image of a revolution possible in a developed country. There was equally a rupture with the traditional left—which was framing and capitalising proletarian revolt and which it then became a mechanism within the capitalist system.

What we did find negative in the revolutionaries of the French May was their incapacity to take advantage, as they could have done, of the fact that the trade unions and parties showed themselves up as elements of capitalist integration. The parties and unions are the left and the extreme left of capital. Their programmes are purely those of capital; they only want to improve its management, not reject it. Only the situationists drew the right theoretical conclusions at that time. May '68 was the seed, not the death, of contemporary revolution.

Well, you say you are making the revolution by yourselves; and for the moment?

But of course, we are certainly not irrational. And at least we are working out an analysis of the environment we find ourselves in, of all the forces that are intervening, in order to act accordingly in a determined way. We believe that it is in analysing the enemy that you find your allies.

So you will agree with Bakunin's formula when he says, 'The freedom of others is the condition of my own freedom'.

Of course! You've said it, well done!

Do you think that with your structure you will succeed in the subversion of the capitalist social order and the base that supports it?

Yes. But we repeat that the coordination of the Autonomous Groups was created for the organisation of concrete tasks and, in some way, as the only means that will lead us to revolution. Given that the coordination of

Autonomous groups is not a traditional organisation, in the face of a concrete situation different to that of the present time, we are ready to reconsider our form of organisation.

At the moment would you have no confidence in any organisation other than the Autonomous Groups?

First of all, we don't claim revolutionary exclusiveness. In fact, we think one can disagree with an organisation at theoretical level and, on the contrary, be in complete agreement with its practice. All that is relative. In the same way we believe that an organisation will reach one end or another, according to the means it uses.

Do you think you will get out of prison thanks to a pre-revolutionary situation, an amnesty, or rather that you won't be out for a long time, given the heavy sentences the procurator is asking for? And, do you think a revolution is possible today?

In reply to the first question, we would say we are trying not to forecast the future, but to transform it. As far as the second is concerned, who wants to say 'today', with ten or fifteen years' delay? Yes, then, and the sooner the better. We think the objective conditions already exist; only the subjective ones are lacking.

Good, but do you think that a revolution is possible at national level?

No, we don't think that in absolute. We think it would take at least the participation of half of Europe for there to be a certain chance of extension at world level, and for it not to end up like Russia, China, Algeria, Cuba, etc.

Let's come back to amnesty. Do you think there will be some kind of struggle in prisons, especially now that there is talk of a possible amnesty for the Basque prisoners?

Yes, we see the possibility of a struggle for amnesty inside the prisons, but linked to a context of generalised struggle in the streets. It has been demonstrated that alone, we can be kept quiet as soon as they want us to.

On the other hand, if there were an amnesty, but with the present level of repression still existing, the prisons would fill up again in no time, and probably with some of us again. Consequently, such an amnesty is a pure illusion.

Do you consider yourselves political prisoners?

No, we consider ourselves prisoners of the system.

What do you think of common law prisoners?

What one calls common law or 'social' prisoners are a consequence the capitalist system's irrationality and anti-natural character. It's no coincidence that the majority of them come from the proletariat. They have tried to escape the poverty capital as it has

sentenced them to, without taking account of either social or production relations. Some have acquired a revolutionary awareness through the struggles in the prisons. We have had both positive and negative experiences with them, just as with those who call themselves political prisoners.

We think they have the same revolutionary possibilities as a worker; and, like him, everything depends on what he does about it.

What do you think of the prisoners who find themselves in prison for having tried to get into capitalist roles?

We refuse prison, even for a bourgeois; it only makes sense in the capitalist system. We think that in a communist system, all anti-social habits should be discussed by all the members of the affected community and an adequate solution be found for each individual case.

Prison, and this has been confirmed, gives no positive results. It only exists in so far as the capitalist system is not capable of resolving its own contradictions.

Including the fascists that are locked up at Ciudad Real?

We repeat, each concrete case must be studied and find its solution through the community. We think that in the case of the fascists of Ciudad Real, they would get a bullet through the head, and that they will get it!

Have you anything to add to this interview?

Of course, we have a lot of things to say, but we'll wait for another occasion so as not to exhaust you.

INSURRECTION

Every new idea and institution, all progress and every revolution have always been the work of minorities. It is our aspiration and our aim that everybody should become socially conscious and effective; but to achieve this end, it is necessary to provide all with the means of life and for development, and it is therefore necessary to destroy with violence, since one cannot do otherwise, the violence which denies these means to the workers.

Naturally, the 'small numbers', the minority, must be sufficient, and those who imagine that we want to have an insurrection a day without taking into account the forces opposing us, or whether circumstances are in our favour or against us, misjudge us. In the now remote past we were able, and did, carry out a number of minute insurrectionary acts which had no probability of success. But in those days we were indeed only a handful, and wanted the public to talk about us, our attempts were simply means of propaganda.

Now it is no longer a question of uprisings to make propaganda; now we can win, and so we want to win, and only take such action when we think we can win. Of course we can be mistaken, and on the grounds of temperament may be led into believing that the fruit is ripe when it is still green; but we must confess our preference for those who err on the side of haste as opposed to those who always play a waiting game and let the best opportunities slip through their fingers for them, through fear of picking a green fruit then let the whole crop go rotten!

Errico Malatesta

(October 1979) *Umanita' Nova*, September 6 1921



CHRONICLE

The following Chronicle, begun in Issue One and which we intend to continue in future issues of *Insurrection*, is more than a simple statement of events. Taken singly, each item is an individual act on one side or other of the class conflict. As such it remains isolated. Seen together these acts make up a class offensive.

Although obviously incomplete, it shows the mechanism of repression at work at all levels, from the brute force of the workplace and the massacre that takes place there daily, the violence of police and prison, to more subtle forms through education and the media. This mechanism is neither abstract nor anonymous. The exploiting class is

FEBRUARY

FEBRUARY 1 1984: 3 pensioners die in a fire at their home in Ormskirk, Lancashire caused by candles used for lighting.

FEBRUARY 2 1984: Nissan deal signed at meeting between Japanese president (and murderer) Takahashi and Employment secretary (and murderer) Norman Tebbit. A no-strike demand has been pledged by the accommodating unions./ Gilbert & Page factory at Colney Heath Hatfield which makes snares and pens, was destroyed by fire claimed by Animal Liberation group./ Spy squads are being trained by police for DHSS.

FEBRUARY 3 1984: Philip Birch is fined £200 at Newbury magistrates court for 'actual bodily harm' and 'criminal damage' when he tried to gatecrash (literally) the Greenham Common missile base in January./ All GCOH staff who refuse to give up union membership and decline offer of a job elsewhere are to be sacked./ TUC secretary Len Murray tells TUC conference in London that British workers must take lower pay rises if they are to 'win' shorter hours as a way to reducing unemployment./ Train driver and guard Bernard Leonard and Jim Young are both killed in a train crash involving 2 freight trains at Crewe./ A 20 year old Londoner prisoner walks out of Lewes jail with a crowd of visitors.

FEBRUARY 5 1984: A primary school in Berkshire is destroyed by fire the day before term starts./ The Duke of Beaufort, 83, dies in his bed.

FEBRUARY 6 1984: Police raid offices of Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace after they publicise details re radioactive dumping./ Police use taperecorders for first time in interrogations at Holborn, Croydon, Wirral, Leicester, Winchester and South Tyneside./ Department of Employment enquiry begun into death of YOP worker, 16 year old Andrew Lewis, crushed to death by machinery. He was dragged between rollers after his overalls caught on a conveyer belt. The machine had no protective cover, the belt was broken and part missing./ 9 people arrested outside London High Court during Animal Liberation Front protest at delay of appeal sentence for Steve Boulding jailed for 15 months last June. for conspiracy to cause damage at lab using animals in experiments.

FEBRUARY 7 1984: Eight seamen drown in freezing channel when their freighter sinks in a storm./ Animal Rights protesters try to stop lorry carrying thousands of chickens into a slaughterhouse. About 40 protesters demonstrated outside Lloyd Maunder abattoir and poultry processing plant nr Cullompton, Devon, also at slaughterhouses in Bradford, Winchester, Brachley, Bolton, Edinburgh and Burwash Common. 3 arrests in Winchester./ 1,700 people have their electricity cut off every week for failure to pay bills, and more than 15,000 a year are left without supply for at least a month./ Workers occupying rig for 30 days Sovereign Explorer anchored off Largs are ordered to put an end to sit in in protest against illegal repairs done on board.

FEBRUARY 8 1984: Sarah Tisdall committed for trial for rendering public date of Cruise missile arrival./ Princess Margaret leaves Heathrow for annual holiday on Caribbean island of Mystique./ US airman Gregory Zapp is to be flown back to America and discharged because he has married a Greenham Common woman./ London metropolitan police announce last year's 'crime' figures as 659,000.

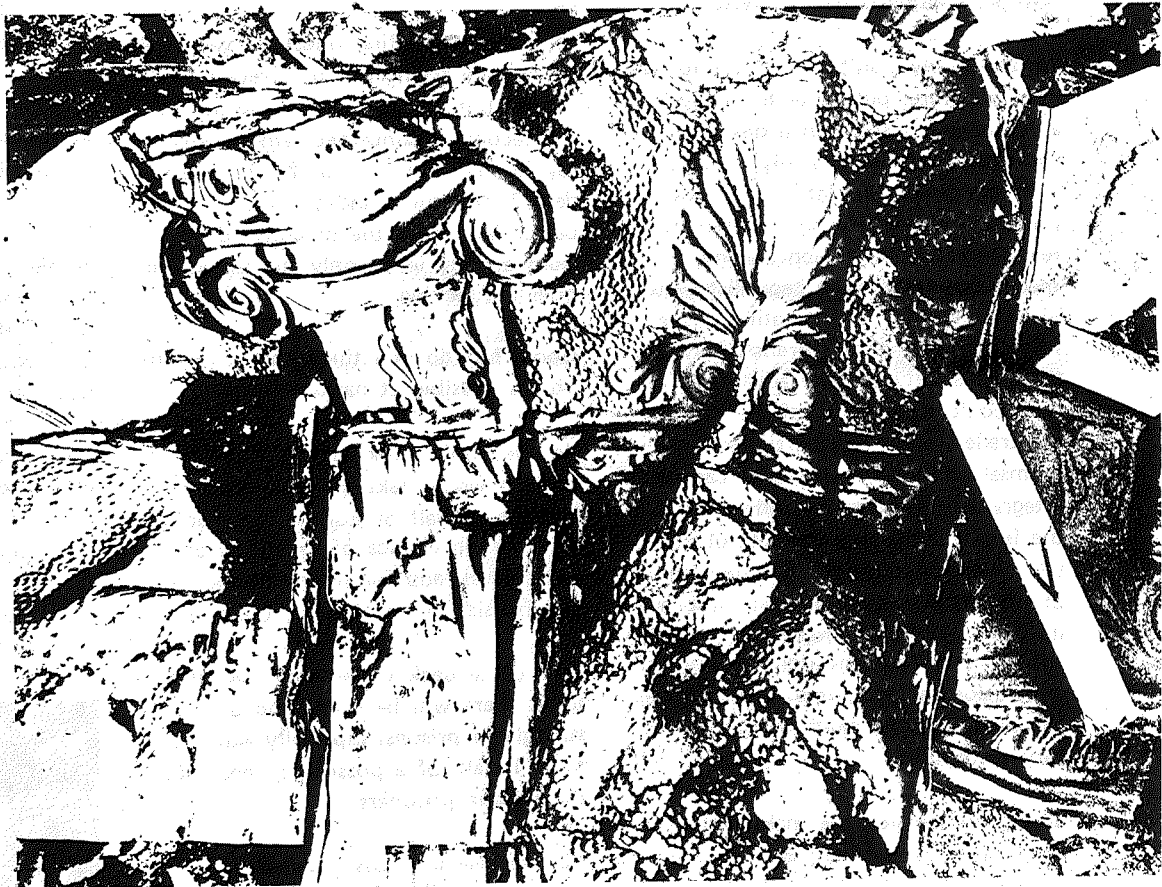
700 Manchester civil servants will strike on 28th in protest against union ban. They do not agree with leaders' sell-out offering a no-strike, no disruption deal./ Hertfordshire education 'leaders' have decided to cut women kitchen workers' wages by 25%/ Inflation rate has fallen 5.1% mainly due to price curbs in nationalised industries./ Government spending cuts in July mean 20,000 less university places./ 7 American servicemen at Greenham Common are to be discharged following drugs charges./ In 1980 1,726 American servicemen were taken off duties related to nuclear weapons because of drugs related offences./ Spontaneous walk-out by workers (2,000) at Scott Lithgow Yard in response to bid by Trafalgor House to take over yard and cut jobs by about 2,000.

FEBRUARY 10 1984: Kevin Fisher and his 5 children die as fire destroys their council house in Glamorgan./ Prisoners interrogated after fake revolver found in lavatory cistern at Winsor Green prison.

FEBRUARY 11 1984: 2,000 Scott Lithgow workers vote to occupy yard./ 11 Greenham Common women fined £5 each and jailed for a week for causing obstruction outside missile base./ Boy of 17 dies

composed of men and women, each one of whom is responsible to one degree or another.

On the other hand, the response of the exploited class is constant. Often their actions go unnoticed at public level. They are deliberately concealed by those who fear their spreading, or are relegated, often by the 'revolutionary' movement itself, to the burial ground of 'illegality' as soon as they go beyond the boundary of the 'legitimate defence' of the trade unions into the field of attack. Seeing this conflict set out simply and clearly should be a useful instrument of analysis and an orientation towards revolutionary action.



after being crushed between lift and shaft wall in multistorey block of flats in Liverpool.

FEBRUARY 13 1984: 2 policemen are attacked by a gang of youths at Manor Way, Boreham when they try to arrest one of them for being drunk./ Angry miners from doomed colliery Polmaise, Stirling burst into Press conference hurling abuse at union leaders following Scottish delegates' meeting.

FEBRUARY 14 1984: Sunrise raid on Greenham women's camp. 18 of 40 tents lost. All are already rebuilding on 'forbidden land'./ Over 200 schoolchildren at Wyke Manor School, Bradford, walk out of school after allegations of racism among staff. They waved banners 'Equal rights for all' and 'Fight for your rights'.

FEBRUARY 15 1984: Royal Society for Prevention of Accidents (sic) report: 750 lives officially lost per year at work; 500,000 injuries

FEBRUARY 16 1984: In Bristol an 18 year old opens fire on police then shoots himself in the head.

FEBRUARY 17 1984: 20 LEB meter collectors suspended for fiddling meters./ Police restrain man in smart grey suit and tea cosy on his head trying to get into Royal Society of Arts while Prince Charles is making a speech./ Scotland Yard formally apologise to London couple who suffered multiple wounds, were 'wrongly arrested' and maliciously prosecuted by two unnamed policemen—7 years ago.

FEBRUARY 20 1984: Over 20 top Scotland Yard officers are forming a 'staff association'./ 6 seamen drown in a tug sinking off Land's End. 16 arrests after clashes between hunt saboteurs and police at a harecoursing meeting in Altcar, Lancs which resulted in its being postponed./ 4 Greenham women jailed after refusing to pay fines./ Polmaise, Stirlingshire coalmine workers to go on unofficial strike from tomorrow./ Police raids on 2 S London estates, Avondale and Astley-Cooper at Rotherithe and Bermondsey involving 80 police.

FEBRUARY 21 1984: 1,000 jobs to go in white collar section of Thames water authority.

FEBRUARY 22 1984: IBA demands gov-

ernment cut down on pirate radio stations. /Home secretary **Leon Brittan** discloses that over 20,000 plastic bullets have been purchased by police in England and Wales. /Met police announce tests of water cannon. Home secretary says there 'may be circumstances where further equipment may be required'. A range of alternatives are available.

FEBRUARY 23 1984: Ballistic experts investigate damage to parked car near **Pirbright Army Ranges, Camberley**. 2½in jagged hole in Volkswagen beetle was caused by a missile or shotgun fire travelling at high speed and broke through the window on other side. Had anyone been in the car it would have gone through their head. 3 people have been shot by stray bullets from that range to date. /Two **Greenham** women held. They were seen at 2am between perimeter fence and silos on S side of airfield. Women heard 'two loud bangs like shots' after refusing to obey orders to lie down. /**GYT** admits to using soldiers 'for years' in chemical warfare experiments. /Coal boss **Ian McGregor** pushed to ground by striking miners in demo of 600 at **Ellington Colliery, Blyth, Northumberland**. /Thatcher rejects offer by **TUC** general secretary **Len Murray** for TUs at **GCHQ** to give up all industrial rights and keep only nominal membership of unions.

FEBRUARY 24 1984: More than 10,000 people are being held prisoner on remand in SE region.

FEBRUARY 27 1984: Farmer **Richard Markham** of **Home Farm, Henton** denies criminal damage after labourer **Roy Tapping** loses an arm in faulty farm machinery.

MARCH

MARCH 1 1984: Air Marshall **Sir Michael Giddings**, deputy chief of defence staff is having his house on round the clock police watch following 600 letters, a parcel of shit, and 2 deputations to his home as 4,000 registered protesters try to prevent widening of Archway Road. /Increases of up to 30% will take place in health service charges over the next two years.

MARCH 3 1984: Secretary of State for **Wales** hit by rotten eggs and oranges and stink bombs are thrown obliging him to abandon an address to conservative students at **University of Wales, Aberystwyth** by protesters against education cuts. /At **High Wycombe** two 160 ft cranes are scaled and occupied as well as some smaller ones and a deep bunker at the **RAF Strike Command** headquarters being built in the compound. /3 women are held after slogans are daubed around the **Mall** shopping centre and council offices. /London cinema plans to show 10 'forbidden' films to highlight censorship of home videos.

MARCH 5 1984: **Scotland Yard** confirm that detectives are investigating beatings by screws in segregation wings at **Wandsworth** prison following protests in January against increasingly harsh regime. /10 million TU members are to meet sharply increased contributions. /3 men are killed when the derelict flat they are squatting catches fire.

MARCH 6 1984: 56,000 miners are about to strike over pit closures. Manager of **Yorkshire Main Colliery** hit by stone thrown by picket. /12 women evicted from **Greenham Common** peace camp.

MARCH 7 1984: **Unilever** has referred

more than 700 people to skin specialists to examine rashes caused by one of their washing powders. 5,000 wrote to the company complaining of skin rashes as a result of this domestic chemical warfare. /Deputy governor of **Maze Prison** brought to justice. Over and above his official role as State incarcerator he was known to have organised and directed beatings of prisoners. /**Association of Metropolitan Authorities** reckon it will take over £5,000,000 to render habitable council dwellings that have been hastily built with inadequate materials. /Police chief of **New York** and **New Jersey Port Authority** visits **Railton Road** and imparts some of his latest refinements in publicising ethnic minorities to his London buddies.

MARCH 8 1984: 4 workers survive due only to their own ingenuity after spending more than 3 hours trapped in a tunnel filled with poisonous fumes in **Staffordshire**. /19 women arrested outside **British Film Academy** in **Picadilly** where American sponsored military technology seminar is being held. /Government tries to bribe young miners into voluntary resignation by improving redundancy rates. /50 14 yr. old schoolchildren at **George Green** comprehensive school in **Manchester Road, Isle of Dogs**, gather outside school gates and refuse to go in after asbestos is found in classroom.

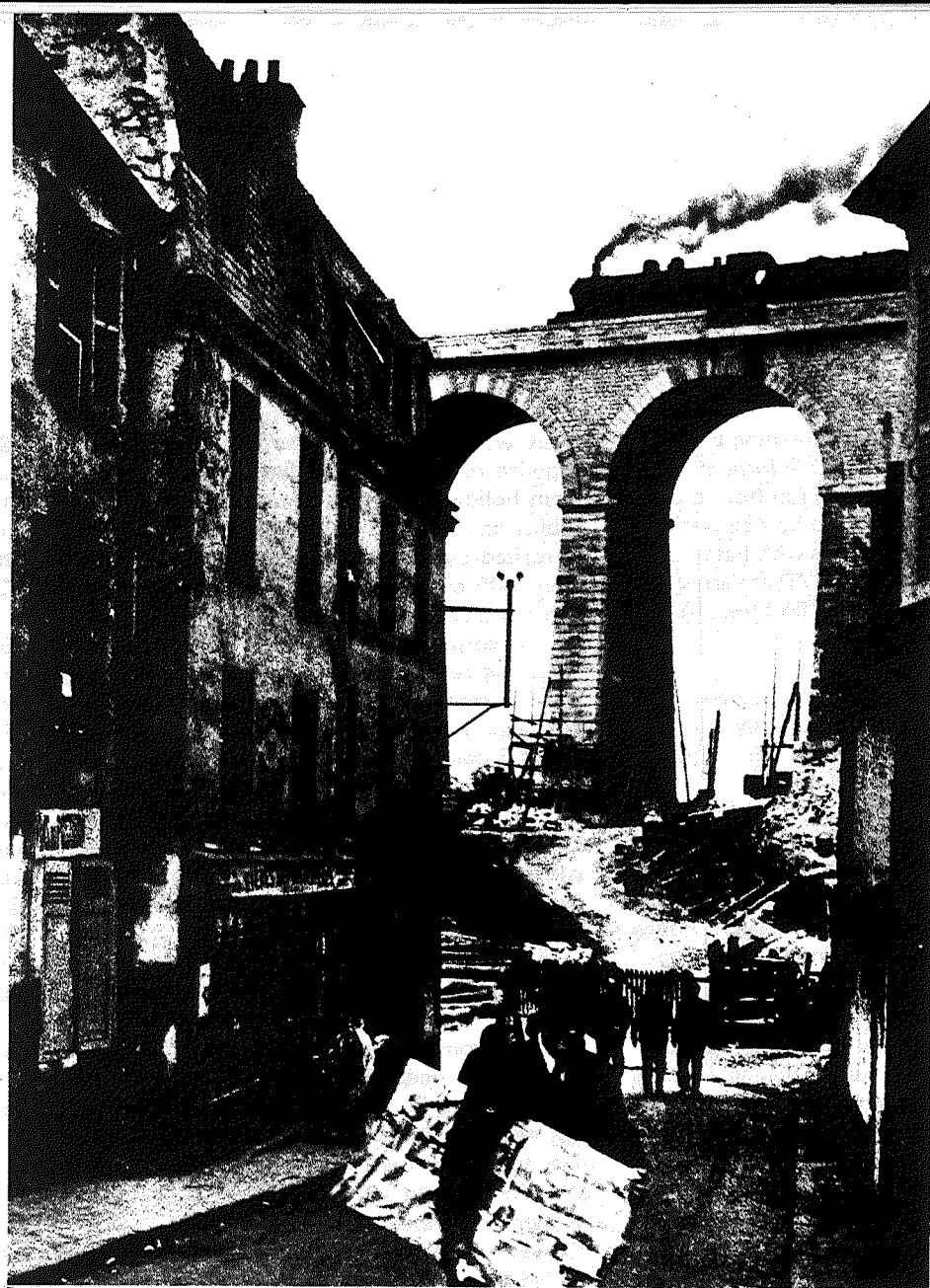
MARCH 9 1984: **McGregor** announces cut of 4,000,000 tonnes in coal production next year and intended closure of 20 pits and loss of 20,000 jobs. /3 women on trial for breaking into traffic control tower at **Greenham**. /60% of population will be affected by Health Service clause limiting supply of NHS spectacles to children under 16 and people 'on very low incomes'. /**Ministry of Defence** are to pay out £31m on biggest exodus of British armed forces on the continent in **Operation Lionheart** involving 130,000 British servicemen, almost ½ of which will be transported to W. Germany. 57,700 will be sent by air and there will be 82 boat departures from **Folkstone** in the first half of September. /**Cruise** convoy leaves **Greenham Common** shortly after midnight, its 12 huge vehicles taking protesters by surprise.

MARCH 10 1984: **NCB** will not take action against flying pickets under 1980 Employment Act for fear of worsening dispute. / Bosses to get more Government money for **YOPs**—increase from £1,950 each to £2,050 from September.

MARCH 13 1984: **Heseltine** proposes centralisation of **Ministry of Defence**, which would greatly strengthen the role of Chief of Defence Staff. / **Notts NUM** president **Ray Chadburn** and area manager **Henry Richardson** issue public statement condemning **Yorkshire** pickets. /There are 131,000 empty houses in London (at least): **Southwark** 4619, **Hackney** 3203, **Lambeth** 2280, **Islington** 22224, **Lewisham** 1657, **Tower Hamlets** 1570. /Women at **Greenham Common** padlock and superglue exit gate after convoy drives out. /Pickets close S. Wales coalfield. 10 pits closed in **Scotland**.

MARCH 14 1984: **David Martin**, jailed for 25 years for wounding a policeman, is found hanging in his cell at **Parkhurst** prison. /More than 2,000 miners are on the move as flying pickets succeed, often through strength in numbers, in closing 14 out of 25 **Notts** pits, all 5 in **Lancashire**, and 8 out of 9 in **Derbyshire**.

MARCH 15 1984: Diary pages disappear from **Brixton** prison office containing



names and addresses of some of the guards. At one address in **Penge**, S. London, live at least 25 screws and their families. /Flying pickets defy court order and return to pits. /Banks give boost to industry by cutting interest rates. /Budget gives rich another chance to get richer through capital tax transfer tax hand-outs. 15% VAT added to fish and chips and other takeaway food. /Senior magistrate in **Bradford** says 4 out of 10 people appearing before him cannot afford to live within the law, and refuses to jail or fine unemployed parents.

MARCH 16 1984: Picketing miner **David Gareth Jones** aged 24 is killed, crushed during clashes with police at **Ollerton, Notts**. /**NCB** given go-ahead to sue **Yorkshire** miners. /Sergeant **Ian Speed**, who 'was being careful I did not do anything to restrict his breathing' (**James Davey's**, who at the time was handcuffed with 2 pairs of cuffs and his legs were bound with rope), released his head-lock after his mates told him the man had gone blue and had stopped breathing—inquest continues. /Classroom block at **Purbrook Junior School, Waterlooville, Hampshire** burnt down Tuesday night —£75,000 damage. /**Westlands School, Sittingbourne, Kent**, broken into and furniture smashed and videos taken.

MARCH 17 1984: **Upper Heyford**—300 protesters clash with police. Sections of perimeter fence torn down and dozens invade the base until they are driven back by police and dogs.

MARCH 20 1984: Struggle between women and council workmen trying to evict them from the **Blue Gate** at **Greenham**. The **York** to **Hull** motorway is closed off when police see an abandoned car with a N. Ireland registration parked in a lay-by outside women's toilets. A remote control robot is used to blast the boot open—the bomb wires turn out to belong to a stereo and speakers belonging to an 18 year old soldier who had run out of petrol. /**Animal Rights** supporters sabotage computers and lab equipment at a top research centre. 3 cages of rats are also freed from the **Institute of Psychiatry, Denmark Hill, Camberwell**. 42 pits are now left working, the remaining 124 are at a standstill.

MARCH 21 1984: Trial at **Old Bailey** of a group of tenants from rat infested **Fair-**

lop Road, Leytonstone where they had been sent by **DHSS**. They had organised to defend themselves with molotovs against skinheads hired by the landlord at £10 per head to evict them. /Some doctors complain about medical records being held on **Databank** and subsequently passed on to police, customs and excise, inland revenue, social and education dept. computers. /Children stage lightning strike in support of miner fathers. Police are called when they form a picket line outside comprehensive school in **Yorkshire** coalfield after notice appeared on school notice board 'all out at 1.15pm—meet at the school gates'. /**Epperstone Manor** police training school nr **Nottingham** is one of the bases they have been billeted to in the war against the miners. /**Chesterfield Council** evict 140 police from entertainment hall they had taken over.

MARCH 22 1984: Miners' strike figures according to **Scotland Yard**: 4,600 pickets at 43 sites; 7,000 police mobilised. 96 arrests since last week.

MARCH 23 1984: **Sarah Tisdall** jailed for 6 months for publicising date of arrival of **Cruise** missiles, thus breaking her pledge of loyalty to the State. /25,000 people a year are accused of shoplifting in London.

MARCH 26 1984: Massive police operation to evict inhabitants of **Effra Parade** squats. 130 Police, many in riot gear, flank **Lambeth Council** demolition squad. They came into the street at 4.30am and were met by barricades and a barrage of bricks and debris. The battle lasted for some hours. 6 comrades arrested.

MARCH 27 1984: Several hundred miners close 12 mile stretch of motorway. Others drive in convoy at 5mph up and down A1 between **Wadworth** and **Blyth** nr **Doncaster**. 80 arrested. /5,600 extra police are on duty confronting an estimated 2150 pickets at 28 working collieries. Most were drafted, some are volunteers, egged on by the promise of huge overtime payments. A 'mutual aid' (their definition) system is being run by **David Hall**, Chief Constable of **Humberside**, and President of the **Police Association Andrew Sloan**, Chief Constable of **Bedfordshire**, that came into force in 1981 when riots spread throughout the country. The aim is to rapidly deploy riot trained police to any part of the country. Both the **Home Office** and the

Police Association are insisting that this is in no way an embryonic form of national police force. It is being run from the 13th Floor of Scotland Yard by Association of Chief Police Officers with liaison officers from the Home Office. /There are about 4,600 miners picketing 85 sites. Deployment of 5,800 police.

MARCH 28 1984: More motorway 'go-slows'. Major roads blocked by miners' cars. Pickets abandon vehicles en masse on A 38 a mile from Derby.

MARCH 29 1984: Extensive damage to weighbridge office at **Hem Heath** caused by fire bomb. /21 pickets arrested at **Blyth Power Station, Northumberland**. /**Prince William Barracks, Grantham, Notts** requisitioned by 500 police. /**Stop the City** - Road blocks, leafletting, flag burning, picketing of banks, burning of UB40s, bank windows smashed, singing, chanting takes place on the last day of the 'financial year'. 396 arrests. / At **Greenham Common** women use their bodies as barriers to block Cruise missile convoy of 26 vehicles. They force the missile launcher carrier onto the verge, smashing a sign on the fence. One man tried to ram the convoy with a Volkswagen car.

MARCH 30 1984: 46 year old **Clementine George**, tied to radiator and beaten in the stomach, arms and chest by police when they ransacked her home to search for her son, gets damages award in High Court. /**British Telecom**, due to make £1 billion profit, is to be sold off by government as part of its privatisation programme. Services and jobs will be cut. /**Washington, Tyne and Wear**, has been chosen as site for Japanese car company **Nissan**. They intend to be in operation by 1986, and unions have given fullest cooperation to maintain the 'simple system' favoured in Japan, for the 400/500 workers they intend to employ there.

APRIL

APRIL 1 1984: **Confederation of British Industry** forecasts that economic growth in Britain could continue well into 1985. /Unemployment continues to rise. /Maintenance workers **Leslie Downing**, 55, **Kevin Donnelly**, 30, and **Robert Ramsay**, 36, were blasted to pieces at **British Steel Works, Lackenby, nr Middlesburgh**. /**New Rent Act** is being prepared, aimed at increasing private sector rents and encouraging new landlords. /Police reinforcements drafted into **Lancashire** area. /**BNF** confirm there was a leak of radioactive material at **Sellafield** in January.

APRIL 2 1984: 120 pits are on strike, 40 are working normally.

APRIL 3 1984: **Police Federation** confirm that constables on picket line duty are getting £400/500 a week. /**NUR** step in to save **British Rail**, who had suspended two drivers for refusing to cross **NUM** picket lines, supplying replacement drivers and showing where their loyalty lies. /**RUC Constable John Robinson**, on trial for murder at **Belfast Crown Court** concerning the shooting of unarmed **Seamus Grew**, 32, and **Roderick Carroll** in **Armagh** 15 months ago is cleared by **Judge MacDermott**. During the trial **Robinson** recounted how 3 senior police officers were involved in concocting a story to stage a cover-up and give the impression that

Grew was shot after he went through a police road block. /Families returning from holiday lock themselves in their cabins on overnight **Hull/rotterdam ferry** terrorised by drunk and brawling soldiers. /800 civil service jobs to go. 650 **Job Centres** are to be closed down. /4 marine corporals are accused of brutality to young recruits at **Lympstone marine training centre**. /12 young servicemen are being questioned about drug-taking at **RAF communications centre, Digby, Lancs.** where **NATO signals** linked with **GCHQ, Cheltenham** are handled.

APRIL 4 1984: At 6 am over 300p police tear down shelters and tents at **Greenham**. A 2 mile stretch of the **A339** road was closed and a cordon formed around the camp. Bailiffs ripped down 18 tents, and returned in the afternoon to evict women from 5 other gates. 32 arrests were made. The operation was supervised by **Mr Wyn Jones**, Ass. Chief Constable of **Thames Valley Police**. / 27 year old lorry driver **Nigel Green** was killed on the **A2** when the lorry he was driving crashed and his load, 62 drums of toxic methylene chloride spilled. /More than 300 pupils were suspended after riots at **Maxborough School, School**. 150 pupils were involved in the riot where bricks were thrown and desks smashed in protest at two pupils had been sent home because of their 'spiky haircuts'.

APRIL 5 1984: Nearly 100 women return to peace camps outside gates at **Greenham Common**.

APRIL 6 1984: 2nd reading in **House of Commons** of government backed **Trespass Bill** which will lead to fines or up to 3 months jail or both. /**Nottingham NUM** leaders vote 2-1 to defy picket lines. Steel unions decide to work normally to safeguard jobs. Transport union branches offer to drive coal to keep steel works open. /**AMAC**

APRIL 9 1984: Several hundred angry strikers converge in streets leading to union offices in **Sheffield** where **NUM** executive meeting is to be held. 'Moderate' leaders ask for a shift in venue. /120 pits are closed. /

APRIL 9 1984: Several hundred angry strikers converge into the streets leading to the union offices in **Sheffield** where a **NUM** executive meeting is being held. 'Moderate' leaders ask for a change in venue. /120 pits are now closed. /**Sir Trevor Jones**, leader of the Liberal group of **Liverpool City Council**, is recovering after being attacked by a group of 15-18 year olds shouting 'Trevor Jones, fascist', followed by kicks and a hail of stones.

APRIL 10 1984: Trade union membership fell by 600,000 in 1982. / About 100 pickets are arrested outside two pits in **Nottinghamshire** and **Derbyshire** after police are taken by surprise by 'mass raids' by more than 1,000 strikers. /More than 40 miners are remanded on bail at special sittings in magistrates' courts at **Chesterfield** and **Mansfield**. /**Sarah Tisdall** is refused the right to appeal against sentence. /Complaint made by miners about police methods which include: road checks, vast numbers on picket duty, telephone tapping, use of provocateurs, indiscriminate arrests, and those arrested being held handcuffed for hours and grilled about political leanings. /The use of 'supergrasses' has led to 1,000 charges in two years in **N. Ireland**, 20 of them murder.

APRIL 11 1984: Bunches of twisted 4in nails found on the road outside **Silverdale Colliery** near **Stoke-on-Trent**. /19 women are arrested inside **Greenham airbase** on Monday night after cutting through the peri-

metre fence. /**Sheffield** is under siege from 3am. Fighting breaks out between police and miners outside **NUM** headquarters. /Miners' wives picket **Yorkshire Electricity Board** demanding a freeze on electricity bills. /4 **Sheffield** women face charges of damaging a chain link fence at **BNFP Capehurst, Sheffield** on March 25.

APRIL 12 1984: Almost 1,000 miners, 491 in **Nottinghamshire**, have been arrested in the 5 weeks since the strike began. Many have already appeared before magistrates and are on conditional bail. /MPs are worried about the privatisation later on this year of the **Royal Ordnance factories** which produce ammunition arms and grenades for the **Armed Forces**, as they will be protected by unarmed private sector guards instead of the **MOD** armed police as they are now. /Miners go towards all-out strike after crushing defeat of 'moderate' **NUM** leaders to call a ballot. /Lead filled bottle caps with four protruding screws have been used against police on some picket lines. /Day of mass demos. Drink cans and rotten fruit rained on **Nottinghamshire NUM** president. He was pushed and jostled before being escorted away by police. After a day of mass demos **Chadburn, Henry Richardson** (secretary) and **Trevor Bell** (white collar secretary) are roughed by a part of the 3,000 strong crowd. 53 arrests. /4 brothers are jailed for actual bodily harm and for making an affray at **Aylesbury Crown Court** for attacking two policemen trying to make an arrest. Their attempts failed when people poured out of their homes in **High Wycombe** to prevent them, and the man escaped.

APRIL 15 1984: Coal boss **McGregor** says troops may be used to move coal stocks.

APRIL 16 1984: **Association of Public Analysts** say one third of the fresh fruit and vegetables sold in Britain contains considerable pesticide residues, and that nut products often contain aflatoxin, a powerful carcinogen.

APRIL 17 1984: 122 pits are on strike, 43 producing normally. /At **Grimethorps Colliery** cardboard is stuffed into the fuel tank of a coal lorry and set alight. /Farmer **Richard Markham, Home Farm, Henton, Oxfordshire** had been warned twice about lack of safety measures before the 'accident' occurred which left 34 year old labourer **Roy Tapping** without an arm. It was severed on a baling machine. /police investigate arson on **HMS Victory, Portsmouth**.

APRIL 19 1984: 7,000 miners demonstrate outside **Sheffield City Hall**.

APRIL 20 1984: Deadly asbestos waste is found on a **Sheffield** rubbish tip near a childrens' play area. It had been dumped there by a contracting company.

APRIL 25 1984: Miners demonstrate about jailing of pickets.

APRIL 26 1984: More than 30 **S. Yorkshire** miners' wives march to **Nottinghamshire** after their bus is



turned back by police. They were on their way to set up a soup kitchen at Ollerton.

APRIL 27 1984: A train carrying nuclear fuel rods to Sellafield Re-processing plant, Cumbria, collides with a car at an unmanned level crossing./House of Fraser increase their profits (including proceeds of £545,000 insurance payment after Christmas bombing) by 25% to £38.8million./£3,500 damage caused to an open cast coal mine at Strawbridge, Ilkestone, Derbyshire—a bulldozer was crashed, and wiring and windscreens smashed on 4 other vehicles, whose engines were left running until they seized.

APRIL 28 1984: Trial of 17 year old farm labourer Peter Wilson, who paid a midnight visit to a stinking maggot factory and set fire to it, destroying it, after appeals by local residents to authorities, MPs, etc to have it closed were ignored.

MAY

MAY 1 1984: Magistrates' fines double to a maximum of £2,000. Maximum penalty for a small damage offence, for example, is now £1,000./Of about 45,800 people detained under PTA last year, 141 were charged with offences./3 Indian sisters aged 15, 18 and 22 kill themselves with car exhaust fumes after a family row about arranged marriages./A train carrying toxic materials falls off a bridge into the River Caldw./Fighting in the streets of Mansfield between 'Right to Work' rally and pickets, with stone throwing at police. Thousands participated on all sides./Wivenhoe Port, Essex, is brought to a halt when over 100 miners and Essex University students block the entrance to the wharf where coal from other parts of Europe is being unloaded. 69 arrests./Hampshire police charter a Boeing 737 to fly 120 police officers to picket lines in Notts. coalfields./More than 1,000 people in Sheffield's Broomhill council flats are to be evicted and the flats (built in the 60's) to be demolished./A 20 year old council worker worried about becoming unemployed due to privatisation, drives into the Derbyshire countryside and kills himself with exhaust fumes./4 S. Yorkshire miners are released after nearly two weeks in jail on obstruction charges. They were arrested on a slip-road on the M1 on April 20. Another 18 miners are fined a total of £930 for obstruction after a special delegates' conference last month in Sheffield.

MAY 3 1984: More than 1,000 pickets at Golbourne, Lancs. More than 2,000 pickets, many from S. Yorkshire evade police blocks and invade the pit village of Cotgrave./25 Kent miners are arrested at Wivenhoe Port while imported coal is being moved on to lorries.

MAY 4 1984: The Asian community of Brick Lane, Tower Hamlets, begin a vigil outside the house where the husband of Afia Begum was killed in a fire, to protest against her arrest after 15 weeks in hiding to avoid deportation.

MAY 6 1984: Mansfield rally. About 2,000 present./7 men drown after

their fishing boat is wrecked off Flamborough Head, Yorkshire.

MAY 9 1984: 5 pickets are injured and 65 arrested when mounted police are used to escort a lorry convoy leaving Hunterstone ore terminal on Clydeside for Ravenscraig steelworks. Horses ploughed through the 1,500 demonstrators present./Trial of police constable Brian Renton, ex RAF boxer, who hit 36 year old Barry Carbiell with such force that he had to have his left eye removed, leaving him blind as he had already lost the sight in the other eye through an accident at work./Detectives interview pupils at Stowe School, Buckinghamshire, after a sports pavilion is destroyed by fire, causing £25,000 damage./Chesterfield labour council decide to

allocate £50,000 from reserves to 1,000 families of striking miners./Another 32 pickets are arrested at Ravenscraig.

MAY 10 1984: The Coal Board mean to reduce manpower in the mines from 179,500 to 159,500 by next year. Over 7,000 miners have used the telephone answering service to enquire about new redundancy rates.

MAY 11 1984: 292 pickets are taken to Glasgow police stations and charged with obstruction after 8 buses on their way to Ravenscraig were intercepted by police./A coach taking 20 clerical staff to the NCB office, Duckmanton, Derbyshire, is stopped by pickets./Nearly ¼ of all the council tenants in Britain are in rent arrears. At least £240,000,000 is 'owed' to local authorities./6 lorries were sabotaged yesterday near the Port of Wivenhoe. Brake pipes were cut on 4 tractor units and 2 trailers at a yard 3 miles away at Ardleigh, nr Colchester./NUM strikers stage a sit-in at the coal board office in South Wales./A Derbyshire miner is remanded in custody by Mansfield magistrates after a fire destroys a cabin near Rufford Colliery. Shaun Buxton, 21, is accused with 4 others of conspiring to cause damage to NCB property or employees. The others were given conditional bail.

MAY 12 1984: 2 men are feared dead after falling from North Sea gas drilling rigs, one off Norfolk and the other off the Humber Coast./The Japanese company, Hitachi is shedding more than 500 jobs at its television factory in Mid Glamorgan 6 weeks after buying out GEC's share of it./437 soldiers serving in W. Germany have disappeared in the last ten years./A petrol filled milk bottle is thrown at timber on the quayside at Wivenhoe./Leon Brittan announces special subsidies will meet the cost of policing the miners' strike, now estimated at £25million.

MAY 14 1984: An arson attack destroys a signal box on the rail link between Ollerton Colliery and High Marnham power station. Effects of the blaze are estimated at £100,000./200 miners' wives are to join the picket lines at British Steel's Port Talbot plant to ask them to stop foreign coal imports./Thousands of miners' wives participate in a mass rally in Barnsley, where 10,000 demonstrators were present./A 22 year old prisoner accused of a £34,000

robbery leaps free from the dock of Sheffield Magistrates' Court./Strikers intensify action against power stations. In Ramsgate, Kent 30 miners are arrested on a picket line at the harbour where more than 200 had gathered to prevent oil from being transferred from tankers to Richborough power station./20,000 miners and their wives gather in Mansfield in the biggest demonstration yet. 40 police are injured when struggles start in the market place. 88 arrests /A group of miners' wives and children barricade themselves in a youth club in Clipstone, Notts. after being denied facilities to make meals for strikers and their families.

MAY 15 1984: 57 men, 54 of them miners, are charged with riotous assembly in a special Mansfield Court. They got conditional bail until July 26./At Bentley Colliery, S. Yorkshire coupling rods and metal weighing 60lb are sent crashing down on to the roof of the winding cage. A man is shot dead and another seriously wounded by police while they are trying to rob Ballygally post office, Co. Antrim./There have been 1,906 arrests between March 14 and May 10 connected with the miners' strike.

MAY 16 1984: 55 men, mostly miners aged 20-30 are due in court on charges of riot after Monday's rally in Mansfield./400 students barricade themselves in the North London polytechnic. A National Front news reporter is beaten up when NF militant Patrick Harrington arrives armed with a court injunction and police escort so that he can continue 'his studies' against the will of the rest of the students./Police have been raiding gay clubs in Soho daily over the past few days.

MAY 18 1984: Riot police escort Patrick Harrington into the Polytechnic, smashing through glass doors at the back to get in after 300 students block the doors. Fire extinguishers are turned on police and furniture is used as barricades./53 year old miner Joseph Pollard is killed, and another two are injured 1,000 feet underground when they are struck by a runaway truck at Whitwick Colliery, Coalville, Leicestershire.

MAY 19 1984: Miners' social security benefit is cut in an attempt to get them back to work. £15 strike pay (which they don't get) is already being deducted from social security payments. Now £4 is being taken off for food hampers received.

MAY 20 1984: John Bowden and James McCaig, aged 26 and 27, are found guilty and sentenced to 10 and 7 years at Winchester Crown Court for 'threatening to murder' Mr Gerry Schofield, assistant governor of Parkhurst jail, Isle of Wight, by holding him prisoner during a siege last year./Parents set up their own school in the mining village of Pantyfford, W Glamorgan, after being told bus fares would no longer be subsidised by the State school./50 year old miner Abraham Mbbat is recovering in hospital after nailing himself to the floor for 24 hours in protest against scabs.

MAY 23 1984: First meeting between Coal Board and NUM./BL

are to close their Bathgate plant, meaning there will be 1,800 more unemployed in the area./Justice Mac Dermott dismisses himself at Belfast Crown Court as he says police informer Ray Gilmour's statements cannot be backed up by admissible evidence./Part time office cleaner who needed money for his baby's funeral and was given £9 from social security, took £140 from his electric meter, then gave himself up to the police./45 LEB staff have been dismissed and 6 more resign for 'tampering with meters'. The national figure in this field is quoted at £40million.

MAY 25 1984: At the conference of the Justices' Clerks' Society in Blackpool it is proposed that court fines be deducted at source from social security payments.

MAY 26 1984: Workers sitting in at BL's threatened truck plant in Bathgate are warned that unless it is ended soon they will lose their redundancy money as BL will withdraw it unless production continues.

MAY 28 1984: 1,500 to 2,000 pickets at Orgreave Coking Plant in response to call for mass picket. Police operations were directed by Spt. John Nesbitt./13 miners arrested at Orgreave appear at Rotherham magistrates' court, 8 charged with public order offences, 3 with criminal damages and one with obstruction./Shirley Clark, Michael Heys, Adrian Jackson and Julie Edwards, four members of Sheffield Animal Rights group are charged with conspiracy at their second appearance at Wetherby Magistrates' Court to burn down a Leeds University laboratory./A Sheffield inquest decides it was industrial disease that killed retired miner Leslie Thomas of Beighton who was suffering from lung cancer. /Over 22 miners' support groups run by women have sprung up in Nottinghamshire./49 year old ex-miner Harold Sockett of Sheffield slashes his wrists to the bones and dies after the blood drips into a bucket at his bedside while his wife lies asleep.

MAY 31 1984: The entire stock of Leeds Polytechnic's computer equipment is stolen./500 cars full of flying pickets from Yorkshire are stopped by Nottinghamshire police (about 2,000 in all), and others on minor roads heading for Annesley and Bentinck. Stop the City 200 demonstrators try to repeat past actions. Lack of numbers, police repression, meant little happened.

ELEPHANT EDITIONS

Elephant Editions are preparing a series of anarchist paperbacks, the first of which will be in print this autumn. Our aim in the long term is to provide a series of instruments contributing to anarchist theory and action. Subjects will therefore include up-to-date analyses; accounts of past struggles seen in a critical light; theoretical elaborations ranging from anarchist aesthetics to self-management. Comrades interested in collaborating at the level of translating, copy reading, distribution, etc, should contact us at: B.M. Elephant, LONDON WC1V6XX

LETTER FROM ORAZIO VALASTRO

Lyons
July 24 1984

Dear comrades,

I want to inform you of certain events that have been taking place concerning myself and my companion, a police action attempting to tie us into a precise project of inquisition and repression concerning 'terrorism'.

On the 19th of this month three individuals, indisputably from the police, came to look for me at the house of friends where I was staying for a short period. This was in Eclassan, a small village in the Ardèche. Acting outside any 'democratic' legality whatsoever, they insisted on interrogating me, using violent methods to solicit replies on my 'political' activity, my relationships and links that I was supposed to have with *Action Directe* or the COLP.

In the face of my friends' protests, and to push their actions further, they took my identity papers, work permit, etc, from me, forced me into their car and drove to a solitary part of open countryside, continuing to threaten me as they had been doing the whole time they were questioning me.

In the countryside the situation degenerates: if I try to escape they are ready to put a bullet in me. I undergo further violence and death threats. At one point I believed they were about to fire the pistol that was being held against me if I did not consent to their proposals to work for them to help discover who it was who killed two policemen in Paris in the

summer of 1982. They were using a tape-recorder, and when I said they were trying to intimidate me in order to use me, one of the three said on tape that I would work for them.

At a certain point it seems they were satisfied enough with this terroristic practice to leave me at St Vallier railway station, giving me a ticket and 100 francs. Not knowing what had happened to my companion during this time, I phoned her from Lyons and was forced to speak to her in French. They continued to insist for a while on the 'wage' I desired, which was to take my companion and myself to Paris to infiltrate, thanks to my cover as 'anarchist militant', circles that would put them on the tracks of those who had killed their comrades. Five hours had passed by the time I sat on the train to Lyons.

There is mention in today's papers of links between *Action Directe* and the COLP, which have supposedly been forming over the past two years. It is no coincidence therefore that in their underground investigations the police are putting out feelers and trying to have a go at certain comrades active in the French anarchist and libertarian movement, and a number of reasons led them to me.

Being an immigrant with all the social difficulties that that entails, they have tried to blackmail me by leaving me without documents and under threat of death so as to force me to work for them. They obviously thought that such a socially fragile, therefore easily

impressionable subject under continual threats would passively submit to their game.

On July 23, they telephoned my companion at work to remind her of our 'pact' and to tell her they would be calling to pick us up shortly.

To try to put a brake on this action I made a declaration to the Public Prosecutor in Privas, the place in question, and also informed the Lyons tribunal.

This seems to have set things moving at the level of the judiciary and an inquest is in course, although it has not been officially opened. Of course I am not expecting this to lead to the punishment of the three outlaws as the inquest will never be completed, but through this very official channel I want to make it known to the ministry directing this affair that they can forget any further actions of the kind. The regional and national press have been informed but are keeping the information in reserve.

It is important for comrades to be aware of these events and to know that I do not participate with the named organisations in any way other than to demonstrate my solidarity against repression. Also that, taking on responsibilities with my participation in the revolutionary movement, I in no way accept ending up as a police informer, perhaps even more repulsive than any sincere or set-up *pentito*.

anarchist greetings,
Orazio Valastro

RE A COUPLE OF FOOLS AND A PIECE OF PAPER

It often happens in the international anarchist movement that duplicated or printed sheets—or should we say papers, because they bear a graphic resemblance to newspapers—are produced that are full of rubbish.

Being an anarchist doesn't prevent one from being stupid or a fool.

Usually in such cases, readers who use publications apply their own criteria of debate and reflection and quickly discard such rubbish for what it is. One gives a smile and that is the end of it.

Sometimes, however, we don't smile at fools. That happens when, putting aside confused ideas and theoretical rubbish, they turn their attention to individuals.

When they talk about other comrades, of what they are doing, what their activity represents, of projects that are under discussion, then these individuals become dangerous.

If for no other reason than that the most attentive reader of fools is precisely the police.

What to do?

Although—as a famous dictum tells us—one can defend oneself from the intelligent, the same does not apply to fools.

And that is the case. Possible defence against the damage caused by imbecility is little and inefficient.

One can explain to the fool the risk he is putting other comrades at with his "carelessness", or with his not quite correct evaluation of events and things. But can we really be sure that the fool understands? And then, having convinced one fool (one way or another), who will defend us from the next hundred who take up their pens to mess up a piece of paper?

The only solution lies in setting out one's ideas as clearly as possible, exposing one's thought as clearly as possible, precisely so as to avoid 'bad' or 'ill-meaning' interpretations being able to find space and confuse comrades.

If comrade A is accused by fool X of having done a specific thing, there is no point in entering into an argument, pointing out that such a thing did not take place, and the reasons for its impossibility. One can clarify indirectly, reconfirming the thought and action of comrade A, *as though* the intervention of the fool X did not exist.

All this is valid of course in the case of finding oneself with proof of the fellow's imbecility. In the case of his being an informer, then behaviour *must* be different, and it is not necessary to go into what that should be here, because all comrades know very well what to do about it.

THE CHURCH AND THE OBJECTIVE SPIRIT

In your article in Issue One on the 'gluten free wafer', you rightly underlined the anachronism of the catholic church's behaviour towards those of its members who are changing the composition of the sacred particle in which the body and blood of Christ consolidates and takes life.

The fact that this kind of idiocy still attracts the attention of the church leaders should not surprise us. In fact this organisation's whole power structure is based on the *objective spirit*, ie the material content of the symbol, independently of the decisions or will of the individual.

This has always been one of the strong points of catholic power. During mass, the divine service (transformation of bread and wine into the body of Christ) comes about automatically at the simple pronunciation of a few precise words by the priest (who himself has been permanently invested with certain powers by his superiors). In this way the hierarchical structure is assured in absolute. The subordinate sees in the superior one who possesses the secret of transforming reality, absolving sins, moulding character, etc, which has nothing to do with his own person or value as an individual.

This is how the widespread and terrible crimes committed by this organisation throughout its history can be

explained. From the atrocities of the inquisition to the deaths at the stake. From the support given to the forces of power everywhere (including the nazis), to financial swindles, speculation and accumulation of enormous wealth.

It is enough for the same person who handles millions through the vatican bank (IOR), has relations with Sindona's mafia organisation, and speculative swindles through the Banca Privata and the Franklin Bank, to raise his hands and repeat a few words for everyone to be sure that the mystery of the re-incarnation will take place without a doubt, and with no one being able to prevent it, even his superiors.

The strength of the catholic church lies precisely in this gigantic mechanism of absolute obedience to the *object*: the word, or ritual, or symbol. No one can put a brake on an objective process, not even the Pope himself. Think of the great power of persuasion such an idea has held for centuries.

Basically, people want some one to provide a mechanism that works, even against their own will, so long as it is objective and no opposing force can alter it. This reassures them, allows them little deviations in behaviour but which can be put back on to the rails of eternal objectivity.

Any misdeed whatsoever can be justified in this way, as long as the

mechanism continues to work.

Until recently, the myth of the objective mechanism of exploitation leading to social liberation, was the pillar of the marxist church. Then it was noticed that this mechanism was continually being altered by capital, and that without the intervention of the exploited the thing could go on indefinitely. But that dream was used to cradle the proletarian's dreams and justify their behaviour at times accommodating or contradictory. One minute we are going to war, drawing up an agreement with the boss, working in an arms factory, accepting trade union protection—it doesn't matter, because the objective mechanism is functioning on its own and working for the revolution in place of us. This kind of reasoning is quite similar to that which people carry out concerning the objective myth of the catholic church.

Any call to personal responsibility, to criticism, investigation, reflection, is always unpleasant as it instills doubt into acquired certainties, awakens from lethargy, gives birth to fears and desires unknown till then.

But this, basically, is the work of revolutionaries: to destroy myths and illusions everywhere, including those within the religious tabernacles and party strongholds.

Lucy Fur

