ANARCHY



THE TOO EQUAL SOCIETY
No.18 CLASS INSIDE:
THE WORKING CLASS & REVOLUTION.
Class and Privilege & more..

ANARCHY 18

HOW TO GET ANARCHY.

CONTENTS

LETTERS

THE WORKING CLASS AND REVOLUTION	1
OPI NI ON	6
CLASS AND PRIVILEGE	7
WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE UNIONS?	12
NEW POLICE RIFLE	13
A LAND FIT FOR HEROES	15
THE MAFIA KILLED CARLO TRESCA	16

Inside back cover ...

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WRITE FOR ANARCHY.

We would like some articles from you. Possible forthcoming topics for Anarchy are Ireland, Fascism, Mental Health, Portugal, and Anarchy & Organisation, but if there's something else you would like us to print go ahead and write it. We can't use articles that are too long or academic, and we don't usually print poetry. We would like some more feedback and a wider range of contributors.

MEET ANARCHY.

Meetings are held on WEDNESDAY at about 8pm. If you want to come along, and more importantly if you want to put in some work, write or phone first to make sure we havn't all fled the country.

We're at 29 Grosvenor Avenue,
Islington, London N.5 01-359 4794.

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THE WORKING CLASS AND REVOLUTION

We live in a class society. The vast majority of the population, the working class, are dominated by a ruling elite who own and control the means of production and distribution and the administrative and governing apparatus, which operates in their interest. The two classes, the bourgeois and proletarian, are diametrically opposed by the positions they occupy in society. In this capitalist society, to continue their physical, material existence - to survive - the working masses must sell their muscles and brains, their labour power, to the capitalist class. For their efforts the working masses receive a mere fraction of the wealth they produce, the rest is accumulated by the bourgeoisie, and is churned back into the capitalist system, re-invested in banks, machinery, raw materials and a luxurious standard of living for the capitalists themselves. As can be expected, the wages of the proletariat find their way back into the pockets of the capitalist class by way of profit, rent and a thousand other ways, thereby ensuring a continuous circle, a reproduction of capital, always to the benefit of the capitalist class.

The masses have no voice, it is strangled, their estranged powers are delegated to the groups and individuals that comprise the State, authority, the media. These groups obtain their powers by democratic election, appointment, hereditary descent or brute force. The everyday life of the masses is violently alienating, each individual but a mere shadow of their true selves, their real aspirations totally unknown to them, unable to define themselves in relation to their class or their selves. When the masses by their actions such as strikes - dare to challenge the

power and authority of capital and the state, they are "informed" that public opinion is against them. "Public spinion" is nothing more than the insulting, pornographic drivel spewed out by the capitalist media, which attempts to implant bourgeois ideology in the minds of the alienated masses, in order to convince them that this slime does in fact constitute the sum total of their own thoughts. The masses can only give themselves a coherent voice through their own organs thrown up by their struggle against capital and the state, by their actions, by unremitting class struggle. Among one of the myths that the rulers parade out under the noses of the masses whenever they feel there is the slightest chance that their power and privileges are in danger is "national unity". There is, and can never be "national unity" - no reconciliation between the two main classes. Class-conscious revolutionaries should expose these loathsome mystifications for what they are, along with the other obstructions that lie strewn in the path of the masses. Revolutionaries see that whatever makes the class become more conscious of its immense powers; that whatever increases the self-activity and aggressiveness of the class against the state and capital; that whatever unites the class and enables it to use all its resources and imagination, is from the revolutionary point of view highly desirable. Whatever divides the two main

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classes into totally opposing camps is recommended. So too is whatever draws the oscillating section of the middle class into the working class camp, and this can only be one thing, class struggle.

The working class itself does not only consist of people at the point of production, exploited for surplus value, but covers a vast multitude of occupations such as transport workers, cleaners, workers in service industries like hospitals, city maintenance (dustmen, road sweepers etc.) in fact an exhaustive list. Unemployed workers, retired workers, disabled workers are all members of the working class, so too are those of the working class who due to their age or sex do not work for bosses but work in the home or at school. Although the exterior appearance of the toiling class may seem to alter, due to technical innovations and the images presented by the media ("Class is a thing of the past" or "We are all middle-class now"), apart from the few characters that actually manage to cross over to another class the working class remain the working class nevertheless. The working class is the majority class.

Many of the middle sections of society, or people who consider themselves in the middle - "professional" workers such as teachers, some government officers, have through their recent militant struggles against their employers become semiproletarianised. This however is not intended to glorify or over-emphasize the role of the real middle class, who because of their distance from the working class and their close proximity to the bourgeoisie tend to identify with the rulers. A strong articulate working class, successfully struggling against capitalism, should be able to draw large numbers of the middle class into identification with the working class camp. In a period of extreme class polarisation, the middle class will have to make a choice, workers or bosses. Those who are able to choose correctly and join

hands with their sisters and brothers in the working class will be welcomed. Those who prefer to retain the illusions of privilege and defend capital and the state (or as they themselves prefer to say, law and order) will suffer the same unenviable fate as the capitalists and the rest of their protectors.

Revolution, for the working class. would be a relatively simple task, requiring no great effort on their behalf, if all they had to challenge and overthrow were the mere physical numbers of rulers and capitalists. However, the state, as it evolved into a compact structure, developed standing armies, police forces, bureaucracies and militias. The higher and middle offices of these organisations are controlled by individuals from within the ranks of the bourgeoisie, thereby ensuring that they are controlled and dominated by the most capable and ruthless members of the ruling elite. The rank and file of the armed forces are for the most part working class, although of course very much the right-handed section. Unless they have been conscripted by the authorities, the people in these organisations are nothing more than class traitors, mercenaries, who are consciously defending the capitalist class. The working class must make some kind of attempt to win over the rank and file of these organisations to the side of revolution. However, if the armed forces or police are unable to reach a revolutionary perspective and persist in defending capital, the struggling workers - unable to waste their valuable time - will have to use all their force, numbers, intelligent organisation and violence and smash these hostile sections along with the rest of capitalist society and its apologists.

One of the most notable features of recent times has been the struggles that have emerged from the most alienated sections of the community, in which people from all classes participate. These struggles, although they most certainly must not

be ignored by the working class for they have raised vital questions, are in the long run subordinate to the general struggle, the class war. Unless these struggles are linked to the class struggle, they will degenerate into meaningless faction fights, or even, because of their distance from the working class, become reactionary. Many members of the middle-class intelligentsia, especially the young - students for example - appear to have become, through their actions such as involvement in protest politics and "revolutionary" parties, more revolutionary than the working class itself. This however is a ridiculous delusion, fostered by their own and the capitalists' sensational portraits of themselves in their respective media. These students reveal themselves for what they really are then, full of self-righteousness; they attempt to assume leadership of the working class via "revoluationary" parties, and upon failing return to their exams muttering to themselves that the workers are "reactionary". Other confused characters have claimed to have dropped out of society altogether, and in a haze of drugs believe that such things as class have little or no relevance. Their ideologies cover a vast range, from following the gibberings of mystics to ultra-individualism. Again, many of these people claim to be revolutionary, but removed as they are from the forces of production, removed and alienated from the working class, the "dropouts", along with their friends from the intelligentsia, devise such radicalsounding ideologies as "radical feminism", which far from being revolutionary are in fact counter-revolutionary, for they seek to divide and split the working class.

The "revolutionary" Marxist-Leninist-Stalinist-Trotskyist-Maoist parties are, without exception, state capitalist. They seek to channel the masses into their respective organisations by staging various demonstrations against abuses of the capitalist system, in the hope that workers,

from their dawning class-consciousness, will participate, hence making it easier to draw the workers into their party. Another trick used by the "revolutionary" parties is to draw up long lists of attractive "impossible" demands, which upon close examination turn out to be nothing more than measures to improve the capitalist system, like for example nationalisation. Another way these parties attempt to pull the wool over the eyes of the masses is to seem to be ultra-revolutionary by attacking the extreme right wings of capital, such as fascists or the more rabid types of conservative or even the right wing of various left socialdemocratic parties, which they urge the working class to vote for in bourgeois elections (critically, of course!).



The revolutionary parties reinforce capitalism by supporting various reactionary "National liberation" movements, by participation in bourgeois elections and referendums, by reinforcing trade unionism, instead of, like true revolutionaries, assisting the class in its struggles that many times go far beyond trade-unionism (90% of all strikes are unofficial). The revolutionary parties attract a larger proportion of rejects from the middle and bourgeois classes than they do the working class, and when they do succeed in enticing

workers into joining their organisations, the turnover rate is very large, the workers leaving almost as quickly as they join, for they are repulsed by the revolting dogmatism, sectarianism, puritanism, elitism, leadership principles and backwardness of these organisations. Whenever sections of the masses initiate a struggle the revolutionary parties attempt to jump onto the bandwagon and deflect the struggle for their own insidious goals, which usually means recruiting the struggling people into their respective organisations. It is not unknown for these sub-Machiavellian groups to denounce these struggles (such as squatting) only to perform a complete about-face, and even claim to be in the vanguard of the struggle. All these parties do not attack capital and the state as such, but merely challenge factions of it, for they wish to 1) improve the capitalist system and 2) institute their state-capitalist dream, "dictatorship of the proletariat" - which is nothing more than a euphemism for a dictatorship of the party and dictatorship of the central committee at that.

The working class must transcend, must smash through all the illusions and obstructions strewn in its path by the capitalist system and its many representatives (from revolutionary parties to gurus). It can only do this through class struggle. Individuals within the class can, after surmounting many difficulties, catch a faint glimpse of what a revolutionary society may entail. The class as a whole will only be able to reach a clear perspective as a mass struggling against every facet of capital and the state. The class only appears to lie dormant, but now, who but only the most blind, could deny that the working class is re-emerging as the truly revolutionary class, on a world wide basis, including the so-called communist countries where the state has taken the place of the individual capitalists. The class by such actions as those shown in the first miners' strike, like for instance at Saltley Coke Depot, Birming-

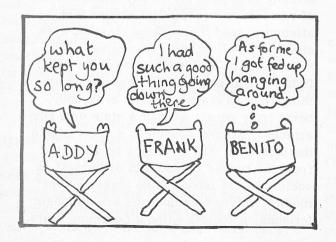
ham, where about 8000 people, including many women workers from the Valor factory, building workers, people from claimants unions, workers from many other local factories and even students, completely closed down the depot by their sheer numbers, and by affirming themselves as a class they defeated the police. The recent spate of factory occupations, the increasing alarm of the bourgeoisie at the amount of militancy and violence displayed in dispute with the bosses and the state, a thousand other examples could illustrate that the class is gaining strength. Many sections of the class who have even been rejected in the past, even by so-called militants, like for instance women and immigrant workers, have joined the struggle with a vengeance. which spells good for the class in the near future. Class-consciousness cannot be injected into the working class from outside, the working class can only gain classconsciousness by class struggle, and to a lesser extent be educated by articulate propaganda that emulates from revolutionaries within the class.

The only task that the working class has is to make revolution, a revolution that will smash down all the artificial barriers erected or deliberately fostered by the rulers such as racism, specialisation, sexual division, authority and all the rest of the paraphernalia of bourgeois society. The revolutionaries within the class must attempt to expose all the sly manipulations of various state-capitalist groups that attempt to lead the working class or even attempt to deflect their struggles. The revolutionary society that the class will fight for will be a society that among other things has no class as such, everybody being truly equal, without a state or a government, without bosses, a society where the individual will no longer be alienated from the people around him or herself, a society where labour is no longer a commodity, where commodities are no longer fetishes, a society without coercion, jails,

police or armed forces. A society where production is geared only for needs and not for profit, a society where the individual can truly develop his faculties to their greatest extent, whereas in capitalist society they, for most people, remain dormant. All the national barriers erected by capitalism will be contemptuously trampled into the dust by the masses as they stream over the ruins of capitalism to create a new world.

At the present time, all countries in the world are capitalist or state-capitalist. At the present time capitalism is under attack from the class: capitalist law and order, morals, ideals, are already decaying and crumbling along with the rest of capitalist society. The means of production are so developed as to guarantee plenty for all, developed sufficiently to dispense with any "transitional" phase. The alternative to revolution, an endless cycle of wars, misery, in fact a continuation of capitalism is too horrible to imagine. All that remains is for a world-wide working class revolution that smashes capital and the state. Is this impossible? To the revolutionary working class nothing is. You have a choice. Capitalism and the state or revolution and anarchy. For the working class the latter is the only choice they have.

Martin Wright



OPINION

Having recently joined the Anarchy collective and the movement in general, I would like to air some of my observations briefly to other libertarians:

There seems to be a conspiracy afoot whose whispers echo softly around the courtrooms of the new self-styled anarchist judges, that some people are NOT anarchists unless, like themselves, they throw body and soul into the class-war trenches whilst sabotaging by intimidation the efforts and ideas of those who choose any other angle from which to attack and undermine our present society.

In fact it is now almost heresy to say in public that "anarchy" i.e.
"an-archy" means "no law" and then deduce that an anarchist is anyone who believes that, all things considered, there's a 6-4 on chance of heaven on earth if only we concentrate on the destruction of the processes of law and the submission to "command-obey" in our brains. Note - no mention of "class" as yet.

Well, those up to their necks in the muddy ditches of the economic frontline, shooting out propaganda (and improperganda) should not only recognize that numerous battles are being waged everywhere and from every conceivable position at the archist enemy, but also thereby, this position may become so precarious and indefensible, and the enemy so weak, that a mere peashooter would smash through the wall and leave a pathetic smouldering heap of shattered capitalist/archist society.

It is exactly because the struggle for freedom runs throughout every oppressive facet of society - wherever individuals and groups have been reduced to economic class, consumers, playthings of machines, bureaucratic numbers, the ruled, docketed and brainwashed - that the vision and urgency of a truly classless anarchist society can be practically realised.

So to all of you who might spend 7 out of 10 of your waking hours attempting to humiliate, insult or defuse the sincere efforts of other anarchists (be they AWA, purists, situationalists, or just commonor-garden bombers) to practice, preach and prepare their course of action to subvert the system, I say this: either help them or leave them alone -

we have better things to do.

E. Sivell.

CLASS AND PRIVILEGE

The idea of "class" is that society can be divided into two or more groups, basically the "poor and weak" who do all the work and the "rich and powerful" who live off the work. The point of this division is that it clarifies what is wrong with our society, identifies the enemy, and enables us to understand how and why it operates.

However, everybody seems to mean something different when they use the word "class". Sometimes the meanings are almost the same, but others are really different. Individual comrades also see the significance of this division in really different ways. The differences get so great at times that it is often very difficult to talk about class with other comrades. Class is tending to divide the movement, mainly because we are often talking about two or

more different things!

In this article I want to follow up what Martin has said in the previous article, I hope clarifying things not confusing them.

Society

Most of the power is in the hands of the state and big business, and most of the wealth is in the hands of big business and the state. Those who do most of the work that creates this wealth and power have the least of both.

Some people see the state as existing for the benefit of big business; this is not quite true. The state exists for its own ends. It protects the economic power of the rich for three major reasons -

Many of those who are at the top of the state are rich.

The people who control the state have more in common with the rich than with the poor, in that they both occupy a position of privilege.

The rich know that they depend on the state for their continued existence so they tend to do everything they can (which is quite a lot) to see that the state remains on their side - by infiltration, propaganda, bribery, etc.

The state was perhaps started by the rich as an organisation to protect their interests, but like many organisations it soon started to exist for its own sake. So as I see it there are two groups at the top, the powerful & rich, and the rich & powerful.

As I've already said, society is unequal in many ways, but the easiest thing to measure is inequalities of wealth and income, and so it's one of the best examples

to take. but that does not mean it is the most important. There is no connection between the ease with which something can be measured and its importance. Equally when I quote figures to illustrate inequality I usually quote people's incomes, this is only because I've two books of statistics on incomes, and none on property distribution, land distribution, money or anything else, and I've got those because that's what the shop happened to have.

Income distribution and The More Equal Society

"On moral and social grounds they(most people) would like a world in which most people had roughly equal opportunities to enjoy the good things in life; but at the same time they are equally convinced that those who work harder or with greater ability or who have spent years training themselves, should have the reward for their industry and ability by being paid more" (p. 206 The Economics of Everyday Life - Gertrude Williams, Pelican Books).

I quote the above because it is fairly typical of the academic's justification of different incomes.

The argument is in itself reasonable; one wonders however if she (and Mrs Thatcher) is talking about the same society as the one we really live in. In our society at the bottom, there is 4% of families living on less than £500 per year, whilst towards the top there is 0.3% of families living on over £10,000 per year (after tax, year 70-71). This is over twenty times as much.

The average income in 1970 was £1,250, but the top 0.02% (that's about 10,000 people) had incomes averaging £120,000 p.a. The supposed justification is that these people worked 100 times harder or more ably than average, and this is described by the phrase "being paid more".

It's a joke, isn't it. And if one takes the full range, highest income against lowest, the difference is so enormous that it belongs only to the realms of fantasy or capitalism to try and justify it by talking about "those who work harder or have greater ability".

These differences in income are not due in any way to working harder, because in general the lower your income the harder you have had to work to get it.



Times are getting hard, Jenkins, we'd better start turning down the swimming pool heating system at night.

Questions of differences in pay of the order of £60 per week as opposed to £40 p.w. are clearly of little importance compared with the huge differences we have been discussing. When talking of equality I'm not thinking of small (relatively) inequalities, and I'm not committed to absolute equality between everyone, which I think is an unobtainable fantasy. When we have only small inequalities left will be the time to examine them, when we can see their effects in reality. This is my theoretical position, and this is shared by many. Now how should we view these small inequalities today? - by examining their effects on us today. Lower pay for women is a good

example of this - the difference is small compared with the differences within society as a whole, but this difference has been a cause of division between men and women and has had a weakening effect on the working class. Do we follow the line of "settle them later"? No, these differences are causing resentment and division now, and should be ended now. Ending them now will increase our unity and strength, and highlight the major divisions of our society. So basically I say leave minor inequalities which do not cause any resentment and division at the moment to later, but those which do cause division today, deal with them today. Some people seem to believe that the resentment caused by these small divisions can be overcome by "education". I don't think this is so. Resentments caused by real differences can't be overcome by a few smooth words, these divisions can only be closed by a real change in the situation and not by philosophy and promises of the future. (I think this argument applies to all aspects of sexism, but that is not the subject of today's lecture folks.) A minor point is that in judging whether something is divisive, one should listen to the people who are suffering from the present system, not those who are unaffected or are gaining from it, especially when you are one of the people not affected.

As far as I can tell there is no evidence of ANY shift towards equalisation of wages and circumstances in general. People who have been saying that Britain is a more equal society than it used to be and that class differences are disappearing quote things like the comparative pay of unskilled and skilled workers, which used to be in a ration of about 0.7 to 1 and is now 0.9 to 1 - again the main inequalities are not between skilled and unskilled, but between both groups and the directors of the firm, where the ratio is of the order of 0.05 to 1; that is a worker takes home 5p for every £1 a director takes home, and this ratio

has not, to my knowledge, changed much over the last 100 years.

The Divided Society

I think it is necessary to define a class before I talk about it for the reasons I gave in the introduction.

The Working Class

Those people, and their dependants, who have nothing to sell but their labour.

There are major divisions within it between qualified, skilled, and unskilled people. Qualified and skilled people are able on average to earn higher wages. mainly because of the scarcity value of their skill, but also by propaganda claim. ingothat they deserve it. Theirs is a privileged position because this scarcity of skilled labour is artificial, most "unskilled" people lacked only the opportunity to learn a skill, and there is little evidence to show that qualified people are any more beneficial to society than the rest of us. In some cases qualifications become a means of obtaining wages far in excess of the average ("salaries"), and their interest tends towards maintaining this privilege. and thus the status quo.

The Middle Class

Those people and their dependants who have other means of getting money besides their labour, who have material assets as well as their own labour. The middle class can be split into three groups:

The super-rich: - with incomes over £3.000 a week, these people own such huge amounts of money that they personally have a huge amount of power, They don't work (do anything of value for anyone else) but spend their time exercising the power given to them by their money.

The rich: - some are idle, some are working all hours of the day and night.

to become super-rich. Because their incomes and possessions are so much more than the average their interests are with maintaining the status quo.

The not-quite-rich: - these people, who possess between €1,000 and €20,000 which is usually enough to buy a house, or to run a small business (such as a small shop) are an in-between group. Their incomes vary from the surprisingly low (6500 per year) to well above average. Their wealth is only average (by which I mean it's the sort of amount we would all have if the wealth of the country were redistributed equally.) However as they see it they are a little more fortunate than the majority of us and seeing so many worse off than themselves they try to defend their little privileges with pathetic dtermination which is driven by insecurity, They possess power over a few individuals, but on a national scale their power is almost nil. Their significance is that they are the largest group within the middle class. Although as a group they are violently reactionary they have little to gain or lose materially by a change in the system, and a large number of revolutionaries come from this group.

At the Bottom

There are a large number of people who under capitalism do not even have their labour power to sell. These are people labelled today as physically or mentally handicapped or chronically sick. However strongly I believe that they are as talented as everybody else and have as big a contribution to make to society as anybody, the fact is that under capitalism this is not permitted and they, as a group, are one of the weakest sections of society and most of them are in the lowest 8% income group. However they have the strongest incentive for change, their main question being 'how?' Some may say that they should be seen as working class, but I don't think many of them will accept this

patronage.

The classification into working and middle class is quite good, if you look at three factors, class-upbringing, present class and personal views. However I think there is a better way of looking at present society. This is to divide it into the underprivileged, the privileged, and the over-privileged. Then to reclassify according to the disaffected, the content and the entrenched.

Deprived: Those who do, or who would if they weren't prevented, make due contribution to society, but who receive less than their due in return. This is about 68% of us.



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Privileged:- May(or may not) make due contribution to society, but receive due amount as if they did. They are privileged because most of us don't. They are privileged as against the majority, getting more income, possessing more property, having more opportunities, more choice of jobs, a higher social status. Materially their position will not change in a revolution, however at present they possess no power over their environment. Made up of the 'top'

end of the working class, largest group of the working class, and make up between 20 and 30% of the population.

Over-privileged: They possess an above average amount of power or money, or usually both. They will be out and out losers in a revolution.

The above classification is very similar to the usual working/middle class classification, except it tries to divide people according to their material interests in a revolution. The second classification is a subjective one, and tries to divide people according to their subjective interest in a revolution. Although some may say this is the clarification that counts, it must be remembered that this clarification is much more vague than material ones, and more often it's a matter of opinion how people get classified.

The Discontented: - Everybody who is dissatisfied with their present life, particularly those who see the cause of their dissatisfaction as being not due to any personal faults but due to things being wrong in the society around them. They make up the ranks of both the anarchist and fascist movements (to name but two), but also fill half the football stadiums. Someone who is discontented may not be a revolutionary, though revolutionaries are discontented, but it is from the discontented that the mass to overthrow the state will come.

The Content: - People who see little wrong with this society, and are happy to continue their own lives. They might easily become discontented especially if something happens to them personally, but often they seem to resent the discontented who threaten to change the whole system.

The Entrenched: The few who actually believe in the present system. I can't say much about them because I really don't understand them, except that they usually label themselves as 'moderates'. These

are not the bulk of the right wing, for they are discontented, but are the bulk of left conservatives and right labour, as vicious and nasty a group of self-righteous pigs you could wish to meet.

So what is this pretty academic classification all about? Of those who want change the difference between right and left is that they see different solutions to a similar problem. Thus we both see bad housing, but see the causes differently, and come up with different solutions (most of the time). If you like it divides people up according to their material and mental need for a change. It says nothing about whether you see right or left wing solutions as the answer. It does try and indicate the determination with which you might fight for a revolution.

The discontented deprived have the strongest motivation for change. They are the largest section of the population. If they all wanted to change society in the same way they would be unstoppable. The privileged discontented are a smaller group, but tend to have usefull skills to contribute. This often means that they become a privileged group within the revolutionary movement. Hence when change comes it leads to the formation of a new privileged ridden society. The most obvious requirement is that the revolutionary movement must be dominated by the majority - the underprivileged.

As I've said above, society can be divided into three groups, the over-privileged, the privileged the under-privileged. This division just reflects what I believe to be a major feature of our society - the unequal division of the wealth of our society, the wealth that most of us work to produce, but which few of us see. While there is this very unequal division there can be no peace. It is not that all ills stem from this inequality, but a lot do, and they will only be cured by the ending of this inequality.

Chris Broad.

WHAT SHALL WE DO WITH THE UNIONS?

Trades Unions are the only mass organizations taking action on behalf of working people. Their function is to secure improvements in pay and conditions, using the weapon of collective industrial action. At present, however, there is widespread distrust of unions and a steady decline in the involvement of their members. Why is this?

The effective self-organization of the workers began as a response to the appalling conditions of wage labour which were a feature of the development of capitalism. The working class, disillusioned with liberal reforms, slowly realized that the only way of improving their conditions was to organise themselves to take action to impose their demands on the employers. Naturally the ruling class was terrified of these organisations and fought them with all the means at its disposal, including propaganda campaigns in the press and the severest repression by police, courts and army.

Eventually, however, the Victorian Establishment was forced to permit the existence of workers' organisations. These early organisations generally had a radical programme, opposing the trend toward division of labour, and the hierarchical division of workers, and often with a vision of the possible future organisation of society. Some unions (especially the French syndicalist unions) even proposed the revolutionary overthrow of capitalism.

Since then, however, there have been fundamental changes in the trades unions and the conditions which gave rise to them. In place of small, individual capitalists we

have international monopoly capitalism, and in place of small, radical unions controlled by their members, we see large, centralised, reformist organisations. The unions of today are no longer interested in challenging the existence of capitalism and wage labour, or the way in which work is organised. They have narrowed their role to dealing with the rewards of work, completely abandoning the struggle to have any say in its nature.

This is a crisis for the working class because the fundamental nature of work in capitalist society has remained unchanged - boring, alienating work for at least eight hours a day, producing commodities and services for the market according to the needs of your employer's profit rather than any real social need. The long-term interests of the working class revolve around the issue of who controls the means of production, what is produced and how, and how it is distributed. The only solution for them is to take control of this process themselves and produce for the needs of everyone, rather than merely for the needs of big business and the ruling class.

The position of the unions, however, is against this struggle for self-management. They have become completely integrated into the capitalist system to the point of acting as a disciplinary force. Union leaders enjoy similar privileges to members of the ruling class, and co-operate with management in the exploitation of the workers (in planning redundancies, higher rates of productivity, speed-ups, and minimising wildcat strikes and other "unofficial" expressions of discontent).

Attempts to change the unions, or to build new ones, are doomed to failure.

Apart from the reactionary nature of the leaderships and the certainty of their opposing any kind of democratisation or decentralisation, we must face up to the fact that

workers no longer identify with the trades unions. The long history of selling-out of struggles and persistent refusal to advance the interests of the working class, and the tendency toward the establishment of a body of full-time officials who don't experience the conditions of the everyday lives of the members on whose behalf they negotiate, has meant that trades unions have an existence totally independent of the vast majority of workers and are seen as one of the authoritarian forces external to them.

Attempts to set up new unions are also futile. The "industrial unions" proposed by some groups, encompassing whole industries or even the whole working class in every country, would no more fight for the interests of the working class than do the present unions. The revolutionary syndicalist unions put forward by other groups would suffer from other defects - outside of times of general upheaval they would only attract small groups of class-conscious workers, and would be isolated from the mass of the working class.

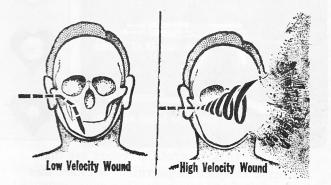
What I've said above exposes the futility of the call for "nationalization under workers' control" where it is meant that "control" would be exercised by the unions. If the organisations that are at present supposed to defend workers' interests against management took over the role of management, who then would take up workers' grievances? While the basic framework of capitalism exists, they would be forced to compete with other industries and to maximise productivity and exploitation, the interests of the workers coming second. And what could be better for the ruling class than to totally integrate into management the only organised opposition to it. Most important, though, centralised total planning and real workers' self-management are incompatible, and moves towards corporate state capitalism would lead to workers having no more control over their

labour than at present.

The only effective strategy is to work towards a strong rank and file (not, of course, under the domination of I.S. or other power-seeking organisations) independent of the bureaucracies and with effective direct communication between workers in different work-places and industries (most union rules at present forbid inter-branch links, insisting that all communication is via the centre). Wherever possible we should raise political issues like self-management, production for need rather than profit, and the necessity of the overthrow of capitalism, rather than merely economic or reformist demands, or campaigns around bourgeois legalistic ideas like "the right to work".

Phil Green

New Police Rifle



The New Rifle with which the Home Office has decided to re-equip the police, the L39A1, is so powerful that there is whole scale condemnation here and abroad. The present police rifle, the .303, is being abandoned, because the .303 ammunition is no longer manufactured in Britain. (It is, of course, still made and used in vast quantities abroad.) But for the new police pistol, ammunition will have to be imported.

The L39A1 is basically the .303 with

a new barrel to take the standard NATO ammunition, the 7.62 mm round. The wounds inflicted by these rifles are the same lethal impact to the internationally banned dum-dum. The rifle has been condemned by the following:

International Committee of the Red Cross in a report draws attention to the "extraordinary" degree of suffering these weapons cause.

Swedish Defence Department criticises the damage these bullets do, which



the soldiers who wrote a report for the Swedish Defence Department decided was of a "grossly inhumane nature".

British arms experts not consulted by the Home Office are also worried by the choice.

New York Police Department thinks the L39A1 is simply too powerful. "Its bullet is capable of going through walls." For this reason, the New York police have decided to re-equip with the Armalite, which at 5.56 mm is smaller calibre.

British experts point to four advan-

tages of this. The bullet travels along a flat trajectory, so if the police mistake the range it does not matter. The light bullet loses energy rapidly, which cuts the Armalite's effective range to 400 yards or so. Impact with walls and the like tends to fragment the bullet, so ricochets are cut. The Armalite takes a 5.56 mm round less than half that of the 7.62 mm.

A British rifle of the Armalite's 5.56 mm calibre in English terms .233 inches is made by Parker Hale of Birmingham.

Yet both the Armalite and the L39A1 cause dreadful wounds. That is why these weapons are under critical review by Red Cross working parties - including British Government nominees trying to update the laws on conventional (i.e. non-nuclear) warfare.

The table (above) shows the relative wounding power of some modern military rifles. The 7.62 mm NATO class does roughly four times the damage on impact of the old .303 - the Armalite has about three times the effect. The damage on impact is caused by the L39A1's muzzle velocity of 2,800 ft sec, only slightly higher than the .303's 2,440 ft sec, and the two bullets are much the same size. Yet even this relatively slight increase in velocity, as the table shows, disproportionately increases wounding power.

The Swedish report says that the higher-velocity modern bullets produce an "explosive effect" on impact with the body similar to a dum-dum. This is worsened by instability. The change on impact from air to flesh causes the bullet to tumble and spin violently, opening an even larger cavity.

This all goes to prove that the L39A1 is too powerful for anyone. But for the police to have them is criminal.

John Northey

A LAND FIT FOR HEROES

During the last war, like numerous others, I entered into mortal combat in defence of my King and Country. As did my Forbears likewise, I led all the Major Retreats.

The Establishment had also promised me that I would return home to a "better country to live in". Did I fuck.

Like numerous others, I returned to the Green and Pleasant Land, and had no where to fucking live. With the exception being to one tiny room in my Mother-in-law's council flat.

Having got married in 1941, I somehow found time to knock out two kids. The year was now 1951, and the kids were beginning to wonder why Mummy and Daddy was playing at "Piggy back" in bed.

Having recently served 3 years Penal Servitude, I quite naturally qualified for a position in the ranks of the unemployed. The Filth (police) had informed the Labour Exchange that I had recently served Penal Servitude for Grievous Bodily Harm on a police officer, and the "toerag" of a manager at Medina Road Labour Exchange had entered into my file, "Suitable employment only. This man has served P.S. for G.B.H. on a police officer".

could define what would be suitable employment was to NOT offer me a job that way, he could NOT fall into the shit.

With a generous Assistance Board Allowance (21 whole SHI LLINGS) I was expected to keep my old woman and two kids, in two separate homes.

My old woman and one of the kids lived with her mother, and the other kid and myself took up rented accommodation. How could I solve the problem??

"EASY".

I went to the Housing Dept (which we had been down on the housing list for a great number of years) and I told the Manager to write down the following statement. "I find that it is impossible to keep two homes going, and that being so, I have no other recourse than to go out thieving again. It is highly probable that I shall get nicked again, and on being nicked I am going to ask for you to appear at court, and tell the learned judge as to EXACTLY why I am standing in the Play Pen (The Dock)".

Within three weeks, I was supplied with the accommodation that I am living in today.

The moral of my semi illiturate story is, "If every homeless person did likewise, then without doubt the Establishment would sit up and take notice. Especially so, if the crime rate takes

a rapid incline, and the prisons are filled with people who had a genuine cause to go thieving to supply a roof over the heads of their children.

Where would they put all the habitual criminals, if the prisons were full of Squatters? EXACTLY.

The most effective way to squat is to

squat in numerous Houses of Correction. You will be fed by the Establishment, and the Establishment will be legally responsible for your wives and kids.

The threat of imprisonment is the Establishment's most vital weapon, and the most effective way to fuck up any weapon is to supply it with too much ammunition. There is not a weapon in this world which will not break down through constant use.

The answer has got to be, "What shall we do? Shall we build more prisons or build more houses? The prisons have got to be administered by the Establishment (at a vast cost) but the houses will be occupied at a profit.

The numerous unemployed building workers would be back at work, and like during times of war, all stops would be pulled out to arrive at the final solution.

Anon.

THE MAFIA KILLED
CARLO TRESCA

In the article entitled "Who Killed Carlo Tresca" Peter E. Newell asked if Carlo Tresca was assassinated by communists. The answer is in a new book** about Lucky Luciano. Luciano who was Boss

of the Bosses of the Mafia, says that Carlo Tresca was killed on the orders of one Vito Genovese. Genovese was a Mafia boss who was living in Italy, because the FBI were after him. Here is the quote by Luciano from the book.

"When the war was still goin' pretty good for Mussolini, Vito Genovese was always tryin' to prove what a good friend he was to that Fascist son of a bitch. There was a newspaper publisher in New York by the name of Carlo Tresca. He was strictly anti-Mussolini and he was knockin' the shit out of him in every edition of his paper, which was called Il Martello (The Hammer). It drove Mussolini nuts. So what does that prick Genovese do? He tells Mussolini not to worry about it, that he, Don Vitone, would take care of it. And goddammit if Vito don't put out a contract from Italy on Tresca, with Tony Bender to do the job. Tresca gets knocked off in broad daylight as he's gettin' outa his car on lower Fifth Avenue; it was an oldfashioned hit with a shotgun in the back. When I heard about it up at Great Meadow (a prison that Luciano was in at the time), I made up my mind that someday I was gonna have a little talk with either or both of them guys - Vito and Bender (he never did). They knew the Unione (the Mafia) rule that nobody on the outside gets hit under no circumstances without a vote of the council."

Perhaps now the Tresca case is closed. Because Vito Genovese died in 1969.

John Northey

- * ANARCHY no. 13 pages 8-12 Peter E. Newell.
- ** The last testament of Lucky Luciano by Martin Gosch & Richard Hammer, published by Macmillan Ltd., London.

LETTERS

Dear Anarchy,

Regarding Kathy Perlo's article: I was really ashamed to be selling this issue of Anarchy. With the longest article being the Anti-abortion one, it gave the impression that Anarchy, and by implication anarchists, were against the women's movement campaign for abortion on demand. (This despite the objection tagged politely on the end). As regards my personal objections to the article these were mainly stated in the points made by the anonymous objector. "A woman's right to choose" must be the aim of anyone with an inkling of libertarian idéals - it states a right for women to take control over their own lives as well as demanding that they should be treated as thinking human beings. Kathy says at the end of her article that we should "oppose their (abortions') availability on the national health". To me that reads like restricting abortions to those rich enough to pay for them. It implies that hard up women should not be given the right to choose. Regardless of the pressures she thinks are put upon women to have abortions, denying that choice is dictatorship not anarchism. She says there is not much choice for "lower class" women anyway. Well shouldn't we be fighting to make it a real choice rather than ending what little there is?

I, like your anonymous objector, would defend my right to choose (were it biologically possible) against anyone and don't like being called anti working class for doing so.

Mat Hill

Dear Comrades,

I liked Kathy's article on abortion and would like to comment on some of the points raised by it and the "Objection":

- 1) Women for Life is <u>not</u> a Catholic group. Our members have all sorts of different religious viewpoints some are agnostics or atheists. (As a revolutionary Socialist I'm totally opposed to all the churches and I think that the Catholic church is the most dangerous.)
- 2) We do accept that some women don't want children and we would defend their right not to have them. But they can take the pill, wear the coil, use Durex, get sterilised or, as a last resort, have the child adopted. Their problems can be solved without breaking the social framework. As Kathy pointed out, this isn't the case with women who do want children but haven't got a husband, income or house.
- 3) We would argue that abortion is like racism (and sexism) because it denies that a whole group of people have any rights at all.

And finally - why did the "member of the Anarchy Collective" object to the article being published? We've encountered this kind of attitude many times on the Left. However, Women for Life does not believe in the suppression of other points of view. If people who agree with abortion want to write for our newsletter - Flat 2, 47 Russell Terrace, Leamington Spa - we shall certainly publish them.

Yours, Merryn Williams

Dear Editor,

Abortion, and contraception, are just methods of propaganda by the rich. For the poor. They might eat their cake. It is "Malthus" in a different form. The Catholics always believe in big battalions, so they advise them to fuck plenty. Then the doctors experiment on the result. I am glad "Anarchy" exposes them all.

Faithfully, Jack Malone



ANARCHY SUBSCRIPTION RENEWAL.

Dear Comrade

Your subscription to ANARCHY runs out with this issue no.

However since we changed the subscription rate (with Anarchy no. 15) from £2.25 (or \$6.00) for twelve issues to £1.50 (or \$3.75) for ten issues you have some credit due to you.

This credit amounts to an extra

issue(s). So your subscription in fact runs out with Anarchy no.

We will send you another sub. reminder then, but if you wish to renew now and have the credit added on feel free to do so....

Let us know what you think of the new size paper...and any other views.

THE ANARCHY COLLECTIVE, 29 Grosvenor Avenue, London N.5. England.