

# MILITARISM

**OF ALL THE 'ISMS', militarism is the most poisonous, destructive and dangerous. When active it destroys people, cultures and rational thought. When relatively passive (though it is never truly passive) it enters the minds and value systems of society in a way which reinforces conformity and obedience.**

Military values require uniformity, not only of appearance but also of attitude and values. The armed forces expend considerable effort in ensuring that the soldiers at all levels accept without question the inherent and unquestionable superiority of their methods, aims and ideology. In the heat of battle there is no scope for questioning of the validity of the campaign or particular assault. Robot-like acceptance is paramount.

Militarism, the glorification of military values and methods, has a long history. In Europe, Asia and South America that undoubted symbol of militarism, the military uniform, and with it distinct armed forces, have existed for thousands of years. Witness the carved reliefs of the Assyrians looted from Iraq and currently at the British Museum which show the disciplined armed ranks engaged in warfare. These are well over 2,500 years old.

Military values also accept without question the validity of hierarchy. Orders start at the top and are passed down to the ranks. Whilst there is scope for individual decision-making — no large organisation can cope without imagination and initiative — this can only be permissible within the strict and rigid structure of the chain of command. Despite scepticism within the ranks, in the final analysis orders are there to be obeyed. Obedience is an essential feature of the military approach and, in wartime, failure can lead to severe punishments.

A further feature of the military approach is discipline. The soldier, sailor or airforce person must act as part of a team, exercising self-discipline in all circumstances. And this self-discipline must be an extension and internalisation of the wider military discipline. Discipline, hierarchy and obedience combine to realise most effectively the ultimate aim of military values, the activation of violence.

Since the days of the spear and bow, military technology has pursued a single goal, the most effective destruction of the enemy with the minimum losses to one's own side. The armed forces of the world's most powerful nations possess killing capacity that make Dresden and Hiroshima look like tea parties.

Militarism is the application of military methods and values to the wider society. This is done most effectively when it accompanies some other so-called truth such as religion, racial purity, imperialism and nationalism. In its most effective expressions — Nazi Germany and Stalinist Russia — all opposition was either eliminated or cowed and the whole society subjected to military methods and organisation, leading ultimately to war. Whether racial nationalism in Germany or 'socialism in one country' in Russia (leading to the 'Great Patriotic War') the identification of nation with militarism was a powerful concoction. More recently there have been pale imitations such as Saddam Hussein's 'adventures' in Iran and Kuwait, with the resultant impoverishment of civilian life in all senses.

With the re-emergence of religious fundamentalism as a significant force, combined with nationalism and militarism, a truly powerful cocktail of destruction is being concocted. This is not new, imperial Japan used it to good effect, but it appears to be on the rise again. Imagine a Christian/imperialist/militarist USA saving the world in accordance with professed religiously inspired values!

Militarism is not restricted to dictatorships. It insidiously permeates many corners of life in so-called democratic societies. Young boys in particular are subtly and not so subtly



inculcated into militaristic approaches of behaviour and thought. Organisations such as the Scouts and the various cadet forces all apparently stress individual growth and adventure but also promote military ideas and values. Should anyone be sceptical on this point, one should compare the uniforms, 'adventure', camps and other methods of building group uniformity of the Scouts with those of the Hitler Youth. The similarities are remarkable.

Whilst not wanting to over-exaggerate the importance of militaristic youth organisations, they are symptomatic of an underlying militarism in capitalist society. Violent video computer games are seen as a threat, whilst kids fingering sub-machine guns and clambering over tanks in armed forces publicity events is widely seen as OK.

The British military presence in Northern Ireland has further deepened and extended public acceptance of militarism. The fact that the British armed forces have systematically used repressive violence to maintain capitalist order has barely raised a murmur on the mainland. Problems are only perceived when a British soldier is killed or maimed (or imprisoned for gunning down an unarmed civilian). The British soldier is raised up on a pedestal, and even when convicted of murdering a civilian is considered to be innocent by the Establishment and mass media.

The annual poppy day rituals at war memorials throughout Britain remind the populace of official recognition of the importance of the armed forces. Whilst they are hypocritically designated as honouring those who were killed or wounded in war (whilst insulting the widows and handicapped by poverty level allowances) they effectively glorify war. In particular they make sacred the whole system of the military machine by investing it with a religious/patriotic/emotional quality. War, all war fought in 'British interests' is thus legitimised and placed beyond criticism.

Spectacles such as these keep public inter-

est in things military at a fairly constant level, ready to be mobilised in time of the ruling class's need to go to war. They, and the accompanying propaganda are a part of a mythologising process which legitimises all past British military actions. And, by extension, serve to do the same for any future conflicts.

Militarism, whilst low key in the so-called liberal democracies, has been given a new dimension and magical quality in its association with advanced technology. There are no limits on what technology and science are supposed to be able to offer. Never mind the fact that so much military advanced technology does not seem to work or results in the wiping out of the 'home side'. Death by 'friendly fire' is unfortunate but it is quickly forgotten compared to the crimes, real or invented, of the enemy.

Not only is technology presented as an ever-improving means of overcoming the future enemy but it is our technology which is presented as superior, thus reinforcing the militaristic arrogance of the gullible population.

Strangely, for weapons of mass destruction, the never-ending additions to the military arsenal are often presented in a benign manner. Fascination with new technology has been harnessed to give the state's murder machines a sexy quality. Look at that fighter bomber, admire its curves, its smooth lines, its power, its performance.

This ties in with the cult of masculinity which reaches its height in the armed forces. The parody of what males should be like is shown in the hardness, the brutality, the excessive drinking, the segregation from women in many parts of the armed forces in every country, which lead on to brutal attacks on civilians, as seen recently with the Paras in Britain, the Greenjackets in Cyprus, and the torture and killing of a Somali by Canadian Paras keeping the 'peace'. It leads on to the mass rape by soldiers — witness the systemised rape by Serbian soldiers as a form of terror, the rape of tens of thousands of women by Red Army soldiers when they invaded Germany at the end of World War 2, only just admitted to. Any idea that the Armed Forces are institutions which women should participate in, is dangerous rubbish. The best thing that working class women can do, to benefit themselves and their class, is fight to dismantle the Armed Forces!

Fortunately, but not always effectively, militarism has usually been countered by anti-militarist movements. Indeed revolutionary anarchists have always taken a lead in anti-militarist activities. It should be obvious to everyone (but isn't) that the people with the most to sacrifice and the least to gain from militarism are working class people. Apart

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# ORGANISE!

for class struggle anarchism

60p

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Issue 38

## THE COST OF MILITARISM...

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Magazine of the  
Anarchist Communist Federation

# 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 redefine 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 ourselves on a federative basis.

We reject sectarianism and work for a united, revolutionary anarchist movement.

## What Gives with the ACF

ACF COMRADES IN Northern Ireland have produced and distributed their free newsheet *Resistance*. No 1 has appeared, and No 2 will shortly be out. You can obtain copies by writing c/o the London ACF address.

London ACF have also produced a free newsheet *London Resistance*. No 1 is presently available. Write to London address for free copy, enclosing cost of postage or SAE.

*Active Resistance*, the youth magazine of the ACF will be shortly appearing. Watch out in the bookshops

and in the next *Organise!* for details.

An ACF group is presently forming in the Barkings/Dagenham/Romford area. If you are interested in participating in activities in the area, write c/o the London ACF address.

A new ACF group has also just formed in the Liverpool area. Contact via the national ACF address.

The ACF should shortly be producing a magazine concerned with all aspects of culture, art, film, literature, sport and music. This should be available by Autumn.

Watch out in the pages of *Organise!* for details.

And finally, news from New Zealand. A new magazine *Libertarian Commu-*

*nism*, with politics very close to those of the ACF, will be appearing shortly.

Watch this space for details.

### London ACF Open Discussion Meetings

First Thursday of every month, 8pm at Marchmont Community Centre, 62 Marchmont Street, London WC1. Nearest tube, Russell Square.

May 4th: Animal Riots  
June 1st: Pornography exposed  
July 6th: Labour Party 'Socialism'

Also

ACF MAYDAY PUBLIC MEETING  
Monday May 1st at 8pm, Conway Hall, Red Lion Square, London WC1. Nearest tube Holborn.

# An upsurge in struggle?

## Postal workers

**SOME 650 POSTAL WORKERS** walked out of the sorting office in St Pancras Way, North London in January after a driver was suspended for refusing to drive a van he regarded as unsafe.

Senior Post Office bosses immediately gained an injunction from the High Court which ruled the strike illegal because no ballot had taken place. The same day the bosses backed down and offered to reinstate the driver. The following day a mass meeting of posties rejected the offer, defied the court order and the postal union, the Union of Communications Workers and refused to return to work. They stayed out for three days.

### Wildcat action

On 19th January, 150 postal workers were suspended as a result of this. Wildcat action, outside and against union con-



Postal workers picket St Pancras Depot.

## Health workers

**The derisory one per cent pay offer to health workers has caused widespread outrage. Coupled with this is the attempt to split health workers by local bargaining, where a possible two per cent extra is offered.**



Above: Golden Virginia...

Part of the ludicrous pay rise will be withheld if too many, whatever that is, days are taken off sick. This sickness quota together with productivity targets is being forced on workers by local trusts. The South Devon NHS

trust in Torquay has sacked workers who failed to give 'convincing' reasons for being off sick. Days off sick are a natural consequence of heavy workloads and stress suffered by health workers, as well as a healthy desire to avoid wage slavery! These vicious attacks coincide with the trusts paying managers bonuses of up to £10,000 a year. These were worth 6.2% to chief executives, 7.2% to directors and 5.8% to other managers.

The local bargaining is part of a national plan by the boss class to divide workforces. But the anger among health workers is growing by the day. This simmering discontent forced even the pathetic Royal College of Nursing and Royal College of Midwives to drop their no strike clauses. This is just

control, broke out involving 15,000 workers in North West and West London.

The action might have escalated to encompass the whole of Britain, when two postal workers in Glasgow were disciplined for refusing

to implement new working practices. Terrified management quickly dropped charges against the Scots.

The UCW, of course, steamed in to sabotage the struggle. The national UCW leadership were terrified that

window-dressing however. Both the RCN and RCM will continue to peddle the myth of 'professionalism' and to sabotage action, along with the more militant-sounding UNISON. This myth has a grip on many nurses and midwives, and is something that will have to be broken with if any effective action is to take place. Arrogance and condescension to ancillary workers by nurses will also have to be cast aside. Any future action for health workers must involve the development of mass meetings and action committees that break with unions and unite all health workers.

Action in other workplaces is also developing, in particular amongst teachers and further education teachers. The strike at Southwark is an example of this. The possibilities of a winter, if not an autumn of discontent are stronger now than they have been for a long time. Revolutionaries must make sure that they support and attempt to radicalise these struggles.

they would be fined if the court order was flouted, in the initial action.

They again intervened to head off the 15,000 strong action. They made a deal that the strikers would have the suspensions dropped, and agreed with management that the speed-up practices, involving a computer-operated system known as CADRE should continue. They had already agreed its implementation in the first place. This did not stop the UCW getting a fine of £7,500 plus £100,000 legal costs for failing to control the workers. They know they must do better next time.

Discontent is simmering among postal workers, however, and even the most desperate measures of the UCW may not be able to head further action off.

The continuing defiance of the union by workers is highly encouraging and should be an example to those in other industries.

# Animal riots

**MASS DIRECT ACTION that had widespread effects? We can't be far from a revolutionary situation, then, can we? Not if the issue itself is the transportation of calves to be slaughtered for veal on the continent.**

From the start of the protests against transportation, much of the establishment press, including that which openly backs the Conservatives, initially took a sympathetic view. This was hardly because they thought that the politics of some of those involved met with their approval, but because here was another stick with which to beat the pro-Europeans inside and outside the Conservative Party. Another barbaric practice to be added to the record of those foreigners across the Channel, who weren't like us. Never mind the horrific animal experiments and factory farming carrying on as normal in Britain, here was a good opportunity for a bit of Euro-mugging. Witness the involvement of figures like Teddy Taylor and Alan Clark, who situate themselves on the Tory right.

Jill Phipps, who described herself as an anarchist, would have had no time for these scum (just as she would have had no time for the religious ceremony put on at Coventry Cathedral after her death).

## Calf love

Many of those involved in the actions were genuinely sickened by the treatment of animals.

At Brightlingsea, practically the whole community mobilised against the transportations. Similarly in Shoreham 80 local people were arrested. What was important about these actions was the way the nature of the police was revealed for the first time to many hundreds. Tooled up in riot gear, the cops went in heavily in many instances against the demonstrators and hundreds of injuries were suffered.

But where is the same action protesting against the thousands of homeless sleeping rough? Against the continued arms trade? Against the

hospital closures and mass redundancies?

The actions developed into a dangerous cross-class mobilisation with the Conservative right moving in to exploit the situation.

## Barbarism

Of course the transportation of calves is barbaric. So is the factory farming of cattle and poultry carried out in Britain. So are the experiments in which 3.5 million animals are killed every year in Britain carried out by the drugs and cosmetics industries. A leading drug company Giba Geigy admitted that 95% of substances passed safe by animal experimenting are immediately rejected by humans.

But the reason these things happen is because of PROFIT. It's big money for the drugs companies, for the factory farmers, for the meat industry. The symptoms of a sick society, like homelessness, unemployment, aliena-



tion and boredom, wage slavery and war, will only disappear when that sick society is put out of its misery. That means not just taking a stand

against the exploitation of animals, but against the exploitation of working class people and the destruction of the planet.

involved in further violent incidents, driving vehicles at protestors — one of whom is still receiving hospital treatment.

## 'Honest' victim?

Funny then, that few charges have actually been brought against him by the police. Funny that Coventry police brought out 100 cops against just 33 protestors. Funny how he masquerades as an 'honest' (is there such a thing?) businessman victimised by extremist thugs, and how the press had a field day when a group of people angered by Jill Phipps' death, turned up at his HQ to smash a few windows. But then these are violent, rent-a-mob yobos, whilst Barrett-Jolley only deals in death. Money doesn't talk, it swears.

included bombs, mortars and Kalashnikov rifles.

The following month he supplied UNITA forces in Angola with at least one 44-ton shipment. It is believed he made many further shipments to keep both sides in the civil war supplied with arms.

In November he attacked a 67-year-old woman protestor with a crowbar, beating her with it and smashing the windscreen of her car. He was

# Not so jolly?

**CHRISTOPHER BARRETT-JOLLEY owns Phoenix Aviation which transports calves from Coventry Airport (it was protests against this which involved the death of Jill Phipps) and is no newcomer to making a quick buck out of death and misery.**

## Arms and drugs

In 1993 one of his pilots was busted for smuggling large amounts of cocaine and heroin into Britain. Barrett-Jolley has extensive interests in West Africa, where the drugs are believed to have originated, not least through his arms dealing.

In June 1994 he piloted at least five flights to South Yemen to supply South Yemeni forces with arms. These

# Militarism and animals

**AS WELL as killing and maiming millions of people, militarism has had disastrous effects on the environment.**

Animals, both wild and domesticated, have also been victims of the military machine, through bombings, famines induced by blockades and destruction of forests and harvests. Animals have also been pressed into service in the armed forces and suffered accordingly. But a less well-known use of animals is in military 'research'.

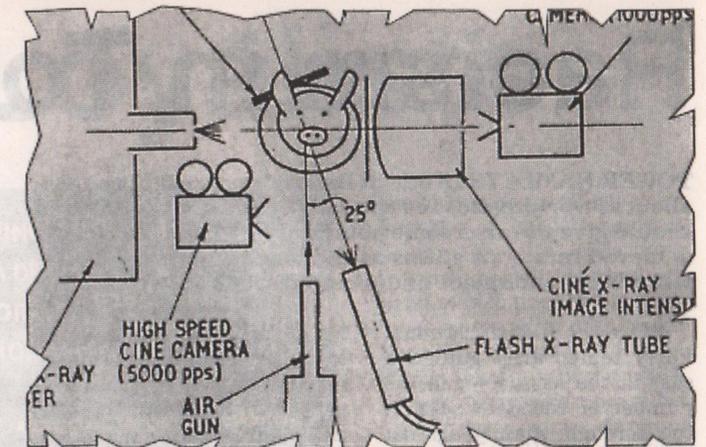
Military scientists in the USA experimented with dolphins to carry explosive charges to use against enemy ships and submarines. These mammals would, of course, also have been blown to smithereens in the process. Countless other laboratory animals have died excruciating deaths as flamethrowers, germ, biological and chemical weapons have been tested out on them.

The latest sick use of animals by the military concerns the use of pigs at the secret biological and chemical research centre at Porton Down.

Pigs under anaesthetics had silver balls sown on to the surface of their hearts and were then suspended above guns, which were then fired to test internal injuries. The pigs are only 600-750mm away from the mouth of the guns when they are fired. This, apparently, is to research 'protective clothing'.

The Ministry of Defence has increased animal experiments by 51% at a time when a general fall in animal experiments by 10% in Britain has been brought about by campaigns, including the use of direct action. Most of the animals die under anaesthetic, but some of the pigs are kept alive to "see how their wounds develop".

Capitalism brutalises humans, destroys the environment, and turns animals into just so many products for profit and experiment. Time to dismantle it, and with it disband the armies!



# READ OUR LIPS!

**We said class war, not Clause 4!**

**FOLLOWING ON FROM our last feature on the Labour Party in *Organise!* 37, a few thoughts on Clause 4.**

## Modernising Labour

In his attempts to 'modernise' the Labour Party, Tony Blair and his supporters have made a big push to drop Clause 4, which apparently pledges that Labour will take industry into common ownership.

Much ink has been wasted, and much breath, in defending the sacred text, by both Labour Party left social-democrats like Tony Benn, Trotskyist entrists and Stalinists like the *Morning Star* team. We are called upon to defend Clause 4 by practically all the sorry range of leftists.

## Irrelevant

Our attitude is that we do not give a damn about Clause 4. Every Labour government in the past, pledged to common ownership, has carried out vicious attacks on the working class, breaking strikes, establishing wage freezes, attacking workers' self-organisation and passing repressive legislation. As well as running down the health service, transport and other social services.

Apart from that, Labour's (false) idea of common ownership means that the State runs capitalism, or parts of it to be more precise, because

Labour have always been committed to a mixed economy. This has always been and will always be for the benefit of the ruling class.

## European nationalisations

The large-scale nationalisations carried out after WW2, were also carried out in other parts of Europe by, for example, De Gaulle, the military man in France. Capitalism needed to restructure and rebuild after the war effort and State intervention was seen as crucial in bringing this about.

For us common ownership, that is anarchist communism itself, means that the land and the means of production and distribution are looked after by the mass of the population, and administered through mass assemblies and workplace and community councils freely federated together.

To defend Clause 4 further the myth that somehow Labour is on our side.

Clause 4 was never meant to be implemented. It is a pious statement to camouflage the real nature of Labourism, that is a party there to fool, divert and when deemed necessary by the boss class, to govern us, the mass of the population, the working class.

# Fight the Criminal Justice Act

**THE POLICE ARE NOW using the Criminal Justice Act on a widespread basis against hunt saboteurs and demonstrations and mass trespasses against the Act itself.**

The Act has been in operation for five months at time of writing, and already 100 have been arrested under its provisions. Mass trespasses took place in Edinburgh near Defence Secretary Rifkind's mansion, and at Windsor Castle, where 20 arrests took place. Opposition to the Act will continue, especially when the cops use the CJA against free festivals planned for the summer.

The arrests of seven — the Hackney 7 — at Hackney Town Hall in a demo against the CJA last July resulted in fines of up to £3,300 fines. These heavy fines were clearly political. With most of the defendants being acquitted, and discrediting the police in the process, the Crown Prosecu-

tion Service was looking for revenge.

Hackney Labour Council took out injunctions against the defendants which banned them from council property. This included the use of public toilets or housing benefit offices without written permission. When these injunctions were challenged, the Labour Council backed down.

Any donations to the fines will be gratefully accepted. Send to Hackney 7 Defence Campaign, c/o Hackney Community Defence Association, Colin Roach Centre, 10a Bradbury St, London N16.

The weekly *SCHNEWS* gives information and reporting on actions against the CJA c/o on the fiddle PO Box 2600 Brighton, E. Sussex.

# Racism in Tower Hamlets

**TOWER HAMLETS IS one of Britain's poorest boroughs, about as working class as you can get and you'd think this should give the area some potential for revolt. In fact it's achieved infamous status as the place where racial violence is commonplace and where fascists got elected.**

Since the British National Party temporarily gained a seat in the local council, the number of racist attacks in the borough, mainly against Asians, has been rapidly rising. 'Incidents' range from verbal abuse and threats to near murder and the number of serious attacks has more than doubled in the past year.

Predictably, the police have been pretty lukewarm in actually getting anyone for the vicious attacks on Qudus Ali, Mukhtar Ahmed and Shah Alam. Also predictably,

lot of this claptrap is swallowed by a significant minority of white working class people. Then there's the middle class leftist do-gooders (Labour, SWP/ANL, etc) who thrive off working class disunity — some even make their careers out of it. They tend to loathe the white working class people and patronisingly look upon Asians and black people as their 'pets'. Though they have quite a high profile, they are generally distrusted by all sides.

The high level of racism



Beacon and fellow specimens of the 'master race' spread their filth in Tower Hamlets.

they put in overtime in building a case good enough to convict the Tower Hamlets 9. (The Asian youths who fought to protect a community vigil, after the near murder of Qudus Ali, from police attack.) Quite rightly, local Asians are angry, with some young people prepared to use violence to fight the racists and fascists — and the police — while others appeal for calm and to trust politicians, community police and the obviously racist police.

In Tower Hamlets 'race' is a giant political football. Liberals talk in terms of the problems being six of one, half a dozen of the other (which it obviously isn't). I'd say quite a lot of white people possibly go along with this view. From the fascists you get the usual racist drivel — unfortunately, a

among sections of white working class people is obvious. Housing has been seen as one of the main causes of this racism — the myth that if you're Asian, it's dead easy to get a council flat. In fact it's really hard to get a council flat wherever you are. If you take Millwall ward where the BNP got elected, you'll find Asians in a tiny minority — hardly a case of them taking all the houses!

And this possibly gives some indication of the source of the racism. Anyone who is familiar with the borough will notice in some quarters a kind of racial segregation not totally dissimilar from apartheid. Certain estates are almost totally Bengali while just round the corner you'll find another estate which is almost totally white. The same goes for local schools

which are often unofficially segregated along racial lines. In other words, the local state has been involved in some pretty effective social engineering down here.

This all amounts to good old-fashioned divide and rule. In a borough like this, where working class people of all races could unite over poverty, housing, unemployment and poor wages, we end up squabbling over crumbs. Fascists like the BNP take advantage and serve the boss class well and help ensure working class division. The left don't help either with their patronising views and their dead end strategy of 'Vote Labour' electoralism to break the BNP.

Revolutionaries who live and work in the area (and indeed in other areas where the issues are similar) need to be pushing the idea that we have more in common with people of our own class whatever their colour, than with bosses,

politicians, middle-class do-gooders, religious leaders, leftists and fascists who might be the same colour as ourselves. It is these parasites we need to throw off our backs. This may seem like a tall order but there are plenty of black and Asian people who are keen to get stuck in. What with recent rent and Council Tax rises from the Labour council, it may be possible to build resistance by organising around these issues as well as anti-racism/fascism. After all, it is a genuine combative working class unity which will weaken the stranglehold of racism and fascism.

## Tower Hamlets ACF members

There is a concentration of ACF members in Tower Hamlets. If you would like to work with us in local activities, write to the London address.



## ACE

### Anarchist Communist Editions

ACE pamphlets are available from c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

*Anarchism — As We See It.* A new, revised edition of our very popular pamphlet. Describes the basic ideas of anarchist communism in easy-to-read form. 60p & SAE.

*Manifesto of Libertarian Communism* by Georges Fontenis. A key text of anarchist communism. Though flawed, the best features need to be incorporated into modern revolutionary libertarian theory and practice. 60p & SAE. Just a few left of this, but the 6th printing will be out very shortly.

*Role of the Revolutionary Organisation.* Anarchist communists reject the Leninist model of a 'vanguard' party as counter-revolutionary. What then is the role of a revolutionary organisation? This pamphlet sets out to explain. All libertarian revolutionaries should read this fundamental text. 60p & SAE.

*Basic Bakunin.* A revised edition of our very popular pamphlet on one of the founders of revolutionary anarchism.

*The Myth of Labour's Socialism.* Just a few copies of this one left, so get'em soon! Describes the nature of a Party set to administer British capitalism again.

COMING SOON! *Manifesto for the Millenium* and a pamphlet on ecology.

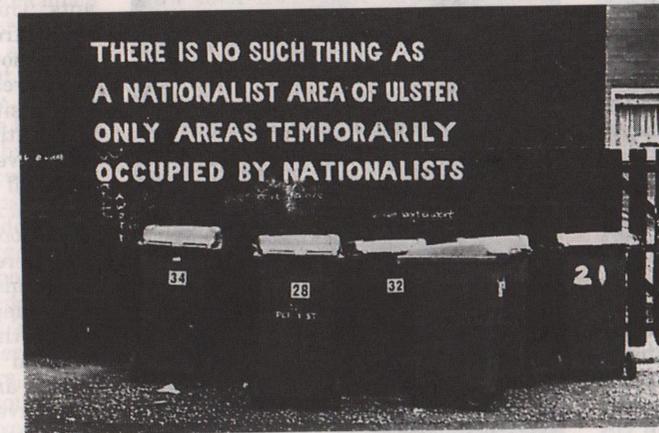
*Aspects of Anarchism.* Collected articles from the pages of *Organise!* on the fundamentals of anarchist communism. 30p & SAE.

*Making Progress* is out of print at the moment.

# The 'new' Loyalists

**IT'S FAIR TO say that rarely do revolutionary journals focus much on Ulster Loyalism (and Unionism in general). It's taken that Loyalism represents political reaction at its blackest. Our analyses of events in the Six Counties usually concern either the manoeuvres of the State or the politics of the Republican movement, the former as it is our explicit enemy and the latter because of its claim to be socialist. Loyalism tends to get dismissed because of its monolithic nature, its hand in glove relationship with the Northern Ireland State and its support for imperialism — why bother criticising something so definitely in the enemy camp?**

Well, since the ceasefire, many people have been puzzled to hear Loyalist spokespersons talking about the need for a new, working class, perspective, a community politics beyond the sectarian divide and even of 'socialism'. This rhetoric has emanated mainly from the leadership of two 'fringe' political outfits, the Ulster Democratic Party and the Progressive Unionist Party. The UDP, the unofficial political wing of the Ulster Defence Association, originated in a late '70s Loyalist think-tank, the New Ulster Political Research Group. The PUP, formed in 1979, is the political mouthpiece of that other paragon of non-sectarian virtue,



the Ulster Volunteer Force. Both parties have made a point of their opposition to the 'establishment' unionism of the Ulster Unionist Party and the 'religious fundamentalism' of the Reverend Paisley's Democratic Unionists, whom they accuse of having ignored the interests of their working class constituents. In return they have been attacked by some of the 'established' Unionists as 'Reds' in Loyalist colours.

However, despite the populist vitriol thrown by both UDP/PUP at the 'fur coat brigade' of conservative Unionism, the fact remains that for all their socialistic rhetoric both parties are opposed to any independent working class self-organisation which might undermine their power base. Indeed the 'leftism' of their 'progressive unionism' is far to the right of even the sickly social democratic Unionism of the now long-dead

Northern Ireland Labour Party. It should also be remembered that only a short time prior to the ceasefire and their media-fuelled propulsion into the limelight, these born again 'socialists' were amongst those who presented the UDA 'Doomsday' document of January 1994 with its (albeit empty) threats of ethnic cleansing via repartition. Nor should it be forgotten that the combined Loyalist military command had, prior to the ceasefire, been engaged in a ferocious escalation of sectarian slaughter against working class Catholics. In this context the anti-sectarian talk of Gary McMichael, David Ervine etc should be seen for the hypocritical blethers that it is.

So why have we seen the rise of the UDP/PUP since last Autumn? Neither party having an electoral mandate (a few councillors between them) they claim the mandate of the "silence of Loyalist guns". Their role as 'representatives' of grassroots Loyalist opinion has put them in a prestigious position but their 'moderation' and commitment to a 'New Northern Ireland' — never outlined in any detail of course — has meant that they have become media darlings just as Sinn Fein's leadership have. Indeed they are presented as the Loyalist mirror of Adams and Co, an image they seem quite happy with.

Their 'moderation', however, seems to some, even within their own camp, as more than a little suspect. The

heavy British intelligence infiltration of the UDA and particularly the UVF, leads many to conclude that the shadowy hand of MI5 may be amongst those on the tiller of the 'new' Loyalist ship of the line. Whilst manipulating a political party may take more effort and involve more dangers than controlling a death squad, the rewards may be worth it.

This is not to doubt that there exists a confused and angry mood amongst many working class Protestants, but that the UDP/PUP exist more as recuperators of that disenchantment than its simple expression.

Regardless of the extent of British State manipulation, it appears obvious that they are 'playing the game' far better than their Establishment rivals and the 'hard men of Loyalism' are duly reaping the rewards in the form of media attention. Their vague quasi-socialism (which has more in common with Strasserite left-wing fascism than social-democracy) may prove to be a vote-winner in some working class Protestant areas and the cause of a few sleepless nights for the UUP/DUP, but theirs is a politics of despair (their 'Ulster nationalism', half-hearted as it is, is pure nonsense — and they know it) offering little more than a continuation of the status quo under a different party flag and a new crew of political gangsters at the helm.

With working class Protestants disillusioned with their political leaders, the potential for populist demagogues is considerable, but the questioning of old certainties and the political state of flux, also opens up opportunities for libertarian revolutionaries to get their arguments heard in places in which a monolithic siege mentality had made it near impossible before.

Loyalist and other Unionist ideas can be challenged, just as other bankrupt nationalist ideas can. The non-alternative of the 'New Loyalists' must be as ruthlessly opposed as that of their elder brethren.

## The Friends of Durruti

**London ACF have produced a pamphlet on the Friends of Durruti, a much misunderstood group who attempted to defend and extend the Spanish Revolution of 1936.**

In their criticisms of the leadership of the anarcho-sindicalist unions they represented an important moment in anarchist history. Included are an historical introduction written by an ACF member, and two political statements from the Friends themselves. This will be the first in a series of pamphlets in the Stormy Petrel series. Coming up will be a pamphlet on the Italian Factory Councils of 1920-21.

Copies of the Friends of Durruti pamphlet available from ACF(London) c/o 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1 at 75p including postage.

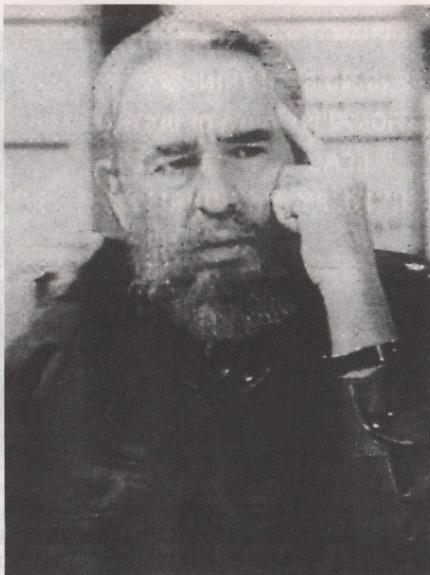
# Cuba, Castro and crisis

AS ONE AFTER another of the so-called communist states collapsed, the whole gamut of those who claim to be Leninists were thrown into disarray. Groups like the Socialist Workers Party were able to dodge the flying debris from the collapse because of their theory that these countries were state capitalist in the first place, and some more orthodox Trotskyists, like Workers Power for example, were self-contradictory, calling for a political revolution to overthrow the Stalinist dictatorship of Castro whilst at the same time demanding that the "degenerate workers states such as Cuba" be defended and that "should the present crisis result in any military clash with US imperialism, revolutionaries must unconditionally support the Cuban army and militias". As the army is part of the State directed by this Stalinist dictatorship, as any Marxist should know, these muddle-heads seem to have got their contradictions in a twist!

The bulk of those who claim to be Bolshevik, though, immediately saw Cuba as the last bastion of socialism and rushed eagerly to its defence. These included the Stalinists of the *Morning Star*, Communist Party of Britain and New Communist Party, the born-again Stalinists of the Revolutionary Communist Group (who have also discovered Shining Path of Peru as a saviour of the working class!) and fragments of what used to be the Trotskyist International Marxist Group, like Socialist Action and the Communist League.

## Communists collaborate

In March 1952 Batista set up a dictatorship in Cuba. He received the support of the Communist Party which attempted to infiltrate the bureaucracy of Batista's State. He allowed them to set up an official union confederation, the CTC, with Lazaro Pena as its Secretary General. In return for this, the Communists ensured that no working class opposition would be allowed to develop against Batista. Two communist leaders became Ministers Without Portfolio in the government. In the tightly-controlled election of 1940, the communists were allowed ten seats in parliament and more than a hundred in the municipal councils. Attempting to fill the vacuum in the opposition to Batista left by the communist's support for him, a young lawyer and bourgeois politician called Fidel Castro launched an armed attack on the Moncada barracks in 1953. His programme was reformist and social-democratic through and through, but he succeeded in uniting various political currents including some anarcho-syndi-



Above: Glum Genralissimo-Castro prepares to change course.

calists (one of whom, Boris Santa Coloma, died in the failed attack). Castro and his followers were imprisoned, and after having been pardoned in a few months, left for Mexico. The communists denounced this attack, by the way, as "bourgeois putschist".

By the end of 1956 Batista had alienated all classes, from big business to the working class and peasants. The anarchist ALC (Asociacion Libertaria de Cuba — which grouped all the anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists who had survived the bloody repression of the '30s) decided to form an alliance with the bourgeois democratic opposition! (Another shameful failure of traditional anarchism, and anarcho-syndicalism in particular, to take a revolutionary position. This should be ranked alongside Spanish anarcho-syndicalist participation in the Republican government of Spain in 1936, and the Mexican anarcho-syndicalist Casa del Obrero Mundial's support for Carranza and Obregon against the Zapatas).

## From militia to army

Armed attacks now broke out on a wide scale. None of these were instigated by the Castroists. In one of them, an attack on the Presidential Palace, all the guerillas were killed, including their leader, Echeverria. Despite Castro's Moncada attack, he now denounced the Palace raid. After Castro overthrew Batista, Echeverria and his group were made martyrs of the Revolution and the date of the attack, March 13, is celebrated as a landmark of Castro's revolution. A naval mutiny broke out, and sailors dis-

tributed weapons to workers and peasants. This was bloodily crushed, but a second front had been opened in the hills, again not under the control of Castro. Fierce resistance broke out in the cities. In this situation, Castro disembarked by boat with 82 followers. The movement that developed, the 26 July Movement, was still not under Castro's control till later on. As Theodore Draper in his *Castro's Revolution* noted: "It included those who merely wished to restore the bourgeois constitution of 1940 and those who demanded a 'real social-revolution'. It attracted those who admired and those who detested the United States. It took in fervent anti-communists and ardent fellow-travellers". Castro began setting about gaining supremacy of this movement. As his lieutenant Che Guevara enthusiastically wrote: "It was necessary to establish a rigid discipline, organise a high command and set up a Staff... Fidel addressed the troops urging a more strict discipline...he also announced the crimes of insubordination, desertion and defeatism were to be punished by death". Thus, a militia was turned into an army. A volunteer grouping in which members who availed themselves of the right to withdraw were now called deserters and subject to be shot immediately.

## Persecution

Once Batista was overthrown, Castro went about purging anarcho-syndicalists and social-democrats from the CTC union confederation, under the pretext of removing collaborators with Batista. In fact, many of these had been opposed to Batista and had been persecuted and imprisoned. The communists were rewarded by Lazaro Pena being confirmed as Secretary-General of the CTC. They had supported Batista up to the last three months of his regime, when they saw the writing on the wall and moved over to supporting Castro!

Castro, anxious to maintain power, now moved from his social-democratic programme to alliance with the Soviet Union. He turned Cuba into a huge sugar plantation for the Soviet bloc. He liquidated all the other resistance groups, accusing any who dared to oppose him of counter-revolution. Of course, many of the landowners, businessmen, army leaders and police chiefs who had supported Batista fled, but this cannot account for the mass exodus from Cuba, before emigration was virtually cut off, of half a million, which included tens of thousands of workers and peasants.

Early in 1960 the Cuban anarchists took a stand against Castro, and their publications were suppressed. They were driven underground and then into exile. They had seen what was being inflicted

on the working class. The CTC under communist control signed away any gains that had been obtained — the right to strike, job security, sick leave, 30 days paid holidays, four paid holidays, 44-hour week with 48 hours' pay, overtime at time and a half, double or triple rate and much else — all this went in November 1959 — all in the name of 'voluntary' sacrifice. Those anarchists who cried out against the new regime suffered badly. Alberto Linsuain had joined the guerilla forces in the hills, in a unit commanded by Fidel's strongman brother Raul. He incurred the wrath of Raul even then, having violent disagreements with him. A vendetta was pursued after he began organising amongst the restaurant and food workers. He was murdered or died in jail. Sodalio Torres was accused of 'counter-revolutionary' activities. In order to force him to inform on other workers, he was dragged in front of the firing squad four times and four times 'reprieved'. Jose Acena, lifelong opponent of all the Cuban dictatorships was given 20 years, despite carrying scars on his body from Batista's torturers! Alberto Garcia fought in the ranks of Castro's 26th July Movement. He was given 30 years' hard labour.

Indeed, Castro quickly established horrific concentration camps. Mario Chanes originally supported Castro and was offered top government jobs. Already disillusioned with Castro's authoritarianism, he chose instead to work in a brewery. Shortly afterwards he was sentenced to 30 years in prison, for plotting to kill Castro, a charge which he denies to this day. He emerged from jail in 1992, becoming the longest-serving political prisoner in the world. On an offshore island, now a foreign tourist resort(!) Chanes notes that: "We were beaten religiously by the guards every day. Some prisoners were bayoneted or shot when they collapsed from hunger or tiredness. It was a concentration camp". Because he refused to wear prison uniform, saying he was a political prisoner, he was put into solitary confinement for six years. His wife had given birth to a son eight months after he had been imprisoned. He saw the child once before solitary confinement, and not at all during it!

## Drugs

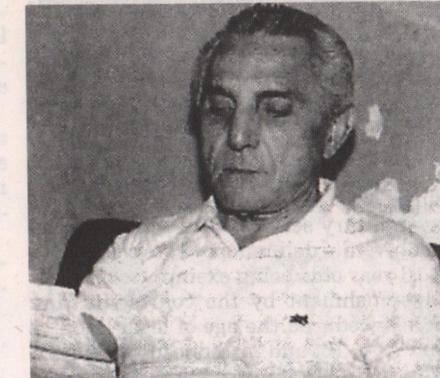
It is likely that the Cuban State engaged in widespread drug trafficking to gain much-needed cash. The Colombian drugs supremo Pablo Escobar, was given VIP treatment by Cuba and by its then ally, Nicaragua, under the Sandinistas. Then, in what has come to be the worst political scandal faced by Castro, General Arnaldo Ochoa Sanchez, who had been hailed as a revolutionary hero when he led the Cuban forces in Angola, was accused of drug trafficking and corruption. He was executed, along with Colonel Tony de la Guardia, a leading light in the special department of the Ministry of the Interior, charged with obtaining the vital

foreign exchange necessary for international trade. The scandal brought down 14 top officials, five per cent of the Central Committee and hundreds of military officers. It is likely that those executed and imprisoned were sacrifices made to Castro's turn from state drug trafficking when pressure from the United States made it too risky. In its usual draconian fashion, the State handed out a 30-year sentence to De la Guardia's brother, for failing to denounce him, despite the fact that he was in Angola throughout the period of the drug trafficking.

## House of Cards

The collapse of the Soviet bloc lost Cuba a \$5 billion subsidy and most of its petrol supply. The East European countries also reduced their intake of Cuban sugar which Castro had exchanged for oil, food and technology. Like the East European states Cuba had supplied free housing, healthcare and education as well as some free food and transport. Indeed, compared to other populations in the region, Cuba was comparatively well-off. All this was to come to an end now. Many Cubans became hungry for the first time. The economic blockade that had been inflicted on Cuba by the USA was tightened.

Below: The Commander-in-Chief — just another Stalinist dictator.



Above: Mario Chanes.

Castro had militarised Cuban society from soon after he came to power. He had set up the Committees for the Defence of the Revolution (CDR) and the Organisations of People's Power (PPO). These are not genuine bodies of self-organisation as the leftists would have you believe. They are packed with Communist Party members and act as regional, local, street and block extensions of the state. They are patterned after the Russian counterfeit 'Soviets', there to rubber-stamp the decisions of the ruling bureaucratic class. They report on absenteeism, dissidence, even what they regard as immorality and

sexual 'deviance'. Castro is a classic example of the repressed, prudish Leninist puritan. He detests homosexuality. In the '70s he denounced young people for wearing long hair and tight trousers in the case of boys, and miniskirts in the case of girls and for liking 'decadent literature'. Part of his response, apart from banning these things, was the introduction of compulsory military service. He stated that the high juvenile delinquency rate was due to 13-16 year olds being exempt from criminal punishment by the courts. In May 1973 he reduced the age of legal liability from 18 to 16, and introduced tough penalties up to life imprisonment for 'crimes against the national economy', and 'abnormal sexual behaviour'. The crackdown on homosexuality, and the forced segregation of AIDS sufferers, as well as the generally repressive attitude towards non-conformity of any kind, accounts to some great extent for the continued high number of refugees to the US.

In line with the old Marxist principle of the militarisation of labour, first elaborated in the *Communist Manifesto* and carried out avidly in Russia by Trotsky, the Castroist State used compulsory military service to provide military units to carry out work in construction, irrigation and production. In education the technical colleges were turned into military centres. Students lived under strict military discipline and completed their draft obligations whilst they studied.

The CTC recognised the partnership of the state, the Communist Party and the unions at its 13th Congress. These would cooperate to increase production, "promote punctual attendance at work", "follow the Communist Party directives". Wages are linked to work quotas. Purchase of TV sets, fridges, washing machines etc, is allotted to those who obey orders, overfulfil work quotas, are patriotic. Those paragons of wage slavery are also allotted the best holiday resorts and first access to housing. At the First Congress of the Communist Party in 1975 the slogan "From each according to his ability; to each according to his WORK" was displayed in huge letters.

In 1991, Castro added to his State organisations for the repression of the Cuban masses. The People's Rapid Response detachments were set up. These were groups of thugs charged with attacking any dissident. To their credit, many Communist Party members refused to serve in these gangs. A group of 150 attacked the home of Francisco Gonzales, chair of the National Council for Civil Rights, an unofficial group which monitored the number of Cubans who went missing at sea whilst trying to leave the country. Three months' later, an armed gang returned and threatened his life. (Since then he has been framed and now faces 15 years' prison).

Castro and his regime are immensely paranoid about any opposition. A group of working class people were imprisoned in the early '90s for daring to set up a Green grouping. In August this year, the Cuban

military sank a ship hijacked by refugees attempting to flee, and forty died. In a wave of anger, riots broke out in Havana and Castro was forced within the week to lift the ban on emigration. In the next five weeks, 20,000 took to the boats. Castro had already had to pass Law 141 in September 1993, which allowed the regime to start introducing a mixed economy, and a new private sector in some trades. Income tax has been introduced, and depenalisation for Cubans to obtain, hold and use foreign currencies. Less emphasis is now being put on Marx, Engels and Lenin, and more on Jose Marti, the 19th century nationalist leader. The economy is in an appalling state. In a country rich in citrus fruit, no oranges can be found in the shops. The US embargo is blamed, but many are asking why, if trade from Mexico and South America is not affected by this, is the situation so desperate? In Havana there are power cuts of up to 14 hours a day. The power plants have been out of spare parts since 1990. Extreme rationing and huge food queues are the order of the day.

### Meet the New Boss, Same as the Old Boss!

Now the Statist economy is opened up to the market, and with the end of restrictions on foreign currency, in entire sectors of the economy, US dollars are the only money accepted. Half of telecommunications has been sold off to a Spanish company. Canadian capitalism is moving in a big way, and Canadian mining companies are penetrating the minerals

## Overpopulation — or a bit rich?

**HUMAN POPULATION HAS skyrocketed in the last few centuries — in the nineteenth century the world population more than doubled. Population growth is a result of a decline in the death rate rather than a boom in the birth rate. The birth rate peaked between 1960 and 1965 and has been slowly falling since. The growth in the 'developed' countries of the West has been slowly grinding to a halt. As the birth rate slows it will catch up with the declining death rate — this could take up to a century or more in Africa and Asia at present rates, however.**

### Malthus

Are there too many people for the earth to support? Thomas Malthus (a 19th century clergyman) was the originator and

sector. Spanish, Scandinavian, German and Italian tour operators are opening up a tourist trade of up to half a million people a year.

Castro and his fellow bureaucrats are prepared to open up to the market in the same way as their East European counterparts. They are doing this because they want to preserve their power and privileges. They are prepared to sacrifice state capitalism to the market and the mixed economy. In the process they will transform themselves into factory owners, entrepreneurs or remain ensconced in the state apparatus — that is unless they are overthrown in the process by the Cuban masses. Another possible scenario is a coup d'etat or attempted coup d'etat by those wedded to the old Leninist principles, found particularly in the military.

Whatever happens, whether the present bosses remain in charge or a new mob take over, the horrors of state capitalism will be replaced by those of market capitalism. The Cuban working class of town and countryside must begin to re-organise itself, learning from the old anarchist tradition in Cuba and from the many mistakes committed by the traditional anarchist movement. They will not fare any better under a new economy, as the sharks of international capital glide in to gorge themselves.

What is happening in Eastern Europe will be repeated in Cuba. The only solution is the development of a broad-based anarchist communist movement, which rejects both the market and the state forms of capitalism, and which starts to develop an independent working class politics.

populariser of 'overpopulation' theories. He maintained that human population exponentially outstrips food production — that it is always and everywhere pressing against the available food supply. War, disease and starvation for the poor were the inevitable result as: "Man cannot live in the midst of plenty. All cannot share alike the bounties of nature". These disasters were also the 'natural' solution to the problem. Malthus opposed contraception, or feeding people who would otherwise starve, as this would only lead them to consume more, worsening the general misery. The overpopulation ideology emerged with the beginning of industrialisation and the resulting immiseration of the common people and class conflict. People were driven from their lands and dispossessed of the commons (a traditional source of food in hard times) by wealthy landowners and sheep farmers,

and shovelled into the mills and mines. This class brutality was sanctioned by the application of Adam Smith's theories of a self-regulating political economy to 'natural law'. The surplus of workers kept wages down, which was good for business — this translated into a 'surplus' of population. Society was held to consist of Hobbes' "War of all against all". This Social Darwinism, combined with eugenics (the genetic control and 'improvement' of breeds) was used to justify colonial conquest and legitimate reactionary immigration policies at the turn of the 20th century. Ultimately it led to the eugenics-based extermination of psychiatric inmates, Jews, Gypsies, homosexuals etc, by the Nazis in their death camps.

Overpopulation theories are currently used by the Development Bank to justify the industrial development of sensitive wilderness areas such as Western Brazil, and economic planners using tirage analysis (a battlefield medical operation where certain of the wounded are left to die so as to concentrate on those with a better chance of survival) Millions of people in Africa and Asia are left to starve in order to restructure capital and pay off the national debts of countries such as Mexico and Chile. Since the Cold War, the American State's strategy to 'contain communism', control political developments and resources has been to use population control to prevent nationalist revolt in Africa and Asia. This is done through collaborating with local elites through military aid and the establishment of state-dominated institutions for population control. The US agency for International Development is the biggest single funder of population control activities in the South. The anti-abortion stance of the Reagan administration was a sop to the Right, and was only for domestic consumption. The focus of the present population control establishment is authoritarian and technocratic. Sterilisation, intra-uterine devices, the Pill and other risky forms of fertility control are preferred to traditional methods and barrier techniques. The ideology is based on three tenets:

1. Rapid population growth is the main

cause of the South's development problems, particularly hunger, environmental destruction and political instability. Development ie capital accumulation, is the main thing and people are 'units'.

2. People must be persuaded/forced to have fewer children (in Indonesia the Army has forced IUDs on villagers at gunpoint) without fundamentally improving their impoverished conditions.

3. With the right combination of finance, personnel, technology and Western management techniques, birth control can be delivered from the top down, without basic health care systems.

### Hunger

There are 900 million dying of starvation a year in the world, but no global shortage of land. The UN estimates that there is enough land to feed a world population of 14 billion people (more than double the present total of nearly six billion). As in the 'developed' North, large landowners control the vast majority of land. In 83 countries, three per cent of farmers control 79% of farmland, much of it left unplanted in order to maintain profits. Their yields are also consistently lower than small landowners. Brazil has an area of farmland the size of India left uncultivated while 20 million rural poor are landless; the richest one per cent owns 15 times as much land as the poorest 56% of Brazilian farmers. In Guatemala two per cent of landowners owns 66% of the land, in the Phillippines agribusiness producing sugar, cotton and pineapples for export has pushed 12 million peasants into the lowland forests.

Drought in Africa was part of a millennia-long cycle. Cash crop exploitation, the market economy and taxation have led to starvation rather than drought. During the hunger crisis in the 1970s, ships in Dakar port which brought in supplies of 'relief' food, departed with peanuts, cotton, vegetables and meats. Of the hundreds of millions of dollars worth of agricultural goods in Sahel exported during the drought, over 60% went to consumers in Europe and North America, and the rest to elites in African countries.



In Bangladesh, often cited as the model for the Malthusian argument, 90% of the land is worked by sharecroppers and labourers. Many starved after the 1974 floods while hoarders stacked up four million tons of rice while the majority were too poor to buy. Multinational companies made over seven billion dollars a year profit from the South in 1990, and probably far more through transfer payments. They use their economic power to force down rice, coffee, sugar, cocoa and cotton prices. Average prices in 1989 were 20% down on those of 1980. This leads to an increase in foreign debt for Southern countries with consequent increased economic hardship for the majority poor (higher taxes, inflation, etc).

Cash crops go to feed the global supermarket, and yield higher profits for international capital to industrialise the planet. Mexican soil and labour supply 50-66% of the US market for many winter and early spring vegetables. The result is that agriculture for local consumption is squeezed out and the prices of staple foods rise. One third to a half of the total meat production in Central America and the Dominican Republic is exported, mainly to North America. An increase in poverty is accompanied by a rise in cereal production (the main component of the





bardment of the Gulf and Saddam Hussein's oil fires for example. War directly damages the land and air, and destroys the environment through destabilising traditional communities, creating refugees who flee and settle on fragile soils which cannot support them. In Africa between 1955-1985 there were over 200 attempted coups, creating over eight million peasant refugees who fled their villages to escape terror in Ethiopia, Mozambique, Angola, Sudan and Uganda. In the last 40 years there have been over 125 wars fought in the South (many of them proxy wars for the Superpowers) leaving 22 million dead. Over 60% of global arms go to Africa and Asia; this military spending kills and damages many more through the waste of resources. The American Pentagon produces more toxic waste than the five largest multinational chemical companies combined: a ton of toxic chemicals a minute. A B52 bomber consumes over 13,000 litres of fuel an hour; an armoured division (348 tanks) over two million litres of fuel a day.

**Women**

An agrarian revolution is required, as part of a social revolution, which must liberate women. Women are the poorest of the poor, the largest group of landless labourers in the world — even in co-ops and land distribution they are frequently excluded. Women produce almost half of the food crops in the world. In Africa they contribute 66% of all time spent in traditional agriculture, in Asia they are over half of the agricultural labour force, in Latin America over 40%. Commercial farming has favoured men at every level, and industrialisation and urbanisation also hurt women most, destroying their handicrafts and worsening the unjust division of labour with the double day of wage labour and household work. Some 80-90% of low-skilled assembly jobs in Africa and Asia are done by women.

poor's diet). So the 'Green Revolution' which it was claimed would feed the hungry has been used by the ruling class to supply the global supermarket.

**Resources**

One justification for population control is pressure on resources shown by deforestation, desertification, water pollution etc. Yet fewer people do not necessarily consume fewer resources. The industrialised North with about 20% of the world population (1.2 billion people) consumes over 80% of its resources, 70% of the energy, 75% of metals, 85% of wood, 60% of food. These figures obscure the vast disparities of wealth both within the South, and in the North. The world's largest companies control 70% of world trade, 80% of foreign investment and 30% of Gross Domestic Product. Multinationals are also directly responsible for 40% of the world's greenhouse gases.

Militarism is the most environmentally destructive modern institution. Its cumulative effects far outweigh the effects of population pressures — the Allied bom-



Women's reproductive choice depends on their role in society. Their lack of choice is a direct result of their lack of autonomy, personhood and their economic domination. If women have fewer children they suffer for lack of labour power, if more they are over-burdened and their health undermined. The population question can never be addressed until having fewer children becomes a reasonable option — thus freedom for women from male domination, and an agrarian social revolution reuniting agriculture and nutrition, renewing self-reliance and subsistence, and creating equality. Such a revolution will overthrow high-tech agribusiness methods such as those of the Green Revolution discussed earlier: part of the problem, not the solution.

This article is indebted to *How Deep is Deep Ecology?*, 'Women's Freedom: Key to the Population Question' by George Bradford. Times Change Press pamphlet.

**Posters and stickers**

Bundles of this poster can be got from our London address. Please send a donation. Or get a single copy and photocopy 'em.



London ACF have also produced an A5 leaflet explaining the basic ideas of anarchist communism. Again, send a donation for a bundle to the above address.

The 14,000 stickers we printed off have sold out, except for the ecology sticker which can still be obtained from the London address, if you enclose a donation. A new range of stickers is currently being printed, so stand by for an announcement.

**Reason to celebrate?**  
**Anniversary of the end of World War Two**



**THIS YEAR MARKS the 50th celebration of both VE-Day and VJ-Day. The Allied Powers' celebration of victory over Nazi Germany and then Japan. As usual speeches will be given by European and American statesmen in which phrases like "the struggle against Nazism", "the struggle against fascism", "the liberation of peoples" etc will be liberally peppered. But is this really the truth?**

Mussolini's rise to power in 1922 made Italy the first fascist country. In 1928 Salazar set up his dictatorship in Portugal. Hitler came to power in Germany in 1933 and Nazism opened its first concentration camps. In 1939, after the defeat of the Spanish Revolution, Franco established his murderous regime.

During more than 10 years the Great Powers — France, Britain, USA and the supposedly communist USSR maintained political and commercial relations with these states. All of these powers accommodated themselves, and none of them sanctioned, these regimes.

At Munich in September 1938 Chamberlain for Britain and Daladier for France signed an agreement with the Nazi regime, allowing it to occupy the Sudetenland, a part of Czechoslovakia with a German-speaking population — a rich prize for Germany because of its economic and industrial riches. Even when the German Army invaded Poland in September 1939 the Allied bourgeoisie did not flinch. The European Allies declared war on Germany, certainly, but this consisted of a few French units invading Germany to reinforce its first line of defence,

the Maginot line (November 1939). The Western European ruling classes couldn't care less about the rise of Nazism, just as much as they were not bothered by the rise of Francoism or Salazarism. Order reigned and that was all that concerned them. What they had been worried about was the social unrest and the popular revolts which had deeply disturbed them since 1917. They were pleased that strong and stable regimes had been installed that would break working class revolt and resistance.

**Chain reaction**

The Russian Revolution of 1917 had set off a chain reaction throughout the world — the workers' councils in Germany, followed by those in Italy and Hungary, and then the revolutionary collectivisations in Spain. These movements were bloodily destroyed and fascist regimes were installed during or after these defeats. These fascist regimes were to be preferred by the Western allies to the spectre of working class revolt.

Churchill — the great 'democrat' — who was deeply racist and considered blacks as sub-human — never concealed his admiration for Mussolini. What was important for Britain was that its trade routes through the Mediterranean to its colonies in the Middle East stayed open. The fascist regimes installed throughout the Mediterranean area went along with this and the fate of the populations under their boot-heels were of no concern. The British ruling class refused to welcome refugees from the Spanish 'civil war'.

*Above: Stalin, Roosevelt and Churchill — preparing to carve up the world between them.*

France, for its part, set up concentration camps in the Pyrenees to imprison the Spanish refugees, and these were joined by other refugees from fascism in Germany, Central and Eastern Europe. The Western allies knew the fate of the populations under Nazi and Fascist domination, whether in Ethiopia or Poland, and they knew from 1933 that the Nazi regime was deporting Jews, Communists, homosexuals and gypsies. For its part the United States continued economic and commercial relations with Germany, even during the blockade decreed by France and Britain. These continued after the alliance treaty between Germany and Japan. The US traded with everyone, no matter who they were. They entered the War after Pearl Harbour (December 1941) not to 'liberate' the populations of Europe but to safeguard their economic interests in both Asia and Europe.

**The Stalinists**

The Stalinist bureaucrats were no more 'anti-fascist' than the Western leaders. The USSR had never stopped trading with Nazi Germany. The non-aggression pact signed between Hitler and Stalin was linked to an economic agreement: Poland would be carved up between them and Stalin would take over Lithuania and Estonia. The Jews of the Soviet part of Poland were as much delivered up to the Nazis as those of France. The Soviet lead-

ers only became 'antifascist' when the German state broke the pact by invading the USSR in June 1941.

**Just another war**

The ideology of antifascism was pushed among the working class in order to divert it from its autonomous class objectives and interests. This mystification allowed the ruling classes of each country to get the allegiance of their populations and to turn them into cannon fodder. Under the banners of antifascism and the defence of threatened democracy, the managers of capitalism stopped at nothing — 38 million dead to defend their interests! The Dresden bombing, the Atom bomb attacks on Hiroshima and Nagasaki! The entry of the Allies into the War was only motivated by the need to stop at all costs the new powers that were emerging in this period of world economic crisis (the Wall Street Crash in 1929) Germany, Italy, Japan menaced the vital interests of the Western ruling classes and their colonial empires, that is, the sources of raw materials necessary for their economies. The new powers needed these resources and natural wealth in order to develop their own economies.

Out of this crisis sprang a new world order: the USA (the West) versus the USSR (the East). Once the war was over, the victors concentrated on oppressing and massacring the populations who refused their new order. For example the French murdered up to 80,000 in 1947 during the insurrections in Madagascar, many through being gunned down, many more through hunger caused by French blockades of the insurgent areas. In May 1945, just after the Allies had won in Europe, repression began in Algeria which resulted in the deaths of up to 45,000 murdered by the French. In the repression unleashed by the British in Kenya in 1956, 10,000 were killed and 90,000 interned in prison camps.

Each of these powers in its own colonial or neo-colonial sphere of influence, set up dictatorial regimes as bloody as each other, who defended the interests of their 'antifascist and democratic' masters to the detriment of the working class and peasantry world-wide.

*Below: World War 2 wasn't fought to liberate the concentration camp — it was fought to protect profits.*



# IT'S A WHOLE NEW MALL GAME!

The following two articles were produced by Communist Headache. We are reprinting them to gain them a wider audience and to further contribute towards our investigations into culture.

## Football and architecture: The control of pleasure vs. the pleasure of control

**A RECENT SINGLE issue that has dominated a large amount of the local media space afforded to this region [Derby], and a large amount of my thinking and concerns, has been the proposed move of our local football club ('my club') from its traditional ground to a new purpose-built stadium/leisure complex.**

This hasn't had the form of the classical single issue problem that we are familiar with, mostly due to the 'negative charge' it carries as a political generator. There is some political opportunism within football supporting (corresponding to the growth of a highly-visible and very cleaned up independent football supporter movement) but this doesn't encroach into all areas of problems and debate. The other feature of this single issue is the local media handling of the problem — this has been incorporated into the fans' phone-in hour each week on the radio, where callers have the opportunity to adorn the manager's trenchcoat for five

minutes and have their say about the running of the team or the club. Thus, we have a sophisticated communication channel (in terms of visibility) and a lack of a vested interest, producing unusual developments.

Almost immediately an approach of considering concessionary measures was taken up, but with a positive outlook. In the past the strategy of developing concessionary measures could be considered as solely reactive to cases where a lock, stock and barrel fight for a cause is totally turned over. The negative aspects of this strategy are most evident when a vested interest occurs, that is, we are kept blindfolded by the actual campaign. This usually takes the shape of a denial of examining the form and function of the campaign itself, as the parties with the vested interest would be exposed, and the taking of concessionary measures in this case is usually campaigning just as blindly but with slightly lowered sights.

The positive aspect of the strategy is the development of a springboard for assessing all points of our arguments, how these arguments are interpreted by our opponents, the dynamics of the campaign and, not least, its relevance in wider spheres beyond the normally impenetrable barriers of the campaign. The strategy is either negative (and worthless) or positive, and cannot be a combination of the two. In this case, the absence of a political opportunism and the blossoming of the theoretical base of the campaign are obviously related. To stress again, a useful approach would be to aim for clarity and fluidity, to pinpoint relevances and irrelevances, and to examine moves and motivations of people and parties involved.

Returning to the issue at stake, the resiting of a football ground, it seemed

that initial response was that the move was a necessity and a progressive measure, a view mainly fostered by the club itself and some of its influences in the local newspaper. However, debate and dialogue on the local radio station (initiated by a programme presenter who was prepared to question the move from personal opinions) gave an airing to a few other ideas, and allowed the issue to expand into a more complex form. At the basis of the disagreement was the question of atmosphere, such that a move would be okay if the atmosphere of the original ground could somehow be preserved or recreated in the new stadium. Thus we have the concessionary measure: atmosphere, but arising in such a form that it immediately demands further inspection as to what atmosphere actually is, and how it arises, is maintained, and is possibly preserved.

This further inspection is still at a fledgling stage, particularly as the heat has been taken off the issue due to financial problems at the club putting the move into doubt. But the potential to challenge and to form a total critique of football as an act in the cultural circus has been activated. These are my ideas on the health of our game taken from the standpoint of where we left the issue — that is the preservation of atmosphere.

### Atmosphere

There are many points to consider in this proposed move away from an old ground, but to many the subject of atmosphere is the most important, and also the most difficult (and dangerous) to pin down. There is a danger in refusing to understand what atmosphere actually is, and so leave the negotiating of this concession of atmosphere to the professionals, to the architects who promise to give us an INSIDE of pitch-hugging stands and tight corners where we are able to breathe down the necks of players. But such a move invites them to dictate their definition of atmosphere, and we are back to a strategy of hoping for the best and trusting that some party has all our best interests at heart. How can we pin down the make-up of atmosphere beyond simple architectural factors relevant to the inside of a ground? In the case of our old football ground atmosphere is related directly to tradition, and this tradition is partly constructed from specific instances on and off the pitch in years gone by. Goals, saves, moves, skill, decisions, comedies, fights, pitch invasions. These cannot be preserved, and are uniquely tied to the history of the old ground, but to use this as an argument for staying behind leaves one susceptible to attack. Indeed, it is plainly stated that a new ground will bring new instances and so will begin a new history and tradition, and that the old history will live on in memories even as this new history unfolds. People who cite famous instances from the past and argue the injustice of losing them, are labelled traditionalists,



*Above: Sport — the rugby scrum is not the only struggle. Like everything else in society the class struggle at play.*

and are dismissed as likeable, but laughable, cranks. However, tradition does not accumulate solely as a sum total of instances on or around the pitch, it is something that is deeply ingrained in football culture, a culture that is linked strongly to the working class. So we have moved on from the idea of atmosphere, the role of tradition in creating atmosphere, and finally to culture in propagating the active role of tradition. It is here that we can take up our negotiation of concessionary measures.

### Where are the pies?

Football culture has grown out of the escapism that Saturday afternoon brings, following the enforced division of work and leisure time. The attack on this culture arises as the ruling class try to colonise our leisure time, to control us and spy on us. Leisure time controls our attitude to work, and so it must be constructed in a way to satisfy many tastes and demands. Football supporting offers many other things than an escape from domestic duties, it has a tribal link and the bad-boy image, thus the strict yet diverse fashion trends and accompanying machismo. It is a constructed part of leisure that has fostered some degree of dangerous autonomy — as a system of control it is dangerous as the autonomy that it fosters is both a reason for its popularity and a danger to the authorities. Without concerning some of the fringe activities of football supporting we have a base of putting aside your problems at home or in the workplace, and channelling your energies into watching, shouting and arguing about your team. The packed terrace is the ultimate meeting place where you can yell at the top of your voice, exercise your

wit and wisdom, and summon forth an honesty and unrestricted flow of expressions that you have to suppress in everyday life. The siting of football grounds within dense, run-down urban areas adds to this atmosphere, as you can leave the glitz and glare of the manufactured cityscape and its consumption zones, and slowly re-adjust your thoughts to focus solely on the time ahead and the football game itself. Programme and fanzine sellers perched on street corners, local shops stocked up with crisps, biscuits, fags and tins of drink, the joy of knowing that all these people weaving their way to the ground are thinking the same as you; team selection, last week's performance, midweek comments and rumours, this week's opposition.

And so atmosphere does not spontaneously appear, exist and die within the 90 minutes of the match and confines of the ground, it grows from the apprehension as you approach the game and lasts into the joy or suffering after the match, as you cautiously weave your way home chancing a short cut with the thrill of a chase.

### Fringe

The fringe activities arising from the autonomy of football culture presented the authorities with a decision to make. In the 1970s hooliganism was put under the spotlight and so intensified as a reaction to this, in turn feeding the media onslaught. The game was attacked with swift moves to intimidate and control supporters, the media having done its job of replacing the identity of the football supporter with that of the hooligan (eg the emergence of phrases such as behaving like a football crowd). What began as frogmarching to the ground soon turned into extensive and visible surveillance and list compiling. I remember my early away matches where we were unloaded from the football special and marched from the station to the ground only to be stopped en route, lined up against an old factory side and scanned by a hooligan that crawled alongside us! This onslaught of 1984-style surveillance and infiltration culminated in the identity card bill which was eventually defeated. A possible reason for this could be the rise of the independent supporter movement who redressed the balance of identity back from hooligan to the more generic football supporter. The actual winners here are hard to pin down, though without doubt the authorities benefited. The independent supporter movement peddled a semi-notorious image (or half-decent as the figurehead magazine calls itself) that was allowed its own media space to flourish — the fanzine market. For a while the fanzine movement was the be all and end all of football supporting, but its popularity has waned over the last few years as the zines themselves have been filled with academic ramblings lyrically praising the merits of mildly warm bovriils and stodgy pies, and the clubs themselves

have tried to take a cut of the action by allowing sales of certain zines within their official marketing mechanisms. However, the authorities haven't given up (indeed hooliganism is on the rise again), they have just changed their line of assault, and the design and situation of stadiums is the new angle.

We now move from a culture that has grown within the working class that brings people together while supporting autonomy, to a culture that has been thrust upon us, a manufactured culture that goes hand in hand with the classless society we are supposed to live in, that is the culture of the shopping mall. Here we are offered the pleasure to slip around from one orgy of consumption to another. Bright lights to glorify images, marbled floors and high gloss to reflect to the point of infinity, an immersion into the air conditioned nightmare. Shop till you drop, all the names are here. Pig out on any delicacy from fast food to the faddest flavour of the month (but still fast), entertain yourself in our bowling halls, cinemas and amusement arcades... this perfected spectacle is seamless. Bad weather? We can take care of that by eliminating weather all together, a constant temperature maintained and ample carparking underneath to shield you from getting wet

I live quite close by to Meadowhall, the grand-daddy of all shopping malls, and often find myself gauging (and gagging on) the atmosphere of the mall, from the frenetic attempts of store assistants to get you to buy (the space rent is monumental — no charity shops or second hand outfits here) to the glamour, technology and global mix of the coca cola food oasis. But the atmosphere (as in the positive sense of the word) is not there, thousands of people avoiding eye contact and communication (but maintaining style checks on each other), a mixture of lethargy and a gluttony of excess. Not just a million miles away from my football ground, but a million miles away from the morning markets in town hawking cheap vegetables and second-hand clothes.

The 'mallification' of football grounds would be a shrewd move in the attack on football culture. Why try to control the actions of people who are in an agitated and threatening state of mind, when you can control their state of mind directly? The all-seater stadium and the purpose-built leisure complex is a direct attack on the mental set of the supporter, using the convenience of run-down amenities (run down by the greed of the clubs themselves) to justify itself. The media talks about the positive aspects of the Taylor report which is little more than using the Hillsboro disaster to shit on the people most concerned and horrified about the disaster itself. We must never forget that nearly a 100 supporters died, and many others suffered immense pain, because of a foul up between the football authorities preventing the possible loss of some of their income and the police dealing out the type of treatment they have been get-

ting away with for years. How would this 'mallification' manifest itself? The keywords are shopping and leisure (the new forms of leisure)... arrive at some wasteland project out of town and connected by a fast new road, a guaranteed parking place within five minutes of the stadium-complex) what do you mean you enjoy walking to the ground?, the chance to do a bit of shopping in the club shops (new team fleeces and a fourth away strip just in stock!) or any of the similar sports shops, the chance to grab a bite to eat at the latest 25-till computerised Macdonalds/Pizza Hut, and then you can plonk your backside in a bucket seat — a splendid view just beneath the main stand executive boxes — to take in the pre-match entertainment. But don't worry, we can keep the atmosphere by building the stands close to the pitch and letting the corners hug the pitch perimeter! But what about that exquisite state of mind that you used to acquire while making your way to the match, the feast of communication transmitted and received, the buzz that lasts well into the evening?

### Clout

It is this culture that gives clout to the sense of tradition that we try to explain, a tradition that enriches the atmosphere

## Class War and sport

**IN THEIR ENDLESS pursuit of the perfect romance with all that is working class (be it 'genuine' or stereotyped) Class War have no hesitation in appealing to the football fan as part of its political platform.**

Their coverage used to consist of reports of hospitalised coppers and imaginative terrace chants, and this used to sit quite merrily alongside stories of the queen mother being a werewolf etc. As the paper tried to develop an ideological angle it opted for a program of working class 'culture' and community-based struggles, and the fight of football fans against government proposals (the ID card bill) and greedy chairmen (eg Maxwell at Derby) encapsulated both culture and community. Can we really expect a political autopsy of football without facing contradictions, and how can we consider, as communists, the difference between supporting football teams as a community of interest and engaging in the class struggle against evil boardrooms. At most clubs throughout the country the boardroom is under fire because it won't spend vast amounts of cash on transfer fees and huge wages, and on the surface this seems to annoy the fans as much as the boardrooms that impose increased admission prices and yuppified stadiums. @Reclaim the game@ is nothing more than sheer populism which falls

at our football matches. Personally I do not think that the atmosphere will be recreated in a new super stadium on some re-developed wasteland, because the atmosphere is so much more than the 90 minutes' playing time. But we are heading into the whole new ball game era, where money, products and brand names do all the talking. The old is being cleared out for the new, making it safe for the business faces and media moguls to vest their precious millions in.

And so is there a realistic concessionary measure of atmosphere within all of this, as this is what the original argument for and against the move was based on? In truth it is a difference in definitions, on the one side we have a rich vein of autonomous and mutated culture, and on the other we have the new culture of total entertainment (to mask total control).

The latter will always have the ability to try to appeal to the former, opening some dialogue around architecture and design, under the auspices of the democracy we are all lucky enough to live in. And anyone not happy will be dismissed as 'traditionalists' longing for a bygone era that hasn't quite passed by. Well, not yet anyway.

*We will have further articles on sport in the next issue.*

apart at the slightest analysis. I enjoy spectating on a team of wealthy superstars as much as I enjoy my twice-weekly kickabout with my mates, but I don't see any logical similarity between the two and I certainly don't want to reclaim one into the other.

Recent events have been even more surprising: Class War described the rumour at Millwall v Derby as not a particularly good night out, it bloody wasn't, as Derby fans were ambushed with baseball bats and black players were showered with a torrent of racist abuse. They also declared the highlight as the trashing of Radio Derby's van... well how much of football culture involves dependence on the local radio for those matches you can't get to? Does it logically follow that come the revolution Brian Moore will be first up against the wall?

Class War have also taken to defending boxing due to its working class tradition. Certainly one of the most amusing spectacles recently occurred at the NEC during the Mac Cracken Foster fight when the boxing was held up as rival football gangs were at it hammer and nail in the aisles using fists, boots, chairs and steel bars! Oh well, all in the name of reclaiming the game.

*Communist Headache can be contacted at PO BOX 446, Sheffield S1 1NY.*

### Dear Organise!

The article in Issue 37, warning against 'moral panics', ought to have been shown to the individual responsible for the pieces on pornography and the sex industry. Then we might have been spared two pages of unadulterated crap and could have read something up to your usual standards. Having let off steam, I can face the gruesome task of picking through the rubbish piece by piece.

"Punters often bring pornographic magazines to show prostitutes what they want to do". Apparently this is because the 'sex industry' thinks that all women are whores (shock horror). Listen, E.T... on this planet practically everybody is a whore of one kind or another. That is, they will do all sorts of disgusting things for money. Some people sell or portray sex for money. Others sell food, medical care, housing, drugs, weapons, religion for money. Why is it the sale of sex especially outrages this clown?

"Our sexuality is deeply personal. While sexual acts with others are a basic act of communism, as we freely give ourselves in a mutual exchange of pleasure". Well that must be fine for s/he or it on their planet, but in the real world this wonderful state does not exist for a great many people. Sex being a basic human drive they must therefore either go without (easier for some than others) or settle for whatever compensations they can get.

"The sex industry is highly patriarchal. It promotes...the male as the fucker, the female as the fucked". Yes and sometimes the other way round too. But that fact is inconvenient isn't it? If the sex industry tried to sell any fetish or 'perversion' that customers didn't want, it would soon be out of business. You can't change sexual tastes by propaganda. But apparently only politically correct 'mutual sex' is permissible to the writer.

The double-think in the next paragraph is truly classic. Having displayed all the human understanding of a fundamentalist bible-thumper, the writer warns us against our 'moral guardians' the church and the state. What about the 'moral guardians' pictured below who apparently believe that liberation will be achieved by ripping up harmless magazines containing pictures of naked women?

It does not occur to these morons that any sort of literature can be ripped up. The price of freedom to distribute our own ideas is tolerating other peoples. What if *Playboy* or *Penthouse* were to suggest their readers went around trashing feminist literature? That's what I would do if I were them and they have a damn sight more readers than any feminist or anarchist mags do.

The gist of the rest of the first article, that all prostitutes are

conscripted by a combination of force and drug addiction, and that any act committed by a client is rape (I wonder what victims of real rape think of that idea) is so ridiculous that I'm not going to bother to argue with it.

I'm not trying to pretend that the sex industry is some sort of humanitarian social service or that it does not damage some people. But why should it be singled out? Don't practically all capitalist industries damage their workers, destroy the environment and exploit poverty?

As for the piece on pornography, if you want to argue porn leads to rape and other sex-crimes, it's a theory, but it doesn't explain why countries like the Netherlands and Japan, where pornography and prostitution are more freely available than in the UK, have lower rates of sex-crime.

The second piece seems to be trying to blame pornography for every evil under the sun. Racism — apparently a preference for black, Asian or Oriental women is a 'fetish'. What about a preference for blondes, brunettes, red-heads? If only white women appeared in pornography would that be non-racist? Sorry, I forgot, we aren't allowed sexual preferences any more. Come the revolution we will be assigned sexual partners by anarchist-feminist social workers after demonstrating that we perform only permissible acts in the approved non-sexist way. (Yeah, I'm getting carried away).

The point I'm really getting to is that the average punter, attracted to a re-cycled copy of *Organise!* by the naked man and 'pornography' on the cover (you wouldn't have dared to use a naked woman would you?) will turn to the article in question and find themselves confronted with the ravings of a sex-obsessed crank. Another piece of mostly worthwhile propaganda bites the dust. It would have been better to put the far more sensible Avedon Carol interview first and used the other as an example of the kind of lunacy she was talking about.

Depriving people of sex-magazines and videos will not lead to individuals going out to form 'relationships' in their 'community' or to protest about East Timor etc. Most of the evils attributed to the 'sex industry' are due to something else, poverty. That being so, it would be more useful for Anarchists and Feminists to direct their propaganda or even some of that famous direct action into campaigns for realistic benefits, pensions and minimum wages than to preach the sort of moralistic delusions worthy of the right wing press.

By the way, I'm not a rapist, pornographer or pimp, I'm on the dole. You've no idea what a hassle it is to get your giro cashed in Bangkok!

*Yours etc, JW, East Ham*

**Article writer replies:** This, unfortunately, is fairly representative of the level of debate on this subject. Personal abuse is not argument. Also, the idea the sex industry is being singled out for criticism when everyone is abused by capitalism is nonsense. *Organise!* covers a wide range of subjects, why pick on one? It's called analysis. All exploitation outrages me, not just the sexual kind, but few workers are quite so blatantly exploited as sex workers.

Punters using porn to direct prostitutes are not differentiating between the two groups, but using them all as their own sexual tools. There is very little porn where women are in a dominant position unless of course the man wants it that way, and then they are not really dominant at all. Porn commodifies sex by fetishising differences, for example hair colour, race or clothing. Porn uses racist stereotypes implying that coloured people are more animalistic. This is not sexual preference, it is sexual commodification.

Porn does not cause rape, but it is often a contributory factor because of the way it portrays women. Most rape takes place in the home where these ideas affect people's attitudes. Also many serial rapists and killers have fixations with porn, though many other factors are involved in their behaviour.

Capitalists spend billions on marketing/propaganda to influence ideas and demand. Media barons are hugely powerful because they control ideas. Sex for capitalism is a commodity. The product is constantly updated and customers are encouraged to find their particular niche in the market. People get their sexual ideas from society, porn influences these ideas.

The mass media controls thought and opinion pretty effectively, porn magazines do attack feminist ideas if you read them. It seems to be okay to forcibly silence the likes of fascists, so why not porn? Whenever action against porn is mentioned its apologists immediately start screaming about free speech and censorship. Defending the 'rights' of capitalists is liberal crap. They are only harmless in your opinion, which is not an opinion held by many other people.

The article illustrated how sex is increasingly used by the mainstream media to titillate while providing no real information. While we are being told about the irrelevant sexual antics of minor celebrities, the capitalists are left free to plunder.

Using other people for your sexual whims is blatant exploitation (try masturbation instead!) Given a real choice would you choose to sell your body? People are forced into prostitution mainly by economic necessity and also sometimes by violent part-

ners, and many prostitutes do use drink and/or drugs to desensitise themselves, because believe it or not they don't enjoy being fucked by anyone with a few quid.

You cannot deny exploitation merely by dismissing every indicator suggesting exploitation. That is just conscience salving. If you actually have an argument then substantiate it, this letter is merely excuses and opinion without substance.

If we are ever to see an anarchist communist society then people are going to have to take responsibility for their own actions and consider the effects they are having on others. Sex is not an exception to this!

### Dear AFC, [Sic]

In your issue No 36 Oct-Dec 94 you published an article entitled 'The Working Class Against the ANC', in it you attack groups and parties on the far left as being "Capitalism's last line of Defence" and also of enthusiastically supporting a vote for the ANC-SACP-COSATU Alliance before the election, then suddenly discovering after the election that this alliance was betraying the working class.

While we cannot speak for other groups or parties, we must protest at this description being applied to the WRP (Workers' Press). Not only did the Workers' International of which the WRP (Workers' Press) is the British Section stand candidates against this alliance, but for years before fought internationally against the ANC's torturing of their own members who disagreed with their policies. See the enclosed pamphlet *Mutiny in the ANC 1984*. We have included some back copies of Workers' Press containing articles and statements with the relative dates and passages highlighted from before, during and after the election attacking the ANC Alliance. See also the Election Manifesto of the South African Workers' International in Workers' Press dated 26th February '94 and the election issue of *The Worker* (Workers' International of Namibia) with solidarity statement and statement on the ANC-SACP Alliance highlighted.

Our comrades who were candidates in the South African and Namibian elections were at times threatened with their lives and showed great courage in their stand against the ANC-Stalinist Alliance. The comments in your publication do you no credit. While we do not expect agreement on our respective policies, printing lies does not take the working class forward one inch. If you have any political principles, you will print this letter in your next issue together with your correction.

*NB I am a member of the WRP (Workers' Press)*  
**Eds reply:** Yes, we did make a serious mistake by saying that the WRP supported the ANC-SACP-

COSATU alliance. We can assure our readers that everything else in the article was accurate! However going back to the WRP — or the Workers' International as they insist on calling their South African section, standing their own candidates in the election, let's look at some of the positions they stood on. The WI calls for the withdrawal of COSATU from the government alliance. This is meaningless — the COSATU leaders are almost completely members of ANC and/or SACP and would not allow this to happen. Even if they were not members of these parties, the fact that COSATU is co-managing South African capitalism shows how the trade unions are as much a part of heading off working class revolt in South Africa as anywhere throughout the West. Such a demand creates illusions in the trade unions as indeed does the electoralism of the WRP and its sister sections. They give credibility to bourgeois democracy by participating in election farces (incidentally the WRP have consistently called for a 'critical' vote for Labour in this country — not a last line of defence for capitalism? — who are you kidding?). On to some of the other demands like the call for a revolutionary workers' state and nationalisation under workers' control. The illusion that somehow the State is a body that can be captured and successfully used as an institution of liberation goes against all that we have seen in the past century. Do you really think that nationalisation of the land, farms, banks and all other sections of big business means that the working class will collectively own and control them? No, it is the capitalist State that will control them. Finally, it ill behoves the WRP to accuse us of lies (lack of research — yes!) when

#### MILITARISM

Cont from back page

from the cost of developing and maintaining the military in peacetime (how many jet fighters equal a hospital) the cost in war time is measured in blood. Workers' blood. It is an undoubted truth that anti-war movements organised by official trade union and labour movements have usually at best been hopeless failures and at worst, complete betrayals. The ignominious collapse of the Second International's policy to oppose the so-called Great War of 1914-18 comes into this category.

It is perhaps the constant and subtle techniques of mass persuasion which accounts for the apparent enthusiasm for wars by large sections of the working class. This misplaced faith in the State and the Nation has had disastrous consequences. Given the current capacities of the nuclear war machine, a future major war could prove to be diabolical. The war against militarism has never been more important.

it is a remnant of the gangster organisation led by Gerry Healy, and counts Cliff Slaughter as its leader. This was the man who slavishly followed all of Healy's instructions, who devotedly churned out hatchet job after hatchet job on the WRP's political enemies, who sat on the WRP Central Committee that year after year chose to ignore Healy's sexual abuse and rape of young female Party members, the self-same Central Committee which turned over scores of Iraqi workers to be horrifically tortured to death by Saddam's secret police so that it could get funding.

#### Dear Editor

Last December ten women from our group, Bristol Women Against Pornography, held an action at Menzies in Temple Meads Station during rush hour. This involved ripping up the pornographic magazines on the station forecourt. Some women handed out leaflets and talked to the public who were generally sympathetic.

Five of us were arrested and charged with criminal damage. We are pleading not guilty because we believe that by our actions were preventing greater crimes from being committed. Pornography causes the rape, torture, sexual abuse and murder of women and children.

In compiling our defence we are trying to raise funds for expenses; child care for defendants, general administrative costs and potential fines. If you would like to support us please send any donations with cheques made payable to Bristol Women Against Pornography, Box 13, Greenleaf Bookshop, 82 Colston St, Bristol BS1 5BB.

Thank you  
RS for Bristol Women Against  
Pornography

#### Ticket to poverty

##### Dear Organise!

Anyone tempted to play the National Lottery might be advised to consider the political implications. A lottery ticket is the ultimate capitalist commodity. It costs £1 and is an absolutely worthless piece of paper to all but a small percentage of 'winners'. Such is the nature of all capitalist commodities to a degree. The consumer pays for profits to make the board members, owners, investors etc very rich wherever possible. The surplus value on a lottery ticket is virtually 100% for most tickets. The fact that a percentage is given to charity is virtually irrelevant. No charity could ever cover the costs of the capitalist profit/poverty syndrome.

AA (Edinburgh)

**Eds reply:** We draw readers' attention to the following quote from George Orwell's 1984: "The Lottery, with its weekly pay-out of enormous prizes, was the one public event to which the proles paid

serious attention. It was probable that there were some millions of proles for whom the Lottery was the principal if not the only reason for remaining alive. It was their delight, their folly, their anodyne, their intellectual stimulant. Where the Lottery was concerned, even people who could barely read and write seemed capable of intricate calculations and staggering feats of memory. There was a whole tribe of men who made a living simply by selling systems, forecasts and lucky amulets."

#### Canadian confusion

##### Dear ACF,

Greetings from Canada! First of all I'd like to say that I think *Organise!* is a great magazine. I always look forward to reading it and it is always full of information and revolutionary spirit.

Secondly, continuous revision of our ideas is necessary for any revolutionary process. I believe that the ACF and many other anarchists need to change the way they look at national liberation movements. You must realise that people of colour have their own cultures of resistance. Many so-called anarchists have been openly antagonistic towards national liberation movements like Black Nationalism and native sovereignty. Being opposed to national liberation struggles means being opposed to Puerto Rico's struggle against Amerikkkan political, economic and military domination. You are also opposing Palestinians' fight for a homeland. What about the national liberation movements that freed Africa from European domination? What about the Vietnam war of liberation against French and Amerikkkan imperialism? Why do some anarchists oppose national liberation struggles? Is it because they can't control them, or is it because of a subtle kind of racism? Revolutionary anarchist and ex-Black Panther Kuwasi Balagoon once explained why anarchists should support national liberation movements: "It is not only racism but compliance with the enemy to stand outside the social arena and permit Amerikkka to practice genocide against the 'Third' World captive colonies because although they resist, 'they' don't agree with 'us'". As anarchists, if we ever want to advance the revolutionary process then we all should support national liberation movements, fight white supremacy, and work to bring about communities that respect cultural diversity.

KK, Ontario, Canada

**Eds reply:** Well in fact, the ACF is in a minority in its positions on national liberation. Too many anarchists are either ambivalent, confused or take a favourable attitude to national liberation. Why is the guilt-trip of "You must be racist not to support national liberation" always brought up? (See

previous correspondence in *Organise!* in particular No 32.) Are you really serious when you talk about Africa being freed from European domination? Don't you think that the European powers, and indeed international capitalism, still dominate Africa directly through armed intervention — the French within their very wide sphere of influence in their old colonies, and the US and France-Germany through their intervention in Somalia? Don't you think that Africa is still dominated by the commands of international capitalism, through the World Bank and the IMF? Do you think things really changed when 'independence' was achieved in the African countries that had been European colonies? Take Kenya for example — one of the first colonies to break from the British. Now an alliance was formed between the European imperialists and a class of newly-propertied Africans, and the exploitation continued (read Ngugi wa Thiong'o's novels on Kenya — an African not blinded by guilt who can see the reality of exploitation).

This was the pattern all over Africa. Many used the genuine desire for liberty and equality amongst peasants and workers to come to power. Kenyatta could not denounce the Mau Mau forest fighters and the peasant insurrection without committing political suicide, but he neither wished to support it or be compromised by it, only to profit from it for his own political ends.

The nation-states built on the frontiers decided by the colonialists saw the immense cultural richness and diversity of Africa as weaknesses, and new forms of authoritarian rule were perfected to keep these artificial nation-states together.

National liberation movements were movements of the newly-emergent or about to emerge ruling class. They sought to channel the forces of peasants and workers to their own ends. Inevitably there were those who wished to establish capitalist models immediately, and those who adopted Marxist-Leninist rhetoric to establish command economies more or less on the East European model. This reflected the power struggle between the two major power-blocs at the time.

We do not support national liberation precisely because we are revolutionary internationalists. We support the actions of the Palestinian masses where they break with the politics of the new ruling class under Arafat or with the rival would-be ruling factions under the control of Syria or Iran, and where they break with the forces of Islamic fundamentalist obscurantism and reaction. We support the actions of the working masses wherever they fight both the forces of colonial occupiers and the home-grown ruling class

Continued overleaf

# 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.)

Deadlines for next issue are 3rd June for features and reviews, and 10th June for letters and news.

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

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ing out, our pamphlet publishing venture carries on, and our new posters and stickers appear. So rush any sum, no matter how large or how small, to us. Everything will be gratefully received. Send us cheques, POs, IMOs, stamps, diamond necklaces, gold doubloons!

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## ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION

**THE ANARCHIST COMMUNIST Federation is an organisation of class struggle anarchists.**

We have members and

groups throughout England, Northern Ireland, Scotland and Wales. Please write to the national address if you want to be put in contact.

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and attempt to create a free communist society. But this is not national liberation but international revolution. As it says in the latest *Proletarian Gob*: "It is condescension or a form of racism that allows anarchists to support national liberation movements in other countries, when they should know that the interests of these movements are opposed to those of workers (us)!".

### It's only natural!

#### Dear Organise!

I fear that the writer of the Aspects of Anarchism article on Human Nature (no 37) has grabbed the wrong end of the cliché. If human nature is fundamentally good and can be ameliorated by increasing knowledge then we all could sit back and leave the onerous task of running our lives to the great and good, their heads overflowing with brains. Alas and alack, the history of hierarchical societies shows that leaders seldom exhibit greater benevolence to others than to themselves. In fact anarchist communism is pessimistic in outlook, mistrusting

the nature of both leaderships and individuals in the form of the market whose self-interest decides against theoretically combining to give an outcome of optimal utility for all. The unemployed, homeless and impoverished are well aware of this.

Of course human nature is not all of one colour, either good or bad. In fact our view of what human nature is predisposed to, is more determined by our political beliefs than the other way round. Human nature is not a quantifiable fact and if it were, we should still be wary of the naturalistic fallacy of deducing what ought to be from what actually is. Aristotle for example, thought slavery natural because all the societies he studied had slaves. Neither does anarchist communism come from idle speculation of abstract concepts that would make an 'ideal' society. Where anarchist communism's theory and practice ultimately differ from other political theories is that we are not propounding a view of human nature or form of future society but inviting people to make it themselves.

AM (Sidcup)