Wildcat

South Africa
NEITHER BOTHA NOR MANDELA
ALL POWER TO THE BLACK WORKING CLASS
Prepares for War

Terrorism is a red herring. Thatcher virtually admitted as much when she went on US TV to counter the anti-terrorist hysteria which she and Rambo Reagan had stirred up. The drop in US tourism has seriously damaged European economies.

Since the 'anti-terrorism' scare which justified the bombing of Libya on 15 April, US imperialism's propaganda war has continued apace. This has the aim of testing three important considerations:
- the support of America's allies
- the reaction of the working class
- the resistance of Russia.

Reagan has tested the waters, and found them warm.

Contrary to Reagan's lies, the Russian government has been desperately suing for peace for some time now. Russia is an imperialist country, but you'd hardly notice. It made no attempt to defend Libya, is trying to get out of Afghanistan, has dismantled missiles and slowed down Backfire bomber production, and has a unilateral test ban - which the USA simply takes advantage of to improve its own mixes whilst Russia's stagnates.

Lacking the ability to expand, Nagla is reduced to making political capital out of Reagan's antics.

This can't go on. Russia has now threatened to pull out of the next summit, and rearm its nuclear capacity. There is a serious danger that US provocation will force the Soviet Union into action to defend its few remaining allies.

The only area where the balance of power is reversed is space. This is a good thing because US war plans depend on colonising the cosmos. The setbacks in the US and European space programs have given us a few years' respite. If you are reading this paper, it is true that the threat of an immediate escalation towards world war has subsided. The US decided against bombing Syria perhaps because Israeli wars peace, perhaps because Assad is moving towards the USA.

The Allies - A Ten for Competition

After initial hesitations following the bombing of Libya, the Western powers supported America's escalation of the war drive.

In the long term, if there is one, the USA will be less able to control its allies. The economic crisis tends to force imperialist powers to fight each other for shrinking markets. There are serious pressures for US autarchy; dozens of pre-trade war bills are queueing up in Congress. Neither bickering countries by means of loans nor forcing them into line by selling their current growing unbelievable as US policy now, as it was in the sixties.

But there are three tendencies holding the Western bloc together at present.

1. The first is the military occupation of West Germany and Japan by the USA. It is difficult to see how these two powerful economies could break from the USA.

2. Secondly, the crisis is not yet deep enough for France, Britain and Italy to consider, Nagla is reduced to making political capital out of Reagan's antics.

3. Thirdly, Russia has little to offer other countries except radioactive fallout. Its economic weaknesses leads countries to consider defying to the US bloc. This is the weakest of the three tendencies, since the alternative posed by Iran - independence from both Eastern and Western blocs is becoming increasingly attractive to countries from Greece to Peru.

Most allies joined the propaganda war against the Libyan bogeyman, expelling diplomats and clampping down on the so-called threat of so-called terrorism. One aim of the anti-terrorist scare is to prepare measures for the repression which will be needed against the working class before and during war. Whilst France refused the USA air space, it took full advantage of the situation to step up police raids and random checks, and the Belgian state rounded up communists on the false allegation that they were connected with terrorists. Only Greece saw sense and stood out against the whole spectacle.

Pro-government unions organised a one-hour general strike. This hardly amounts to resistance by European workers to the US war drive.

Stopping the War

The major escalation of the war drive demands working class resistance. A war between Russia and America would probably wipe out the working class of Europe, and possibly life on earth.

Thatcher's attempt to rally the working class behind US imperialism has failed. Most British working class people reject the US war drive.

But this is quite compatible with an independent British imperialism for workers to die for. In the book 'Mad Dogs' the CND argues that Britain and Europe should be independent of US imperialism, and supporting the ruling classes of the countries which started world wars one and two.

The Socialist Workers' Party called for Britain out of Nato. This is not a revolutionary slogan. It simply argues for a more independent capitalist Britain. Their response to the Libya issue and reinforced patri
ticism amongst workers. Identification with 'our' nation is the most important idea which leads workers to die in imperialist wars.

How NOT to Oppose the War Drive

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Public Meeting: War or Revolution?

The 8 July 1986, 7.30 pm, 'The Millstone', Thomas St, Central Manchester.

If you'd like this meeting given in your local area, contact the Manchester Wildcat address. 
The strike at Silentnight Beds in Sutton, Yorks and Barmworth, Lancs, is one year old on June 11th. The strike was caused by management's refusal to honour the '57 pay deal. In addition to this the bosses announced 22 redundancies, after an earlier promise of none. 900 workers were sacked for refusing to go back to work and call off the strike. They were promptly replaced by "slave labour" scabs on YTS.

Since the beginning of the strike, lorries have repeatedly been stoned and burned, on one occasion outside a scab driver's house. In the first four months of the strike £5,000 worth of damage was caused by strikers to the Sutton factory, using bricks and petrol bombs. Some buses have been attacked so many times that they have to be escorted by the fillth! Scabs themselves have been imprisoned as those who were stoned by strikers outside Keighley Town Hall, while waiting for the bus, can testify.

Attacks on property, such as buses and lorries etc., are becoming a regular feature of the class struggle. They are often carried out by the most militant strikers and represent positive class warfare. Aside from the damage done to the bosses' property, these kinds of actions represent a struggle against trade unionism and the traditions that go with them. This kind of break is necessary in the case of Silentnight if the strikers are going to gain anything apart from memories.

There is little doubt that the strikers have seen the need for working class solidarity, particularly from other workers on strike, whilst they have achieved the backing of goods bound for the Silentnight factories by dockers. The links with the printers have resulted in little more than inter-union solidarity, a token recognition for the struggle etc.

The union, FIST, supports the strike but gives the strikers no ideas for how to win, except perhaps by holding out until the return of the next Labour government! The local Labour Party has been actively involved in the strike and has won the confidence of the strikers by refusing to condemn the class violence that has been displayed. But this is only tolerated by the national whilst as we all know is set on winning votes by being 'moderate' as possible, because so few people believe that's actually going on at Silentnight.

At a national level the Labour Party does its best to spread the lie the Silentnight is a 'non-violent dispute'. As we found out when we spoke to a local party back in Stoke. If the violence by the strikers at Silentnight became national news, the Labour Party and the Union would drop them like a hot potato.

(Per information and donations contact: Silentnight Womens Support Group, c/o Mrs Pat McCormack, Northstead, North Road, Sutton in Craven, W. Yorks BD20 TQ4.)

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**RIOTS NOT ROYALS**

The last time the Labour Party was in power, its policies caused high inflation, rising unemployment, and failed to defeat the class struggle. Thatcher was brought in in 1979 on an aggressive capitalist platform with 3 aims: defeating the working class, reducing inflation, and ending the crisis in Britain by making the economy more competitive. The first has only been achieved in a limited sense: the industrial class struggle has been largely defeated for the moment, but at the expense of post-war consensus: we are once again 2 nations. Unemployment and poverty have led the foundations for future working class battles more bitter than any in post-war history. Inflation is down to 2.5%, but this is solely due to the collapse of raw materials prices, in fact, the world crisis in manufacturing. As for pulling out of the crisis, Britain's industry is declining faster than the rest of western Europe, and the ruling class has abandoned Thatcherism. 'There is No Alternative' was a lie then, and in a sense she was right. Now the hard-line Tory approach has failed as miserably as Labour's. The ruling class has run out of solutions to the crisis.

In 1981, the Prince of Wales and Lady Diana Spencer prepared for their wedding. In the housing estates of England's cities, the other end of the social scale started their own celebrations. Into the royal spectacle of national fantasy the working class were not to be outdone. The police were driven out of Liverpool by a month of riots through the city. The police were destroyed, and food from supermarkets was freely distributed. This was followed by a month of riots throughout England. Repression followed. On the night of the royal wedding a disabled teenager was killed in Liverpool by a police landrover.

As the economy plunges from crisis to crisis, as layoffs and cuts throw more and more workers into poverty conditions, the conditions for a run of the glittering summer of '81, but more bitter, more conscious and much more widespread than before, are maturing. It will take more than a royal wedding to tranquilize the steadily increasing class anger of the growing ranks of the poor.

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**TYRED OF THE ROYAL WEDDING?**

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FIL Wildcat: 20913 3XX
Dear Wildcat,

...My Criticisms springs from something you spill out in the piece on the print workers, though I felt it was implied by some of the other stuff - that being ground down and having nothing to lose leads people to be potential revolutionaries. For a start I think this implies a kind of James Dean image of the revolutionary - "I'm gonna smash the State! Hell, why not! I got nothing to lose!" At best his ideal is unrealistic - an awful lot of house-and-two-kids types are involved in the average trade union - at worst it is an idealizing act of despair a hopelessness as if they were acts of rebellion (as in the whole anarchist-no-blocker tradition). My main criticism though is that this is not how things happen - people don't 'lose everything' and then start a strike/sum up their workplace/start reading Wildcat! People are threatened with losing something and organize in their own defense - to prevent these selves winding up with "nothing to lose". Some defenses fail, some are sold out, some are co-opted into reformism... but some work, and then (as in Broadwater Farm, but also in the great debates of the State in recent history) you've got the start of something big - people working together for themselves and (legitimately) recognizing no authority but their own - that's the main theme of this letter. Of course if you somehow manage to sellout, obviously. Peace Class War, defensive organization is the key - if it's not self-defense or something which is executed on you, you can't have self-defense. From there you can do many things, people halting, people thieving, people getting apathetic, cynical and hopeless when they are working方式进行。

Tell me I'm wrong, tell me I'm a pseudomarxist or even a peace loving socialist, by all means - but do it in detail.

Yours ever,
James Anderson (no reply)

WILDCAT REPLY

Dear Chief,

It's a fair cop. We have left ourselves open to being seen as the James Dean of the Revolutionary movement, and not just because of our good looks and 'cool' looks. We agree that the 'nothing to lose' formula is too simplistic and mechanical, but the 'nothing to defend' formula isn't much better. The problem with any formula about what makes people revolutionary is that it ignores what is in reality a complex process.

A struggle can start off either to regain something lost (Wapping, Silentnight), to protect something good or put it out of harm's way (eg the Miners) or to regain something new (eg South Africa). The distinction between these different types of struggles tends to blur. But whatever the starting point, the important thing is the potential within the struggle - that it has some consciousness in something which evolves out of the sense of community and collective power which emerges in such struggles and an awareness of the new world we can build in the ruins of the old.

Both the letters on this page have been edited. We fully expect to reply to all the letters we receive and would like to publish more of them in Wildcat. Unfortunately most of them are written by one-liners along the lines of "Wildcat is great/awful", or too long for publication in the limited space that we have. We're sorry that the replies to the letters here can't be as detailed as we would like for the same reason. As soon as we can we want to start publication of a discussion bulletin, but we're hampered by lack of resources, ie people, money and time. Any offers?

Comrades,

Many thanks for the belated reply to my enquiry about your views on the republican movement. Firstly I am not a union man and do not represent - strictly speaking - the views of the movement. I wasn't disagree about the republican movement being nationalist but I must clarify a few facts. The republican movement does not want to set up a new Ireland but a new Ireland run by "new bosses" who would be "mice" but far a program of change. The liberal nationalists and the middle class liberal nationalists are both false the middle class is an alien in Ireland but modern nationalist who is a false friend. The republicanism movement is not the movement of the middle class but a new force that would bring about a new Ireland with its own history. There is much more about the republicanism movement in the Irish and in the Irish language. How can I clarify further?

I could go on but I think it's obvious that the people would be in confrontation in short you have "new bosses" analysis is blantly totally wrong. I agree that the Free State is under British rule de facto and that is because of their economic policies, definitely not the sort that we are proposing. The Free State joined the common market, helping the development of the small farming industry. It allowed, in the 60s and 70s, that great US multinationals to set up on the farms and large in the so-called depression they all packed and left leaving the workers starving. The Irish government cannot be ignored. Agriculture in the new Ireland would be monotonous not a million times in the economy. I mean, onto the revolution.

"There are many strong ideological barriers to revolution (in I Ireland) which do not exist elsewhere." (Your words)

I totally agree, and as such there are parameters which would not be so in the whole movement, but the fact remains that the Sinn Fein and the IRA are to, all intents and purposes the leaders of the anti-imperialist struggle. You could say we are the anti-imperialist struggle, but the majority of people in the movement would welcome an international workers’ movement against Imperialism. Sinn Fein is also in a position to spread the revolution. Except maybe by example - Bright Cod. I'm not trying to say that the republican movement is elite but certainly nothing like the Sinn Fein, and in some places it looks like we would come in the form of some workers' attempt to seize power. We realise our history has been continuous, and not one major and then another, but for what its worth the rest of the movement is the same, and we have learned the lessons.

Yours in struggle,

[Signature]

WILDCAT REPLY

We're not impressed by the fine-sounding phrases from the Sinn Fein's policy document. Capitalists have been saying this sort of thing since the treason revolution. As we explain in the article on the Spanish Collectives in this issue, any attempt to operate society through "non-operatives" will fail unless the fundamental features of capitalism - wage-labor, profit, etc. are eliminated. If we should add the notion that the entire economy is owned by the workers, this might be a little more accurate. The economic base of capitalism is not dismantled its social and political features will tend to reassert themselves despite the best intentions of the people involved. In the case of Sinn Fein however not even their intentions are good. Sinn Fein's economic policy is based on a mixture of state-capitalism and small business ownership, a bit like the policies that were such a disaster in Mao's China. Furthermore it is clear that the abolition of capitalism with an "independent" state will not lead to a revolution as an economic one. How can one cosmically like the claim of an organization to be 'socialist that can't even come out in favour of contraception, abortion, and an end to the oppression of women, "pete by pete"? The statistical fact of capitalism, but the liberation movement is unlikely to succeed in its aims because it tries to do too little with too little reaction to those that have.

As far the republican movement being the most likely section of the British working class to seize power, this is just a sly joke. The N Irish working class is practically the most defeated politically not only in Britain but in the whole of Europe. Why do you think N Irish workers are only associated with the rest of the N Irish workers? Because N Irish workers are also left out of the British working class and are not U.S. workers? Because a "Revolutionary" working class was trying to defend itself against the effects of the changes in the economy and the state and the granting of the right to free defense was a great step towards self-defense. The Irish working class did not have the same right. But in the case of the British workers, the N Irish working class did not have the same right. But in the case of the British workers, the N Irish working class did not have the same right.

Don't get us wrong. We don't support the pretense that people are even revolutionaries than the Catholics. We support the Catholics in defending themselves and the Catholic workers and the state. We just don't think that there's any potential for revolution and we're not comin out of it. This is a hard truth for genuine revolutionaries in N Ireland to face up to; but all the evidence seems to suggest that the only possibility of a working class revolution is from the mainland and the rest of Europe.
Class Struggle in the Prisons

As in most countries, the Prisons in Britain are arcaic and overcrowded. 47,000 prisoners are squeezed into 41,000 places. About half of these are in those through being either mentally handicapped, sick or in debt. Another fifth are there on remand - they haven't even been found guilty yet! Also, like the pigs and the screws, the courts are blatantly racist. Blacks are far more likely to get custodial remand and longer sentences than whites even when they have no previous criminal record.

Many people are banged up for taking part in the class struggle... as well as strikes and riots this includes shoplifting and fiddling the dole - ie, trying to rob back some of what the capitalists have stolen from us. Not everyone in prison is an angel. A minority are genuinely anti-social elements such as rapists and those who resort to attacking or raping off other members of the working class. However, when it comes down to attacks on the working class, the worst offenders in this category are the police, screws, magistrates and judges who are far more organised and effective in their attacks than any twisted individual could possibly hope to be... short of joining them that is!

Although the present prison system is full of excesses, irrationalities and 'injustice', we don't seek to replace it with a more rational and humane one. We don't join in with the cries for liberal reforms since the police, the legal system and the prisons will have to be destroyed absolutely if we are to win the class war and achieve communism.

The Riots

The prison riots in April this year (almost 10 years after the Hull prison riot) were definitely a step in this direction and a victory for the working class. At least 22 prisons were involved in a mass outbreak of arson, vandalising and destruction which caused £4.5 million worth of damage. 841 Jail places were destroyed which lead to the Home Office circulating a memo telling magistrates not to send people down if they could help it. Encouragingly things have still not calmed down and on June 30th another 500 or so were destroyed at Glenochil young offenders institution near Stirling.

The prisoners were not slow to take advantage of the screws dispute which started on the day the following is a list of some of the things they did.

**APRIL**

25th - 5 prisoners escape from Greville Police Station, London. They were being kept there because of the dispute. 2 are recaptured.

26th - 2 prisoners 'hijack' the coach taking them to Norwich Jail by holding a knife to a screws throat. They escape into East London.

29th - 20 prisoners get onto the roof of Gloucester Prison and throw missiles and burning paper. Also a lock-out of the screws by the Prison Governor who thinks they have been inciting prisoners to riot.

30th - Fires and riots at Bristol Jail as well as a sit-in by 260 cons.

-Some screws injured when prisoners 'rampaged' breaking tables and chairs at Belfasata. A bucket of shit is poured over the Governor of Albany Top Security Prison.

-Northeye virtually destroyed by masked rioters. The dormitories (chapel) were the only buildings left unscathed. £4.5 million of the damage was caused here. The papers said it was 'killed as a prison'.

-26 prisoners escape and are not recaptured. 10 from Northeye and 16 from a 'short sharp shock' centre in Wils. (40 originally escaped from it).

**MAY**

2nd - 20 prisoners from Northeye who were re-housed at a detention centre in Surrey barricade themselves in the gym and threaten to burn it. Fire engines on stand by as they smash up equipment.

-20 prisoners get on roof at Stafford and throw tiles and burning paper. Inside they smash up the furniture. They are one of the most destructive.

-Colin Steel, the POA chairman admitted that 50 or 60 prisons could easily have been destroyed if the POA had not been sufficiently stupid to call off its action. It's a shame the screws couldn't bring themselves to a suitable level of irresponsibility.

**THE SCREWS**

Obviously we don't support the screws in any of their demands either for pay or better conditions. In fact we would draw an analogy between the industrial action of the screws and that of teachers. The screws maintain order in the prisons, the teachers maintain it in the class room. When either goes on strike they give ample opportunity for their charges to riot (see W.C. 8 on school riots and strikes). Some of the screws are supposed to have encouraged the prisoners to riot in order to gain their demands quicker. However, after the destruction and some eye from both the government and the screws realised they'd got more than they bargained for and reached a settlement almost immediately.

**FRANCE MAY-JUNE 85**

A similar wave of struggles rocked France in May last year, where more than 50 prisoners were involved. Of particular interest is the destruction of Montpelier prison by rioting prisoners. In this case a mob outside the prison forced the guards (and relatives of those inside) to help the rebellion by attacking the cops from behind.

Additional solidarity was given throughout June to the revolts by the sabotage of train lines, the printing plants of the Parisian Dailies (which had opposed the revolts) and a firm which relied on using the cheap labour of the prisoners. The following demands were put out by both the prisoners and the sabateurs.

**REMISSION FOR ALL CONVICTED PRISONERS**

**THE LIBERATION OF ALL REMAND PRISONERS**

**A DEFINITIVE STOP TO ALL DEPORTATION ORDERS**

**THE LIFTING OF ALL PUNISHMENT FOR ALL MUTINEERS**

**POLOGN - SUPPORT THESE CLASS WAR PRISONERS**

As we mentioned in Wildcat 8 - three months before the declaration of Martial law in December '81, 150 prisoners were helped to escape from Bhopal jail. After Martial Law many working class people took up arms (eg. Sascole shipyard workers). A small group in Lodz was a part of this movement and they planned actions to free prisoners interned in Bhopal jail and against a police station being used by the militia. A sargeant in the militia was shot when they tried to 'relieve him' of his gun. He died later in hospital.

We are running an appeal for money to support Robert and Tomek who are serving sentences of 25 and 12 years respectively for being involved in these actions. We recently received a letter from the mother of Robert describing the conditions in which Robert and Tomek are being kept in and thanking us for our support. We are sending the money via the French support group 'Les amis de Robert et Tomek' Cheques can be made payable to VILOCAT and should be sent to our LONDON ADDRESS. Remember to make it clear what the money is for.
SPAIN '36; THE E

This year is the 50th anniversary of the Spanish Civil War, which began in July 1936. After General Franco led a fascist coup to replace the left-wing Republican Government.

It was no coincidence that this happened at a time of intense class struggle in Spain. Limited concessions granted in the face of the struggle by the left-wing of the ruling class, the Popular Front, had not succeeded in restoring the economic and social stability needed by capitalism. Strikes, demonstrations, and political assassinations by the working class continued, and the land seizures and local insurrections in the countryside.

Initially, across one half of Spain the right-wing coup was stalled by armed resistance from peasants and the working class, and only after three years of civil war was the fascist victory secured. But in one sense the revolt was an immediate success: the working class and peasants organized the struggle for their needs and demands and united with liberal and radical supporters of capitalism in a fight against fascism.

We have already written about this aspect of the Spanish Civil War in a previous issue of Wildcat. This article, in our opinion, is important for the influence of Anarchism during the struggle in Spain.

ANARCHISM AND THE SPANISH REVOLUTION

At the time of the Civil War, a popular idea amongst the Spanish working class and peasants was that each factory, area of land, etc., should be owned collectively by its workers, and that these 'collectives' should be linked with each other on a 'federal' basis - that is, without any superior central authority.

This basic idea had been propagated by Anarchists in Spain for more than 50 years. When the Civil War began, peasants and working class people in those parts of the country which had not immediately fallen under fascist control seized the opportunity to turn the Anarchist ideal into reality.

Ever since then Anarchists have regarded the Spanish Revolution as the finest achievement in the history of the revolutionary movement - as the closest capitalism anywhere has come to being completely overthrown and replaced by a totally different form of society.

SELF MANAGED CAPITALISM

The revolution in the countryside has been seen as superior to the revolution in the towns and cities. Indeed, in an assessment shared by Wildcat, Anarchist historian and eyewitnesses, all Anarchists are unanimous that the rural Collectives succeeded in achieving genuine socialization, or, as it was popularly termed, 'libertarian communism'.

ORGANISING THE RURAL COLLECTIVES

What typically happened in the peasant villages was this. Once the fascist rebellion had been quelled locally, the inhabitants of the village got together in a big meeting. Anarchist militaments took the initiative in proposing what to do. Everyone was invited to pool their land, livestock and tools in the Collective. The concept 'yours and mine' would no longer exist... Everything would belong to everyone. Property belonging to fascist landlords and the Church was also expropriated for the Collective's use. A Committee was elected to supervise the running of the Collective. Work was parcelled out among groups of 10 or 15 people, and co-ordinated by a network of delegates nominated by each group.

FREE ACCESS

A few Collectives distributed their produce on the communist basis of free access - to each according to their needs. A resident of Magdalena de Pulpio explained the system in his village:

'Everyone works and everyone has the right to what he needs free of charge. He simply goes to the store where provisions and all other necessities are supplied. Everything is distributed freely with only a notation of what he took.'

For the first time in their lives people could help themselves to whatever they needed, and that's exactly what they did.

Free access was not abused by 'greed' or 'gluttony'. Another of the Collectives' witnesses, Agustín Sánchez, describes the situation in Manresa:

'The bakery was open. Anyone can come for whatever bread he wants.

'Are there not abuses of this?'

'No,' answers the old man who gives out the bread. 'Everyone takes as much as they actually need.'

Wine is also distributed freely, not rationed.

'Doesn't anyone get drunk?'

'Until now there has not been a single case of drunkenness.'

THE WAGES SYSTEM

However, distribution or goods on a communist basis (i.e. free access) was not the norm. In the vast majority of Collectives the level of consumption was not governed
Peasants' Collectives in the Spanish Civil War

ND OF ANARCHISM?

by people's freely-chosen needs and desires, but by the amount of money people had in their pockets. Only goods in abundant supply could be taken freely. Everything else had to be bought from wages paid by the Collective to its members.

THE FAMILY WAGE and the OPPRESSION OF WOMEN

The 'family wage' - which oppresses women by making them economically dependent on the male head of the household - was adopted by almost all the collectives. Each male collectivist received so much in wages per day for himself, plus a smaller amount for his wife and each child. For women in fact, the Spanish 'Revolution' could hardly have been less revolutionary.

WE ASK THE CATALAN PEOPLE TO MAKE AN END TO PATRIAL STRUGGLES AND INTRIGUES, AND THINK ABOUT WAGES AND REDUCING HOURS OF WORK. 
OUR MILITIA WILL NEVER DEFEND THE OPPRESSION, THEY JUST DO NOT ATTACK IT.

NO MORE HEROES! ANARCHIST LEADERS DURBUT CALLS THE CLASS WAR

It did not challenge the family as an economic unit of society, nor the sexual division of labour between men and women. 'It is eleven o'clock in the morning. The gong sounds. Haste! It is to remind the men to prepare the midday meal.' Women also remained regarded as inferior social beings, frowned on, for example, if they joined the men in the local cafe for a drink after work.

THE PROLIFERATION OF MONEY

The equal family wage was generally not paid in the national currency, which hurt Collectives discarded for internal use. In its place the Collectives substituted other means of exchange, issuing their own local currency in the form of vouchers, tokens, rationing books, certificates, coupons, etc. Par from being abolished, as money would be in a communist revolution, during the Spanish 'Revolution' money proliferated as never before!

But the creation of literally hundreds of different local currencies soon caused problems. Few Collectives were self-sufficient, but trade among the Collectives was hampared by the lack of a universally acceptable currency. In 1937 the Aragon Federation of Peasant Collectives had to reintroduce a standard currency in the form of a uniform rationing booklet for all the Aragon Collectives. It also established its own bank - run by the Bank Workers' Union of course!

THE EXCHANGE OF GOODS

Not all transactions between Collectives were effected by money. Central warehouses were set up where Collectives exchanged their surplus produce among themselves for the goods they lacked. Under this system 'hard cash' was frequently absent. However, the relative proportions in which goods were bartered was still determined by monetary values. For example how many sacks of flour a Collective could obtain in exchange for a ton of potatoes was worked out by calculating the value of both in monetary terms. Just as under capitalism, prices were based on the cost of raw materials, the work involved, general expenses and the resources of the collectivists.

This was not a communist system of production for use and distribution according to need, but a capitalist system of rival enterprises trading their products according to their exchange value. No matter how desperately they needed them, Collectives couldn't obtain the goods they required until they had produced enough to exchange for them, since they were not allowed to withdraw a sum of goods worth more than those they had deposited. This frequently led to great hardship among the less wealthy Collectives.

MARKET COMPETITION

As well as trading among themselves, Collectives also had to find markets for their goods in competition with non-collectivised enterprises. A common consequence of this system has always been that goods which cannot be sold profitably end up being stockpiled or destroyed, while elsewhere people have to do without those goods because they don't have the means to buy them. The consequences of the Spanish Collectives' capitalist mode of operation conformed to this pattern for example: The warehouses owned by the SICEP (Syndicate of Cooperatives in Elda and Petrel) in Elda, Valencia and Barcelona, as well as the factory warehouses, were full of unsold goods, valued at some 10 million pesetas.

Such spectacles would be eradicated for ever in a communist society, where goods would not be produced to be sold for profit via the market, but to directly satisfy people's needs.

THE END OF THE COLLECTIVES

The Spanish Collectives were eventually destroyed by in-fighting among the anti-fascists and by the fascist victory itself. One can only speculate about how they might have developed had they survived the Civil War. It is our guess that their basically capitalist nature would have become even more obvious.

In the capitalist economy market competition forces every one to try to produce its goods as cheaply as possible so as to undercut its rivals. The Spanish Collectives, trading with each other and competing with non-collectivised enterprises, would inevitably have been subject to the same pressures.

One of the ways in which capitalist enterprises try to cut costs is by increasing the exploitation of the workforce, for example by cutting wages, or increasing the intensity of work, or lengthening working hours.

Where this happens in enterprises owned and run by an individual boss or the state, workers can identify their enemy and fight against its exploitation. This is far less likely to happen where the entire workforce itself is the collective owner and manager of the enterprise, as was the case with the Spanish Collectives. This workforce has a vested interest in the profitability of the capital which it collectively owns; it identifies with and willingly organises its own exploitation. It has to, in fact, to keep itself in business.

THE END OF ANARCHISM

Many present-day Anarchists - such as the Direct Action Movement, Black Flag and Freedom - still stand for the type of self-managed capitalism established by the industrial and agricultural Collectives during the Spanish Civil War.

Because of this, we oppose them as recklessly as we oppose supporters of any other pro-capitalist ideology - and urge any of our sympathisers who think of themselves as Anarchists to follow suit.

From the point of view of working class people's needs self-managed capitalism is a dead-end, just as reactionary as private or state-owned. In a communist society we are fighting for something only to be established by the complete destruction of ALL property, money, wages and markets - whatever their form.

In the information and quotes in this article were taken from The Anarchist Collectives by D.A. Dolgoff, Collectives In The Spanish Revolution by Gaston Leval, The Spanish Revolution by Stanley Payne, and with The Peasants of Aragon by Augustin Souchy.

At the time of the Spanish Civil War the revolutionaries who published the journals Milan and International Council Correspondence, criticised anti-fascism and Anarchism from a similar point of view to that held by Wildcat today. If you're interested in reading some of the articles they wrote, we can send copies for the price of £1 donation to cover the cost of photocopying and postage.

END
The following article is based on a text by members of the French group 'Us Cagaseiros', describing the struggle of Spanish dockers in the port of Gijón during 1985. This text is more than historical interest. The struggle of the Spanish dockers continues today with undiminished intensity. This month hundred of dockers in Gijón have again been waging pitched battles against the police.

The struggle is against the "socialist" government's plans to reorganise the docks, but the underlying issue is unemployment. The government's aim is to break up the united opposition of the dockers to redundancies by a reorganisation that will divide permanent workers from casual ones, and those in the private sector from those in the state sector.

The whole government strategy depends on smashing the power of the 'Coordinadora', the national co-ordinating body of the autonomous dockers' collectives, which has the allegiance of the vast majority of Spanish dockers. The 'Coordinadora' is the 'official' representative of the dockers. It has defended the daily interests of the dockers, but it does so from a political perspective that is totally opposed to the unions and trade unions.

Against the collaborationist policies of the unions, the careerism and bureaucracy of union organisation, the legalism of trade union methods of 'struggle', the Coordinadora stands for all-out struggle against the bosses, controlled directly by the working class organised in assemblies. The following article graphically illustrates the differences between the two forms of organisation.

Unfortunately we don't have much information yet about the present strike. But we are sure that the Spanish dockers are carrying out their struggle with the same revolutionary enthusiasm as in the past. The dockers are not the only section of the Spanish working class engaged in violent confrontations with the Socialist government. More than 350 agricultural workers are presently being tried for their part in a campaign of direct action against poverty and unemployment. We hope to have more information about these struggles in the next issue of Wildcat, as well as a longer, more critical article about the Spanish dockers' organisation.

The Spanish strike wave of 1985-86 mainly involved workers in the industrial sectors threatened with mass-unemployment. The strikes hit practically all sectors: textiles, chemicals, General Motors, construction, mining, transport. But it was the government's 'reorganisation plan' for the docks, involving 20,000 redundancies, which provoked the longest lasting conflict.

The strike extended to all the biggest Spanish shipyards. In all of them there were moments when the struggle went beyond the form of a traditional industrial conflict and acquired a universal character. For several days in Dec 84 in Cádiz, the struggle spread from the docks to surrounding districts which were fortified with barricades. In Bilbao for three months there was open guerrilla warfare between armed dockers and the police.

In Gijón, for a year from Spring 85, the struggle was based around the assembly which was held in the town and which was open to all. The struggle has long been a stronghold of the assembly movement in Spain, which reached its highest point so far in the same struggles of 1976-78. The workers at Gijón had the great merit of putting this form of organisation back at the centre of their struggle.

By Spring 84 the dockers at Gijón had already been fighting for several months. They had set up barricades outside the shipyards, and regularly found themselves in confrontations with the police. The longer this went on, the more they felt the need of somewhere to meet together, outside of the shipyards, where they always ended up giving way to intense pressure from the cops. They decided to hold a single assembly which would bring them together twice a week. From this purpose they took hold of a disused cinema right in the centre of the town.

Being held once and for all outside the shipyards, the assembly broke the workers' dependence on their place of production. It was open to all. Workers from other industries, some miners from nearby, youth from technical schools, and finally any old problems: they all participated in it.

In the assembly, everyone could intervene. One spoke in one's own name, and each person present could be challenged and had to reply in public - unlike in union-led struggles where bureaucrats prevented delegations from speaking. All votes were by raised hands and not secret ballots, so the balance of forces was always clearly visible throughout the debates. The debates did not drag on. Usually it was a matter of discussing the previous day's actions, and of agreeing what should be done in the next street actions. The essence principle was no separation between the assembly and the street, which virtually all the participants (several hundred people) moved into after the debates. At Gijón, like at the height of the movement in the 70s, there was no division between discussion, decision and practical action.

The assembly carried out its own actions in the streets. Its strategy was based on always being on the offensive, of choosing without any orders from above, the best moment, place and methods to do the damage.

The assembly developed a taste for offensive action among those who, not directly affected by redundancies, shared the most determined dockers' longing to fight. This underlined frame of mind, strengthened by the assembly, led to some fine solidarity actions outside of the naval sector.

The Gijón fighters developed a strategy based on mobility. In front of the entrances to each yard, situated along the same avenue, several barricades were set up, with a good humour and in a very Spanish, relaxed fashion. They were made from railway sleepers, or more often from hundreds of tyres sprinkled with petrol and set alight. When the police assault became too overwhelming, they could retreat to the barricades which had been set up in the mensa, in front of the naval shipyard, and so on and so forth all the way along the avenue. The battle zone was within traditional working class terms and conditions. People were able to move away from the immediate zone of action. Coordinadora barricades laid out in the shipyard quarter were joined by actions in other areas of the town. In Feb 85, one of the last actions against the violence was led against combatants sheltering in a shipyard (the two gates at the entrance had been completely ripped up, pieces of the gate (from rubber bollards), other groups intervened in support by burning several carriages in the centre of the town. At the same time, some youth attacked one of the cops' wagons with stones.

This freedom of movement went along with a liveliness of spirit which would always exist in the moments which demanded maximum existential unity and determination. There were many arrests, but they never lasted more than a few days. In Feb 85 when 'assalammada' joined by several youths who were on a pilgrimage from their home to the front, the police went to their entrances with the aid of tyres and footpads. But in some of them (notably well-known in these struggles) they got upset, a group of 400 people formed which went off to smash the heavily guarded prison to demand the liberation of the prisoners. An urgent threat was issued which was not slow
**South Africa**

**Our Hope, their Fear**

Prospects for Revolution and the International Response

The news from South Africa may be good for tyre manufacturers, but it must be quite disconcerting for the many capitalists in Britain, Germany and the US with interests in SA to read the "Financial Times" seriously discussing the prospect of working-class revolution.

The state of emergency has kept the lid on the situation, but Botha's package of economic measures which accompanied it will not sufficiently expand the economy to head off the class struggle (see FT 19.6.86). It's obvious that revolution is the only solution. But what kind of revolution, and when?

The African National Congress is abandoning the idea of negotiating its way into power, and increasingly relies on an upsurge of black workers to put it into power. But the level of class struggle which would be necessary to bring this about would be dangerous for the ANC, which simply wants to expand the black capitalist class in a democratic multi-racial capitalist society. If the ANC comes to power, the blackworking class, it will find it impossible to make them pay for the crisis.

The Difficulties of Revolution

Revolution is not an immediate prospect. The black working class is short of guns, whilst the white racist minority is armed to the teeth. The ruling class can keep the struggle in the townships at its current level by simple repression. The blacks in the townships are divided, though the black workers in the mines and factories are less so. All the privileged positions have gone to white workers. Black miners' wages have stagnated, whilst "the level of strikes is running at unprecedented levels" (PT 2.8.86).

The working class can't go on living in the old way. But the ruling class can go on ruling in the old way for a while yet. But the program of the most powerful white bosses - a gradual transition to a multi-racial capitalism - has been irrevocably damaged. Even Botha was beginning to listen to powerful white liberals like Oppenheimer and Bloom.

In a sense the white workers have contributed to the revolution by forcing the National Party to the right. Determined to defend their privileges, they have constantly sabotaged capitalism's plans for more equal exploitation. They have destroyed the prospects of reform, and thus signed apartheid's death warrant. No doubt a lot of white workers would be killed by a revolution in SA. It serves them right.

The Consequences

South African businessmen and black moderates are terrified of revolution. Bishop Desmond Tutu and Tony Bloom, head of the Barclays group, attacked the detention of trade union leaders and spoke of their fear of the consequences:

"I am worried because they have taken the leadership of a community, and it could turn into a mob,"

Desmond Tutu, BBC Radio, 16.6.86.

"We are now faced with attempting to run our factories and enterprises by dealing with the mob as the leaders are in custody, we urge you to reconsider your policy."

Tony Bloom, Financial Times 19.6.86.

Kenneth Kaunda has also spoken of his fear of the mob. A revolution in SA would immediately spread to its neighbours. Angolan workers would take their revenge on their "Marxist" rulers and show the world that being ruled by blacks is not what they want. A revolutionary SA would still use its economic power to terrorise neighbouring governments - and quite right!

Bosses against Apartheid

The USA can seriously discuss pulling out altogether (divestment) because its stake is a small proportion of its total foreign investments. This is also true of the EEC countries - except one.

Britain has £20bn invested in SA. Last year it imported £1bn, and exported nearly £1bn. In trade with SA, Britain accounts for 4% of all foreign investment and 4% of SA's debts are to British banks. Those who call for sanctions have tried to understand the job losses which would ensue. Even effective sanctions would cause 150,000 job losses according to the most serious capitalist estimates. Kinnebo and co. argue for wide ranging sanctions now.

This is because:

"Having the largest foreign stake, we will suffer most mightily from the conflagration... we need to show whose side we are on in a struggle from which neutrality offers no retreat."

(Hugo Young, Guardian 17.6.86)
South Africa: THE STRUGGLE

UPTISING...

The so-called 'Soweto students' Revolt of 1976 refers to events which were not confined to Soweto or to school students or even to 1976. Nor was it simply a revolt but the beginning of a whole series of struggles against almost every aspect of a form of capitalist class domination which relies on racial domination. In particular, the struggle against the education system became so determined that at no point since then has 'order' been restored in the schools and youth came to be accepted by adults as equal participants, even leaders, in the struggle.

The whole thing began in an unremarkable enough way. On 15 June in Soweto a branch of the S. Afrikan Student Movement called a meeting to discuss the recent introduction of Afrikansk as a compulsory medium of instruction. The SASM was a semi-clandestine "school students union" whose leaders aimed to play a mediating role between the angry masses and the state—a role which in SA in 1976 was almost impossible.

An action committee was set up of delegates from most Soweto schools to organize a demo for June 16. There had been strikes in Soweto from the beginning of the year and the first overt violence had taken place on 22 May when a teacher of Afrikansk was stabbed with a screwdriver. When the police came to arrest him they were stoned.

Inevitably the march of 30,000 students met the full force of State repression. The police fired into the crowd without warning, but the students launched a desperate counterattack and the police were forced to retreat. Barricades were built and students ran threw Soweto destroying all the State property they could find. In particular the offices of the township administration. It was the beginning of a bloody battle which was to rage initially for 3 days and then flare up again and again over the next few months. The students were joined by their parents returning from work.

By the second day virtually all administration buildings had been burnt down or looted, two white administration officials had been killed and schools, shops and a magistrate's court had been fired in a pattern which was to be repeated across S. Africa. In addition, beer halls and bottle stores were systematically destroyed—this was not a unionist seal but a recognition of the importance of alcohol as a means of pacifying the working class in S. Africa.

By the third day the struggle was beginning to spread to the other Rand (Johannesburg area) townships, particularly Alexandra. Throughout June, July and August it spread throughout SA including the so-called Homelands—on 8 August the boycott at the Cape Legislative Assembly was burnt to the ground. In mid-August it spread to the Cape, uniting 'blacks', 'Coloureds' and 'Indians', overcoming divisions going back generations.

The four large-scale stay-away strikes in August, organized by students with the backing of most workers, represented an attempt to draw workers into the struggle as workers as well as township residents. August 15, when a 5-day stay-away in the Transvaal overspreaded that a 5-day stay-away in the W. Cape was the largest strike by S. African workers ever launched.

By early '77 the rioting was temporarily subsiding but the struggle in the schools continued. At the end of '76 there was a massive boycott of the end-of-year exams and school strikes continued solidly into '77 leading to widespread clashes in the W. Cape in June and August, but less striking exam boycotts also continued. By '77, hundreds of teachers had resigned and hundreds of schools had been burnt down across the country.

Every 'education' system in the world serves the needs of class domination but the SA govt, has never made any bones about the fact that most people (the blacks) have no need of learning beyond the minimal level required to be unskilled labourers. In addition, they should be taught to be subservient to whites.

Ironically what brought the simmering discontent over "Bantu Education" out into the open was the fact in the '60s and early '70s the expansion of the economy required a massive increase in recruitment of blacks into skilled and white-collar jobs. This led to massive overcrowding in schools as far more kids were encouraged to complete their schooling but not enough new schools were provided.

The government's response to the rebellion in the schools was to drastically increase education spending but most of this went on increasing teachers' salaries. This led to massive overcrowding in schools as far more kids were encouraged to complete their schooling but not enough new schools were provided.

The spectre of 1971 still haunts the ruling class, but they underestimate the consequences of a St. Petersburg in...
Recent months have seen the first attempts by the black working class in South Africa to take power. Many of the townships have been taken over by the Comrades — groups of militant youth who’ve done most of the fighting and taken the most radical initiatives. Even in the townships which haven’t been taken over, there has been an almost complete breakdown of the traditional methods of maintaining capitalist order, methods which rely just as much on reactionary blacks as on the white state.

Police informers have been killed or driven out. Black police have been killed or had their homes burnt. Hundreds of black councillors have been forced to resign. The “education” system has virtually ceased to function.

The prospect of the townships becoming no-go areas horrifies the white state and white capitalists alike. The black capitalists know that many of them will be immediately wiped out. They know that the establishment of no-go areas would provide a power base for an all-out assault on the state. Their response has been to mount a campaign of terror against the radicals through gangs of “vigilantes”.

VIGILANTES

For several years, the black chiefs in the homelands have openly used gangs of bully-boys to stamp out radical opposition. Now this practice has spread to the townships. Not surprisingly, the core of the vigilante squads consists of blacks with a material stake in the status quo. These are small capitalists (shop- and taxi-owners), police, councillors, teachers and church elders.

Despite official denials of involvement, there is nothing very secretive about the way the vigilantes are aided by the security forces. In May, in Alexandra Township near Johannesburg, vigilantes who burned down the houses of activists were joined by black policemen wearing balaclavas. In Queenstown in the Eastern Cape, 400 coloured vigilantes were incorporated into the security forces under the command of “General Commando”. They were led by the deputy head of a primary school who was also the chairman of the local Labour Party (an organisation which participated in the Triangular Parliament). The vigilantes have almost total immunity from prosecution.

At the Crossroads squatter camp the vigilantes were known as the “Pathans”. They were the goon squad for a gangster capitalist who extorted money from the squatters — a common practice throughout South Africa. Recently the mayor of Soweto, already a millionaire, allowed several hundred people to squat the council golf course in return for “rent” paid to him. Recently the government has used the Pathans to help them demolish the squatter camp, something they had been trying to do for years. When fighting broke out between the Pathans and the Comrades, police joined in, using tear gas to disperse the Comrades and their supporters. White plain-clothes police were seen organising roadblocks with the vigilantes. When the fighting was at its height, whites were seen moving in with flame throwers to destroy the shacks. At first the TV news called this “tribal fighting”. Now they can’t hide the fact that it’s class struggle.

THE COMRADES

The Comrades themselves are not a homogeneous political movement. What they have in common is that together they form the most serious and organised attempt by the black working class to seize power so far. We may not agree with everything they say or do, but they represent the potential for revolution in South Africa.

The Comrades are at present in the position of “leaders” and are seen as such by the townships’ residents, but they are continually excluding other people to join them. One of their songs goes:

“When are you going to join our struggle? Aren’t you ashamed you haven’t joined us?”

Most of them are unemployed or (nominally) still at school, but this does not mean they are isolated from the workers. They have been at the forefront of organizing and enforcing “stay-away” strikes, building barricades to prevent bus-loads of workers coming to the townships.

In many townships unemployment reaches 30%. The black national average is around 30% and there is no hole to speak of. (There is an unemployment insurance fund but many categories of workers are excluded, and there are no benefits for people who’ve never contributed to the fund.) Inflation is 20% and many black workers haven’t had a pay rise for two years.

There is no doubt that in the absence of any widespread class struggle the population have taken themselves onto crime against their own class. Instead they have looted shops and delivered goods, failed to appear in court when they have been arrested for theft or murder, and have even had to bribe the police with presents. There is no difference in what they do to the police, the state and the workers. They show the kind of reaction which capitalism is known for.

Politically many of the Comrades are affiliated to the UDF and have enforced its boycott campaigns against white-owned shops. These campaigns have been a small diversion from the class struggle. They are an attack on the black working class. Black shop-keepers charge higher prices and pay their workers less than white shop-keepers. In many townships shop-keepers themselves are activists in the boycott committees.

At the same time, the Comrades are not controlled by the UDF and in practice frequently reject its cross-class attitude. UDF leaders are scared by their success. Referring to the terrorising of rich blacks, Mike Sera, the chair of the Alexandra Civic Association, told youth at a funeral: “If we keep going on like this we are despicable as his own parents and the community!” In other words, “Don’t fight against the ANC. We can’t do anything about them.” The black working class in South Africa is still a long way from being united behind the “progressive” black middle class in a movement which sees only apartheid as its enemy and not the capitalist system.
Despite the deeply ingrained respect for trade union organisation and tradition which most printers have and which is reflected in other sections of the class, the struggle at Wapping has shown several very positive features: i. Effective and often violent picketing of News International and TTN depots and plants around the country. ii. The consistent solidarity shown by the newspaper distribution workers, particularly in London, in blocking all after SCOPAT 'purged its contempt' by withdrawing blocking instructions. iii. Widespread attacks on TNT lorries and NI-related premises. Much of this hasn't been reported in the media (surprise, surprise) apart from the spectacular multimillion £ newspaper fire in Deptford, which was totally condemned by union leaders; Dean said those responsible should be caught. iv. An upsurge of class-conscious violence on the union stage-managed pickets at Wapping. v. Some printers at Fleet St have organised hit squads to go out and do the business. These have been organized outside and across union divisions.

The Battle of Wapping

Picketing at Wapping is not an easy business, even with 1000s of people. The scab lorries can take over a dozen exits from the Wapping plant.

Post of the time the picket has been small and ineffective, just 50 or so printers standing around on the opposite side of the road from the gate. Under the watchful eye of the scab they frustratingly hurl abuse at the scabby workers in their armoured buses and the snobby journalists in their flash cars as they cruise in and out unmolested.

It's only become a 'mass' picket on Saturday along and some Wednesday nights and special occasions like May 1. These draw in friends and relatives of the printer workers, local residents showing support, delegations of workers, and numerous people looking for trouble along with kids from the estates looking for aggro. There are also the usual hordes of lefty paper sellers who carry on flagging their poisonous wares in the middle of full-scale battles with the cops.

Like the miners' strike its violent confrontations with the scabs have provided the best opportunity for other sections of the working class to get involved. But its difficulties have a lot to do with the fact that the scabs are ready and waiting and the action is confined to a small area. Wapping is like a siege with roadblocks all over the place and residents expected to wear ID tags. Sometimes though the scab gets caught off guard. There have been pitched battles in which crowd control barriers were used to block police vans. Scab lorries and vans get bricked and barricades thrown across the road both East and West of the main picket. These small-scale victories are the result of 'roving pickets' which look out for cops in Murdoch's defences. It is this sort of thing that union stalwarts look out for, telling everyone 'to do as you're told' as soon as groups break from the union pillaged static pickets.

On Saturday May 3 there was a battle in which pickets threw everything they could at the blue van and after they'd mounted a cavalry charge to make up for their initial defeat the snatch squads then launched largely indiscriminate attacks on the crowd - a lot of people who hadn't been much involved were truncheoned or nicked but this didn't stop the rain of bricks which hospitalised dozens of cops during the night.

While all this was going on we were treated to a series of mind-numbing speeches from a platform about how we should be supporting the Labour Party. Chief steward Liveris claimed that all the stone-throwers were agents provocateurs. Tony Benn claimed it was a police riot and said he'd raise the matter in parliament (yawn). Another union official shouted: 'I appeal to the police to withdraw - we can keep order amongst our own people'. For the time being this is partly true. Despite their open collaboration with the pigs people like Liveris still command a lot of respect although a growing minority of printer workers (and even more outsiders) hate their guts.

There are still printer workers who say 'We don't want your sort on our picket line' to 'hoofgangs' chucking bricks but often they have to argue with their mates who say 'O yes we do! If it wasn't for this lot we'd have lost ages ago'.

But non-printer workers don't just turn up to 'support the printers'. Outsiders have their own needs to assert. When an IWW van was smashed up on May 3 it was mostly non-printers involved. If other sections of the working class are less tolerant of the media than the printers fine, it's not just a print dispute anymore.

Wildcats

1. We are for the abolition of capitalism by armed revolution in the world and in our country. We fight for the destruction of all capitalist economic structures which exist in every country in the world, and its replacement by a classless society. We encourage and support the struggle of people all over the world according to their needs and capabilities. Our lives will be meaningful and unencumbered by the constraints of unemployment and the drudgery of production. We aim to actively participate in the transformation of the capitalist class and its replacement.

2. We are against all forms of capitalism, private, state and self-managed.

3. We are actively opposed to all ideologies which divide the working class, such as religion.

4. We are actively opposed to all ideologies which divide the working class, such as nationalism, including national liberation movements such as the IRA.

5. We are against all forms of capitalism, private, state and self-managed.

6. We support independent working-class struggles, in all areas of life under capitalism, outside the control of the trade unions and all political parties.

7. We are against trade unions because they are part of the capitalist system, selling our labour power to the bosses, and sabotaging our struggles.

8. We totally oppose all capitalist parties, including the Labour Party and other organisations of the capitalist Left, we are against any participation in fronts with these organisations.

9. We are against participation in parliamentary elections; we are for the smashing of the capitalist state and the establishment of organisations of working class power.

10. We are against sectarianism and support principled cooperation among revolutionaries.