

SOLIDARITY

THE IDEA THAT the individual is of supreme importance is only a relatively recent development in historical terms. For most of human history, belonging to a group took precedence as people identified with the tribe, the clan, the family and locality.

Social solidarity was what counted and acts committed by individuals were perceived to be the responsibility of the wider social groupings to which they belonged. Blood feuds, for example, which involved warring extended families, often arose from the action of a single individual but carried collective responsibility.

Unlike modern capitalism, which tends to isolate individuals, pre-capitalist systems tended to incorporate them. People were bound together through a variety of strong social ties. This social solidarity was once the normal and universal form of relationship.

Natural

Insofar as individuals find it extremely difficult to live in total isolation, we may argue that social solidarity, to some degree, is natural. Human beings are social animals who necessarily must cooperate. Even within modern industrial societies, the urge to belong to some community or other seems overwhelming. So-called tribalism in respect of football supporters is an example of this.

In the fight against exploitation and oppression within the capitalist system, workers have always recognised the need for solidarity in order to win even basic demands. From the beginning of the nineteenth century, striking workers have had to try to create and enforce the greatest degree of unity in order to beat their employers. The tension between individualism arising from the dynamic of capitalism and the need for united action has been one of the main preoccupations of workers in struggle. The issue of 'scab' labour has been so important that the success of workers' actions has often depended upon the ability to overcome imported strike-breakers.

Trade unions normally act as a barrier to wider solidarity since their main concern is with a particular craft, industry or occupation.

Sectionalism, meaning a divided workforce, has always been an essential feature of trade unionism in Britain.

Powerful

Solidarity on a mass scale can be tremendously powerful. During the General Strike of 1926 in Britain, sym-

pathy and support for locked-out miners was so great that there was no strike breaking from within the working class. The one serious occasion in which the union bosses pushed for united struggle ended in disaster. The power and potential threat of millions of workers on strike frightened the government. It frightened the union leaders even more and they called off the strike when the issue of parliamentary sovereignty (sic) came onto the agenda.

The failure to achieve solidarity of purpose and action usually has dire consequences. During the 1984 miners strike internal dissension within the union's ranks and lack of significant support outside seriously weakened the struggle to preserve jobs.

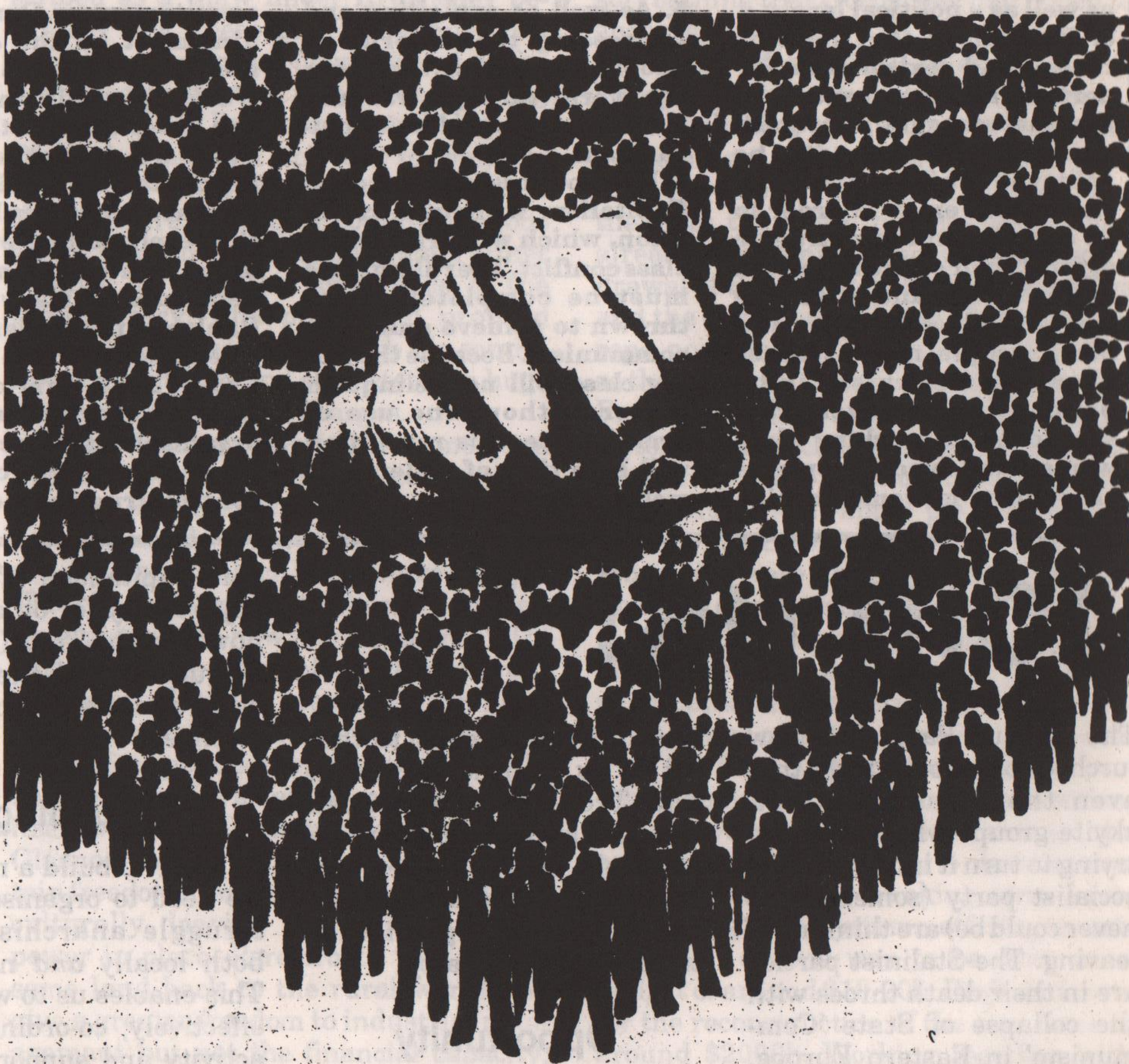
If solidarity is important for struggles which are of a defensive and limited nature within capitalism, then it is clear that in order to overthrow the system, the widest determined unity is going to be

Government

An anarchist society by definition requires the absence of government. Anarchists have, however, gone much further than this and fight for the abolition of all coercive institutions and relationships. How then, can order be maintained, for without order society would be intolerable. Part of the answer must lie in the creation of networks of manageable (in personal terms) social groups which have strong bonds within them and in their wider contacts.

Dynamic

Whilst the danger exists that social pressures will negate individual freedom, these must be counteracted by libertarian education and effective structural devices which promote the greatest possible degree of personal autonomy. Anarchist



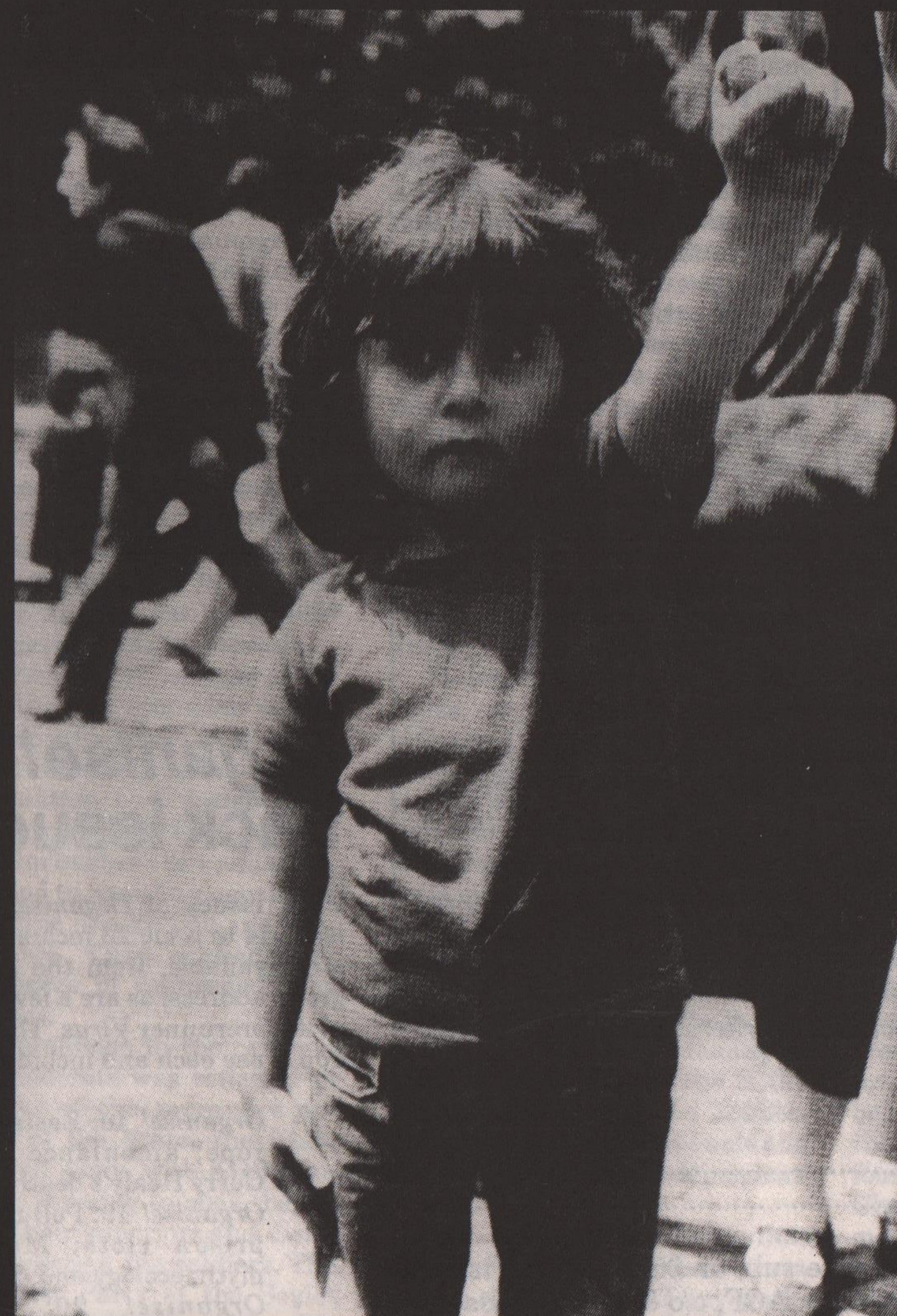
essential. Failure to involve the great mass of working class people and at least neutralise most others will lead either to quick defeat or civil war. The greater the cohesion of the struggle, the easier will be the task of creating post revolutionary anarchy.

communists believe that social solidarity is simply the most 'natural' form of living in the world. Anarchy will not be an amalgam of unconnected, isolated individuals but a dynamic solidarity in which people interact on the basis of freedom and equality.

ORGANISE!

for class struggle anarchism

INFANTILE DISORDER



Magazine of the
Anarchist Communist Federation

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UNION

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CHILDREN

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REVIEWS

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NEW
SERIES:
ASPECTS OF
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ORGANISE!

ORGANISE! IS THE national magazine of the Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF). *Organise!* is a quarterly theoretical journal published in order to develop anarchist communist ideas. It aims to give a clear anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues, and initiate debates on areas not normally covered by agitational journals.

All articles in the magazine are by ACF members unless signed. Some reflect ACF policy and others open up debate in undiscussed areas, helping us to develop our ideas further.

Please feel welcome to contribute articles to *Organise!* — as long as they don't conflict with our Aims and Principles we will publish them. (Letters, of course, need not agree with our A&Ps at all.)

The next issue will be out in early January. The deadlines are November 16th for features and reviews, and November 30th for letters and news.

All contributions for the next issue should be sent to:

ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

PRESS FUND

THE PRESS FUND exists so you can contribute to the everyday running and production costs of *Organise!* Money is always needed for printing, postage, layout materials and a host of other things. We also want to see *Organise!* produced more frequently, with more pages and with a greater print run. Money is also needed to finance more pamphlets.

Thanks to all those who contributed to the Press Fund this issue:

£100 — London; £5 — Bristol; £10 — Newcastle; £34 — Rugby. Meanwhile, if there are any socially aware millionaire revolutionaries about...

Who We Are ...

THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST Federation is an organisation of class struggle anarchists. Its structure is based on groups and individual members. We have members in the following areas:

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Grantham
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Leeds
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Manchester
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Northumberland
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The ACF promotes the building of a strong and active anarchist movement in Britain and internationally and has contact with like-minded anarchists overseas.

For all contact write to:

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Newcastle rioter

"We urge anarchist communist comrades to join the Labour Party so they can leave in disgust and join us in the SWP"
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"... Please yourselves!"
Frankie Howard

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I enclose (£2.50 for a four-issue sub, or £5 for a four issue supporting sub). Return form to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

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Due to the massive demand for our excellent pamphlets, they are currently all out of print. We hope to bring new titles out in the near future as well as reprints of some of our out of print titles. We are hoping to launch a subscription process for specific titles, similar to Phoenix Press. Meanwhile, watch this space.

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WE FEEL THAT *Organise!* has an important role to play in the growth of revolutionary activity and ideas in these exciting times. We know from rising sales that many of our readers feel the same.

But we need your support to help keep the furnace burning.

Sell *Organise!*

Although our sales are rising, we need to keep boosting circulation, so try and take a bundle to sell to friends or workmates. By selling *Organise!* you can help our

ideas to reach more and more people.

Write for *Organise!*

You can help to make *Organise!* yours by writing letters and articles.

Feedback

Organise! will improve through a two-way process of criticism and feedback, and will better reflect the reality of struggle through readers communicating with us. Please write in with your ideas.

Please send all feedback, contributions for *Organise!*, requests for papers and Press Fund money (payable to ACF) to the London address.

Organise! Back Issues

Back issues of *Organise!* (from issue 14 to issue 23 inclusive) are still available, from the London group address, as are a few copies of its forerunner *Virus*. They cost 40p & sae each and include:

- *Organise!* 18: Eastern Europe; ambulance crews; Gerry Healy's death.
- *Organise!* 19: Poll tax and prison riots; Mandela myth; ecology and class.
- *Organise!* 20: Class struggle in Ireland; Romania; poll tax update.
- *Organise!* 21: Gulf war; Russia in crisis; Brixton.
- *Organise!* 22: Recession; poll tax; warfare state; Commune; Asia.
- *Organise!* 23: Iraq Interview; Greens; ANC; pits; police

Iron Felix in the Scrapyard — Piggies Go to Market

THE RECENT FAILED coup in the Soviet Union was a final attempt by the Stalinist section of the ruling class to regain control. It ushered in the collapse of the empire which had been taken over lock, stock and barrel from Tsarism. It further opened the road to re-entry of the Eastern European bloc into the capitalist market.

The coup was sparked off by the increasing autonomy of the republics, to be made official by a treaty agreed by Gorbachev. Gorbachev's frantic manoeuvring led him into an alliance with Boris Yeltsin who represents an alternative section of the Russian ruling class, a section which wants to speed up entry into the market. For his part, Gorbachev wanted to hold together the Soviet Union and preserve the dominant role of the Communist Party, whilst granting some economic and political reforms. He attempted a balancing act between the two opposing sections of the Soviet ruling class.

Failure

The coup showed the extent to which this strategy has failed. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union, due to its implication in the coup was forced to be dissolved by Gorbachev. Many republics outlawed their local Communist Parties. Now Gorbachev is a political captive of the Yeltsin group, and will remain so, until he is made completely redundant by the continuing process of disintegration.

The coup failed because of the huge splits and confusion within the Soviet ruling class. This confusion showed itself in the lack of determination and decisiveness by the coup leaders. They failed to shoot Gorbachev immediately, they failed to round up opponents of their line like Yeltsin and Shevardnadze. They argued over what degree of repression they should use.

The confusion in the ranks of the bureaucrats was reflected in the ranks of the repressive apparatus of the State, the KGB, police, and army, with KGB commanders refusing to obey the orders of their superiors, and disaffection amongst the soldiers. The Communist Party of the Soviet Union was itself affected by this confusion. Gorbachev was held captive by those he had appointed to leading positions. His own deputy, Yanayev, was implicated, as was the Prime Minister, the Minister of the Defence, the Minister of the Interior and the chief of the KGB. They had talked with Gorbachev about imposing a state of

emergency. Indeed, Gorbachev may have used the coup in an attempt to strengthen his own hand, an attempt which backfired. Yeltsin too, almost certainly knew about the preparation of the coup and deliberately delayed in taking action against the plotters, so that he could strengthen his hand by counting on popular indignation after any violence from them. He may have done a deal with the plotters so he could provoke them into action and profit from the repercussions.

Yeltsin is now in a dominant position. But if the Soviet working class have any illusions in him, they will soon be shattered. He is not their friend, he is a member of the same class that repressed and butchered workers for the last 70 years. He has often manoeuvred to support workers' action, like the miners' strike in March, to protect his own position from the Stalinist wing. This is purely tactical, as he is just as capable of demanding repressive action against strikes. He called for an end to the strikes after making a deal with Gorbachev and supported an anti-strike law. He used the threat of this law to head off a strike by Russian metal workers.

He and his allies, like Shevardnadze, (experienced in repression in Georgia) wish to change the way the bureaucratic ruling class operate. He wants a turn to the Western style of exploitation with local factory bosses as entrepreneurs. He is in a strong position now, but the result of this will not be better times for the working class but increased unemployment, exploitation and repression. He is supported by many factory managers ready to make the change to the market as well as by the intellectuals, the media professionals and the leaders of the 'independent' unions.

The Yeltsin group hopes that this coalition of different strata will be able to head off any working class unrest. This remains to be seen. The regime of Romania used the miners to smash opposition, but now the miners have turned against it. The first signs of independent working class action in Eastern Europe may be a forerunner of a mass response to the horrors to be inflicted.

The failed coup threw the rot



ting Communist Parties in the West into even further disarray. Here in Britain the fragments of the once united Communist Party reacted in different ways. The EuroCommunists of the Communist Party of Great Britain, soon to transform itself into the Democratic Left, condemned the coup and supported Gorbachev. The rabid hard-liners of the New Communist Party cheered on the plotters saying that with Gorbachev's removal 'the morale of genuine communists and progressives throughout the world has risen'. But now the morale of these 'genuine' communists must now be at an all time low and their final death agony is much nearer. As for the Communist Party of Britain, their mouthpiece, the *Morning Star*, acted in its usual opportunistic way, calling the coup 'unconstitutional' whilst at the same time offering a weak criticism of Gorbachev. This was followed by a call for him to be reinstated. The CPB too will be torn by even greater internal crisis.

As for the Leninist left, the Trotskyists and others, that all rushed to distance Lenin from the growth of Stalinism, conveniently forgetting the repression that began almost immediately under the Bolsheviks. Somehow the founding of the secret police, the Cheka, the shooting and imprisonment of revolutionaries, the prison camps, the crushing of the Kronstadt revolt and the savage conditions imposed on workers and peasants was okay under Lenin but not under Stalin. They forget their 'materialist' analysis and imagine that Stalinism sprang from nowhere. With the collapse of the Stalinist monolith, the Trotskyists are scuttling to dodge any falling masonry.

The Socialist Workers Party in

their paper *Socialist Worker* said that "Boris Yeltsin ...has courageously called a general strike. But workers cannot rely on him to stand firm". (24 August 1991) The man who had backed anti-strike laws was supported by the SWP! They argued that the working class should back the champion of the market against the plotters, that it should support one boss against another. In varying degrees this was the response of all the Trotskyists.

Hoax

Stalinism has fallen, but the working class of eastern Europe are facing the hoax of democracy. The collapse of the coup was not a triumph for working people as they stood on the sidelines, a small minority only answering Yeltsin's call for strike action. What they face now is speed-ups at work, layoffs, a rising cost of living and the butchery and dislocation that will come with the rise of the nationalist demagogues. The road ahead is dark, especially as many working people in Eastern Europe may be fooled for a time that democracy and the market will offer a better future.

It is up to us anarchist-communists, both in the West and in the East, to argue for the creation of a revolutionary alternative, a genuine communism which is based on free and collective decision-making and where production is based on need. This is anarchist-communism. A ray of light shines through the settling dust of the ruins of Stalinism — the anarchist-communist alternative. Those sincere people who have been misled by the various brands of Leninism should now seriously consider our ideas.

The Moral Crusade Continues

A MAJOR PART of the Conservative government's policies is the re-establishment of the old moral order and the sanctity of the family. They will be unable to reverse many of the great changes that have taken place in the last 30 years, but they hope to reverse some of the trends that developed from the '60s onwards when homosexuality came out of the closet. They have already passed the notorious Clause 28 introduced in 1989, and now they have Clause 25 in the new Criminal Justice Bill (published in November 1990) which they intend to enact.

Clause 28 affected the promotion of homosexuality via local councils, for example in books stocked by public libraries. Now Clause 25 will apply to sexual behaviour, attempting to police homosexual behaviour on three counts, with up to five years' imprisonment followed by five years' 'psychiatric supervision'. These three counts are:

1 Procuring of sexual acts, in other words letting two men use your spare room to commit a sexual act, or introducing two men to each other in a pub, club or at a party.

2 Indecency between men —

this can be any homosexual affection in public, and could be interpreted as anything from cottaging, to kissing or holding hands.

3 Solicitation by a man — this could be interpreted as including exchanging telephone numbers, smiling, etc.

In addition to clause 25, paragraph 16 of the Children's Act guidelines was published in December 1990. This paragraph makes it impossible for lesbian or gay couples to adopt or foster children. Alongside this is an increase in the level of police harassment of gay men.

The Sexual Offences Act of 1967 was a 'liberalisation' of the attitudes of the State and ruling class towards homosexuality. It allowed for the existence of homosexuals as long as this was kept closeted. The growth of the lesbian and gay movements in the '70s led to a situation where many lesbians and gays refused to put up with this state of affairs.

Homosexuality has always existed and will continue to exist. With the rise of Christianity in Western Europe came condemnation but it was not until the rise of capitalism that it was singled out as a particular form of sexuality that was outside the norm. It was seen as a threat to the new social order and the family in particular. The rise of industry under capitalism destroyed the old forms of production. Labour was removed from the efforts of individual families

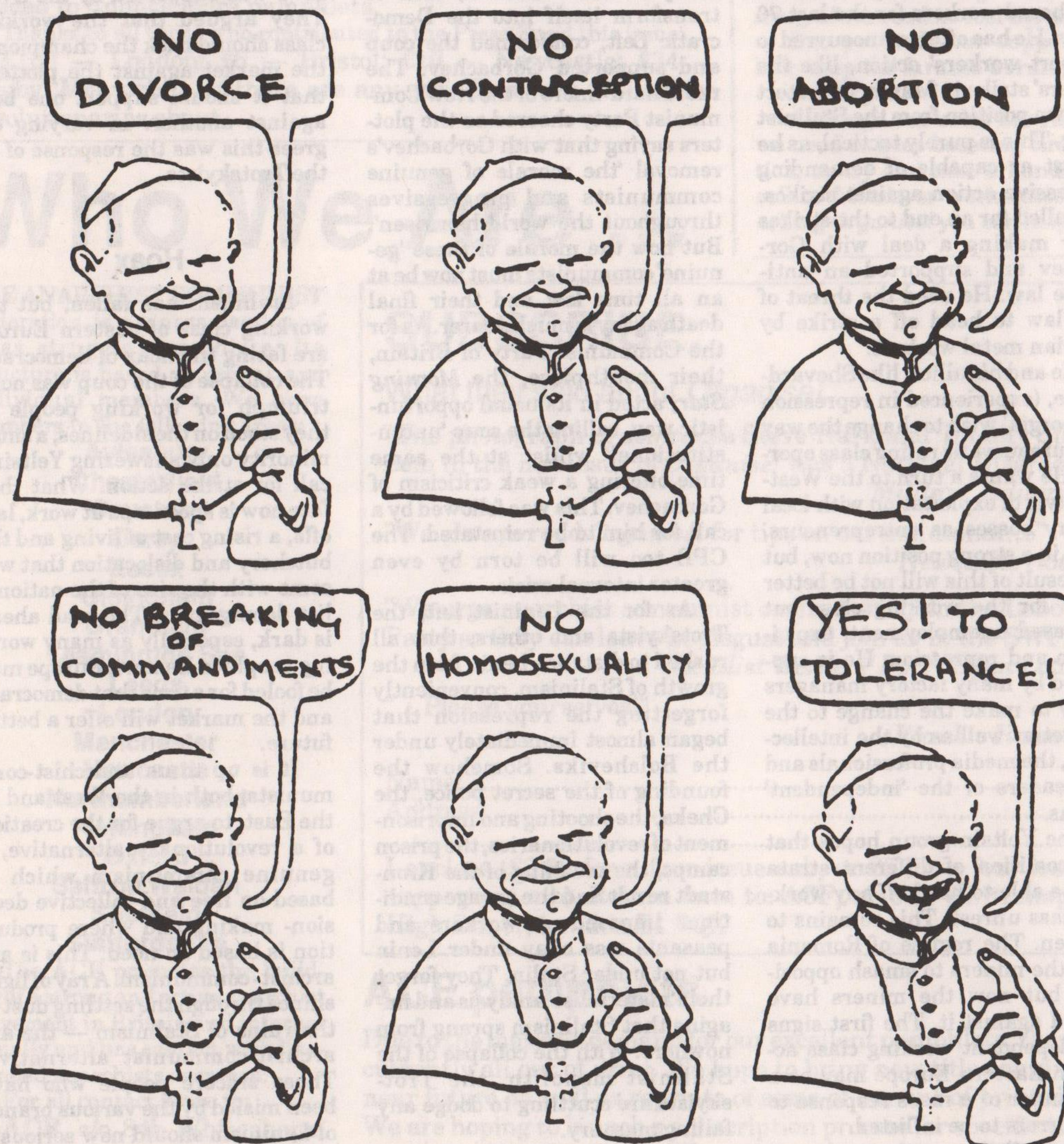
and villages and concentrated in factories. A split developed between material production in these new workplaces and private labour performed mostly by women at home. Male supremacy which had long existed before capitalism, became an institutional part of capitalism. In the process the family was idealised and male workers were paid higher wages than women workers. The family became the place where the individual was valued, and the working class took on the ruling class ideal of the family as a utopian retreat from the horrors of life from the workplaces.

At the same time, the family became the place where workers were serviced and where capitalism could ensure it always had an adequate labour supply.

Homosexuality began to be attacked and castigated with the establishment of these new family forms. It was seen as a criticism of the family, of going against the 'norm' of the heterosexual family unit which acted as a prop for capitalism.

The new measures are intended to force lesbians and gays back into the closets, and to make their sexual activities 'criminal' once again.

The moral crusade has to be taken on by the revolutionary groups and of course by those directly affected by it. Unfortunately, the organisation of demonstrations and activity against the new legal provisions is dominated by the gay professionals and entrepreneurs of 'pink capitalism'. As we have seen, the repression of homosexuality is directly related to the class nature of this society. Any 'reforms' in the short term will always stand the risk of being taken away again. The most effective way for lesbian and gay liberation, in fact the only way in which real liberation can come, is through the recognition that this class society must be destroyed. Lesbian and gay liberation has to be linked to the general onslaught on capitalism, and taken out of the ghetto and away from the domination of the leaders of the gay 'alternative society'.



BCCI, AND OTHER HYPOCRITES

CAPITALISM IS LITTERED with the corpses of would-be gangs of supreme power-mongers. When an individual becomes so excessively wealthy and bloated with the obscenities of super-rich self-consumption, what else is there to do after all the executive toys have become tiresome? Sheikh Zayed bin Sultan Al Nahyan, the 'government' of Abu Dhabi, is such an individual. Zayed's lapdogs created the Bank of Credit and Commerce International (BCCI) by imposing appalling wages and conditions upon thousands of immigrant workers who had come to the Middle East hoping for a better life. This thoroughly capitalist organisation was then encouraged to dance to capitalism's natural rhythm of fraud, money laundering, narcotics, extortion and bribery... the list goes on and on.

BCCI caught many hundreds of thousands of peasants and workers from Panama to Afghanistan, one way or the other, in a web of intricacy and intrigue. Hundreds of thousands have lost their only savings. In England, 35 councils saw 65 million pounds creamed from working class people go down the drain. Those more directly involved, the 53,000 holders of BCCI sterling accounts, will be rescued to the tune of no more than 15,000 pounds each. Without much doubt though, the Tories will concoct a financial package which will bail out the scum who lost much more. An election is looming and plenty of grateful and well-oiled friends will be needed. Bribery, after all, is an international characteristic of capitalism and always close to hand.

Of course an estimated US \$20 billion of money being transferred between one gang of capitalist vultures to another does not go unnoticed in the world economy or, indeed, occur overnight. Evidence is mounting that for at least three years the Bank of England knew about the shady dealings of BCCI. Furthermore, in 1990, proof of BCCI's hidden agenda was discovered.

The progression in time from allowing the privileged few access to preferential 'sweetheart' loans, to having tens of congressmen and generals dining on the graft from BCCI's pocket would not have been long. Whilst BCCI just got on with the 'normal' business of capitalist activity, (i.e. those listed above), it was ignored. BCCI methods were brutal and lacked finesse, but

Good Boy Goes Bad

It was the discovery by the Americans that BCCI covertly owned the First American Bank that first revealed that BCCI had access to the poten-



frenzied BCCI coupling with First American, this was purely ecstatic music. With this marriage of convenience BCCI's vast experience of making dirty money appear Persil white, twinned with First American's respectable establishment veneer, Abu Dhabi — a.k.a. Sheikh Zayed — saw the opportunity to establish a rival power base to challenge American hegemony.

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even so, did not present Western governments with too many difficulties or much of a threat. A blind eye was conveniently turned. Capitalism's assassins and henchmen, for the time being, were allowed to run amok, but would they turn upon the very ones who encouraged their existence? Yes, with the potential for dozens of America's high ranking officials to be in the pocket of the BCCI, all either blackmailed, corrupted or even just simply bought. Abu Dhabi had clearly signalled its higher intentions. The alarm bells between governments rang. It was decided that the rival power base, which BCCI represented, would have to be eliminated.

It is utter rubbish to suggest that Robin Leigh-Pemberton, governor of the Bank of England, did suddenly on the morning of the 5th of July, 1991 decide, all by himself, to save the world from BCCI. To suggest that this lackey may have had some independence and blown the whistle on BCCI before receiving, via the Tory machine, American instructions to do so, is the same as suggesting that, against all natural evidence, a jellyfish can grow a backbone. Leigh-Pemberton has been bought and paid for and must dance the dance of the corrupted. A total yes-man, he has, as a reward for his cravenness, received this year from his Tory cohorts a £22,000 pay rise and an added bonus of £80,000 'compensation' for not growing grain on his 2,000 acre farm. The USA, as always finding

England more than willing to do its international dirty work, nominated Leigh-Pemberton to be the bag-man for BCCI. It comes as little surprise, then, that at the investigational phase of Noreiga's indictment before the US courts, the records of the bank he liked to do massive business with are frozen and open to inspection. Could this be coincidence or convenience?

This sordid tale is one not dissimilar, at least in tactics, to that of the trojan horse. BCCI was a pretender to the throne, a 'third world' interloper. The battle between two sets of gangsters for ultimate power has been one by the present incumbent exploiters.

The Biggest Financial Fraud?

The biggest financial fraud is that fraud which considers it has the right to the economic control of millions of working class women and men — just because the exploiters own the means of production. The biggest social fraud is capitalism itself. Whilst the working class round the world is attacked, beaten and murdered every second of the day, capitalism plans redistribution of \$20,000 billion — back into its own pockets!

The biggest political fraud is government. Within one form always lies the future of another and a guarantee that there will be no improvement for the working class. Neither the Majors of today nor the Noreigas of tomorrow are our friends.

As yesterday's and today's history drag humanity ever closer to the edge of the capitalist abyss, the choice before the world's working class becomes increasingly clear: Anarchist Communism or barbarism. There is no third way. Not until we reject all government, will real communism, anarchist communism, become a reality.

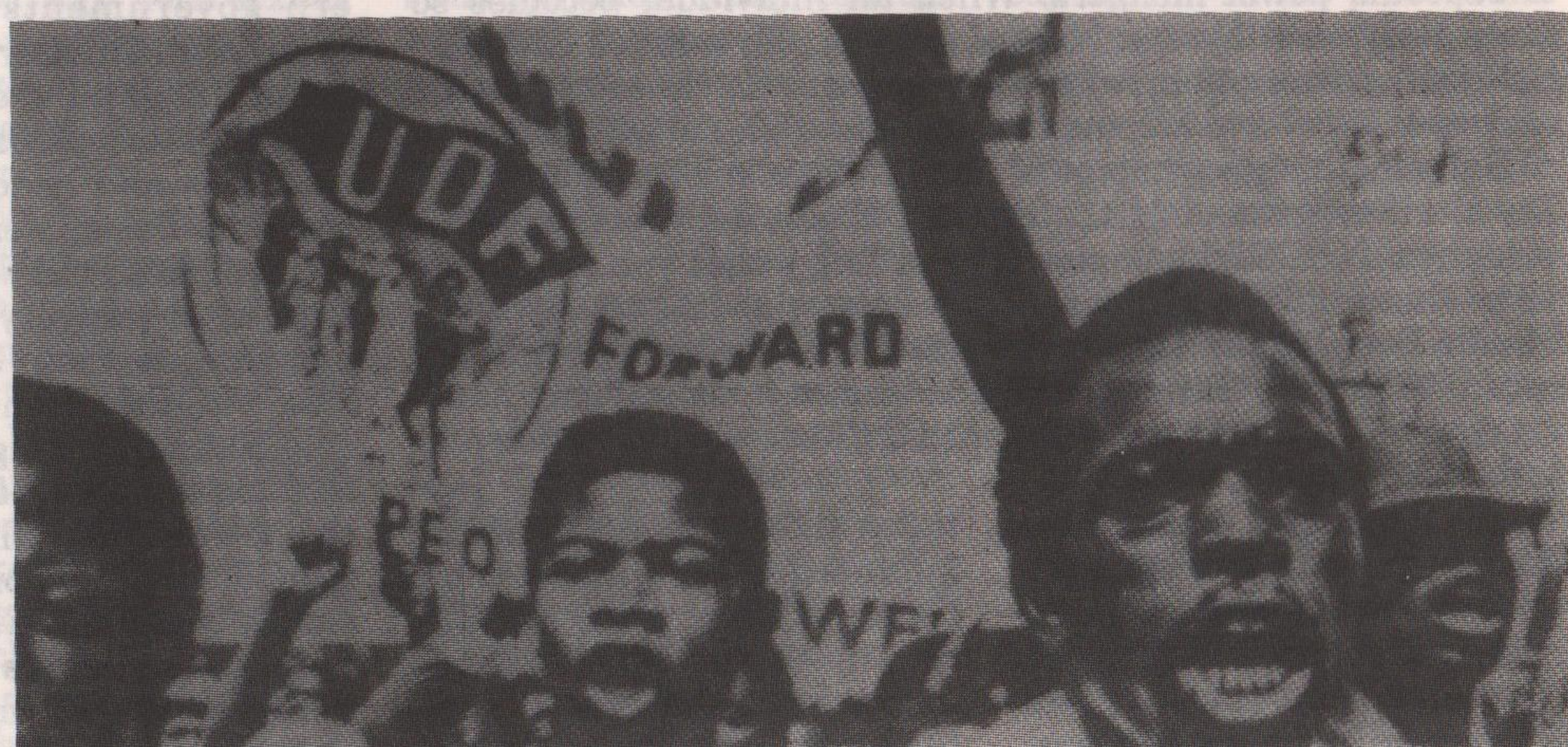
THOROUGHLY ROTTEN MILLIE

BEHIND THE FACADE of the *Militant* newspaper and its network of sellers, lies that most obscure and yet influential Trotskyist organisation, the Revolutionary Socialist League. Ever since this sect emerged inside the Labour Party under the influence of Ted Grant, it has kept its existence secret except to the initiated, which it recruits through the Labour Party branches, the Labour Party Young Socialists and the paper-selling network. For many years it remained a tiny grouping. Thanks to very hard and consistent work, and the departure of rival Trotskyist groups from the Labour Party, leaving it free to build its organisation without competition, it began to grow in the mid 70s. By 1980 it had just under 2000 members. In the heyday of *Militant* in 1986, thanks to the high profile of Derek Hatton and Tony Mulhearn it was able to boast of a membership of 8,000.

Liverpool

In Liverpool, *Militant* built up a power-base and was able to count two Labour MPs amongst its membership, Dave Nellist in Coventry and Terry Fields in Liverpool. On Merseyside, *Militant* concentrated in taking over the district Labour Parties. When Derek Hatton was elected in 1979 there were only four *Militant* members as Labour councillors. *Militant* was able to increase this number considerably, and to gain control of the local party structure. In doing so they inherited and emulated the old system of patronage of Bessie and Jack Braddock, the right-wing Labourites who ran Liverpool as their fief, and developed support through 'jobs for the boys', in much the same manner as the U.S. Democratic Party in local government. *Militant* took on the old practices lock, stock and barrel. As Hatton admitted in his book, *Inside Left*, "People have accused me of handing out jobs to the boys. Of course we did. We wanted people around us who understood the plan, who were committed to it". Hatton was a high-flying careerist and wanted the post of council leader. The leadership of *Militant* refused to let him stand against John Hamilton, the group leader. They had become past masters at manipulation of structures, and reasoned that they controlled the council practically, and did not need the bad publicity of forcing Hamilton out. This illustrates their attitude to the Labour Party. Finally Hatton fell out with the leadership because he wanted to oppose the threatened disbandment of the District Labour Party by the Kinnoch leadership in the winter of 1985-6. The *Militant* leadership of Grant, Peter Taaffe, and locally, Tony Mulhearn, argued against this, saying that such opposition to disbandment "would allow the right wing to separate

some of the best left fighters from the Labour Party nationally". As it was, both Hatton and Mulhearn were expelled from Labour, and now 'our Dagsie', denied his moment of glory, has gone on to male modelling and setting himself up as an entrepreneur, trading on his knowledge of council practice.



Grant and Taaffe at loggerheads

Militant's decision to run a candidate from the Broad Left as Real Labour in the Walton by-election shows the poverty of their analysis of, and strategy towards, the Labour Party. Even when forced to stand outside the official Labour structure they still choose to use the camouflage of Real Labour. In doing so they continue to perpetuate illusions in the Labour Party. Before the election they argued that even if they did not win, they would be happy if Leslie Mahmood received a substantial amount of votes. They were disappointed even in this.

Though they put themselves forward as a revolutionary grouping, all their actions only further the idea that Labour is somehow 'left-wing', 'socialist' or 'progressive'. They only strengthen the hoax of social-democracy. In their own book, *Liverpool — A City that Dared to Fight*, Taaffe and Mulhearn argued that their "achievements" in Liverpool Council "deepened support for Labour" leading to a "stunning victory" for Labour in the May 1986 local elections. In fact when *Militant* took over in May 1983, Labour had 47 per cent of the vote, dropping to 42 per cent in 1986. Even in terms of supporting Labour, they were a failure.

Any Labour Equals Real Fraud

Constant pressure from the Labour leadership has finally forced them to organise outside the Labour Party structure. But even here, their strategy is flawed. They will stand under the banner

of Real Labour, continuing to hide the existence of the Revolutionary Socialist League, and continuing to further the myth that Labour is in any way a friend of the working class.

They have been a parasite inside the Labour Party for many years, and find it difficult to behave in a different way.

Even at Walton there were severe problems. Terry Fields, one of their two MPs did not actually openly support Leslie Mahmood during the election, in line with being seen as a loyal Labour member. Now *Militant* is in total disarray, as Ted Grant, staunch partisan of remaining inside the Labour Party, finds himself in a minority on the central committee of *Militant*, and faces expulsion.

He is the second important Trotskyist leader to be spurned by his own creation, the first one being the corrupt, rapist, toad Gerry Healy.

Illusions

The majority appear to support a sort of Dr Dolittle PushMePullYou strategy of running for election under the banner of Real Labour in certain areas whilst continuing to work inside the Labour Party in other areas. Whatever they do, they still support the election of a Labour Government committed to 'socialism' which will nationalise the top companies. They are a brake on the development of a revolutionary movement in this country, with their peddling of illusions that somehow Labour can be won to socialism, that somehow nationalisation can be equated with any real change for the working class, that using the parliamentary process via electoralism can achieve revolutionary change. Hopefully their days are numbered. They are a parasite who may find it difficult to exist outside of the host body of Labour and may collapse. We look forward to that day.

CHILDREN: People or Property?

CHILDREN ARE THE only people who can be physically assaulted within the current legal set-up. Parents have the right to 'smack' their offspring and until fairly recently, teachers could dish out 'corporal punishment'. This alone should alert us to the fact that children are seen as something as less than fully human. Our society is actually awash with prejudice and discrimination against children. Hotels and restaurants may declare without irony that children and pets are not welcome.

In many ways our attitude towards children is similar to that of animals. On the one hand we sentimentalise over them yet on the other often humiliate, control and exploit them. True, in Britain at least, few children are engaged in full-time work and this must be preferable to the days when they were employed in coal mines and factories. But in giving them the now fashionable 'protected' status we enslave them. Like all protectorates the world of children is one of being controlled.

Derision

The language we use with reference to children indicate values which are synonymous with derision. Adults may be ridiculed as being 'childish' or 'infantile' and no-one respects the older child or adolescent who is a 'cry-baby'. Children have also been labelled as ego-centric, immature, lacking reason and logic and even of being anarchic(!). Following from these characterisations adults often impose their will on children. They have to do things 'because we say so'.

One writer and childcare advisor, Judy Miller, has made a study of children of nursery age, and has found them to be quite capable and responsible. She found for example that four year olds could be compassionate and caring, skilful and safe in the use of woodworking tools and capable of logical thought. The problem often, is not with the children but of adults' perception of them as inadequate. This gives rise to negative stereotyping which in turn leads children to be treated unjustly. Judy Miller has coined the term 'adultism' to use when discussing these stereotypical views. Adultism is the assumption that adults are superior to children in every important respect.

On examination it is clear that adult behaviour is often far from perfect. How many adults can honestly deny that they have acted irrationally, stupidly, drun-

kenly or dishonestly in terms of human relationships? And isn't it adults in the guise of generals, politicians and capitalists who are fucking up the world and its populations?

Fictions

John Holt in his book *Escape from Childhood* has argued for giving children rights to protect them from arbitrary adult control. Whilst anarchist-communists would certainly question the whole idea of 'rights' as being liberal fictions, the realisation that children are fully human is an important one. His fundamentally reformist demands include; the right to equal treatment with adults under the law; the right to vote; to have financial independence and responsibility; to seek and choose guardians other than their parents. Most adults would reject these demands as silly or unrealisable. Despite the liberal character of the demands, they do point to the gross inequalities which are normally left unquestioned. To vote in elections is a waste of time for everyone, but why should children not be active in political struggle? For children to choose their own guardians may seem ridiculous but how many children are abused, neglected or fucked up by their natural or appointed ones? Children can't be trusted to handle their financial matters, it may be argued, but how many adults are in debt or have crippling overdrafts? As for equality before the law, it is a fiction in the adult world. Nevertheless, children often resent and reject the patronising and authoritarian law when it is applied to them.

Kropotkin

Many anarchists have been aware for decades of the potential of children and of the repressive and distorted environment in which they are brought up. Nevertheless a more conservative strand emanating from Kropotkin has survived as well. He argued that children 'naturally' depend on their parents who 'naturally' raise and control them within families. As children gain in years, Kropotkin argued, they will become increasingly independent until, at adolescence, 'children' openly challenge parental authority and ultimately break free.

Now while we cannot deny that babies and young children need safe, caring and supportive environments, there is little doubt that young children can survive in-

dependently of adult supervision. In the third world millions do so. Freedom from adults need not wait until adolescence; it should be available to children who demand it. When children are ready to take control of their own lives, we as anarchists should recognise and encourage them. We should take our propaganda into the schools. The bourgeoisie and the state will see this as corruption of youth and cry out abuse. However, comrades, the revolution is for children too. In South Africa it is interesting to note that it has been school children who have often been the most militant and uncompromising in the opposition to apartheid. They have an equal role in the revolution here!



This article has only touched on a few of the issues which relate to children. Other contributions are welcome.

NB. For Judy Miller's discussion on adultism etc. see the magazine *Childright*, March 1991.

A NEW WORLD

Anarchist Communism or Barbarism

This article is to form the first in a series concerning the trends in modern capitalism.

Introduction

It may seem that we have faced, over this past two years, the most momentous events that we are likely to face for the next ten. But I do not believe that to be so. The two major events — the Gulf War and the break up of the Soviet bloc — have only been steps along the way. Far more is at hand than actually meets the average eye. The phrase — The New World Order — is seen by Bush as a new Pax Americana, a new promised peace, security and wealth to be guaranteed by his military. What is on offer on the surface is the appearance of peace and prosperity, beneath is a reality of war of a different kind, not the old Cold War which was very much out in the open, but an economic war fought out of sight, but more importantly of course, the continuation of the class war on new ground.

THE BASIS OF THIS present and changing world order dates from the Second World War. Prior to the war the USA was entering another period of crisis similar to the depression of some years previous. The beginning of the war in Europe was the big chance for American capital to make its move. In the first two years the USA was given the opportunity to use its failing industrial capacity, by lend/lease etc., supplying all manner of goods to those engaged in war. Only in 1941 did the USA enter the war thus having two clear years of profit and preparation. The years up until the end of the war allowed a number of policies to be set up for the post-war period.

Stripped

The colonial powers were to be stripped of their exclusive markets and areas of investment. Thus the process of decolonisation was begun and a new era of neo-colonialism set in place. The old financial and trade order was to be reorganised by means of such things as the Bretton Woods agreement. The old gold standard was to be dropped and the dollar standard adopted for world currencies and trade. Thus one aspect of American financial

hegemony was put in place. The creation of new world institutions were to complete the picture, the General Agreement on Trade and Tariffs (GATT) was to supposedly remove the problems in world trade which had led to war, the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (World Bank) was to give a framework for the reconstruction of those economies destroyed during the war. At the same time the International Monetary Fund (IMF) was to give credit and loans to help even the balance of differing economies. These institutions were dominated by the USA and could not avoid being used by those with the power within them to gain all manner of advantages. The institutions were to become like all other capitalist institutions as the means of exploiters to exploit, dividing the world, the 'Free World' and the rest.

Pax Americana

The Pax Americana was the concrete form of the Free World ideology, the USA being the policeman of the world, protector of those allied to it against its old ally, the Soviet Bloc, which had its own ideology and its own power interests at stake. This Free World ideology meant an American economy further perverted by its reliance upon military production to take up its spare capacity, the result being a military/industrial network throughout the USA. The further results of this, and the military/political paranoia that went with it were a series of wars fought away from the two super-powers but between their representatives. The most important of which was the Vietnam war, in actual fact involving Laos and Cambodia as well. Here the American ideology was in full swing, no neutrals allowed, there being only those for us and those against us.

By virtue of the Bretton Woods order the USA effectively had the rest of the world pay for the war by the use of the \$ standard, the US government could print as many \$ as it wished, borrow where it wanted, pay back when and if it wanted. Unfortunately it came to be that the US economy had only one major saleable commodity, arms, the rest of its industry having been neglected and starved. Of course, the US economy had other things to provide the world but it increasingly came to be that others were to take over where the USA had achieved so much in the immediate post-war era.

New

The new situation was this:
The world had been divided into two huge armed camps, a bi-polar world, with



the USA leading one bloc, the Free World, an idea around which a whole ideology had been built up, stridently anti-communist, even to the point of seeing anyone not actively pro-American as communist or pro-communist, calling it 'the evil empire'.

A series of financial and trading in-

stitutions had been built up to order and organise the world market, itself in a sense denied the opposing bloc, and further dividing the world into two further opposing camps, the exploiting and the exploited.

This situation was to be further complicated by the emergence from the exploited nations of a new set of industrialised nations taking away from the old masters all manner of profitable industries.

Prior to this the old enemies of the war, Germany and Japan, had become major players in the world economy by virtue of the ways in which the victors had arranged the new rules. They did not have to spend in the same manner as the rest upon defence, they could concentrate upon making their capital super-competi-

tive, but they remained essentially under the tutelage of the USA because of the division of the world politically.

From there being a whole range of political and economic players on the world scene pre-war, there was now essentially only two but there was a whole new vocabulary to the game:

Super-power, where the capacity for world destruction was in the hands of a very few.

Third world, poverty had been exposed, concentrated, intensified, institutionalised, continually recreated, poverty was becoming an absolute, there were the incredibly rich and the utterly poor.

The non-aligned, a category essentially denied by the Free World ideologists, there being communists, pro-communists and proto-communists.

THE END OF THE OLD WORLD ORDER

THIS INTERNATIONAL arrangement could not last for ever because it was based upon very shaky foundations. The focal point for the western bloc was a nation whose economy had been turned over to the continuous guardianship of an essentially paranoid idea. In addition the new forms of economics were to be based upon Keynesian lines: stopping underconsumption and overaccumulation.

That is, using credit and welfare payments to soak up as much of the production as possible which went unconsumed. This was to try to remove the basic cause of the crises of the past, hence IMF credit etc. The problem of some nations having a flood of profits, accumulating more than the world economy could stand was to be solved by using those excesses to finance the others via the IMF.

This was never to work because the strong economies had no interest in seeing their profits go to others, hence the US would not run the IMF on strict Keynesian lines but used it to its own advantage. Eventually it could only break down as it did. All of the old Bretton Woods agreements were to be abandoned as the US saw fit.

Command

The Eastern bloc of the USSR was run on command lines, a command economy and a command politics. Unfortunately for the inheritors of Stalin's mantle such a politics and economy has only so much capacity. The command economy could go only so far and then run out of steam, especially considering that it was beginning the race from miles behind. Command politics can only retain so much compliance, can exercise so much hegemony, and then without either a successful economy to bribe the working class or extremely intensive oppression cracks must appear.

From the very beginning Russia transformed into the USSR was going to be at a disadvantage. It was the weakest area of capital at the time of the First World War. It then had to endure the disruptions of conversion into a non-market capitalist economy and then destruction of the Second World War. It did not have the same technological pool as the West. Also it had the problems of its very size

Continued on page 14

DISORDER

Hackneyed Hacks

The following article was submitted by an anonymous reader. While we don't normally publish unsigned articles from non-members, we felt that at a time when state communism is in collapse and the Communist Party of Great Britain is hurriedly changing its name to Democratic Left it would be useful for purposes of debate as well as being valuable information.

I AM INTERESTED in revolutionary organisation. It's my belief that libertarian organisation forms the hub of the movement towards revolution. But to attract the calibre of revolutionary who has that fierce strength of inner resolve and determination required, we should be attempting to forge a movement that is so far removed from the preconceptions of 'ordinary' — read bourgeois — organisation that it is then seen and known to stand for a qualitatively different type of society. Anyway, as part of that I think it's important for libertarian communists to every now and again restate our organisational strengths. Hence, the article.

Authoritarian Communism

Authoritarian communism is a method of social organisation created by and made specifically for the social benefit of bureaucracies. It is a specialised but ideal vehicle for a body of ideology which seeks to justify the imposition of the world view of a cabal of intellectual and middle class totalitarians upon the working class. Its dogmatic and reactionary perceptions contribute nothing to the cause of working class freedom, but only have on offer a greater and harsher degree of exploitation. It has nothing at all in common with libertarian communism. A society of free and equal individuals acting without the constraints of the capitalist economy — whether that be state capitalist or socialist or otherwise — is what strikes real fear into the hearts of authoritarian communists. They would have no leverage and no way to make social privilege and to create hierarchy for themselves.

Contained below is an extract from a book published in 1952 entitled, *The Communist Technique in Britain*, written by Bob Darke, ex-'cadre leader' of the then Hackney branch of the British Communist Party.

"... The Hackney Borough Secretariat met once a week at this or that comrade's house. Thus did it save money and thus did it tie each comrade's private life more closely to the Party wheel. I have known Party members to sit in their own living room without protest while other members of the Secretariat ridiculed and censured their choice of furniture, curtains, books, newspapers, even toys for their children. The wife of the comrade in

whose home the meeting took place may have taken part if she was a party member. If not, her place was in the kitchen making tea..."

The Party Line

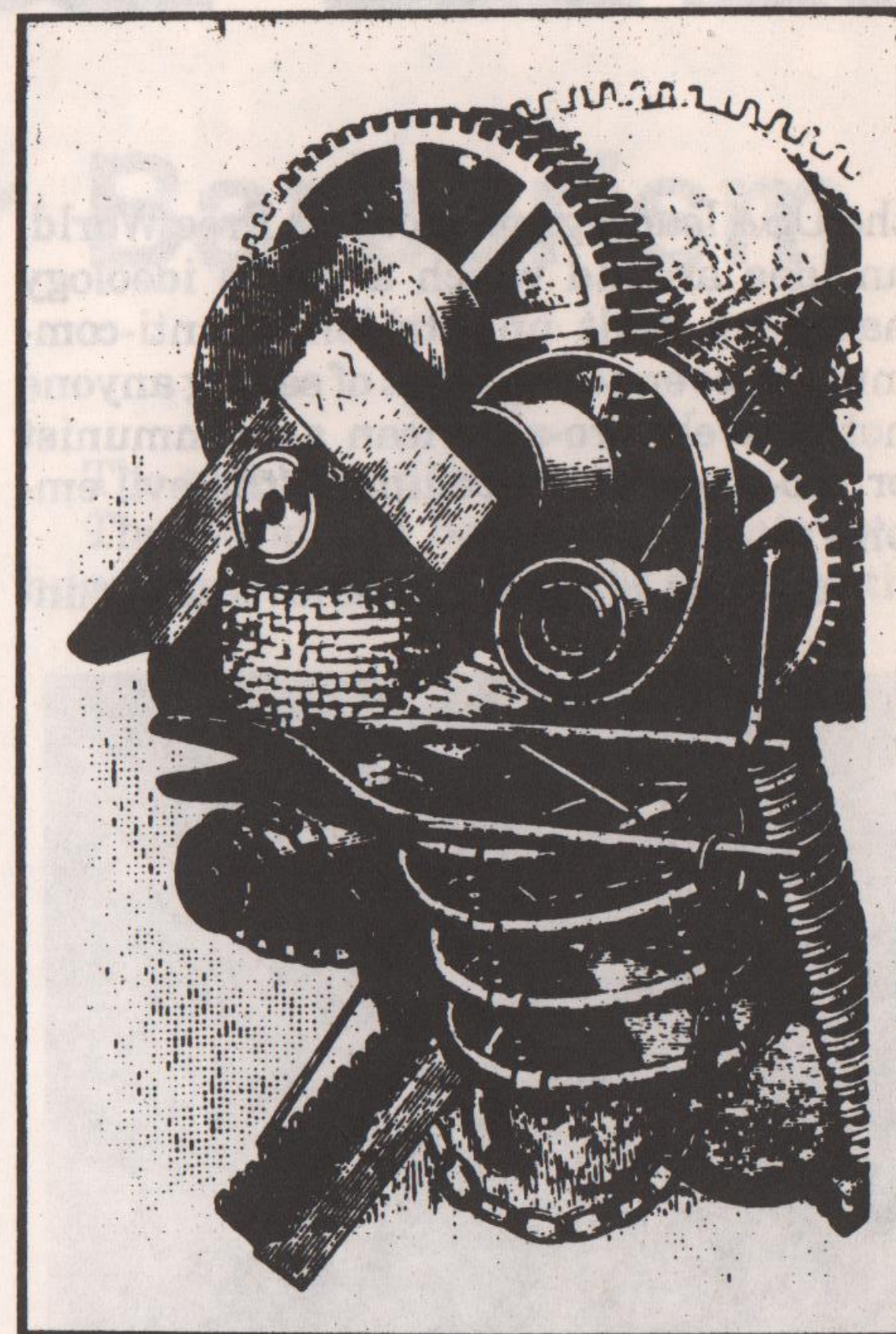
"...First of all, the representatives of each grouping reported on their activities. A docker, for example, may have given a thorough outline of the situation at the docks. A housewife may report on the success or otherwise (and it had best not be otherwise) of the Peace Petition canvassed in her block of flats. Through all of these reports ran one consistent thread — the Party Line. If that was Peace, for example, each group representative had to show how the group had been exploiting it. When all reports had been made the Borough secretary rewarded them with praise or criticism. He was listened to with respect, for none there believed they were just listening to Comrade John Betteridge. They were listening to a man who had received his instructions from higher up. The Borough Secretariat was a lever to be lifted or depressed by the London District Committee, according to the Party Line, which was itself evolved by the National Executive of the Party..."

Hate-America

"...When Betteridge placed before us London district's commands that agitation and propaganda against the Americans must be intensified, no one questioned the wisdom of it. You would be surprised by the ease by which we could persuade the Hackney docker or the Hackney housewife to hate America. Tell an East Ender whose home has been three times bombed that the Americans want to launch a third world war, and how would you expect him to feel? Tell a Hackney housewife that the Americans are compelling the British government to spend money on arms that should be spent on food, and how would you expect her to feel? The hate-America campaign was one of the easiest waged in Hackney. When it began to work the communist had only to suggest that Russia could send Britain food were it allowed to do so, that Russia was disarming while America armed. Sometimes, though, there were embarrassing moments. This was invariably when the Party Line hiccuped..."

Titoism

"...The topsy-turvy business of Tito went unexplained for days. The whole world was discussing Tito. We were keeping our mouths shut. Had anyone else in the party thrown down a challenge to Stalin we should have attacked him immediately. But Tito was different. He was



a communist hero. The shock of his break with the Russians stunned the Party, and not a few of us privately believed that it was the beginning of a great schism. But neither I nor anyone else was allowed time for such heresies to develop.

Only when every Party branch was formulating plans for 'fighting Titoism' did the District Committee start explaining the Cominform's case. I remember one speaker who came down from headquarters to talk to us about Titoism. He was calm, self-assured, like a school teacher patiently lecturing a dull class. Our Party's leaders had known all the time of Tito's possible defection. But what could you expect from a man who had been an American agent during the war?

There it was, flung at us casually like that. Tito was an American agent. During those wartime moments when we had all but made a saint of Tito he had been taking money from the Americans. He had betrayed us, let us down. We hated him. From then on we were all in step with Uncle Joe again. And the portraits of Tito were taken down from the walls and quietly burned. Harry Pollitt had once talked proudly of the signed photograph of Marshall Tito which hung on his wall. I wonder what he did with it."

The operation and structure of the Communist Party in Hackney in the late 1940s was not unique. It was the same as any other C.P. branch anywhere in the world. The only differences that existed were those of effectiveness. Tens of thousands of working class women and men were persuaded to join the various Communist Parties. What should have become a time for optimism, a new beginning after the defeats caused by Fascism, became instead just another false hope,

another ideological rout by capitalism. Why?

Not all the blame can be put upon the Communist Parties; other factors must be taken into consideration. But, mainly through the policy of an unquestioning obedience to Moscow, did the C.P.s come to bear a very major responsibility. By choosing to defend the USSR the C.P.s defended the thoroughly bourgeois concept that some national states, whether they be state socialist or otherwise, are worth the spilling of working class blood. After two world wars in relatively quick succession the last thing the working class needed was a third one. To the detriment of fighting on the terrain of what were the real concerns of the population, the C.P.s became just another factor in the whole social spectrum of the powerful manipulating the powerless. But in this particular case, those responsible were more odious and reprehensible than most.

Enemies

To the class conscious observer of capitalism, the capitalist is one part of the economic equation, the other of course is the worker. The capitalist does what is required to keep his economic system surviving. As such he is our natural enemy. But there are other enemies, ones who deal in the realm of hopes and desires and dreams. They are not as open about their motivations as the capitalist is, but the end result is the same. Exploitation. Just as the parliamentary politicians cynically manipulate the immediate hopes of their electorate, in the same way as the desires of working class men and women for a life of potential fulfilment are exploited through all manner of charlatans offering cheap and nasty palliatives, so also are the dreams of a new society taken up and manipulated to the ends of exploitation. True, the authoritarian communists do want to put an end to the capitalist system, but only so as to implement the system of state socialism, the system of economic decree, of bureaucratic command and yes, of course, more exploitation.

The western working classes of the '40s and '50s showed considerable common sense and political acumen in not permitting the lies and duplicities of Communism Inc. to sway them in favour of setting up copy-cat regimes of the USSR.

Should the working class in this country and in others decide once more to dream that dream of a society without exploitation, and to strive to make it a reality, it becomes incumbent upon libertarian communists to do all in our power to treat one another as equal participants and to fight against conceptions and forms of organisation which allow the working class to be treated as pawns to be manipulated to the dictates of any form of capitalism whatsoever.

The Politics of Tribalism

IN THE LAST issue of *Organise!* (No 23) we had an in-depth article on the African National Congress, showing that the politics of nationalism and Stalinism had nothing to offer the South African working class. However, this did not mean that we thought that the other organisations supposedly representing the South African masses are any better. The Pan African Congress is in many ways an ANC Mark II, distancing itself from that organisation by its own brand of nationalism and attempting to snatch its 'radical' mantle. The pamphlet mentioned in the previous article refers to "grim stories of what happened in PAC camps..." The PAC structure is just as hierarchical and authoritarian as that of the ANC.

Nationalists

In the 1980s the ruling Nationalist Party, faced with mounting social unrest, started to form an alliance with the emerging black capitalist class. This black bourgeoisie grew out of the industrial development of the Bantustans, the black reservations created by the regime. The mouth-piece of these small capitalists is Chief Buthelezi at the head of Inkatha with its strongholds amongst the Zulus of Natal. He advocated 'non-violent change' in the '70s and '80s and has

years. Inkatha imps have been used to attack ANC neighbourhoods, often with direct police and military connivance, and sometimes with the support of armed government undercover units. In addition, there have been reports of a number of direct attacks on the ANC by police and troops wearing balaclavas. The special services unit Five Recce, according to one of its ex-members, Felix Ndimene, have been involved in massacres on trains that further aggravated relations between supporters of ANC and Inkatha.



strong links with Henry Oppenheimer, President of the multi-national giant Anglo-American. Oppenheimer himself is a leading light amongst pragmatic South African capitalists with strong ties to capitalism internationally.

Tension

The carnage in the townships is a direct result of the politics of tension developed by the Afrikaaner regime. President de Klerk agreed that his secret police should fund Inkatha and its trade union wing UWUSA with vast sums of money. An initial payment of £55,000 was revealed, and it appears much more has gone to Inkatha over the

encouraging the divisions of tribalism. It hopes that in the post-apartheid elections it can go into alliance with Inkatha.

One sign that Inkatha has an important role in helping the white boss class maintain its privileges is the phenomenon of many wealthy whites joining Inkatha. In some well-heeled areas, the white rich are setting up their own Inkatha branches.

Stalinists

As we said in *Organise!* 23, the ANC has been trapped and immobilised. Wedded as it is to a section of the new black capitalist class and espousing a 'stages' theory borrowed from the Stalinists which claims that bourgeois democracy must be won before anything else can be attempted, the ANC can offer no solution for the vast majority of the population. Indeed, the ANC is guilty of tribalism itself, filling the leadership with Xhosas.

There are many sincere militants in the townships and workplaces, members of one or another of the rival organisations (ANC, PAC, or AZAPO) who want the overthrow of the system of privilege and do not want to see their organisation become the new boss. The working class has to organise independently and for its own interests. It cannot rely on the ANC. This is especially true if the white regime drops Inkatha and Buthelezi due to their loss of credibility and pursues its alternative strategy of coming to terms with the ANC in order jointly to rule South Africa.

"The fact is that the free enterprise system remains the only system in which wealth can be generated in such a way as to provide the jobs and infrastructure necessary for growth and stability... the destruction of Western standards and capitalist bases is the last thing whites should fear in South Africa."

Buthelezi, from his book *South Africa: My Vision of the Future*

ACF DAY SCHOOL

March 14th 1992

Topics will include:
Nationalism

Leninism

Anarchist-Communism

Watch this space for details

OPEN EYE

We recently received the first issue of *Open Eye*, "a new independent magazine of uncensored news and progressive ideas".

It includes articles on: The History of the Falklands War; Gulf War Launches New World Order; The Economic League: The Blacklists; 'Gladio' and the European Secret Armies; And More...

Available in alternative bookshops and other outlets at £1.20 or send a SAE (27p) and £1 payable to *OPEN EYE*, c/o Acorn Bookshop, Box 42, 17 Chatham Street, Reading, Berks. RG1 7JF

TERRORIZING THE NEIGHBOURHOOD: AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY IN THE POST-COLD WAR ERA

This book brilliantly describes how American power and capital fit into the New World Disorder. It's the best introduction available to Chomsky's work — short, to the point and free of endless footnotes and sidetracks. The recent history of American foreign policy and the real agenda of Reagan and Bush are clearly stated, along with the significance of the break-up of the Soviet Empire and shifts of national capitals. Chomsky is so good on these matters (and subject to a blanket ban by American mainstream publishers) because most of his sources are official American government documents, and for his trenchant criticism of so-called liberal intellectuals. The only drawback is that Chomsky (and his academic supporters) have a basically liberal view of how 'common sense' and rational philosophy are crucial parts of libertarian socialism — whereas we surely know that common sense can be dangerously misguided, given the influence of

modern bourgeois culture and the media. This aside, the book is a little pricey, but is extremely well produced. Overall — absolutely essential reading.

Get from AK Books, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, Scotland, for £3.95 + postage.

AGAINST REDISTRIBUTING POVERTY

A pamphlet on the State's plans for child maintenance by the Wages for Housework Campaign and Payday men's network.

Editors' Introduction

We received this review from an *Organise!* reader and have included it in this issue to encourage discussion of a very important issue. We will review the pamphlet ourselves in the next issue and would also welcome contributions from readers.

Hackles should instinctively start to rise as soon as the State, particularly under the Tories, begins to murmur about wanting to help us out. But publicity, particularly adverse publicity, about the Child Support Bill currently slinking through Parliament, has been minimal.

The public face of this legislation has been that it is designed to alleviate the poverty of children by tracing absent fathers and forcing them to pay maintenance. Most people's gut reaction to this is that it's all fair enough. But, predictably, behind the smiley face comes the grim and devious trooper that is the reality of State social intervention. This pamphlet is a close look behind that mask. The two groups involved carefully examine the State's real motivations and base their resistance on a perspective far removed from the liberal collaboration of the Poverty Industry.

The most important thing to realise is that the money collected from absent fathers will not go to the women or children. All of it will be deducted from the mother's Income Support (and the proposed Child Support Agency will essentially only be interested in mothers on I.S.). The only beneficiary will be the Treasury.

The only proposal in the Bill which has proved newsworthy has been the threat to cut single mothers' I.S. by 20% if they refuse to name the father. Indeed DSS interviewers have already been threatening women in this way, illegally. To go by previous tactics, while the State would be only too glad to implement such a policy it may also be willing to sacrifice it as a 'compromise', creating the illusion that the legislation is then acceptable. The only dissent raised by an otherwise supportive scab Poverty Industry has centred on this aspect of the Bill, and in fact it has now been defeated in the Lords. It is therefore all the

more important not to confine our attentions to this proposal alone. It is also dangerously simplistic to think that the Bill is only an attempt to save Benefit money.

Its major purpose is an attack on women's economic independence from men, which Income Support provides. The family has always been recognised by the State as an important instrument of Social Control and there has been vocal political alarm at its increasing self-destruction and abandonment in the UK as everywhere else.

"The financial independence of Income Support has helped women to break away from the traditional division of labour in the family: women as the dependent carers, men as breadwinning tyrants. By breaking away, women have made space for and strengthened the efforts of every member of the family — young people, men and other women — to reconsider what kind of relationships we want to be part of".

ARP, p4

By forcing women back into economic dependency on men it is forcing them back into the family, in contact with and under the economic influence of ex-partners. These men may well feel that they thus have continued 'rights' to a relationship — increasing the risks of rape, violence and general abuse. "The State upholds men's power over women in order to uphold its power over everyone."

The only alternative to enforced contact with and dependency on an ex-partner will be to take up waged work on top of the unwaged work of caring for children. This 'option' is heartily and explicitly encouraged in the White Paper, *Children Come First* (October, '90) that preceded the Bill:

"If maintenance were to be received in addition to Income Support payments then the custodial parent would have to earn a higher salary to be as well off in work. It would act as a disincentive to going to work and further frustrate the ambitions which the parents have for themselves."

ARP, p12

This idea that single mothers are a) not working, b) desire above all else a job outside the home (in effect a second job), and c) that this is the best route out of poverty, is supported by the Poverty Industry, who consequently come in for some well deserved criticism here. The facts constantly belie this

the worst paid work by increasing their poverty fulfils only the employers' ambitions of hiring workers for less.

This attack and the posing of the two 'options' of family hell or low waged work on top of unwaged work is the attack on Income Support as a wage for the work that all mothers do as carers.

It is of course an attack on the poorest men as it extorts a larger proportion of their income. It is also an attack on the Black community especially. Of Afro-Caribbean families in the UK 43% are one-parent/women-headed and 47% of Afro-Caribbean children are born outside marriage. Therefore Black families and social networks would be proportionately more vulnerable than White families, even though Black families are a minority of those attacked by the maintenance proposals.

It is an attack on us all, not only with the bureaucracies sweeping new powers of surveillance as the State intrudes its policing of our sexual and social relations, but in its reinforcing divisions between men and women, forcing us back into relations which long struggles have rejected.

This pamphlet is readable, well-researched and a vital explanation of the motivations behind State action. It is unique in its definition of Income Support and clear in its explanation of the importance of women's economic independence for us all.

"Let us be clear. We are against the maintenance proposals not because we are being asked for money on behalf of children, but because the money is not going to children, it is going almost entirely to the State... which deprives women and children in particular of cash and services they are entitled to, only to further tighten its grip over all our lives."

'Payday men's network', ARP, p35

"The principle underlying this publication is: single mothers' Income Support is a wage, not charity, for the unwaged work which government and industry could not function without and which they must pay for."

'Wages for Housework', ARP, p3

Against Redistributing Poverty is available for £1.20p (post paid) from Kings Cross Women's Centre, PO Box 287, London NW6 5QU. Cheques should be made out to Kings Cross Women's Centre.

FAST FORWARD for FREEDOM

a day conference on education

at Vaughan College, St. Nicholas Circle, Leicester

on Saturday 2nd November 1991

from 10 - 6 plus evening entertainment

for full information send a sae to: Lib ED, The Cottage, The Green, Leire, Leicester, LE17 5HL.

SOVIET UNION

Dear *Organise!*,

What a load of rubbish the so called 'coup' and 'revolution' in the Soviet Union turned out to be. The coup was almost certainly a faked and manipulated stunt right from the start. It was used as a cover for the power struggle between Gorbachev and Yeltsin and the real coup that was going on: the rise of Yeltsin to populist dictator! The whole thing has since been turned into a spectacular myth and fairy-tale story by the capitalist media, with all the happy democratic people cheering in the streets, marching off into the democratic sunset and living democratically ever after. Now that Yeltsin and the liberals have made themselves mega-popular and diverted everyone's attention they can get on with the job of selling everything off to the business sector while dumping millions of workers on the dole. Fortunately, in amongst all the nationalist and democrat flags carried by the crowds, we could spot a few black and red anarchist flags.

Meanwhile back in this part of the world life continues with the boredom and misery of recession. In my local town, Reading, the slimy Labour council have begun the process of sending a number of poll tax resisters to prison to try and frighten us all, but we're still not paying! Today the word 'Democracy' is nothing more than a codeword for capitalism and austerity. Anytime they want to attack us and impose some oppressive new measure on us they do it in the name of 'Democracy'. I think it is about time we had a revolt against Democracy. Democracy is just a load of crap!

Paul (Reading)

p.s. The only good news is: now the trots are really finished.

Dear *Organise!*,

The contradictions of capitalism, state capitalism and bureaucracy are all reaching a dynamic climax in the USSR and Eastern Europe. The problems are not created by the working classes of these countries but by the mismanagement of their bureaucracies. For instance, grain is produced but inadequately stored due to lack of facilities. Workers are alienated by the greed of production managers. Contradictions are also generated by ethnic exploitation as in Ulster. Defence systems were developed at the expense of industrial commodities due to the endless onslaught on the USSR by those interested in destroying the first attempted workers state. Workers' commitment to socialism is undermined by the irresponsible consumerism flaunted by the West. The breakdown of the Soviet system is therefore the direct result of capitalist, state-capitalist and bureaucratic brutality

and mismanagement. Only socialism can solve these contradictions.

A.A. (Edinburgh)

REPLY TO A.A.

Anarchist-communists don't believe a 'workers' state' is possible. As the Russian example shows, revolution means the working class collectively seizing control of the workplaces, land and streets from the bosses and the state and creating organisations based on mass decision-making to run things e.g. workplace and neighbourhood assemblies, councils and committees. Similar defensive organisations such as workers' militias will be needed to defend these gains against Leninists and others who would set up a new state and hence boss class.

To us the Russian counter-revolution began in October 1917 when the Bolsheviks seized power in the name of the working class and began to take over collective organisations such as the Soviets and factory committees, implementing Bolshevik control and one-man management, thereby consolidating state power. Debate and opposition (both inside and outside the party) were eliminated through repression which involved the setting up of the Cheka (political police) on Lenin's advice in December 1917, imprisonment, shootings and the crushing of the anarchist Makhnovists in the Ukraine and the Kronstadt sailors' rebellion in 1921.

NORTHERN IRELAND

Dear *Organise!*,

From the Battle of the Boyne to the Hunger Strikers, in Northern Ireland there has been nothing but appalling bloodshed, death and torture inflicted on the Irish people.

The fight has been going on for 800 years and 'has not ceased nor will not cease' until the Irish people are allowed self dignity and respect.

The Birmingham Six, Guildford Four, Macguire Seven, Bloody Sunday, the Hunger Strikes, the Gibraltar Killings and the numerous deaths of many volunteers and non-volunteers for the Irish Republican Army. These are the reasons why we can't, won't and aren't going to forget the past as one SDP councillor said we should. The list could go on forever. Nothing can be achieved in the way of peace until:

- The troops are out.
- The prevention of terrorism act is smashed.
- The border is removed.
- The RUC and UDR are disbanded.
- Prisoners are out of jail.

This is why we all have to pull together and stop what atrocities are going on now. The brutality of the UDR, RUC, UVF and British army etc. is horrific! There have been more violations of human rights in Northern Ireland than

there are drops of water in the Irish sea!

Once there is peace in Northern Ireland, and only then, can we try to rebuild what we have lost.

S.L. aged 13 (Saffron Walden)

REPLY TO S.L.

We are opposed to the military occupation and repression carried out by the British state in Ireland. History shows us, however, that national liberation struggles make little difference to the working class majority. The foreign military withdraw and often the more obvious direct foreign colonial exploitation ceases, but the working class remain exploited by 'their' national bosses and repressed by 'their' army and police. In addition, the old colonial relationships persist through economic domination by foreign capital in the form of multinationals and international banks.

It follows from the above analysis that the Irish working class does not have the same interests as the Irish ruling class just because they're both Irish. A united capitalist Ireland is not worth fighting and dying for. As we said in *Organise!* 14, "Therefore we struggle for working class unity. However, we don't see this as a simple slogan to throw at the problem so as to renege on our revolutionary responsibilities to defend the Catholic working class against reactionary Loyalist workers. Protestant workers will only be broken from loyalty to the Orange bosses by the building of a revolutionary secular socialist movement which is opposed to the Green as it is to the Orange."

The essentially petit-bourgeois republican movement, tied to nationalism, cannot create this movement. It is the task of revolutionaries in Ireland to build this, North and South. This, like workers' unity, will be a hard struggle for our Irish comrades, but there is no alternative.

The task of libertarian revolutionaries in England is to oppose British Imperialism; its bloody repression in Ireland and its media propaganda war against the community of opposition in the North (not synonymous with the IRA/INLA). We must win support amongst British workers for the call for Troops Out and Working Class Unity."

BANGLADESH

Dear *Organise!*,

As the author of the article, now entitled 'The Long Arm of the State', I must draw the editors' attention to an error in transfer of the article — as we all know Martin Foran is not an anarchist nor has he ever been — the article should have read, "long supported by anarchists".

I must also make mention of the Back Page article about Bangladesh. First of all, there are protections against floods. Around

two-thirds of the major river bank system has had extensive work done on it. These river systems are the channels which burst and cause severe inland flooding. They are now served by high banks and dikes. The problem with them though are numerous:

- they were designed and built by eternal 'expert' contractors, thus not employing local unemployed or underemployed labour;
- they cost millions of dollars which had to be borrowed, the so-called aid thus doubly depriving the country;
- the design was essentially a straight-line design not regularly following natural curves, as pointed out by both local peasants and radical engineers;
- the design even then did not incorporate any pumps to get rid of the flood waters collecting on the hopefully 'dry' side of the dikes;
- these pumps had to be bought, causing extra borrowing, and then incorporated causing extra cost;
- the local unemployed have since been used to modify the designs and install the pumps.

Secondly Himalayan deforestation is only a minor cause of inland flooding. The Himalayas are still a dynamic mountain range, ie they are still going upwards, which causes large landslides which are the major cause of flooding, something unaffected by the presence or not of trees.

The essential problem for Bangladesh is that large sections of its population are pushed out onto dangerously vulnerable land, both for housing and farming purposes, because of poverty.

Yours for libertarian communism,

J.C. (Sheffield)

REPLY FROM GREEN FLAME

We thank you warmly for showing us the courtesy of a review of our seminal work, *Paradise Referred Back — a radical look at the Green Party*. Many of your comments in the review are pertinent, others are a bit wide of the mark. In the pamphlet our comrades, O'Hara and Matthews, stress the utter importance of class struggle politics. Although the pamphlet is a libertarian-revolutionary critique from within the UK Green Party, nowhere in its pages will you find a recruiting drive for the Green Party. Hence, we find your reviewer's comments suggesting that anarchists should not join the Green Party a little strange. Green Flame has never advocated membership of the Green Party itself as the sole *modus operandi*. There are some good radicals in the Party, fighting a losing battle against the new

Continued overleaf



THE END OF THE OLD WORLD ORDER CONT.

and geography. It stretches over nearly half the world and large areas are incredibly cold. In spite of all this huge strides were made. To become a super-power in terms of modern weapons of mass destruction is a huge feat. Unfortunately it could only be made at very real cost.

Whereas the USA had industrial capacity which needed war manufacture to continue producing, it had a huge over-capacity, the USSR was the exact opposite. Competing in the super-power stakes, being a military super-power also perverted its economy. Having a huge relative under-capacity could only result firstly in an economy which was to remain stunted and under-developed.

Krushchev in his infamous 20th congress speech saw the need for the creation of an economy which included consumer commodities. This was to remain largely unfulfilled, partly by virtue of his own crazy ideas at the head of the command economy and by the geographical aspects of the Soviet economy. Stalin had begun the whole trend by making each republic specialist producers of particular things, production being concentrated in huge plants but often thousands of miles apart. In addition the best products of Soviet society were reserved for the military. The rest of the economy had to deal with second or third best. The wastage in production was incredible, physical inefficiency must have been at least 25%, something which no economy can endure long.

For example, the Soviet textile industry needed cotton so Stalin decreed that large areas of the Central Asian Republics be made over to the crop, whether it was a sensible use of land or not. The cotton was then to be sent to the Moscow area where most of the factories are concentrated. Thus, land which might have a

better use is tailored to fit a political decision, using for instance large amounts of chemicals for often poor returns, the transport network is doubly loaded, transporting materials miles to factories which could be relocated and food is not produced which then has to be shipped in. Food production is chaotic, not having proper transport, such as refrigerated trucks, depots etc. allowing meat and other perishables to rot. Huge areas given over to one crop allow massive crop failures so the USSR has to buy on the world market. In industry the same failures are repeated and sometimes worse, the best materials, resources and personnel being given over to military production. The economy being confined by political command cannot develop. Needs are left unanswered, desires frustrated.

Problems

Many of these problems were recognised both by Krushchev and later leaders but politico-military considerations were to come first. What was described as a thaw under Krushchev became a new freeze under Brezhnev. Indeed the other great development of the Soviet economy was to achieve dizzying heights under Brezhnev, that being the Black market. Not only did it comprise the usual smuggled goods and illicit manufacture, it largely contained goods stolen from the production system either directly or with the connivance of the bureaucracy. The privileged profited twice. After Brezhnev's death his son-in-law was arrested and convicted of a huge number of corruption charges.

With the rise of Gorbachev a new era was to begin. The command economy had reached breaking point, the forces of repression could not keep in check the forces of a population which had to have change. The big problem for Gorbachev was always going to be how much change and of what sort? He attempted a Bonapartist balancing of forces, keeping a firm hand upon a concentration of power while making surface political reforms which would help to revitalise an ailing economy which itself would be partially reformed. Thus, Glasnost was initially only to allow a certain freedom of expression, politically and culturally, leaving the major areas of power in place. Perestroika was to give some land back to the rural workforce, give a greater freedom to industrial management but not the financial capacity, cooperatives were to be allowed to add to the service and small production sector. None of these cosmetic measures could ever be enough.

Turmoil Nationalism became rampant, often accelerated by local communist bosses to play one ethnic group against another and forestall any deeper examination of other and more revolutionary poli-

tical possibilities. Out of this turmoil came the various initial declarations of independence, from the Baltic states, the rise of new political forces, the democracy movement and populist leader Boris Yeltsin, the forces of long repressed religion, Russian fascism in groups such as Pamyat, and nationalism which pitted different ethnic groups against each other, murderously so in some areas, such as the Armenian/Azeri fighting in the Caucasus.

Eastern Europe disintegrated as a bloc being led by Hungary, closely followed by a Poland brought down by successive failed pro-Moscow regimes, the victors being the Catholic nationalist Thatcherites of Lech Walesa. The German Democratic Republic was to be swallowed up by its big brother in the West. Bulgaria and Romania have only made half 'revolutions'. For a long time the eastern bloc had been well integrated into the world economy. The USSR had had to buy huge quantities of grain on the world market. Now the corpse of its European empire was being picked over by the wolves of the IMF and Western finance, Poland and Hungary had huge debts to finance. They have now been largely sold off cheaply to Western investors.

This rush of investment had been the sort of thing that Gorbachev had hoped to encourage for the USSR. His quotes from the Lenin of the NEP (New Economic Policy, a partial return to capitalist economics following the failures of war communism) era and his statements of good faith were not enough to bring in aid. For the west the death of communism had already been announced with the withdrawal of the USSR from the world stage and the oncoming collapse of eastern Europe, now the body had to lie down and die so that they could pick over the bones. The Free World had been vindicated in its victory, the archangels capitalism and democracy could come centre stage, complete with 'mom, apple pie and Sunday school'. The USSR was now bankrupt, its industries were not functioning, production had contracted by around 10%, help to turn military production to civilian purposes had been requested. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development was created — specifically to deal with the East. It proposes to aid the process of democratisation and its protection, to improve the environment and aid the economies of the east by — leasing machinery, recreating banking structures, accounting, legal systems, offering investment. All of this was to be done on a budget of around \$10-20b. Projected costs for the reconstruction of the east come to around \$2000b. Working together with the IMF and the World Bank there can only be one set of results — the Latin Americanisation of Eastern Europe, which will become a total captive of the west. Hungary and Poland are already essentially in that position.

In the next issue of *Organise!* we continue our look at the New World Order.

Aims and principles

1. The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism.

2. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppresses another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in struggle that benefits the ruling class.

Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action which challenges social and economic power relationships. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as a political level.

3. We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other aspects of the class struggle. Anarchist communism cannot be achieved while sexism and racism still exist. In order to be effective in their struggle against their oppression both within society and within the working class, women and black people may at times need to organise independently. However, this should be as working class women and black people as cross-class movements hide

real class differences and achieve little for them. Full emancipation cannot be achieved without the abolition of capitalism.

4. We are opposed to the ideology of national liberation movements which claims that there is some common interest between native bosses and the working class in face of foreign domination. We do support working class struggles against racism, genocide, ethnocide and political and economic colonialism. We oppose the creation of any new ruling class. We reject all forms of nationalism, as this only serves to re-define divisions in the international working class. The working class has no country and national boundaries must be eliminated. We seek to build an anarchist international to work with other libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

5. As well as exploiting and oppressing the majority of people, Capitalism threatens the world through war and the destruction of the environment.

6. It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which will arise out of class conflict. The ruling class must be completely overthrown to achieve anarchist communism. Because the ruling class will not relinquish power without the use of armed force, this revolution will be a time of violence as well as liberation.

7. Unions by their very nature cannot become vehicles for the revolutionary transformation of society. They have to be accepted by capitalism in order to function and so cannot play a part on its overthrow. Trades unions divide the working class (between employed and unemployed, trade and craft, skilled and unskilled, etc). Even syndicalist unions are constrained by the fundamental nature of unionism. The union has to be able to control its membership in order to make deals with management. Their aim, through negotiation, is to achieve a fairer form of exploitation of the workforce. The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different to ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow. Our ultimate aim must be the complete abolition of wage slavery. Working within the unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people to leave unions until they are made irrelevant by the revolutionary event. The union is a common point of departure for many workers. Rank and file initiatives may strengthen us in the battle for anarchist communism. What's important is that we organise ourselves collectively, arguing for workers to control struggles themselves.

8. Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self-activity of the working class on a mass scale. An anarchist communist society means not only co-operation between equals, but active involvement in the shaping and creating of that society during and after the revolution. In times of upheaval and struggle, people will need to create their own revolutionary organisations controlled by everyone in them. These autonomous organisations will be outside the control of political parties, and within them we will learn many important lessons of self-activity.

9. As anarchists we organise in all areas of life to try to advance the revolutionary process. We believe a strong anarchist organisation is necessary to help us to this end. Unlike other so-called socialists or communists we do not want power or control for our organisation. We recognise that the revolution can only be carried out directly by the working class. However, the revolution must be preceded by organisations able to convince people of the anarchist communist alternative and method.

We participate in struggle as anarchist communists, and organise on a federative basis. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.

Join us!

The Labour Party has now lurched so far to the right that even the parasitical Trotskyite groups who have been trying to turn it into a genuine socialist party (something it never could be) are thinking of leaving. The Stalinist parties are in their death throes with the collapse of State 'Communism' in Eastern Europe. Leninist and Trotskyite groups (especially Militant) are split over whether to continue as tapeworm tendencies inside the Labour Party or set up alternative (sic) parties. They're all busy bleating that what collapsed in Eastern Europe was Stalinism, supposed-

ly a different system to that set up by their heroes, Lenin and Trotsky. The British Green Party, following the example of their German counterparts Die Grunen, are rapidly becoming another traditional Grey Party.

Opportunity

This crisis in party politics and the accompanying major crisis in the economy present an opportunity for Anarchist-Communists. We have the only credible alternative to the twin horrors of the 'free' market and state-managed socialism, otherwise known as

state-capitalism. It's also an opportunity for other groups, however: the Trots (Stalinism disguised) and the Fascists who are again becoming stronger.

Building

In order to build a movement we need to organise in class struggle anarchist groups both locally and nationally. This enables us to work more effectively, co-ordinating our activity and supporting each other so that we are a credible alternative to the vanguardist revolutionary groups who sabotage struggles for their own party-building ends. Such an organisation would begin to make its presence known through effective propaganda and action whilst developing

its theory in a lively, dynamic way in interaction with practice. This is the kind of organisation the ACF is trying to build.

The ACF works towards a social revolution, not to seize power itself, but participating in a revolutionary process as working class people, to assist the class as a whole to destroy the present system and build a free society run through mass decision making. We urge all those who agree with our aims and principles to join our organisation, the better to take part in this coming about. Write to our national address for details. Apply for membership now. *We've been on the defensive for too long — let's build a mass movement that goes on the attack!*

LETTERS CONT.

elite professionals, formed around the Green 2000 faction, but Green Flame places itself both within and outside the Green Party. We believe that a radical, socialist and libertarian movement will be composed of class struggle organisations, direct action ecologists, and an amalgamation of the new social movements.

We are also keen to emphasise the importance of anarchist and libertarian philosophy and politics in our overall strategy. Thus, Murray Bookchin, Kropotkin, and Bakunin, to name but three, have figured in our group of influences. We are a loose, informal but organised grouping active now in many European centres and, following the success of *Paradise Referred Back*, we are now happy to announce the publication of our Statement of Principles, written by myself and Dave Scott, available at 60p (including p&p) from Green Flame, BM 4769, London WC1N 3XX, United Kingdom. Those of your readers who were interested in *PRB*, following your recent review, 'Grey Turning Green', can receive copies of the pamphlet at £1.50 from the same address.

Heidi Svenson, For G. Flame Collective