

ST14
90p




INFORMATION

A free information sheet giving addresses of anarchist and Direct Action Movement groups in the U.K. Also details of anarchist publications and special interest groups. Available from Spectacular Times.

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Spectacular Times

A large, bright yellow starburst or sunburst graphic with many sharp points, radiating from the center. It is positioned on the right page of the book cover, behind the text.

bigger cages
longer chains

Pocketbook Series

Toxteth riots, England, 1981. During a lull in the action a leftist militant climbs on to a box and addresses the crowd on the subject of the coming socialist utopia. Her promise that there will be jobs for all is met with derisory laughter from a group of young rioters. As the speaker details other reforms, the group begins a mocking chant, "Bigger cages, longer chains! Bigger cages, longer chains!"

SPURIOUS OPPOSITION

The cloth cap and the working class,
As images are dated.

For we are Labour's avant-garde,
And we were educated.

By tax adjustments we have planned,
To institute the promised land.

And just to show we're still sincere,
We sing 'The Red Flag' once a year.

Leon Rosselson

There is a system of interrogation known to police forces the world over. It is called "Mr Hard and Mr Soft". It works like this. Mr Hard comes into your cell. He is loud, threatening and abusive. Maybe he slaps you around a bit, punches or kicks you. Finally he leaves with a threat to 'throw the book' at you. Then in comes Mr Soft. He calms you, offers you a cigarette, sends out for a cup of tea or coffee. He listens to your complaint and sympathizes, but stresses his own

powerlessness to do anything about it. Eventually he suggests a conspiracy. If you tell him everything you know, perhaps he can prevent Mr Hard coming back.

In bourgeois democracies the political roles of Mr Hard and Mr Soft are played by the parties of the right and the parties of the left. The worse the right behaves, the more attractive the left appears. This illusion is as dangerous in politics as it is in the police cell. When things get out of hand and provoke rebellion, the Labour Party will save capitalism by pretending to be socialist.

☐ I would like to join the Labour Party

☐ I would like to join Labour's Supporters Bingo scheme

Name _____

Address _____

LABOUR GOVERNMENTS ?

Do you remember Labour governments?
Now don't misunderstand us; vote Labour
if you want, we can't stop you but.....
Do you remember Labour governments?
Do you remember Notting Hill?
Do you remember Lewisham?
Do you remember Southall and the murder
of Blair Peach?
Go ahead, vote Labour if you have to but..
Do you remember Grunwicks?
Do you remember who set up the Special
Patrol Group?
Do you think that if Kinnock was in power
during the miners strike he would have
treated them any different from the Tories?
Do you think that truncheons and plastic
bullets will taste nicer under a Labour
government?
Do you really believe that the capitalist
elite will allow themselves to be
peacefully voted out of existence by some
poxy Labour Party, just like that, without
a fight?

Thames Valley Anarchists

In yesterday's Guardian Mr Neil Kinnock was reported as advocating the isolation of South Africa as a means of pursuing "the possibility of a non violent revolution." This should have read "non violent resolution". This error in transmission is regretted.

■ I am a father and no matter how much I try to convince myself toward the course of 'enlightenment' I know damn well that, put to the test, I'm what people would call a reactionary. — Neil Kinnock.

"the complete abolition of the market mechanism is not feasible in the society the Labour Party would wish to create."

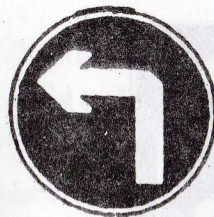
A LABOUR councillor has accused the Conservatives of discriminating against the dead.

Leisure spokesman, Mr Graham Rush, said the Torys were encouraging rich people to get the "best" spots in a Reading cemetery by charging different rates for different locations.

Labour is the party of the working people, and Labour is the party that will get people back to work.

**WE WANT
EVOLUTION
NOT
REVOLUTION
VOTE
LABOUR**

THERE ARE SOME THINGS THAT JUST
CAN'T BE DONE GRADUALLY.



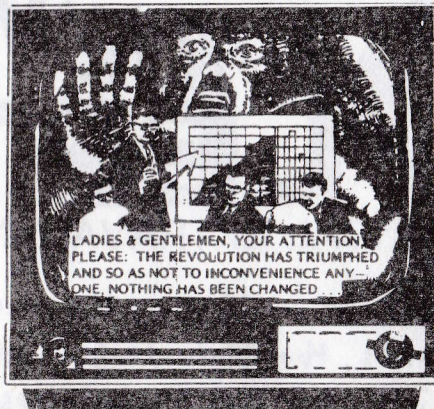
**TURNING
LEFT**

A POLITICAL EXTRAVAGANZA

The Bolsheviks - that is the Marxists, the Leninists, the Marxist-Leninists, the Maoists and the 57 varieties of Trotskyism - appear to many people to be a symbol of what it means to rebel against capitalism.

All such notions about Bolshevism are false. Bolshevism is revolution as spectacle, as an image, created by the few to be watched by the many.

There were more casualties during the making of the 'storming of the Winter Palace' scene in Eisensteins famous film, than in the actual event.



"There will be no drinking, no bad language, no slacking, no unofficial tea breaks, no wandering in and out at any old hour. We'll carry on working just as if the bosses were still here."

Jimmy Reid
Communist Shop Steward
UCS occupation

"We had a Communist on the council many years ago. He always wore a tie," said Mayor Hormen. "Furthermore, he was an atheist who always went to church, and a vegetarian who ate meat. The sort of person I really admire."

"When in 1922 the South African Communist Party found that the white miners were up in arms against a proposal for African advancement in the pits, they devised for them the Orwellian slogan: 'Workers of the world, unite for a white South Africa'."

'Against the World'
Douglas Brown



☐ I would like further details of the Communist Party's *Democratic Policing Strategy*.

Wang Jingong, head of the Ministry of Public Security's Research Department, said: "In a big country like ours, with a population of 1bn people, it is good to have some people executed to educate the others."

SPOT the differences

Maybe you're convinced in your own mind that what you've seen *is* what you claim it to be. But nature can be very confusing. Some species are so similar that they are barely distinguishable one from another. Unless you know exactly what to look for.

During the 1981 riots the Workers Revolutionary Party condemned the rioters for looting.

During the Miners Strike the Socialist Workers Party condemned the unofficial 'hit squads' which made lightning attacks on NCB property and police and scab buses.

TO COMMEMORATE the Marx centenary a 22-year-old Shanghai textile worker has inscribed the text of the *Communist Manifesto* — 50,000 Chinese characters — on a piece of ivory the size of a matchbox.

The Revolutionary Workers Party also have the best single doty belief. As *Posadists*, a Trotskyite splinter group, they think that flying saucers are emissaries from another, socialist galaxy.

'I was
a mole
for the
SWP'

"Radical chic harmonizes perfectly with a society that can sell Watney's Red Barrel beer under the slogan 'The Red Revolution is coming'."

Raoul Vaneigem

Cuba sun, sea, sand
and... socialism!

The Wall Street Journal called them Yummies — Young, upwardly-mobile Marxists. We call them interesting, intelligent and diverse M.T. Readers. They're not all Marxists but they will respond to your classified ad.

12 Bottle Cases Delivered To Your Door

Marxism Today Wine — Crisp dry Loire
white, AC Montlouis £35.88

The life and work of Karl Marx, who died in London in March 1883, has inspired the production of this handsome, gold-rimmed English china centenary plate. Packed and sent to you for only £17.50 in UK, incs. p. and p.

Please mention Marxism Today when responding to an advertisement.

Peking : More than 7,000 customers a day have been queuing to get into Peking's first supermarket since its opening one week ago. Customers said they came out of curiosity and for convenience.

"It is one of the first signs the Government is trying to improve the daily lives of intellectuals," said one customer who asked not to be identified. "Instead of waiting in 10 different lines for different things, I now wait in one checkout line."

To prevent shoplifting, all customers are required to check their bags before entering.—AP.

□ The trendies, united, will never be defeated. Next month Marxism Today is holding a symposium, 50 years after his death, on the Italian Marxist thinker Gramsci, and its marketing subsidiary, Central Committee Outfitters, is offering readers the appropriate T-shirt, which sports an early 20th century Italian hammer and sickle. Designer socialists can also buy a Marxism Today duvet cover (limited run of 100 by a leading fabric designer), or leaf through the magazine's Consumer Choice section in search of a futon or a guide to Tuscany. The absolute *dernier cri* on the stylish left, though, is a pair of Soviet armed forces boxer shorts or jogging trousers, decorated with hammer and sickle and available at Collet's in Charing Cross Road, London.

"No question, now, what had happened to the faces of the pigs. The creatures outside looked from pig to man, and from man to pig, and from pig to man again; but already it was impossible to say which was which."

George Orwell
'Animal Farm'

The only choice we are presented with is the choice between the Spectacle of domination and the Spectacle of opposition.

The ballot box is a powerful way to show our anger and frustration at Government policies and neglect of students and young people.

"I like the Walrus best", said Alice:
"because you see he was a little sorry for the poor oysters."
"He ate more than the Carpenter, though," said Tweedledee. "You see he held his handkerchief in front, so the Carpenter couldn't see how many he took."
"That was mean!" Alice said indignantly.
"Then I like the Carpenter best - if he didn't eat so many as the Walrus."
"But he ate as many as he could get," said Tweedledum."

Lewis Carroll
'Alice in Wonderland'

"Fifty percent of the people in this country don't vote. They simply don't want to be implicated in organized society. With, in most cases, a kind of animal instinct, they know that they cannot really do anything about it, that the participation offered them is a hoax.....they know that if they don't participate they aren't implicated, at least not voluntarily."

K. Rexroth



DON'T VOTE

Trade Unions, originally set up as defence organizations by the workers themselves, have become capitalist institutions necessary for the stable management of capitalist society. They are managed by professional trade union leaders whose trade

union logic renders the movement incapable of fighting for real social change. Workers control of the means of production is a forgotten ideal to most trade union leaders. If it became an imminent possibility they would advise their members against it. Instead they look to more worker participation on management boards — the system of worker participation planned by Mussolini's fascists was more radical than that proposed by the British T.U.C.

Workers at the Hangzhou turbine factory recently received a towel as their share of a government reward. It was the culmination of five years of discussions on how to divide the spoils.

TUC

The Miners Friend

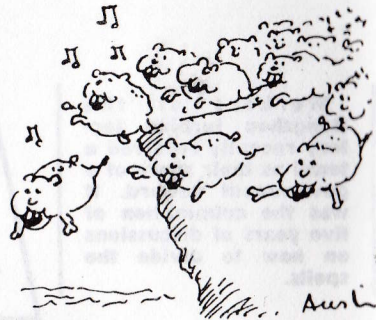
"....we haven't had fascism in this country because...the trade union movement has done what in Italy and Germany had to be done by the police force."

Peregrine Worsthorne
Assistant Editor
"Sunday Telegraph"

"Trade Unionism is a deadweight habit from the past whose only aim is to maintain an image of opposition in order to prevent real opposition. At 'best' the Union defends (more often merely pretends to defend) the interests of the wage slaves as wage slaves."

N.B. 'The Misery of Unions'

The Trade Union movement today has more to do with controlling workers than it has to do with workers control.



"Here we go, here we go, here we go!"

In the society of the spectacle we are not all expected to hold the same views. Indeed we are encouraged to have strong opinions about this or that particular issue. All that is required is that we remain passively receptive to the overall design.

Q1. The greatest danger facing the world is

malnutrition ☐
nuclear war ☐
communism ☐
capitalism ☐
indifference ☐

or

Single-issue politics is another way of diverting and recuperating opposition which threatens the Spectacle. It does this in a number of ways. First it deals with the issue or problem in isolation. When one problem is separated from all the other problems, a solution really is impossible. The more campaigning on an issue there is, the narrower its perspectives become.

Some people are active on two or three issues. As the perspective of each issue narrows, the contradictions turn into absurdities. Followers who point out these contradictions will be told to "decide on your priorities" or gently advised that "we can't change everything".

Whilst everyone draws themselves up, allying themselves with this detail or that, the totality slips by, unheeded.

Raoul Vaneigem

What single-issue politics does is attend to 'symptoms' but not attack the 'disease' itself. It presents such issues as nuclear war, racial and sexual discrimination, poverty, starvation, pornography, etc. as if they are aberrations or faults in the system. In reality such problems are the inevitable consequence of a social order based on exploitation and hierarchical power.



Single-issue campaigns are at their best when they begin. Their propaganda, in exposing the problem, educates and sometimes changes public attitudes. Unfortunately the only use such campaigns have for those they convince is to try to turn them into 'supporters'. This stage army is then organized into 'showing its strength' at protest rallies or by signing petitions. This 'strength' is used to add weight to a request for a change in the law or a change in policy by those in power.

As such, single-issue campaigners, lay their appeal for relief at the feet of the very system which oppresses them.

"Complain all you want - but do as you are told!"

Frederick the Great
of Prussia

Far from damaging the system they actually legitimize it. By their petitioning they acknowledge the right of those in power to exercise that power as they choose.

"We are the true patriots."

Joan Ruddock.CND.

| There is currently a conference in
| Geneva to draw up a treaty out-
| lawing methods of warfare which
| 'severely damage the environment'. |

The 'Peace Movement' is growing, everyone seems to agree. Documentaries and movies with an anti-war message are being churned out by the score. People are marching for peace, wearing buttons for peace, holding rallies and 'die-ins' for peace. Unfortunately, for all the good it will do them, they may as well stick their foot up their arse for peace.

'Treason', Australia.





At hundreds of places all over
Britain, people will be making
money ~~for~~ peace
out of

* LOTS OF LOVELY PEACE CARDS * BOOKS * POSTERS *
* STICKERS * PENDANTS * T-SHIRTS * KEY-RINGS *

THE PEACE SWEATER £29.99

The latest titles in Peace books, information on Peace
groups, T-shirts with a message, sweat shirts, Peace
mugs, new badges and lots more.

CND TIES

A MONEYSPINNER
FOR PEACE GROUPS

C.N.D. SALES

SHOW A LEG
FOR PEACE

CND LEG WARMERS

5" CAR

WINDOW

HANGERS

+ RUBBER SUCKER



Christmas
shopping
at CND

PEACE
concert

THE PEACE SHOP

CND requires a Sales Accounts Manager to work as part of a
finance team of three.

His/her responsibilities will include:

Credit control - including supervision of credit sales invoices;
ensuring that credit limits are not exceeded, etc.

A DIRECTORY OF
CND
MEMBERS' FIRMS



"....the new oppression in the rejection
of the old. For though it denounces the
morbid nature of repression it is only to
encourage the sort of release which proves
twice as profitable. It relieves the
tension and fits you back in, at a profit.

Raoul Vaneigem



"But I've been protesting against nuclear weapons for years, Justin — and not once have I been tempted to steal a colour television."

confronted with concrete, moderate and 'realistic' demands, the state can grant them, partially grant them or stall indefinitely.

Single-issue campaigns take the politics out of politics.

Single issue campaigns fragment the struggle for a sane, free world by containing each problem within its own isolated campaign. Dedication to the campaign is what is required. To concentrate energy — which otherwise might be expended in activities which really would change society — into campaigns for specific issues. Once

- WE DEMAND a ban on new nuclear power plants
- WE DEMAND the closing of existing plants
- WE DEMAND the immediate development of non-polluting energy sources



Issued by the National Socialist White People's Party
Box 5505, Arlington, VA 22205 and
Box 5865, Chicago, IL 60690

One protester, Jane Coker said: "They are taking advantage of the fact that we are non-violent to herd us up in metal pens and take our photographs against our will. They are infringing our civil liberties because they know we will not resist."

Anarchists
told to
stay away
by CND

He said that CND was extremely sorry that "as a result of an accident a policeman was injured and we shall be sending a message of sympathy." Another get well message came from Mrs Glenys Kinnock, who was among the demonstrators at Greenham on Sunday, and her husband Mr Neil Kinnock, the Labour Party leader. The policeman, Inspector Michael Page, was said to be comfortable in hospital.

Summer 1982: At the CND rally in Hyde Park the organizers gave the police permission to secretly film the demonstrators from the stage.

Once a single-issue campaign has established itself it assumes the exclusive right to speak on the issue. What it says represents the lowest common denominator of opposition opinion. During its developing stage it tells its members that the campaign is nothing without them. Once it has assumed the right to represent the movement, it tells its individual members that they are nothing without it. No analysis or activity outside of the legal pursuit of narrow, moderate goals is tolerated. From being a medium for the expression of dissent, the campaign becomes an institution for the regulation and control of dissent.

The police spokesman said:
"We have excellent relations with the CND leaders, who have been appalled by these fringe groups hiding behind their banner".

Apartheid to Hell!
Botha's fascists to Hell!
Release all our leaders
'Cos they lead us so well!

This is a disciplined orderly law-abiding Picket

All joining this Picket are obliged:

Not to talk while singing, slogans and speeches are in process and to join with a full heart into the spirit of the Picket.

DO NOT leave the Picket without informing Security.

You must sign the Attendance Register.

Respond instantly to any request made to you by a Steward.

City of London Anti Apartheid Group have decided to request anyone not obeying these rules to LEAVE THE PICKET.

"Yes, it was all a jolly good experience. Everyone has committed themselves to paying a fine. And it was all achieved without the use of violence." - Bruce Kent on the arrest of 750 CND members.

Amsterdam, 1980. During the riots against the Royal Wedding, a group of pacifists protected riot cops who had been thrown from their horses from being attacked by those they had just beaten with their riot sticks. With such help the cops were able to re-mount and ride off to beat up other people.

One can only empathize with individuals, motivated by a sincere desire for reform, who join ecology groups, consumer organizations, and alternative political parties. In any of these groups these individuals are directed by a firmly entrenched leadership through a maze of politically motivated compromises to an end that is sadly predictable: the indefinite postponement of profound social transformation, the enrichment of the careers of a few bureaucrats, and the permanent disillusionment of a number of intelligent individuals.

Cronin/Seltzer
'Call It Sleep'

Joan Ruddock leaves CND to launch political career

the problem for the
opposition is what to offer as
an alternative

Over the past twenty years more and more people have become interested in 'alternatives' — alternative medicine, alternative technology, alternative life-styles — and now the new alternatives are being 'discovered' as fast as the Spectacle can produce them.

Note to Advertisers: Reaching the "Aware Generation"

The largest "segmented" market of the 1980's is the 18-36 age group. These are the people, youth and young adults, who comprise the readership of the alternative press. We call them the "Aware Generation."

For advertisers, the alternative press is important because:

1. It is difficult to concentrate advertising to the Aware Generation in the general mass media. The alternative press offers a substantial opportunity for increased advertising efficiency and effectiveness in relation to this market.

2. The influence of the Aware Generation on social, political and consumer trends has been great and seems to be continuing.

3. There is evidence that the alternative press today reaches and influences a huge audience, some of which is exclusive to the alternative publication.

4. The majority of alternative publications offer an editorial style compatible with the advertising objectives of most major advertisers.

5. The strength of the alternative press is evidenced by tremendous support from boutiques, theaters, stores, record companies, electronic equipment manufacturers, and other merchandisers.

Book publishers have also utilized the alternative press as a medium for unique access to Aware Generation readers, discovering a wide range of subject matter suitable to alternative press advertising. Books on ecology, radical politics, sexual mores, science fiction, outdoor living, sociology, horticulture and feminism are typical.

With a regular readership of upwards of 20 million in the United States alone, the alternative press is one of the best advertising mediums available anywhere today.

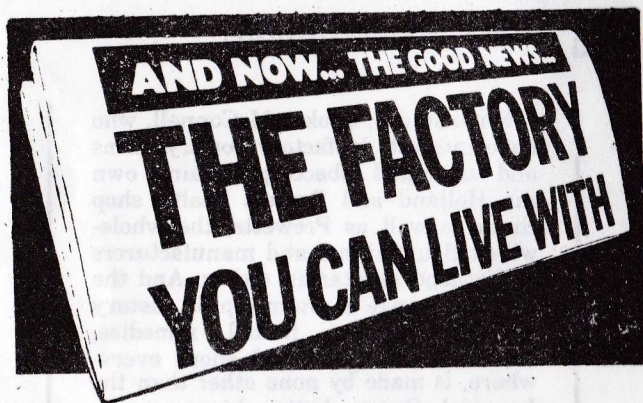
We would not wish here to decry the achievements of those who exposed the dirty truth of modern capitalist production, or made propaganda - by - deed in demonstrating, or making readily available, viable alternatives.

They presented the Spectacle with an argument that is difficult to defeat - it is presumably difficult to convince

ordinary people that they should be in favour of eating poisoned food, breathing polluted air or being crippled by a new wonder drug. Instead of being confronted, this threat to the status quo was recuperated - the pioneering individuals and collectives becoming modern capitalism's new merchant adventurers. Taking all the risks, they sought out the new commodities, did all the product education groundwork, and created the new markets. Then along came Jones.....

For instance, Booker McConnell, who have interests in factory poultry farms and sugar and tobacco processing, own the Holland and Barrett health shop chain as well as Prewetts, the whole-wheat flour millers and manufacturers of fast-food vegetarian dishes. And the New Era range of vitamin pills, dietary supplements and herbal remedies, available in health food shops everywhere, is made by none other than the Imperial Group, better known as the manufacturers of Embassy and John Player cigarettes.

Self-managed collectives have attempted to reform the Spectacle at the point of production. Individuals tired of wage-slavery or the dole have formed workers co-operatives and workers-collectives. Who could be against such an enterprise? It enhanced the life of a few individuals and gave them the experience of working collectively.



But there its potential for social change ended — with the first bank loan it re-integrated itself into the capitalist economy. The problem with workers co-operatives within capitalism is that they never left the market place — because they couldn't.

**COME AND SEE
HOW CO-OPS
PULL IN THE
BUSINESS**

Capitalism cannot be reformed piece by tiny piece. Surely it is not our intention to take out bank loans to buy back our world from capitalism. Neither is it our intention to help capitalism run more efficiently.

AND FOR THE ALTERNATIVE CAPITALIST.....

72% Clear Profit. 100% Clear Conscience.

For many people, investing in the Stock Market has meant going against their principles.

True, there are over 900 unit trusts to choose from.

But there was no single unit trust which specialised in investing in companies whose products, services and operations actually benefit the community.

How to Invest For Profit Without Lowering Your Standards.

By carefully selecting and monitoring the companies in which we invest, The Stewardship Unit Trust has successfully bridged the gap between financial gain and social obligation.

For example, we do not invest in companies involved in the arms trade or gambling.

At the same time, we make every effort to avoid investing in the tobacco industry, in alcohol, and in countries with dictatorships or oppressive regimes such as South Africa and Chile.

Subject to these broader considerations, the objectives of the Trust are to achieve long term capital appreciation and increasing income.

"If God exists, it will be necessary to abolish him."

Bakunin

Religion - like all ideologies - gives people a clear set of rules to live by, thus relieving them of the burden of thinking for themselves.

Albertus Magnus had sufficient influence to weld Aristotle's science and the medieval Christian theology, into a system which pacified thought for centuries.

It sanctifies and explains a world based on greed, oppression, exploitation and power.

The rich man in his castle,
The poor man at his gate,
He made them high or lowly,
And ordered their estate.

popular Christian hymn

"...as a technique for liberation, it liberates one above all from the need to attack the social organization."

Raoul Vaneigem

The world we live in is relegated to a kind of spiritual waiting room and proving ground. The theme of all ideologies — religious or secular — is 'jam tomorrow'.

Work and pray,
Live on hay,
You'll get pie
in the sky
when you die.

Joe Hill

Religions pacify, not by changing their followers circumstances, but by teaching them ways to tolerate the intolerable, and giving them some meaning to their suffering.



ON HIS TRIP to Salvador, the Pope visited the grave of Oscar Romero, Archbishop of San Salvador murdered by the death squads.

Immediately after that he popped in to shake hands with Roberto D'Aubuisson, leader of the National Assembly, who ordered Romero's death.



All our doubts, fears and repressed desires are fuel for religion. There is no point in revolutionaries shouting "Think for yourselves" at people who have suffered decades of being told that this is precisely what they are

incapable of doing. We are dealing with generations whose whole education and upbringing has been a training for incompetence. If we — not surprisingly — lack confidence and belief in our own abilities, we will find religion confirming our doubts. Far from offering encouragement or therapy, religion will rope us in by making a virtue of our dysfunction.

"How can I receive Christ?" I was astounded to find out how simple it is—confess my sins and my total inability to do anything right, and ask Christ to take over my life. I did it.

I felt that I had found the Christian life I was seeking when I received Christ—a life filled and shaped by experiencing Christ in everything, a life where He is in charge and I am no longer my own.

Now I experience Christ in my daily life and also enjoy others' experiences when we come together. More and more, He is becoming my life, as well as my long-sought reason for living.

And now it is peddled on every street corner along with all the other anodynes.

Everywhere the Spectacle organizes our passivity while selling us the image of revolt.

Interior Ministry officials told Mr Biot that they considered pop music part of a plot to destabilise Western society and warned him that the Beatles and Mick Jagger were dangerous revolutionaries.



The world of 'pop' music and fashion appears like a section through the Spectacle and its spurious opposition. All the elements are there — primarily it is a show for passive consumption

"The composer Stockhausen complained that his performance at the Holland Festival was 'disrupted' by members of the audience and other composers who joined in with the singing and then wanted to come up on to the stage and discuss the music."

.....offering release, not in real rebellion, but in dressing up in the image of rebellion. It takes the desire for real revolt, contains it, and sells us back its image.

"There isn't much difference between rock'n roll and teaching. It's the same job. You're entertaining delinquents for an hour."

Sting (The Police)

Last time I heard Roger Daltrey singing it was as *muzak* on a tape loop as I stood in front of the petfood counter at a local hypermarket. I think it was called, "Don't get fooled again".

The Spectacle scours proletarian history for symbols of revolt and resistance in order to drain them of all meaning and power. Only then can they be sold back to us as wholesome food. It is a mark of our alienation from our own history — the history of people fighting to win back their lives — that we do not find it absurd, or even offensive, that groups of multinational record company musicians call themselves such names as 'The Communards' or 'The Durruti Column'. No matter how 'radical' their songs, or 'innovative' their music, we should roll them in manure for their pretentiousness.



BIZARRE pop star Pete Burns last night vowed to leave his Liverpool home after he and his wife Lynne were pelted and attacked by rioters in Toxteth.

Still shaken, Pete told me: "It was dreadful—we were in a taxi coming home when we were surrounded by a mob

"They were trying to roll the car over, and screaming all sorts of obscenities," said Pete, whose group Dead Or Alive are racing up the charts with My Heart Goes Bang.

● King Kurt pop singer Gary Thomas—known as Smeggy—was left homeless when his Brixton home was burned to the ground by rioters at the weekend.

Mr McCartney's Sussex farmhouse was even more tightly-guarded than usual yesterday, with half-a-dozen men and dogs on guard at the gate.

Mr McCartney, who is said to earn £40 a minute from royalties and record sales, tries to live a normal life despite his wealth.

Gigs, T.V. shows and pop videos are the shop windows for the warehouses full of the images of revolution. Capitalism has turned revolt into a fancy dress party — where appearance is a substitute for being.

"You must move with the times — the motto of those who make a profit if you do."

Raoul Vaneigem



"Everybody's got a uniform except me."

Kurt Halbritter, c. 1935.

**Smash
THE
FACE
MAKER**

"If funny clothes and hairstyles could make a revolution, your hippy parents would not deserve your disdain."

Bob Black

NO CASES OR PARCELS
WILL BE ACCEPTED
DURING THE PRESENT
EXPLODING DEVICE
SITUATION

BY ORDER

All governments are based on violence and force — from their nuclear missiles to the cop on the corner. They are armed to the teeth, some with enough weaponry to destroy all life on earth many times over. When it comes to the calculated slaughter of innocent people no one comes near to the records set by governments. Yet, at the first sign of retaliation on the part of the victims, at the first molotov thrown, at the first bullet fired back, the state screams 'terrorists'.

But one of the most interesting things to emerge in the courtrooms from Genoa to Naples, where disaffected terrorists have been revealing the inner workings of their organisations, is the way in which the women often ended up serving in the lower ranks of the movements as messengers, cooks, or administrative assistants. The structure of the Red Brigades and Prima Linea (Front Line) — two of the most notorious groups — sounds remarkably similar to that of the bourgeois society they were trying to destroy.

"Terrorism" is a word which applies to a particular form of action. However, it is in the interests of the state to apply this term to any form of armed resistance and many examples of direct action.

With sublime hypocrisy, governments — the most violent and heavily armed organizations on earth — always applaud non-violence in their opponents.

Terrorism is the violent disruption of daily life designed to destabilize society, create panic and bring about a situation where the terrorists can replace the existing ruling class with themselves.

It almost invariably takes the form of placing bombs in public places such as railway or bus stations, bars, airports or busy streets. It is a method employed by authoritarian groups of the Left and Right, who reveal their contempt for ordinary people by using these people as pawns in the struggle for power.

Terrorist organizations are would-be governments. Their bombs come in cars and bags because they don't yet have an airforce. Like all governments they claim to act in the interests of the people, at the same time as they murder them.

Because such terrorism really does threaten ordinary people with random death or maiming, the government can readily cast itself in the role of public protector. Terrorism plays into the hands of the state. Random bombings in Italy

a few years ago led to the rounding-up of leftists and anarchists, and the disruption of the state's opposition.

It later transpired that the bombs had been planted by fascists. One day the British public may learn the truth behind the Birmingham pub bombings, which was exactly the kind of meaningless massacre that would permit the introduction of the draconian Anti-Terrorism Act, on a wave of public anger and confusion.

"In some ways she was more acute than Winston, and far less susceptible to party propaganda. Once when he happened in some connection to mention the war... she startled him by saying casually that in her opinion the war was not happening. The rocket bombs which fell daily on London were probably fired by the government itself, 'just to keep people frightened'. This was an idea that had literally never occurred to him...."

George Orwell
"1984"

Terrorism — which is counter-revolutionary — should not be confused with guerrilla actions which arise from popular resistance movements. Such actions are not random but precisely targeted against members of the ruling class or the physical structure of capitalism or the state. Recent examples include actions of animal rights activists against animal exploiters, and the arson attacks on police and company property during the miners and Wapping strikes. These groups arise from within the movement itself; they do not seek to become an elite or vanguard and, after the action, melt back into the movement. They perform the task of the militant. In any movement not everyone has the same degree of foresight, inspiration or courage. The militant demonstrates by example what is possible. Not by creating an elite unit which operates on behalf of

the people, but by saying and doing things that can be done by everyone. In any situation the militant works to push the revolutionary project just one step further. Even when all the ingredients for a riot are present, it still needs someone to throw the first stone.

We cannot leave this topic without returning to the biggest terrorists of them all — governments. Governments hold each others civilian populations hostage. With modern long-range weapons it is not even necessary to hold the hostages in physical captivity. But the message of terrorism is the same everywhere — if you cross us, the innocent will suffer.

All states are terrorist.
We are all hostages.

Anyone working for a saner world will, from time to time, be faced with the choice of caring for present suffering or working to remove the cause of suffering. The choice is always painful. More so because we know that a preoccupation with present suffering — of which there is apparently an inexhaustible supply — is a means of social control. We all know people who have become so involved in caring for present suffering that they have no time — and eventually no optimism — for the radical changes which would remove the source of the problem.

Charity has the double social role of relieving poverty while easing the guilty conscience of the giver. It keeps the poor in a permanent state of dependence and, for the sake of a coin in a box, gives the rich the feeling that they have done something to relieve suffering.

1 What kind of child would you like to help?

☐ Boy ☐ Girl ☐ Either

2 What geographical area are you interested in?

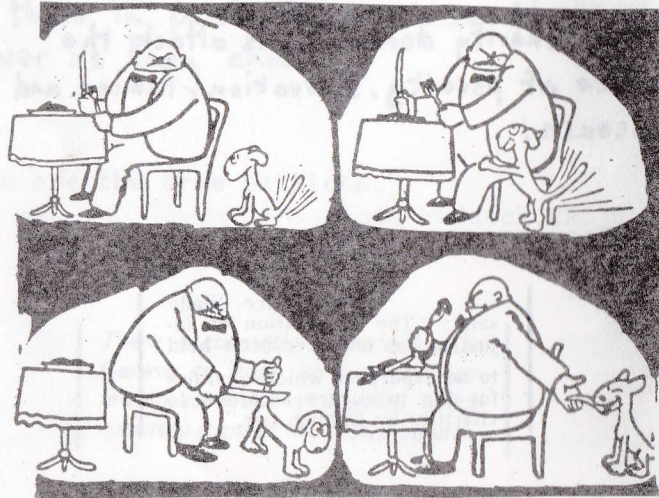
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What charity doesn't do is attack the cause of poverty, starvation, famine and disease.

Mr Justice Slade said: "The elimination of injustice has not ever been held to be a purpose which qualifies for the privileges accorded to charities by English law."

In recent years charity has moved away from the worlds of religion and bourgeois philanthropy into the world of pop music, single-issue politics and 'caring capitalism'. It does some actual, if short-term, good while presenting absolutely no threat whatsoever to the capitalist status quo. In fact it actively supports the capitalist status quo and thereby perpetuates the very cause of the suffering which it claims to want to alleviate.



The problem is not that there is not enough food or medicines in the world — quite the reverse. Overproduction has become one of capitalism's major problems. The problem is that the poor don't have the money to buy these essential commodities — and capitalism isn't going to give them away. During this century there have been countless examples demonstrating that capitalists would rather destroy surplus food than give it away to hungry people.

What charities do is encourage the rich to buy these essentials on behalf of the poor. Thus capitalism gets to sell its previously unsaleable surplus production and charity donations are recycled back into the hands of capitalism, the social system which caused the problem in the first place.

Finally charity re-appears not as individual acts of generosity existing outside of capitalist values, but as an integral part of a balanced capitalist ideology.

Not that Geldof isn't important in understanding how the meaning of Live Aid has been constructed - far from it. In a period where the very ethos of a planned, socialised and welfarist society is running down - *being* run down - and the individual-in-the-market is the intended locus of all social organisation, a happy story where an *individual* can be seen to put the world to rights is of tremendous ideological value. Value, that is, to an interest group which depends on fostering Victorian charity and free-market fantasies.

In this pamphlet it was not possible, neither was it the intention, to produce an encyclopaedia of spurious opposition. However, before attempting to bring this critique to a conclusion it is necessary to explain what may appear to some to be omissions.

There is no specific mention of anti-racism or anti-sexism. These two areas of opposition have been largely recuperated as single-issue campaigns, with all the attendant absurdities and contradictions. However, at their most coherent these critiques recognize that racism and sexism are less about race and sex than they are about hierarchical power. It is because these critiques carry at their heart a critique of power itself, that they have attracted so much attention from those in power - and made the recuperation of these critiques [in particular as 'multiculturalism' and 'equal opportunities'] a matter of urgency.

The critique of speciesism is also a critique of hierarchical power. In Britain the movement generated around

anti-speciesism has, in the past ten years, risen from being a source of jokes and sniggers to an example of physical opposition which has surprised its friends and foes alike. It has risen above the quagmire of the reformist animal welfare organizations, building as it went a national network of autonomous groups. Its commitment to direct action, and a refusal to compromise or negotiate, has enabled it to cause more damage and grief to its enemies than the entire British revolutionary left put together. There is no specific mention of support for struggles abroad such as the struggle against apartheid. For many outside South Africa it has become revolt by proxy. Without undermining the importance of solidarity on a global scale, we still firmly hold that the best way to support someone else's revolution, is to start your own.

Finally we come to the most exciting and essential critique of all — a critique of the branch upon which we are sitting.

During the 1960's the group known as the Situationist International produced the most profound and wide-ranging critique of modern society for over a hundred years — a critique, the importance of which has yet to be fully realised. After 1968 the frustration of being revolutionaries sans revolution led to expulsions and resignations, and the establishment of an hierarchy of intellect under the guise of a quest for coherence. The remedies offered by the S.I. were taken from the history of autonomous workers uprisings and, despite their protestations to the contrary, looted from the theories and experience of the anarcho-syndicalists.

Their belief that 'these ideas are in everyones heads' ignored the difference between knowing something to be true, and feeling it to be true. Their belief that, once freed from the chains of ideology, the true revolution would spring from nowhere, disregards the years of effort put in by thousands of nameless working-class revolutionaries.

The opposition of the anarchists to money identifies them as one of the few genuine opponents of capitalism. In Britain the movement consists of numerous affinity groups and collectives — some would say oligarchies — who interact, not within a federated network, but as overlapping spiders webs centred on the main propaganda and publishing groups. Divided by historical, theoretical and personal difference the anarchists,

at a time of unprecedented interest in anarchist ideas, find themselves almost incapable of contributing to the building of a revolutionary movement capable of overthrowing capitalism. It is of little consolation that the rest of the left is in an even worse state.

We do not exclude ourselves from this criticism — but we do believe that a recognition of what is wrong is the first step to putting it right.

A revolution cannot take place without revolutionary *ideas*, and revolutionary ideas do not emerge automatically from reformist and defensive struggles, however massive or bitterly contested. The revolutionary idea is a recognition that revolutionary change is worth pursuing, even when revolution itself may seem so far away, or what lies beyond it so hard to imagine, that to believe in it is practically an act of faith. All the same, it is a cliché that when revolutions happen, the professional revolutionaries are the most surprised; rarely do our notions of revolution match up to the reality. The revolutionary idea does not in itself help us to get from here to the revolution we desire to see; moreover, the possession of such an idea is worse than useless if we do not constantly test it against our own and others' experiences of struggle — for then it becomes mere *ideology*, a barrier to understanding and effective action.

We can intervene into every part of social production (in the broadest sense of the term) - at workplaces, college and school campuses, shopping centres, public meetings, neighbourhoods, buses, rock concerts, laundromats, waiting rooms (at everything from welfare offices to hospitals), unemployment lines, etc. - in short, everywhere that social life exists and has been colonized by capital.

Charles Lutwidge

Theory begins at home. It is a cliché that many non-anarchist feminist groups operate in a more anarchist way than many anarchist groups. The most powerful propaganda is example. We must start to build the world we want right now, as best we can. We need a home base - one that will not become a bunker or a funk-hole - as a proving ground, example, and means of mutual defence.

All pleasure is creative if it avoids exchange. Loving what pleases me, I have to build a space in life as little exposed as possible to pollution by business, or I will not find the strength to bring the old world down, and the fungus among us will rot my dreams.

Raoul Vaneigem

But a critique of the Spectacle at the point of consumption [e.g. boycotts, squatting, shoplifting, looting, etc.] has its inbuilt limitations. Real change can only come from a critique at the point of production.

There are no millenniums. Revolutions are created, they don't 'just happen'. Even with the best of preparation, they develop unevenly, sometimes accelerating dramatically, often falling apart at the first reversal. We need a theory of how we are to start building the world we really want, and not let the new world slip from our hands at

the same moment as we grasp it. Individuals and groups will eventually realize the mutual benefit of free co-operation — but they won't realize it in a week, and the cities cannot go one week without food.

In the construction of our theory we can draw on the experiences of autonomous workers councils and anarcho-syndicalist collectives. Our purpose is not to apportion blame or applause but to learn, as much from their mistakes as their successes. At best anarcho-syndicalism will see that we don't starve, and give us a firm launching-pad [Freedom could seem a bit empty if there is nothing to eat and the sewage is running in the streets] But it is only a foundation — it is up to us to keep constantly redefining upwards what is possible.

At worst anarcho-syndicalism becomes an ideology of free-collectivism which, by organizing workers as workers, simply ensures the continuation of work. Frankly we were not planning to collectivize Kentucky Fried Chicken and Thorpe Theme Park!

We believe that no struggle however militant can win more than short term, sectional gains and that that will remain the case while capitalism dominates every aspect of society. That no change of government or system of government, no programme of reforms however 'radical' can significantly better our situation. Only the overthrow of capitalism — the system of state and exchange economy which exists in every country in the world — will end the social division and alienation, the exploitation and oppression that make up our lives. Only then will it be possible to achieve a genuine community, without racial, sexual or class division or exploitation. The workplace clearly isn't the only place in which the revolutionary struggle to overthrow capitalism will take place. That involves overthrowing all capitalist social

relations, for capitalism doesn't just dominate the workplace but all of society. However as the heart of the capitalist system — the place where capital itself is produced through our exploitation — it is where a crippling blow can be dealt by taking control of the means of production. Of course we don't simply want to run them ourselves but to create from the potential within them a society fit to live in —but that can only be done on the basis of workers seizing control away from capital.

Workers Playtime

The world is full of ideologies that claim to offer freedom, but in reality simply offer us bigger cages and longer chains. The demand for an end to cages and chains may seem idealistic to some people, but the real idealists are those who think we can carry on as we are.

There's no future in believing something can't be done. The future is in making it happen.



Today, the whole of our truth, our friendships, our critiques, our desires, our loves, are at stake. Today, it is either All or the Nothingness of accepting our fate, and the lying apologies that go with that acceptance.

N.B. 'The Misery of Unions'

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'Vote Labour and still die horribly'

This pamphlet - quoted in this issue of S.T. - is available for 60p from Thames Valley Anarchists, Box 19, Acorn Bookshop, 17, Chatham Street, Reading, Berkshire, RG1 7JF, England.
