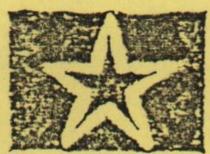


# Pornography &

# State Control

Liz Verran



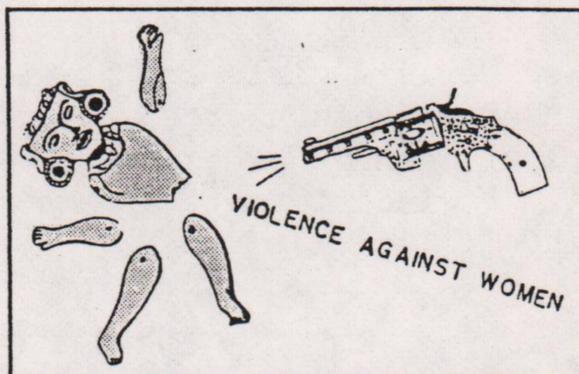
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## DEFINITION

### WHAT IS PORNOGRAPHY?

Porn shows extreme depictions of what our society considers to be male sexuality as though it were "normal". I would question whether such sexuality would be natural in a free society even in milder forms, so that it is not just the degree of degradation that is objectionable but the whole idea of sex divorced from loving relationships. Examples of how male supremacy/capitalism distorts sexuality are:

1. Power - there is a deliberate power imbalance. Women are shown as younger, smaller and less well paid than men on top of society's inherent imbalance. The extreme case of this being paedophilia\*.
2. Agression/dominance - this is shown in the positions adopted by the women and men, depictions of rape and of course sado-masochism.
3. Goal orientation - obsession with importance of the penis, penetration, HIS orgasm.
4. Separation of sex and love - praise for the casual fuck, prostitution, coting, cruising as against loving emotion and building relationships.
5. Objectification - men cannot relate to women as human beings because we are unequal, so women are reduced to just bodies, rubber dolls. Ultimately of course the least threatening woman is a dead one, hence the attraction of necrophilia\* and sex murders.
6. Fetishism - the other way to reduce women to manageable form is to take only a part, eg feet: ballerinas, Chinese bound feet, high heels. (Women's shoes are sold with very high heels in men's sizes for them to jerk off into.) Adverts often show only a part of women's bodies - eyes, breasts, arms, legs: a chopped up woman, blown to bits.



7. Compulsive sex - the myth that men have an uncontrollable urge which must be met, hence justifying rape.
8. Disgust - because men fear women and human relationships they ritualise getting over their disgust. Women as dirty objects, association with excreta.
9. Voyeurism - the onlooker rather than participant, eg lesbianism shown for heterosexual male pleasure.

Pornography is violence against women. It is designed to police the oppression of women. This is a far cry from the Festival of Light position, which is that it is anything sexually explicit. We would welcome the sexually explicit if it were truthful and not loaded with male-supremacist values. Women actually find porn anti-erotic, because it denies our own sexuality. The extent to which we do respond to it is the extent to which we have swallowed the lies about our own lack of worth.

\* Paedophilia: sex with children by adults. \* Necrophilia: sex with corpses.

Porn depicts sex as a battle with women the willing losers. I suppose the same people would imagine the fox enjoys the pleasures of the hunt! In this is no room for mutuality; for caring and building relationships. People become brutalised and alienated - relating on a purely physical level.

The term pornography covers everything from cigarette adverts, which are effective because the sexual element is seen unconsciously, to Snuff films, in which women are shown being tortured to death for male sexual pleasure. It promotes sexism, racism and fascism.

So, although we reject the Christian view of what is pornographic, we would also include some things that they approve, eg Mills and Boon romances, where the heroine falls in love with the most brutal, uncaring man and is aroused by his rape of her. Mary Whitehouse totally misses the point when she says:

"A boy who has failed to relate to his father or who has become over-dependent on his mother is not going to be helped to develop his masculinity by knowledge of how to master sexual techniques."

I take it he will rather learn "masculinity" by being given toy guns and seeing his father hit his mother.

#### THE FAMILY

With the recent resurgence in women's liberation, the moralists have had to fight to maintain traditional values and the nuclear family. The family cannot be upheld without external pressure to conform and I list 10 ways in which that pressure is brought to bear:

1. Economic - earnings are designed around 'the family wage' with unemployment keeping women out of work and the lack of creches or alternatives needing one parent (usually the woman) at home.
2. Sexual Pressure on Girls - girls are pressured by their families to marry, by other children at school who keep them in line if they express celibate or lesbian interest, teenage pressure especially from magazines and books and more violently by incest from fathers or elder brothers and sexual harassment at school.



3. Housing - which is organised around the family unit - no living spaces for collective laundry, childcare etc. Most young people cannot leave home unless they marry or have a baby.
4. Legitimacy - mothers have to be under male control as do children, so this is ensured by the system of illegitimacy for children of unmarried mothers. All children therefore grow up in a heterosexual environment (except in the one in a million cases where a gay parent wins custody).

5. Social Difficulties - all social life is geared to coupledness. For single women and divorcees, there are special clubs where they can hide their shame at not being half a couple and rectify the "problem".
6. Sexual Violence - single women are fair game: the way to be unmolested is to wear a wedding ring. If you are some man's property, most other men will respect that. Of course, many women are raped by their husbands and boy-friends but no-one knows about it because that is not a crime. Women-only houses and meeting places are attacked. Lesbians often wear wedding rings when travelling.
7. Attacks on Older Women - violence on older women is very common, as they are no longer sex objects and therefore have outlived their usefulness to men. These women are often no longer under the control of a man, either through widowhood or divorce and hence they have been the target for witch hunts, widow burning.
8. Alienation from Bodies - women are discouraged from developing our own sexuality by the taboo against touching, lesbianism, seeing ourselves as dirty, or in extreme cases by clitoridectomy\* and infibulation\*.
9. Devaluation of Women - women are discouraged from befriending other women or keeping our own friendships after we marry so that all our energy is poured into relating to a man.
10. Absence of Lesbians and Celibacy - there are no positive models apart from heterosexuality for girls to copy. All people are assumed to be straight unless proved otherwise. No alternatives are shown.



The family is the State in miniature; it is the part from which the whole is made up, so anarchists should see the family as a prime target for attack. It promotes the chain of command and obey from patriarchal father to mother to children. Any attempt to break that chain is seen as an attack on the System, which it is. Pornography promotes the idea that women and children are possessions to be used for male pleasure. The family is the same: women must provide domestic and sexual services, children must be obedient and provide affectional and sometimes sexual services too. The man, in pornography and the family, is the subject around whom all action takes place for his benefit.

Because women and children have been trying to break out of this chain in increasing numbers in the last few years, the State, through the media and economic forces, has sought to tighten the bonds of family commitment and control. Nurseries and creches are closed. Women's jobs are the ones lost first to redundancies. Men are encouraged to protect their jobs from women applicants with the help of reformist trade unions. Police powers to control young people are increased with social

\* Clitoridectomy - removal of the clitoris, thereby ending all sexual arousal.

\* Infibulation - removal of the labia minora and clitoris, together with sewing up the labia majora.

workers sacrificing individuals' interests in the need to hold the family together at all costs. For example, in cases of incest where a young woman is repeatedly raped by her father, social workers will not help her to live away from her father or have him removed but will work towards the reunification of the sacred family, so she has to live with her rapist in fear for many years.

Society is organised round the family - ie a heterosexual unit with a dominant partner and several dependents. Sexual intercourse becomes the principle for organising society. Wages, taxes, social services are built around this unit. It is, however, a structure resistant to the building of an egalitarian society. A much more fluid structure with more members would allow more cooperation and pooling of effort as well as breaking down the isolation in which children are raised.

WHERE IS THE LINE TO BE DRAWN FOR WHAT IS PORNOGRAPHIC?

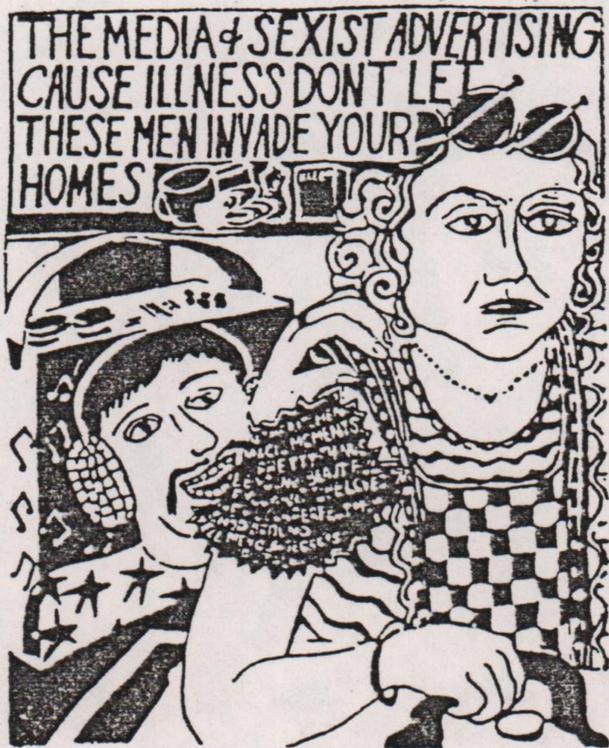
We would like to see more, not less, of some material that moralists oppose because it does not support the nuclear family and sex education like this we would welcome, for example information on contraception, abortion, lesbianism, homosexuality. We object, however, to some homosexual "erotica" because it shows violent, alienated sex between men, this being as bad as porn, with the conquest seen to be all the greater because it is an equal who is subdued.

Pornography pervades the whole of our society through the media and advertising so that it is impossible not to be influenced by it. As a result women see ourselves through the eyes of the pornographer, devalued and judged by our looks. This means that we cannot separate ourselves sufficiently to define what is acceptable. What we can do is describe the characteristics and look at the social effects which link porn with violence against women.

ART

"Art" is used as an excuse to justify porn. If a painting is well enough executed, it can be called art and its politics cannot be called into question. As if the writings of a Hitler would be acceptable if the literary standards were high enough. In European oil paintings, for example, women are shown with poses and expressions appealing to the male owner/viewer.

Advertising is the art form of the 1980s. Thus the ideas reach a much wider, not just middle-class, audience. It functions by reminding men of hard-core pornography. The allusions are lost on people who have not seen the images, on which they are based, but they still function on a subliminal level: entering straight into the sub-conscious.



Treating women as visual objects shows sexual relations in a society where "men act and women appear" (Berger). Once women are seen as possessions, like cars, there seems to be no reason why men cannot damage and destroy us if they please. This is the thinking behind the British refusal to recognise rape in marriage.

Most advertising contains sexual elements on either a conscious or subliminal level. Silk Cut, for example, uses the implications of its name to show folds of silk with a vagina-shaped cut, red inside, also implying the pornographic image of vagina as wound ( a castrated male perhaps?). There is an ad showing Tele Savalas on a tropical island and a woman in the distance "With Bacardi there's no forbidden fruit" it says meaning she's available to him whether she wants him or not. An invitation to rape?

Which leads me to the pornography of the written word. The same plea of "art" is used to defend pornographic novels, ie they are not obscene if of literary merit. How irrelevant! D H Lawrence showed his mysogyny by saying all women who do not orgasm at the right time are lesbians and he would like to kill them. Norman Mailer describes Henry Miller's women:

"In all of his faceless characterless pullulating broads, in all those cunts which undulate with the movements of eels, in all those clearly described broths of soap and grease and marrow and wine which are all he will give us of them - their cunts are always closer than their faces - in all the indignities of position, the humiliation of situation and the endless presentation of women as pure artifacts of farce, their asses all up in the air."

#### PORNOGRAPHY AS PROPAGANDA

Pornography is the propaganda of male supremacy and so it uses indoctrination methods: lies, repetition and scape-goating.

The kinds of lies pornography produces are exemplified by an article in a magazine marked "educational material for adults only" which said that rape is enjoyable and harmless for women. It claimed that nearly half of the women who are raped experience orgasm (as if that were an emotional rather than physical response) and about three-quarters enjoy the experience. They concluded that women benefit from rape - a healthy introduction to sex no doubt. However, reports produced by women come to the opposite conclusions, that rape is an overpowering of women's autonomy and a violation of her self which does permanent psychic damage. In porn stories almost all victims have orgasms - fantasy is indistinguishable from fact, just as it is for the rapist who will act out the fantasies he reads.

These lies are constantly repeated in many forms until the consumer believes they must be true. The only changes seen with time are the increased violence leading ultimately to Snuff films (about which more below).

Scapegoats play a vital role in pornography. What the moralists totally overlook is the fact that women are always the "victims" of porn, especially black, jewish, young or lesbian women - the same people who are most oppressed in our society. Porn plays on the white man's fear that a black man may rape his (sic) woman, as do the Klu Klux Klan, and they both also accuse black women of being sexually predatory. KKK and porn call on white men to rape black women as a punishment for their men! (It is surprising how often men engage sexually with women for the benefit of other males, eg gang rapes).

The white women are stereotyped as virgins, black as whores. Women are always seen as one or other, not as complex human beings who may wish to partner some men or women and not others. The virgin ideal is actually the madonna, ie virgin mother, which is of course virtually impossible to be without artificial insemination!

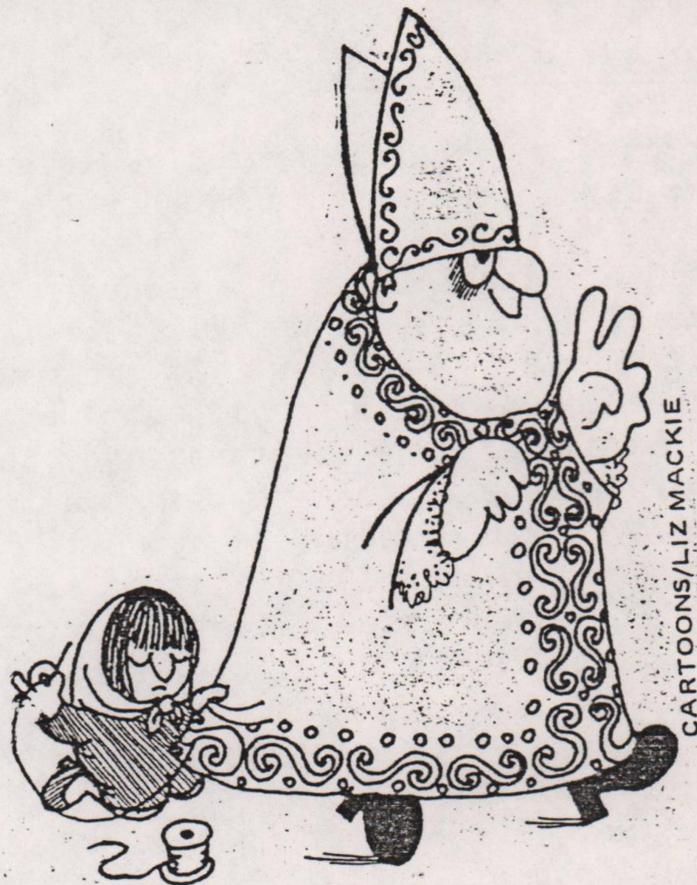
It is interesting to note, however, that, although men appear to want us to fall into this category, they in fact feel extremely threatened by those women who become pregnant without them and/or bring up children without male control. The greatest hostility is shown by men to lesbian mothers because they show women how we could live without men and men really fear being shown to be unnecessary to us, for then they lose their greatest weapon for oppressing us. If we realise we don't need them, we will walk out on oppressive husbands, boyfriends etc.

Joseph Göbbels said, "The best propaganda is that which works invisibly, penetrates the whole of life without the public having any knowledge at all of the propagandist initiative." By these criteria advertising is perhaps the most successful most dangerous form of propaganda ever, being pornographic on an unconscious level. The pornographic images are embedded in all professional advertising and enters straight into the sub-conscious, without our rational censorship. Since porn functions as a distorting mirror of reality, we absorb this devalued image of women without knowing it.

Women are depicted as passive objects, designed to flatter the male viewer and setting impossible standards for the female viewer, who will then go out and purchase commodities to improve her appearance. Men are shown to be active, macho and aggressive. Their gaze is confident, detached, not appealing for approval, as women are. Respect is shown only for power.

Because we identify porn as male-supremacist propaganda, anarchists have a totally different approach to it from the Whitehouse brigade. However, we also differ from the liberals too.

## DEBATES



### THE LIBERAL APPROACH

Liberals make the same mistake as the Christians in supposing porn is about sexuality. They do not recognise that the sexuality, such as it is, is male-defined. They are so concerned about defending the rights and freedoms of pornographers that they fail to see how porn violates the rights of all communities opposed to the State. They it is who would expect the NCCL to help the National Front in the name of freedom and sacrifice black lives in consequence.

They also defend the family, seeing it as a natural unit, rather than the purveyor of capitalism, and only seek to change its nature somewhat. This begs the question of who benefits from the family and who is controlled.

The Christian approach would limit sexuality to reproduction and the liberals would give it total freedom without demanding that the weak and vulnerable be protected from exploitation by the strong and dominant. If sex is given free rein in a woman-hating, child-despising culture, the results are dreadful.

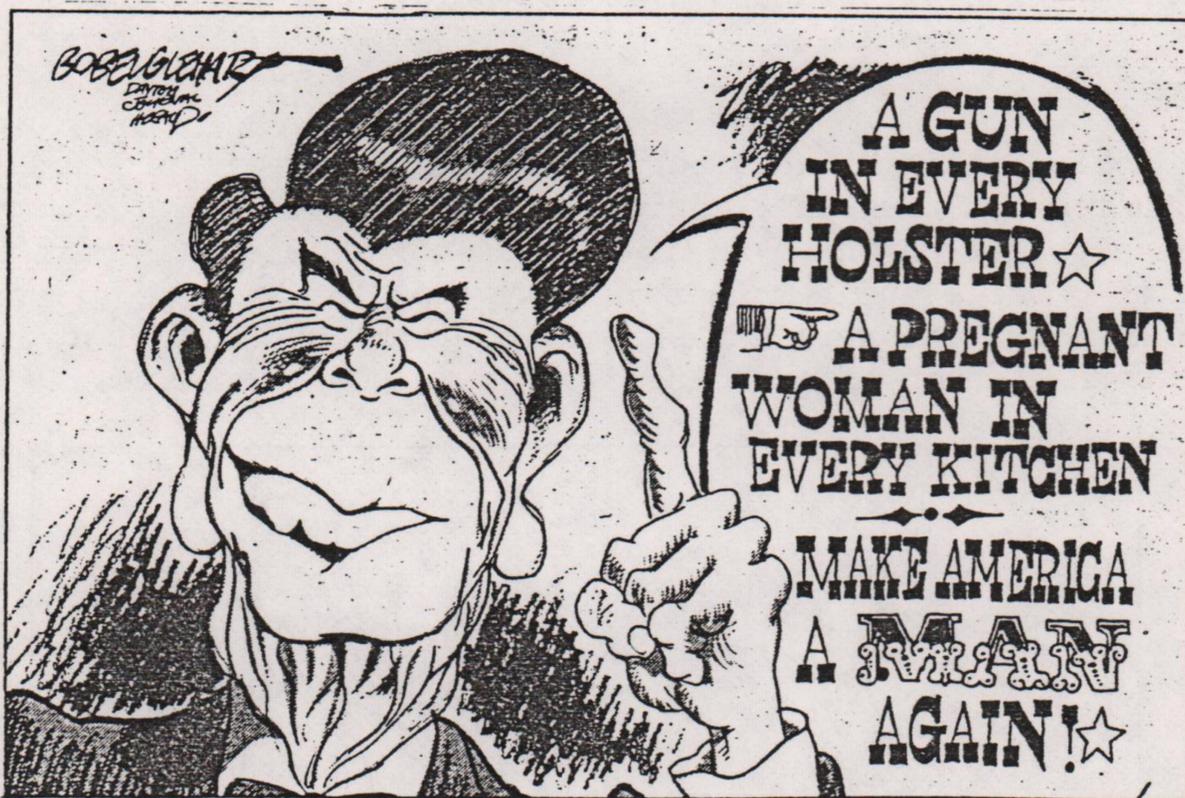
Both approaches are reactionary because those who dominate now will continue to unless we actually take measures for change. State censorship of the Right consolidates power in the hands of the few, who will use it to promote their ideas, and proliferation will permit those with money and power to make their voices heard above the rest.

Anarchists and feminists reject these reactionary stances and seek to fight porn so that radical change becomes possible. What the erotic will be like in an equal society nobody yet knows but we must make clear our reasons for fighting porn so that our ideas are not mistaken for either of the above.

#### PORNOGRAPHY AND VIOLENCE

Since the so-called Sexual Revolution pornography has been openly discussed and the debates have produced any number of conclusions. The failure to realise the violence in porn produced the following nonsense:

The US Commission on the Causes and Prevention of Violence reported in 1969 that media violence can cause aggressive behaviour. A year later the US Commission on Obscenity and Pornography concluded that porn does not promote anti-social behaviour.



Is this because rape is not anti-social (ie anti-State)? No, on the contrary rape is one of the military's tools and is actively promoted by its leaders, to encourage macho attitudes and hype the men up for violence. For example, during the Falklands War British soldiers (and no doubt Argentinians too!) were fed on a diet of violent and sexually violent films alternately. The enemy is thought of as weak and feminine and will be punished accordingly. The Greenham women are well aware of the political connections and express these in their slogan 'Take the Toys from the Boys'. Men are acting out their insecurity at not living up to the macho image of cowboy films, Hammond Innes' heroes etc, by creating ever bigger weapons to make themselves appear strong. Women see that nuclear missiles are the ultimate phallic symbols (sign of the male supremacist State) even to the extent of being erected and fired. It is, however, well to remember that it is the State and not working-class men which benefits from the war industry, the men are just used as fodder.

## FASCISM

The Nazis used porn in their fight against the Poles. They poured quantities of the stuff onto the Polish market during the invasion in the hopes of turning Polish men from solidarity and an organised resistance. The fascist propaganda machine also used porn on its supporters in another way. The Nazi followers were given porn but in their case it would not be detrimental because they were not being asked to organise themselves but to blindly obey authority.

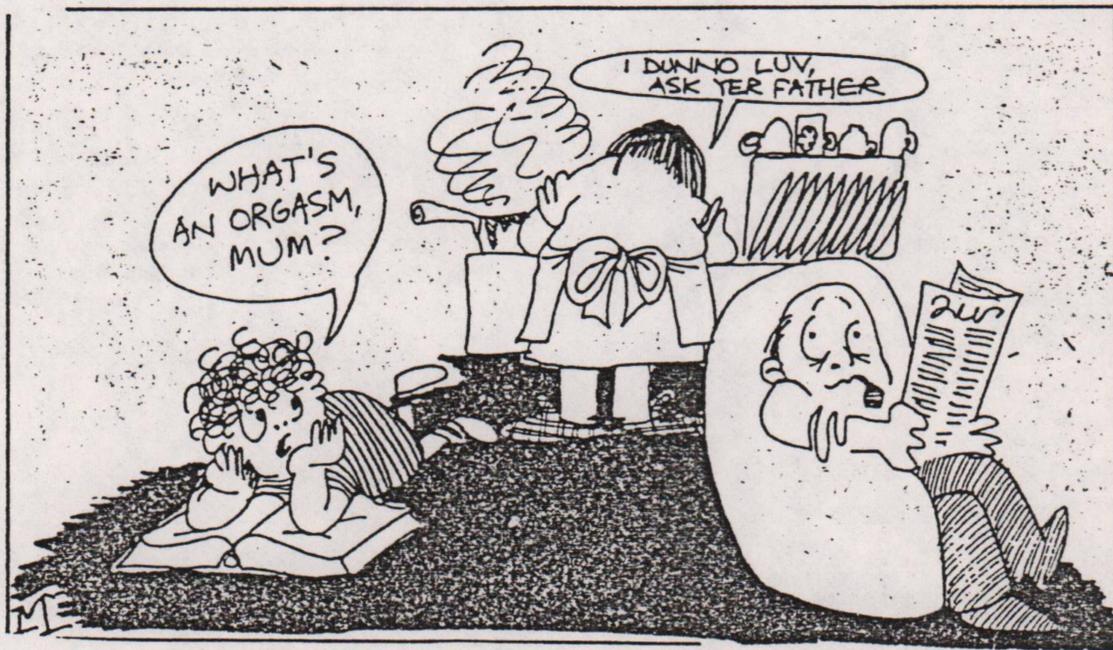
Fascism, like Christianity, is built on the authoritarian family, racism, mysticism and sexual inhibition (as Wilhelm Reich shows, though using highly objectionable arguments about homosexuals). Fascism gave people undergoing an economic crisis, scapegoats to blame and a Führer/Saviour to worship. Many people today are looking for the same cop-out rather than organise or act.

Just like immature people, not ready for real relationships, who transfer their affections onto pop stars, fascists and Christians put their love upon someone unattainable and perfect rather than caring for complex, flawed personalities, they would have to adapt themselves to.

The Nazis recognised the importance of maintaining the authoritarian structure right down to the family unit in the slogan Kinde, Kirche, Küche (children, church, kitchen) which were supposed to be the only areas of interest for women.

## SAFETY VALVE OR PROMOTER?

There is a school of thought that porn is cathartic, ie it provides sexual release for frustrated men, who will therefore not need to rape a woman. This is patent nonsense, based on the myth of the uncontrollable sex drive I mention above. Studies of male and female sexuality show that all people can sublimate sexual urges but if there were any suggestion that one sex had a greater "need" it would be women because of our capacity for multiple orgasms.



The kind of evidence used to support the catharsis theory is full of distorted statistics. For example, the supposed decline in sex crimes in Denmark after porn was legalised is unproven, because at the same time voyeurism (peeping Toms) and homosexual prostitution were decriminalised so the number of crimes involved artificially reduces the figures. This would also have a knock-on effect on the climate in which allegations of rape would be made, presumably making it harder to secure a conviction.

Porn, far from releasing sexual tension, creates a greater blockage because it acts like a drug. The more often it is used, the greater stimulant is needed to produce the same effect. It is habit forming in the same way. It therefore desensitises the user so he is no longer turned on by soft porn, nor by sexual relations with a person unless violence or some other added stimulant is present.

A study published in New Scientist which employed the accepted scientific technique of a control group proved that sexually violent films affect men's attitudes towards women. Two groups of US students completed questionnaires about women, both before and after viewing several films over a period of time. One group was sent to see non-violent films, the other saw sexually violent ones. The former group answered the questions in a similar way both times but the latter had changed their opinions noticeably. They now thought that women invite rape, the victim is really to blame, women aren't really hurt or humiliated by sexual abuse. They would now be more likely to justify to themselves the degradation of real, live women.

Another study showed that rapists had used porn much younger than most men and 30% was hard-core porn. Rapists are known to imitate rapes they have come across in films or magazines or newspaper articles describing previous attacks (known as copy-cat rapes). In the stories rapists read, the victims are sexually aroused by the rape, the rapist is not only not punished but is subsequently loved by the woman. Little wonder that there are some men who expect to win a woman's devotion by this means.

### PROFIT AND TECHNOLOGY

Pornographers make big money: the profits of porn are greater than the film and music industries put together. They make even more if it is illegal for two reasons: they can charge black market prices and the employees cannot complain about pay and conditions. The porn merchants are like pimps, able to buy off the police and protect themselves with their own mafia, while the women run the gauntlet of violence from police or clients.

David Sullivan, for example, at the age of 33 was worth well over £5million, which he earned by introducing mail order porn. In 3 years he had 25 different magazines going. In 1975 he explained how he operated to the press: "I was offered 10,000 Scandinavian magazines for £2500. Well that's 5s a book. Well, they could be sold for not less than £3-£5. So you've got a factor there of twelve or twenty times the buying price. So if you sold those 10,000 books at £5 each, you're talking about £50,000 at retail level. And considering the price was £2500 - that's £47,500 profit." He owns the chain of Private Shops, which make £2½-£3million pa, and lives in a 7 bedroomed house in Essex.

Women don't become prostitutes or strippers because they like sex. Georgia Stark, blue movie actress, said in a 'Newsweek' interview:

"The first film I made was really a downer. Afterwards I started to think about suicide. But after a while I got so I could do the Eleanor Rigby thing - you know, leave your mind in a jar by the door. Then I'd know I'm just an animal and they are taking pictures of an animal."

The advent of videos has enabled porn to be viewed in greater numbers and by children. The possibilities created by this new outlet are mind-boggling. Men can replay particularly juicy scenes over and over again, in slow motion. Videos could be a liberating tool in the right hands - communities can afford to make their own films, radical groups too - but the mass-produced material will reflect and reinforce the values of those with the money and most people will simply consume what it is easy to obtain. In many homes the television stays on all evening, with some people too lazy to even change channels. They will not have access to anarchist history, women's health films produced by feminists or documentaries on industrial struggles made by the workers.

### AGE OF CONSENT

In our society films are classified by censors who define at what age a person may view them. The moralists are alarmed that the video enables children to see "adult-only" films but the proposed solution of censorship of videos reveals their misconceptions. Children are thought of as "innocent" and should

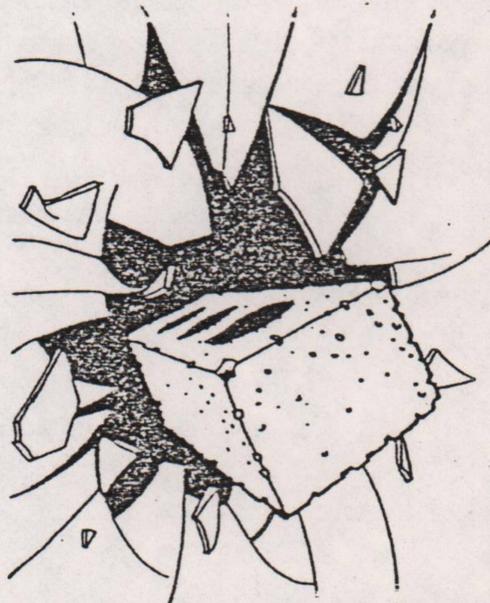
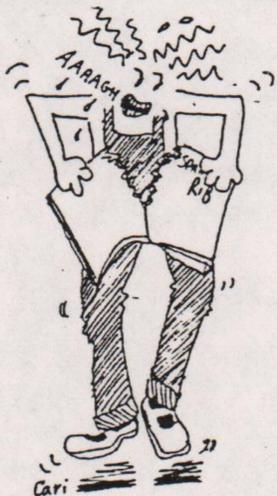
be protected from knowledge of sex because that would sully them. The reality is, however, that children HAVE sexuality and are exposed to lies about it, so knowledge, far from harming them, would actually clarify things for them. The authorities, as we know, would not allow children to see material which encouraged them to develop an autonomous sexuality, with free choice between gay, straight or other sex.

The problem with children's sexuality, as far as I can see, is that they are in a most vulnerable position in capitalism and will be exploited by adults. There is no safety for them at home, because they are under the authority of parents: fathers often force sex on their children and mothers often deprive them of free sexual expression. The depiction of children as suitable objects for adult male pleasure aggravates this problem. It is NOT liberating the child's sexuality. I did not say "the depiction of adult males as suitable objects for children's pleasure"!

Having an age of consent recognises the difference in status between children and adults, by assuming we cannot know if a child truly consented because s/he would be under such pressure to please a powerful adult one could not find out. The problem is that the power difference is in fact SO great that a child is rarely in a position to inform anyone of the occurrence of abuse. S/he is not believed but is blamed for being sexual enough to have fantasised abuse. Silence is the only protection against incriminating her/himself. Where the abuser is the father, the child is threatened with the guilt for breaking up the family - a heavy crime in society.

The age of consent is mainly used to repress gays and teenagers. It is no real protection for the young. We should rather be trying to rid society of all exploitation in relationships and change the nature of sex from being a power game. We must get rid of the bosses, the state, the police, the family and build a supportive, "child-friendly" world - one where children would not be ghettoised in the home but be welcome in offices, factories, cafes, buses etc.

A C T I O N



SOCIALISTS' FAILURE TO FIGHT PORN

Many on the Left have been deceived by the liberal arguments discussed above, defending it on the grounds of protecting individual freedoms. Jane Seaton, for example, says in 'New Socialist':

"Liberty of sexual expression needs to be defended by the Women's Movement. This is not because of any merits, subversive or therapeutic, but because the pornographer's freedom to play games on the margins of social revulsion and the need of women to be heard are inextricably linked."

Like the right of fascists to express their racial hatred? That doesn't restrict Blacks' liberty? Pornography restricts sexual freedom. It limits the ways in which people can relate sexually to one alienated, authoritarian method. The pornographer is a big business man. His profits could feed the hungry of the world. He doesn't need our protection though he in fact has the protection of the police and his own mafia

Noel Halifax in 'Socialist Review' also fails to see the political connections of porn:

"When we fight sexism (of which porn is but one example) we should be clear for whom and what we are fighting. In fighting for the liberation of working-class women, the issue of porn is at best marginal, at the worst a diversion with moralistic and reactionary undertones."

Here he is doing what men on the Left have always done to women. Told us that what constitutes our highest interest is only marginal. We mustn't split the class struggle. Just like Militant Tendency not splitting the Labour Party. Women are tired of being told "after the revolution, Sisters". We are sick of being asked for solidarity but never being offered it. Our struggle is basic. It predates class. A revolution in which women remain on the bottom of the heap is not revolution at all but just changing the old boss for the new boss. We see through the lies and will no longer accept second-class status in the collective struggle.



The real revolution is the overthrow of all authority: the state, male supremacy. The fight against pornography is the fight against the propaganda of the enemy of all our freedoms and it is male chauvinist attitudes which are splitting the movement not women demanding to have our rights considered.

#### DIRECT ACTION AGAINST PORN

Since state power is the very essence of what we are trying to oppose in porn, there would be an obvious contradiction in using laws to fight it. State censorship would, for example ban a film opposing nuclear weapons and approve one showing women being blown to bits. Therefore the way ahead is to take direct action against pornography and pornographers. This is difficult because the industry is very well financed and protected by the state and its own heavies.

The graffiti women have put on sexist adverts has gone a long way to making people aware of the hidden meanings behind advertising and similar graffiti can be sprayed on sex shops and newsagents, video dealers. Picketing cinemas showing porn films gives the opportunity to speak to people about why we oppose porn, especially if leaflets are also distributed and some people can go inside and throw paint at the screen.

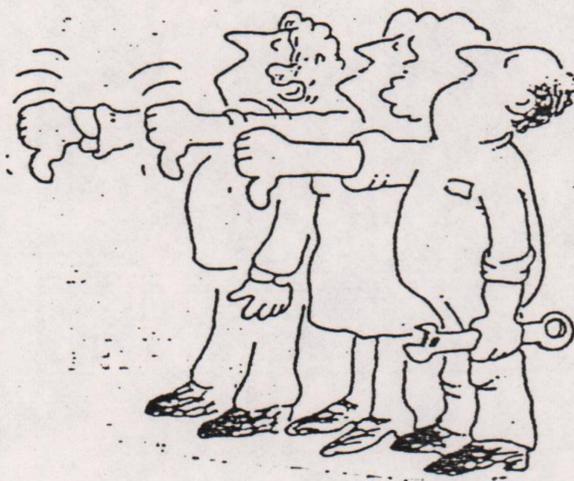
It is important in countering the myths to expose what is really on offer. Sex shops do NOT provide "marital aids" for both sexes. They sell bondage gear, hard-core porn and rubber dolls for men to jerk off into. Video dealers sell films like 'Snuff', which was made in the USA in 1976 but is now available in British shops. It shows a Black woman being tortured to death for male sexual pleasure. The most horrifying aspect of this film is the fact that a real woman was in fact murdered - the scenes are not trick photography but reality! A poor Black woman was chosen for the part so that no awkward questions would be asked by the authorities about her disappearance. Men going to view the film have been heard to delight in the thought that "she really died".

Burning porn, preferably in warehouses, making sure that no people get hurt, and paint bombing strip theatres, sex shops etc are activities worth considering, although ultimately the porn industry will only be stopped by the overthrow of male supremacy, and if anarchist MEN take part in actions the point is made that this is not "just a women's issue".

### SEXUAL HARASSMENT AT WORK

Women are intimidated in mainly male workplaces by the keeping of "pin-ups" on display. This reminds women that they are not viewed as workers but as sex objects. Any attempt to be taken seriously is undermined by their "toy" status. Verbal and physical abuse will follow where a woman tries to challenge men's monopoly of power or by not conforming.

It is important for women to take action collectively at work, through their union if it can be made to cooperate. The connections between women's low status and our low wages need to be made. This has an effect on men's wages too - they can be threatened with replacement by a cheaper woman.



Workers produce pornographic packaging, advertising, pictures. The printing industry has a huge influence here. Printers recently refused to produce bosses' lies about Scargill in the coal strike. They could also stop page 3 of 'The Sun' if they wanted to. The NUJ has a code of conduct which states "a journalist shall not originate material which encourages discrimination on grounds of race, colour, creed, gender or sexual orientation." If they obeyed their own code Fleet Street would be transformed.

### IN SUMMARY

Pornography is propaganda promoting sexual hatred. It upholds the nuclear family and keeps women dependent on men. The arguments of both moralists and liberals are to be rejected because they both lead to a continuation of the status quo. Pornography does not relieve sexual tension, it promotes the denigration of women, fascism, racism etc. It is a high profit-making industry using technology to reach more people than ever including children. Some 'socialists' have failed to recognise its direct attack on women and have mistakenly defended it on the grounds of privacy.

However, anarchists, recognising its power to keep women oppressed, should be fighting porn as part of the struggle to overthrow the state. As DAM members we do this by organising against it, inside industry and outside. We realise that it is one link in the chain of oppression and are fighting for a society without authority, without bosses, without hierarchies. We do this by building independent workers' organisations: employed, unemployed and self-employed (such as housewives). These groups are not male-dominated bureaucracies but work on federated structures with autonomy for its branches. If you want to oppose porn: then organise! act! fight! destroy the System!

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF THE DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

- (1) The Direct Action Movement is a working-class organisation.
- (2) Our aim is the creation of a free and classless society.
- (3) We are fighting to abolish the state, capitalism and wage slavery in all their forms and replace them by self-managed production for need not profit.
- (4) In order to bring about the new social order, the workers must take over the means of production and distribution. We are the sworn enemies of those who would take over on behalf of the workers.
- (5) We believe that the only way for the working class to achieve this is for independent organisation in the workplace and community and federation with others in the same industry and locality, independent of, and opposed to all political parties and trade union bureaucracies. All such workers' organisations must be controlled by the workers themselves and must unite rather than divide the workers' movement. Any and all delegates and representatives of such workers' organisations must be subject to immediate recall by the workers.
- (6) We are opposed to all states and state institutions. The working class has no country. The class struggle is world-wide and recognises no artificial boundaries. The armies and police of all states do not exist to protect the workers of those states; they exist only as the repressive arm of the ruling class.
- (7) We oppose racism, sexism, militarism and all attitudes and institutions that stand in the way of equality and the right of all people everywhere to control their own lives and the environment.

Direct Action Movement/International Workers' Association  
223 Greenwood Road, Benchill, Wythenshawe, Manchester 22

Medway DAM/IWA  
107 King Street, Gillingham, Kent