REVOLUTIONARY VIOLENCE

THE ISSUE OF violence within the anarchist movement has long been controversial. The early anarchist movement associated with Bakunin was openly insurrectionary and the anarchist communists of the late 19th century regarded acts of terror against oppressors as perfectly legitimate. Kropotkin, Malatesta, Most and others enthused over acts of ‘propaganda by the deed’. This idea stressed the importance of exemplary actions like strikes, occupations of public buildings etc. by small groups of revolutionaries that would ignite an already revolutionary situation. It very quickly turned into the idea of determined individuals carrying out individual attacks on kings, presidents and capitalists. Given the severe repression in France, for example, after the bloody crushing of the Paris Commune and where open activity was difficult, this was understandable. The State, through the media, was able to so closely associate violence with anarchism that the two ideas became almost interchangeable in the public mind, to the detriment of the movement. Today there are many so-called anarchists who reject the whole revolutionary tradition. So, how should revolutionary anarchists approach the issue?

The first point to make is that it is states acting in defence of privilege and exploitation that practice violence on a large scale. The assassinations of heads of state pale into insignificance in contrast to the normal, everyday actions of the State. In a real sense, states are organised violence. The armed forces, police, prisons and so on are institutional forms of violence used to protect the status quo. And the status quo is in itself violence for it means mass poverty, homelessness, poor health and despair. Should anyone question this legalised everyday terror they are met with the full repressive fist of the state.

State violence

And states are notcontent to inflict violence on their subject populations, but relish the opportunity to apply it to other peoples. The bombings of Hiroshimas and Nagasaki are perhaps the most horrific examples of this. Some leaders, such as Hitler and Stalin, excelled in murdering millions in both the domestic and external fields of operation. In this context, the bomb throwers and armed expropriators of our revolutionary history must be seen for what they were—heroic, if misguided, people acting in self-defence against ‘normal’ state violence.

With the exception of pacifists, most people accept self-defence as legitimate. To defend oneself or one’s family from an attack is readily understood and accepted. To defend the oppressed and exploited class is just an extension of this principle. To use appropriate and measured violence against the incarnation of violence which is the state, is no more than to launch a counter-attack. A violent insurrection or general strike must be seen in these terms—legitimate, justified and necessary self defence against the monster of the capitalist state. Anyone who refuses to acknowledge this, necessarily accepts the ‘right’ of the capitalist state to devour us.

A key point however, needs to be considered, namely that individual acts of violence, however well intentioned, justified by anger, poverty or despair are generally counter productive. Individual terror and group conspiracies are quite easily containable by the state. Rather than insuring the masses to insurrection, they have generally appalled them, especially given the huge propaganda machines available to oppressors.

Revolutionary mass violence is, however, a different thing if it expresses a determination to overthrow exploitation and oppression. And it takes various forms. The seizure of workplaces, banks and other property is inherently violent since it forcibly removes their possession from their owners. To not do so would be to capitulate to the system of exploitation. Anarchist revolutionaries define every method used by the oppressed against the enemy from peaceful and legal protest up to and including violent uprising. Violence as a goal in itself is justified and indeed in revolutionary situations working class people have tended to shrink from its use. Not so the state, which on finally securing victory, unleashes a reign of mass terror. Anyone doubting this should look at the aftermaths of the Paris Commune or the Spanish Civil War.

Revolutionary violence is the clear expression of the masses’ refusal to continue any longer with the old ways. Sometimes, however, determined minorities, often inspired by Marxist-Leninism, have managed to seize control of such movements for their own ends. The October Revolution of 1917 led to the creation of one of the world’s most brutal states. This mistake must not be repeated. Either the revolution is about smashing the state once and for all, or it merely brings about another form of oppression.

Attacks

During the last ten years, the working class has been subject to ever-increasing attacks. Mass unemployment is now seen as ‘normal’ by those unaffected by it. There has been a large redistribution of wealth from the poor to the rich, leaving millions in a state of near destitution. Exceptionally regressive taxes have driven millions into a hand to mouth existence. State inspired racist violence is common in some parts of our cities. Given this context, is it surprising that we have had outbreaks of near-insurrectionary violence? The poll tax riot was a clear and welcome expression of class anger, as were the ‘riot squads’ which immobilised vehicles and stood up to the police during the lengthy miners strike of 1984-85. When black people form self-defence groups against fascist attacks, they are justified. When demonstrators retaliate against police provocations they are justified. When a whole class rises up against the state and capitalism, it is justified.

When, later this year, we bear stories of old people freezing to death due to the imposition of value added tax on domestic fuel, perhaps those who condemn revolutionary violence will have a cause to think. Capitalism and the state aren’t going to go away or be reformed. They need to be destroyed, and unfortunately violence by the working class is almost certainly a necessary ingredient in this process.
Aims and principles

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

2. Capitalism is based on the exploitation and oppression of one section of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, gender, sexuality, health, disability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppress another. This divides us, creating a lack of class consciousness that benefits the ruling class.

3. Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action that challenges the capitalist and economic power relations. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as a political level.

4. We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other aspects of the class struggle. The union must be an anarchist international to work with other libertarian organisations throughout the world.

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

6. It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which is not enough to solve class conflict. The ruling class can be overthrown by its own workers.

7. Unions by their very nature cannot be used in the revolution for the transformation of capitalism. Unions are accepted by capitalism in order to function as part of the system. This means that unions are often used by employers to take part in the operation of the system. The anarchist communist movement fight against this and act independently of the system.

8. Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self-activity of the working class. An anarchist communist society will eliminate all forms of oppression and exploitation, sexual and racial discrimination, economic colonialism. We oppose the creation of new ruling classes, and work for the abolition of all hierarchy.

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 achieve this, and we support all groups working towards this.

The Leaders of RMT, the rail union, are anxious to come to some sort of deal with the Railtrack employers over the signals workers' pay and conditions. Railtrack, acting in the interests of the signal workers, is equally anxious to make an offer that the union might accept.

Railworkers

In Liverpool, chief fire officer Andrew Best attempted to impose new contracts on firefighters. Thousands of firefighters demonstrated on the streets in mid-April, joined by striking postal workers.

The FBU, the fire brigade union, eagerly accepted the chance of talks, and sabotaged the chances of gaining more. The contracts were withdrawn but Best is determined that wages are kept down and any cuts are imposed. If necessary he and other fire chiefs around the country will impose new terms on their workforce.

Postal workers

LIVERPOOL postal workers took unofficial strike action for five days in April against the suspension of a workmate.

Some 2,000 were involved in the action and the postie refused to answer calls unless a feud was settled between two rival factions.

The postal workers refused to return to work without an agreement to settle the dispute and a return to full working hours.

The 1994 disputes were significant for the way in which they demonstrated the power of the postal workers' union and the determination of the workers to defend their rights. The postal workers' union was able to negotiate a substantial increase in pay and conditions for its members.

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Firefighters

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The FBU will do its utmost to sabotage any escalating unofficial action. Unfortunately there are still many firefighters who have illusions in the FBU. Any effective action must involve action outside and against the union.

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ITALY

Victory of the Populist Right and Neo-fascists

THE ELECTIONS of March 26th and 28th in Italy led to the victory of the right/eextreme right alliance led by the businessman Berlusconi.

This alliance is composed of the Partito Forza Italia, the Northern League and the National Alliance (ex-MSI, fascist). They have an absolute majority in the Chamber of Deputies, and a relative majority in the Senate. The alliance of the left, the Progress party, could not bear the weight of the struggle beyond the maintaining of the seats of the PDS (ex-Communist Party) and some small gains for the Rifondazione Comunista (ex-Communist Party, hard right in a new party with actions of the extreme left).

Berlusconi created his party out of nothing in just two months thanks to his economic and media power, using his three radio channels, television channels directly and indirectly controlled by him, press agencies and newspapers. The 'political message' of this rich businessman consisted of simplistic and diametrical arguments digested by a potential mass of voters alienated by the political parties and conditioned to a great extent by the media. The magic word is 'new' and all the political parties are using this word against the parties on the up, ready to clean up the old system.

Not So New!

But Berlusconi is far from new. He owes his economic fortune to the support of the Christian Democrats and Socialist Party that ruled up to recent years, and in particular his 'godfather' Bettino Craxi, ex-secretary of the Socialist Party, affected like so many others by recent financial 'scandals'.

Apart from the lies about newness, the other slogans often used by the Socialists, the Christian Democrats, the Communists, the Right, and the Socialists, are 'the new government', 'the new democracy', 'the new economy', etc. These 'newness', the other slogans are simply a ploy in order to mask the weakness of a revolution that is immediately expected to be launched against the weakness of a revolution that is immediately expected to be launched against the system. The newness is nothing but the meat of the old system under a new name.

The Socialist Party has collapsed under the weight of the scandals and they are looking for influence through other political entities.

The victory of the right was also due to the defeat of the green left. Italian capitalism had to change the collocation of Christian Democratic patronage and the 'scandal's' control over a major part of the world - the collapse of the East European regimes. The situation imposed by the USA on Italy, which barred the Communist Party from managing the government, stability which resulted in a 'historic interest of the working class, and now began to talk about a social interest'. Then the then activity of the judges and the number of Italian Communist officials implicated was small in regard to the other side.
PERIODICALLY, RWANDA AND Burundi hit the pages of the Western papers with the same images of massacres and mass waves of refugees. The journalists fill page after page with re-iterations of primitive tribalism, which they see as responsible for the instability of these two States, with the recurring undercurrent of nationalism, racism which makes Africans into big children who haven't grown out of it yet. This undercurrent allows the West to wallow comfortably in its self-titled economic superiority, a spurious and racial superiority. But if we want to really understand the tragic events in these two countries we cannot ignore the colonial period and the massive effects that they have had on African societies. If we believed the papers, the Burundi region, which is now separated into the two countries of Rwanda and Burundi, always suffered from bloody confrontations between Hutus (80% of the population) and Tutsis (19%) since the beginning of time. Nothing could be further from the truth. Before colonisation, it was a kingdom reigning over more than 200 clans, whose different lineages were divided into four 'social categories' (Batutsi, Batutuka, Bagarwa and Batwa) which were more or less 'superclans' which had different vocations and which competed for the official posts ditched out by the courts of the king and the princes. The arrival of the colonials profoundly shocked this rigidly hierarchical society. First of all the colonists turned the 'social categories' (not classes in the strict sense) into races, in line with the racist and evolutionist theories of the 19th century. They opposed Tutsis to Hutus, seeing the first as the lords and conquerors, and the second as sedentary peasants. They laced this with large helpings of racial mumbo-jumbo, calling the Tutsis 'birds with one stone, but at the same time risk a many-sided confrontation. Already the Tutsi refugees live (the same as in Uganda) in a region controlled by the RPF and which is controlled by the radical Zairean opposition, who adopt fiercely anti-French language.

The French hope to kill two birds with one stone, but at the same time risk a many-sided confrontation. Already the Zairean Army has led several incursions into the Tutsi population. If the French troops move into Rwanda, they will create a country of two zones, one controlled by the Hutus and one by the RPF. The French State shows itself ready to prop up dictatorship in a country in the name of democracy. Where 'democracy' has taken place those newly come to power quickly pledge allegiance to France. 

Déforestation of Indonesia: A Policy Driven by Greed and War

INDONESIA IS TO send a delegation on a PR visit to the European Parliament in April to shore up concerns about the massive environmental damage being inflicted by the timber trade on tribal peoples in Indonesia and to head off possible calls for wood import boycotts because of alleged indiscriminate logging.

The delegation — made up of a team of businesspeople in the industry — will, in the words of Indonesian trade minister, Bob Hasman, leader of the delegation and head of the Indonesian Forestry Committee, "explain to the European legislators at their session in April how Indonesia is taking good care of its rain forests. After gaining the right under the Convention on Biological Diversity, we have spent millions earned from the sale of Indonesian timber (to eager customers such as the UK, which will hypocritically buy while going through the motions of expressing its environmental concern) both enriching America already unjustly wealthy and funding the purchase of arms that are used not only to cordon the Indonesian peoples themselves, but also to perpetuate the 20-year-old institutionalised killings of the peoples of East Timor."

Solidarity

We express our solidarity with the poor of Indonesia and the criminally oppressed victims of Indonesia's genocidal war in East Timor, and we uncompromisingly condemn the suicidal policy of greed-driven deforestation.

Plural societies

As we can see, to put the problems down to tribalism is dangerous as they obscure the fact that pre-colonial Africa was not made up of unified eth- nic, cultural and linguistic units, but of plural societies living in interdependence.

The new idea of ethnic identity linked to political allegiances was a result of colonisation. The post-colonial states were founded on ethnic identity, which gave riches and privileges to the right group. After the Belgians left, the two countries took different directions. In Burundi, the Hutus held on to their privileges, whereas the Tutsi took power in Rwanda.

Burundi, the history of the last 30 years is that of political instability. The single Party, UPRONA, with the help of the Army maintained Tutsi supremacy. The Hutus paid dearly for this — 80% of their leaders were murdered in 1965 (23 of whom were MPs who had assured their majority in Parliament), 200,000 were butchered in 1972. Their next door neighbour Rwanda, was subdued into an inter-minority fights between Hutu factions, because most of the minority Hutus and Tutsi population had pre-farmed exile to death. The two States used the colonials' false version of their history. In Burundi they insisted on the traditional superior- ity of the Tutsi. In Rwanda, they emphasised the stages of Hutu emancipation from Tutsi domination.

In Rwanda a vicious form of state racism was maintained with a politised quotas and identity papers giving 'ethnic' origin. The Rwandan revolution of 1959-61 overthrew a feudal and colonial regime and it failed to destroy the myth of the 'racial difference between Hutu and Tutsi'.

Things are better hard in Burundi. If there is no mention of 'ethnic' identity on identity papers, it is because power is in the hands of a minority. A Hutu faction rules over more than the masses of population in Rwanda calling it people's power, whilst the Tutsi minority in Burundi call for national unity to mask their domination.

Turning point

The attack that cost the lives of Presidents Habariyama of Rwanda and Ntaryamira of Burundi came during a chaotic period. For the first time, Burundi had elected a Hutu President, a consequence of the democratisa- tion in course. But Mel- chior Ndayeye was murdered after the collapse of Ntaryamira, also a Hutu, failed to calm things down, and Hutu armed frac- tions began to confront the Army, mainly Tutsi, on a daily basis. In Rwanda the state was involved in guerilla war- fare and the Rwanda Patri-otic Front from 1990. The RPF, talked about its anti- dictatorship stand, but had difficulty in getting rid of the Hutu label it had been saddled with. The majority of the guer- illaus are exiles who served in the Ugandan Army. As for the involvement of the French State, its support for the dictator Habarimana has never been denied. Sev- eral hundred soldiers of the Force d'action rapide were per- manently stationed in Bangui (Central African Republic) and inter- vented in the Rwandan capital to protect the 400 French there and bolster the Rwandan government at the same time. Habarimana was a close friend of the Mitterrand family.

Now 2,500 French soldiers are intervening there under the cover of 'honour, decency, prudence'. Practically all the French politicians of left and right backed this interven- tion. The RPF is a 'terror- rary' and 'exceptional' mission to protect the civil popu- lation who are fleeing from the East to the West of the country away from the war between the Government and the RPF. But this intervention has been ap- proved by the 'peace paper' of the UN. Once more France acts as the go-between of Africa with the consent of the USA and of Russia. To help this come about, France is once again cuddling up with Mobutu, the President of Zaire, who has reaped all the benefits of all civil and military cooperation, and are keeping his State with financial con- tributions. And all this while Mobutu carries on his own ethnic purification (mass murder) in Katanga (where he is no longer a BaBabu). But if we believed the papers, the President of Zaire is also the man that had saved the Ugandan Army, the one that had saved the Ugandan Army, the one that had saved all the democ- raties in the Great Powers.

New markets

The United States is newly involved in Africa. No longer is this through the funding of anti-Communist forces but as a financial power eager for poten- tial markets, as is happening in South Africa (see Organise! No. 33). France that now control Africa in competition or concurrence with the Great Powers, with the risk of certain African leaders selling themselves to the French for a little pay (as has happened or been threatened by Mobutu, Bongo, etc) and the United Nations and the European Community aid in Somalia yesterday, Wednesday — and the def- ence of International Law — Kuwait yesterday, tomorrow? — are maintaining or consolidating the zones of influ- ence of the Great Powers.

INTL
France

Mass Action Against Wage Cuts

The government of Balladur attempted to reduce the minimum national wage for people under 20 by 20%. This was to apply only to people with less than two years' higher education and was designed to increase divisions based on qualifications.

Since the end of the '70s, the crisis does not seem to have greatly affected the capitalists, whose profits boomed. At the same time, the attacks on the government, the bourgeoisie in general and the unemployed shook all this.

Unlike in 1968, the school students, students and the unemployed (especially in Lyon) were well thought out. This movement had its contradictions. Some students, united in the student union IUT and BTS, said they did not want to be paid like 'supermarket cashiers'. On the other hand, in further education and technical colleges working class students strongly contributed to giving the mobilisation a radical character (especially in Lyon) even if others, less disadvantaged by their social background, were put forward as spokespeople for the media. Also to be noted were the greater number of students in and around Lyon, noticeable in comparison to the movement of 1986 — who saw that university diplomas were no longer necessary a passport to a more privileged social position. Most present students are future wage earners concerned by the increasing growth of temporary and part-time work or are future capitalists.

The government, speaking through the mouthpiece of the mass media, attempted to split the movement by denouncing the communists and split it up to demonstrations as outsiders to a 'responsible' movement. The students (breakers) are alienated working class youth from the inner cities and suburbs who have vented their rage at their miserable existences by breaking shop-windows during the demonstrations. The accusations of the government were well thought out.

Facing a mass spontaneous movement that was out of the control of the student unions and the political parties, the old bugbear of outside agitators was conjured up just like in May 1968. In actual fact, severe police provocation had led to defensive violence which ignited this outbreak of anger. This indicates a very deep despair and anger in French society. But it also indicates the absence of political perspectives going beyond the simple repel of a law. This is thanks to the lack of a real social movement able to propose an alternative to capitalist logic at the level of ideas and action.

A tie-up with the workplaces did not come about despite a simmering tension in many workplaces. All the same, the potential for this was higher than in May 1968, when a fringe of radicalised students called for such a link-up, but when the student movement and the workers' general strike developed simultaneously but with different dynamics and aims. The Spartacists of the Communist Party (PCF) and the union Trotskyists infiltrating the movement on TV and in the press. Certainly at Nantes, where 20,000 mobilised, the libertarian movement was well implanted, not as outsiders but as activists. They were able to spread their ideas widely and make a strong presence. Here, the streets were occupied four times in a week, despite police attacks and many arrests. Indeed, there and at Lyon the situation was semi-insurrectional.

The French libertarian movement has been enthusiastic by the new movement. There seems to be a great determination to break out of the ghetto and spread revolutionary ideas amongst the mass of the population. As two Nantes comrades noted: "That the anarchist-communists that we are, can act and make politics, on bases other than manoeuvres of committees and declarations of principles, that this way of acting and of thinking in concert with the greatest number of people possible allows the opening of the political debate, the struggle of collective action, and that far from isolating us, general, coherent mobilisations, revolutionary positions, can have a widespread response, allow a globalisation of separated struggles, reinforce the social movements and allow the emergence of an anti-capitalist and libertarian political current."

Freedom

CARS AGEDDON

In part two of our series on traffic (see Organishe! 34 for part 1), we look at the social and health effects of traffic. In the next issue we conclude by looking at false solutions and opposition to the traffic system.

Capitalism wants motor traffic for profit for the road lobby and for the rapid movement of goods and people (as either workers or consumers). Mobility madness also derives from the need of the business people to commute within and between the zones of power in each city to make business decisions. Cars also promise individuals freedom of movement and are important status and identity symbols.

Motorisation

Cities and towns of the past were built to the scale of the walking person, and pedestrians, vehicle users, horse, cart, carriage cycle, bus, car, lorry had the same physical access to buildings. This equality has disappeared with the increasing speed (and volume) of motor traffic. Along main arterial roads barriers are put up to speed traffic flow and prevent pedestrians from crossing and motorists from parking; cars and bus passengers can no longer use local shops.

The next stage is a hypermarket opens elsewhere killing off small shops and forcing pedestrians and bus users to shop there or go to the more expensive shops in their estates (with the monopoly of local trade). Arterial roads have two functions — to take people in and out of cities, and to be the lifeline of all the towns along their route, providing shops, schools, pulse etc. This latter function is lost as the barriers turn arteries into freeways and towns along the route become blighted and dis-coloured, mentalised, area by area. At the core a hostile city centre defended by an urban motorway, its inhabitants gone. It is surrounded by a series of of enclosed camps squeezed in by arteries which have become freeways. People can only enter or leave the city at controlled exit points to
Space

Speed consumes distance: forms of transport occupy space, and the faster they are, the more space they need. A car travelling 40 kilometres an hour (kph) requires more than three times as much space as one travelling at 10 kph; a single person driving a car at 10 kph needs six times as much space as a cyclist traversing at the same speed. Germany's cars (including driving and parking) commandeer 3700 square kilometres of space, 60% more than that occupied by housing. Each German car is responsible for 200 square kilometres of tarmac and concrete.

The radius of activity of the well off has expanded immeasurably over the last 30 years; that of the poor has changed very little. The emphasis on speed and 'time saving' leads to transport and planning policies where basic facilities such as shops, schools, leisure and work are spaced widely apart. Most people feel that they have less time despite faster means of transport. Those without cars (35% of the population in the UK) and those who do not have access to them during the day, must spend time searching for other facilities, waiting for buses, trains or friends who can give them lifts, or walking. The working class, women, children and people with disabilities are particularly affected. For women traveling alone after dark there are the potential dangers of waiting at bus stops, for late trains (more dangerous after years of cuts due to lack of guards and conductors), or using underpasses which prioritise the motorist at the expense of the pedestrian. Women are also more likely to have the main responsibility for children in hostile urban environments (including escorting duties necessitated by the danger from traffic). In Britain women spend thousands of hours escorting children, at a cost of £10 billion a year (using Department of Transport cost benefit criteria).

Community

Ordinary but diverse contact is important to people's well being. Traffic affects the number of friends and acquaintances that people have — the more the traffic, the less the contacts. Streets with lighter traffic (around 2000 vehicles a year) have close knit communities where residents make full use of the street — sitting and chatting on front steps, children using pavements for play and teenagers and adults hanging out and chatting on the street.

With medium traffic flow (about 8000 vehicles a year) there is a decline in street use, though friendliness and involvement remain. With heavy traffic flow (over 16,000 vehicles a year) the street is used solely as a corridor between the sanctuaries of individual homes and the outside world. There is no feeling of community and residents keep to themselves. There is alienation and alienation. In this process the street is the first to go.

Motorists view pedestrians, cyclists and children playing in the street as inconveniences on their space. As the volume (and speed) of traffic increases, their attitude becomes more ruthless. People's use of the pavement is the next to go, due to the noise, air pollution and vibration caused. The street loses its attraction to people — children abandon their play space (and adults keep them inside), and adults drive rather than walk.

With heavy traffic residents abandon their front gardens and front rooms in a retreat from vibration and noise. Finally people become 'traffic refugees' and abandon their homes, moving to quieter areas. Poorer people are left behind, trapped and condemned to blight.

The refugees are replaced by more poor people — those who can't afford to buy or rent elsewhere. The street is now deserted and alienation leads to greater anti-social crime. As thefts and assaults increase, people take refuge in cars, putting another twist on the downward spiral.

Advertising: The Poetry of Capitalism

CAPITALISM IS A system that seems impossible to crack. Its strength is in the inability of its only opponents (the working-class) to wake up from their induced lethargy. A subtle interplay of media manipulation keeps us passive, inanimate and impotent. For the purpose of this article I want to focus on the heart of this intellectual lobotomy: advertising.

Personally I feel mainstream advertising to be the antithesis of everything creative and artistic in society. For capitalism to sell unnecessary products, it needs to create artificial appetites. It has to stimulate craving for this "poor life" (please note that by 'unnecessary produce' I mean such indispensible necessities as blenders, remote control folding beds and 15-minute car polish and other such items we couldn't live without).

So as usual we have the creation of the modern advertising industry. Around the time of the beginning of mass production advertising skyrocketed into a global billion-dollar industry. With the development of new technology (TV, computers, video disc, satellite communications etc) advertising found ever more accommodating outlets for its main targets you and I.

Manipulation

By now I'm sure that one question is on your mind: "What's so bad about advertising?" There are several answers to this. Firstly advertising is manipulative. TV and newspaper ads entice us with concocted images of sumptuous food, dashing new technology and whiter than white clothes that makes average punters blow their hard earned wages on items that are usually useless, frivolous and, more often than not, have built-in obsolescence. In fact the amount of profit that can be extracted from the hapless worker. Children are manipulated towards torturing their parents into buying them THAT toy "just like on the telly".

We are mentally bullied, extorted and fettered by advertising. To the demoralised and wary worker advertising creates a little piece of paradise that could be his or hers. The blatant cerebral exploitation of advertising is something that we as libertarians should resist.

That brings me on to another crippling factor of advertising. Despite government claims advertising is still quasi-subliminal, you will often hear people humming a snatch of a jingle or coming out with a
**Poetry and Revolution**

The AUTHORITARY MENTALITY has always been suspicious of poetry. Even with the greatest of writers, it has been very easy to persuade and want to ban them from his Republic, while the Nazis murdered the anarchistic, free thinkers of the 1930s. And they killed some of the earliest British poetry is noticeable for its social justicex and for its view that 'the rich

Shelley's subversive edge is usually left out of the school curriculum, or forgotten when anthologies are compiled, although some of the earliest British poetry is noticeable for its social justice and for its view that "the rich and powerful and the powerful of the past."

Langland's vision was written about the time of the Peasants' Revolt, much like Chaucer's Canterbury Tales and Romeo of the Rose, but Chaucer lacks any concern for the poor and disposed - probably why he taught on the upper classes. Langland's religious background results in the absence of any idea of resistance to injustice, but results in the need to project the early ballads of Robin Hood which supported the peasantry. Langland's religious background results in the absence of any idea of resistance to injustice, but results in the need to project the early ballads of Robin Hood which supported the peasantry.

Advertising is a method of covering up one-company domination of the relevant market. If a product is owned by one company and is then advertised under another brand name or trade mark, then no one gets alarmed at the economic exploitation. Shelley was exiled to the Greek island of Hydra in the late 1820s, where he was badly injured by a police force. The political anarchism was an extension of his literary radicalism.

One of the most uncompromising anarchist poets was Gabriel Rosenstock, aka Jehan Rictus (rictus is a death's head in Latin). One minor poet who did was Louisa Sarah Bevington, who had written several slim volumes of poetry before becoming interested in anarchist ideas. She saw no distinction between being a poet and being a revolutionary. In the last few years of her life she wrote widely for the anarchist press, in Freedom, Commonweal, and for Tochichi's paper Liberty, to which she also contributed poems. Working with the London Anarchist Communist Alliance she wrote several pamphlets, which still retain a relevance to our own time.

To each in this turn the pavements
I walk in silence and in a desert
For George the Fourth
The fullest of din and crowds
At min'ight are only harbour Corridors upon the sky.

I'm th' King'o'er the pavement
I'm th' roarer... the mask chasers
Th' stink at nightes... th' along the gutters
The out-of-sorts, the long-mug
Th' anguish chaser - the talk to himselves

There was no romanticisation of the poor in Rictus' poetry. They are cold, tired and hungry. They rebel, but they remain without hope.

Rictus wrote articles in the Revue Anarchiste and read his poems out at anarchist gatherings. He refused to compromise or tone down his attack on capitalism and died in poverty.

**Resurgence**

Britain, like France saw a socialist resurgence at the end of the 19th century, but people who were deeply flavoured with anarchism, few British poets had the highest rates of stress-related illnesses among the 'pro-motion' and 'injunctions' activists. One minor poet who did was Louise Sarah Bevington, who had written several slim volumes of poetry before becoming interested in anarchist ideas. She saw no distinction between being a poet and being a revolution-

The out-of-sorts, the long-mug
Th' anguish chaser - the talk to himselves

There was no romanticisation of the poor in Rictus' poetry. They are cold, tired and hungry. They rebel, but they remain without hope.

Rictus wrote articles in the Revue Anarchiste and read his poems out at anarchist gatherings. He refused to compromise or tone down his attack on capitalism and died in poverty.

**Need an Antidote?**

Aylesbury group of the ACF have produced a local edititational magazine, Antidote. It is available containing articles and poems by John Humphries. The BNP (including a few of issue 1) can be obtained for free or donation by sending an A5 envelope with a stamped coin.

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**CULTURE**

well-known slogan. Some slogans have now become sayings in the English language. These images, slogans and general white noise are deliberately ingratiateing, so that we are always thinking about product X.

It is ironic to see that an artifically created industry, born to serve capitalism's needs, has now become an industry in its own right. Advertising agencies now sell ads for revenue to their prospective clients.

**Production**

The production of ads is another area of concern. TV commercials cost tens of thousands of pounds individually. On an annual scale the amount of money used in research, production, distribution and finance is nearly into the E1 billion mark.

The waste of such money is criminal. The amount of resources involved in such ads also defies sanity. A good example of this waste would be junk mail. Millions of tons of paper are wasted annually on this idi-otic exercise in futility.

"Sex sells" in a familiar saying. In some "less professional" areas of advertising sexism is rampant. Ads for various brands of pornography are mentally and physically degrading to women. However, this is a very bottom-heavy pyramid. Women mostly perform the roles of capricious tea-lady and secretary. Advancement is impossible to attain if you don't possess a cut throat disposition.

Advertising is a method of covering up one-company domination of the relevant market. If a product is owned by one company and is then advertised under another brand name or trade mark, then no one gets alarmed at the economic exploitation. Shelley was exiled to the Greek island of Hydra in the late 1820s, where he was badly injured by a police force. The political anarchism was an extension of his literary radicalism.

One of the most uncompromising anarchist poets was Gabriel Rosenstock, aka Jehan Rictus (rictus is a death's head in Latin). One minor poet who did was Louisa Sarah Bevington, who had written several slim volumes of poetry before becoming interested in anarchist ideas. She saw no distinction between being a poet and being a revolutionary. In the last few years of her life she wrote widely for the anarchist press, in Freedom, Commonweal, and for Tochichi's paper Liberty, to which she also contributed poems. Working with the London Anarchist Communist Alliance she wrote several pamphlets, which still retain a relevance to our own time.

A second minor poet associated with the late Victorian anarchist movement was the poet John Barke, who wrote the Socialist League paper Commonweal. Barke took part in the 'Bloody Sunday' demonstration in Trafalgar Square in 1887, where he was badly injured by bombs from a policeman's truncheon. Barke took part in the 'Bloody Sunday' demonstration in Trafalgar Square in 1887, where he was badly injured by bombs from a policeman's truncheon.
Pen & ink drawing by George Grosz, showing the arrest and interrogation of Eric Miihsam.

Eric Miihsam. During his lifetime he wrote are regularly reprinted. but much of his work is more overtly
political. The plays are an attack from
the notion of punishment. anarchist and class struggle prisoners,
having involvement with CND, squats and
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largely oppositional to what is seen as the ing, sharing thoughts on politics, sexual-fems’ as well as Riot Grrrls, and that friends also moving towards autonomy minded pettiness, sectarianism and nu-merous half-hearted phonies masquerad-valuable lessons in sincerity and solidar-

Within all this, there certainly is some

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Music Reviews

Rage Against the Machine. 

Reviews

Refused

Serious, Stacked Up, LP/ CD. Approx 60 mins. 13 Tracks. (£5.35, although probably not much more you buy from Over Price etc).

At over 60 minutes this al- ready mak-musicians look like Simon and Gar-

Spunk Press

Spunk Press is an electronic archive of anarchist and related material. It in-

Book Reviews

Childhood Severities

Secretly Dealt With is the first volume of the autobiogra-

By JT Caldwell's subsequent

certain that this is a reissue of

Mind', with its bruising defi-

Side four is a bit of a disap-

it my favourite LP of the year,

though I'm not a follower of

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Join us!

THE LAST FEW months have shown how close to disaster the governing Conservative Party is.

The La-Bore Party is once again preparing for a counter-culture of struggle, for an anti-capitalist front with the establishment media is enthusiasticaly backing Blair for party leadership shows that they want to determine that the Labour government has as right-wing an agenda as possible. Not that the other candidates for leadership could be realistically described as 'socialist'! The Labour Party whether it transforms itself into a US-style Democratic Party or remains as a social democratic outfit has no answer to the crisis of the system.

More and more people are becoming increasingly alienated from the system that can only produce mass unemployment and rising poverty while a minority increases its wealth, environmental destruction at a spectacular level, war and massacre all over the planet, increasing levels of racism and an ever more arrogant fascist movement, ever more repression of those who question the values of the system in any way, and the appalling, soul-destructing vacuum in everyday life. Many turn in desperation to booze and dope to dull the pain. All around is cultural and spiritual devastation, where hypocrisy, contempt and a daily diet of crap are dished up in the papers, on the radio and the idiot-box.

Fighting spirit

Dear readers, we think a new fighting spirit is emerging. We have to be there to argue against reactionary political parties, to argue for self-organisation and against the Leninist vanguard who will attempt to hijack any struggle or movement. We need a national revolutionary organisation. This cannot come about without consistent and unifying propaganda and activity. If you share our perspectives, then come forward now and join us.

Sell Organise!

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

Write for Organise! You can help to make Organise! yours by writing articles or reviews, and sending them in. Subscribe to Organise! (at least £6 a year to help to pay postage). We welcome contributions through a two-way process of criticism and feedback, and will better our publication through readers communicating with us. Please write in with your ideas.

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

Want to join the ACP? want to find out more?

I agree with the ACP's aims and principles and I would like to join the organisation...

Would like more information about the Anarchist Communist Federation...

The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of class conscious anarchists.

We have members and groups in the following areas:

ENGLAND


Scotland

Edinburgh, Glasgow, Dundee, Aberdeen.

Wales

Lampeter, Pontypool.

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