The views expressed in the articles are the views of the person who wrote the article and not necessarily that of the Class War Federation.
At the Bristol Class War Fed. conference in March it was decided to publish a Class War 'theoretical journal'. We felt that many people were attracted to our paper by its bluntness, vibrancy and humour but failed to involve themselves in our political work because they either thought we were not 'serious' or had difficulty working out the political ideas behind the brashness of the paper.

At the same conference the decision was taken to turn 'Class War' into an even more popular tabloid style paper so that a means of putting over our political ideas in greater depth was even more urgently needed.

It was quickly obvious however that it was not just a question of technically producing a 'theoretical journal' but, rather, did we have any political ideas, had we begun to develop our own distinct political theory, not only to put in the journal but to guide our political activity in general. Did we have any political ideas beyond a basic 'class struggle anarchism'? Our failure, or inability, to clearly articulate our political ideas in the past has left us easy prey to be misrepresented as 'post-77 punk anarchists' or 'fascists' or more recently as an evil group who poison Mars bars and want to kill the entire cast of 'EastEnders'.

These press distortions are only to be expected but our political failure to define our ideas and resulting activities clearly has led us to become an easy scapegoat for the press to blame for everything from inner city riots to smashing butchers' shop windows! We have almost begun to fulfill a useful need for the press - when hearing certain items on the news we are almost guaranteed the blame for it in the following morning's papers, totally regardless of reality. The fact that we have been able to portray as a secret, terrorist type group rather than the open political organisation we are is a mark of our failure, and one we intend to remedy quickly.

When Class War, the paper, started over 4 years ago it was on the basis of creating an aggressive anarchist group to create something viable from the deadwood of British anarchism. For a long time we have remained in that anarchist ghetto, only gradually realising what a complete waste of time it was. The anarchist movement in Britain has never had anything to offer the working class and never will do. The creation of a mass 'anarchist movement' is a futile dream. Most British anarchists seem to suffer from severe personality or emotional disorders which makes them a better bet for the psychiatrist's couch than the burning barricades.

We could exempt the class struggle syndicalists from this but must reject the politics of those who can only salivate over the entrails of the Spanish CNT, looking in vain for a 'Syndicalist Revival' from an organisation which is a defunct empty shell and a political theory with as much relevance as tea totalism.

But if we reject the form of anarchism it is not to reject the whole substance of anarchist ideas. Rather we identify with our class wherever it is in struggle rather than slavishly identifying only with movements which are labelled 'anarchist' or with 'anarchist' involvement.

In Britain there has never been a viable anarchist movement yet our class has been involved in bitter struggle for hundreds of years. The Levellers, the Agitators in the New Model Army, the Luddites, the Captain Swing rick burners, the Hosts of Rebecca, the physical force Chartists, the Syndicalists before World War One, the Red Clydesiders and countless more right up to the striking miners of 84-85. An unbroken history of class consciousness and resistance which reflect our own politics far more accurately than the actions of any anarchists.

Similarly we may take ideas from anarchists such as Bakunin but we may also take ideas from Marxists like Rosa Luxemburg or Council Communists such as Mattick and Pannekoek. We salute the struggles of the Hungarian workers of 1956 no less than those of the Spanish anarchists of 1936. Our struggle is world wide - where our class is in struggle today, whether it be South Korea, South Africa or Haiti we support the struggle for genuine workers power based on workers
Councils and a society democratised to its very roots. Such a society will only be achieved by the working class acting autonomously in its own interests - not by being led by a self-appointed vanguard, allegedly acting on their behalf, but who will inevitably end up as the new 'socialist' bosses.

But equally our ideas and political theory is more than a ragbag collection of ideas from the past and cheerleading from the historical sidelines. We live in the last quarter of the 20th century and our ideas and activities must be guided by this fact rather than be slaves to ideas of the past, however successful they may have once been.

Gradually over the last two years we have been doing this. Articles in the paper such as 'What do we do when the cops fuck off', 'War Zones' and 'After the riot' have pointed the direction in which we are heading. In Thatcher's Britain, the most important struggle now is that of the working class to control their own communities and their own territory. We support the creation of No Go Areas, of working class controlled communities and estates where the police and authorities cannot enter without encountering physical resistance. But these must be areas of genuine working class power - where all the people are in control, not a few self-appointed community leaders. They must be No Go areas for muggers, rapists, racists and smack dealers as much as for the police, DHSS snoopers or bailiffs.

The inner city riots of 81 and '85 have contained both the positive - collective action to drive the police to the police, racist attacks, rent rises and evictions or action against anti-social elements like muggers.

In many inner city and country areas now the struggle for control is manifested in resistance to gentrification or Yuppies moving into working class areas and driving the working class out. However these struggles are initiated it is vital to widen them out to raise the central question of working class control of our own areas. Once we control our own territory then a sound base will have been built for a generalised onslaught on capitalism and the ruling class as a whole. These class controlled areas could be the pre-figurative forms of the future society we wish to see created - of the workers and community councils. As the question of who controls an area becomes increasingly contested so will a heightened class consciousness develop.

It is the discussion of such developments that HEAVY STUFF is intended to provide a forum for. USE IT!

Ian Bone
HUMAN RIGHTS
OR
CLASS JUSTICE?

The concept of human rights is one that goes largely unchallenged in bourgeois politics. In fact, the maintenance of this concept is upheld by all shades of the political spectrum - for those who dare deny that we have certain "inalienable" rights. This is not merely confined to parliamentary party politics; how many times have we heard the left whingeing on about "attacks on human rights" at every new blow dealt by the Thatcher government against working class people. One of the Left's favourite lines is the "right to work" - a bizarre concept coming from the Marxists who supposedly recognise the exploitative and alienating nature of labour, are they demanding the right to be exploited? Do we really have "rights" and can we rely upon them or the idea of them to protect us?

The notion of human rights lies at the heart of liberal democratic ideology, and is expressed in mythical and meaningless phrases such as "the free west". Britain, the oldest bastion of liberal democracy, has used the idea of human rights as a central pillar of its prevailing ideology. The U.S.A. has formalised the idea of human rights into a "Declaration of Human Rights". We supposedly have certain inalienable rights such as our civil liberties, equality before the law and so on. The UNO charter declares people throughout the world have the right to clean water, good health and some form of basic housing, amongst other things.

Yet despite these fundamental rights many of us are deprived of these in Britain and still more throughout the world. We continue to be exploited and abused by international capitalism, State repression, disease, poverty and starvation are only too common throughout the world. So how far have our "rights" protected us from this?

The truth is we have no rights. The so-called rights we have are handed down to us with no guarantees. In reality the concept of human rights is a metaphysical bribe; a trick to fool us into believing that there is a core of justice lying at the heart of the capitalist confusion in which we survive. It is simply another deceit, though admittedly one that has immense status. The fact that the idea of human rights is as much the preserve of the Right as the Left should tell us something, but it doesn't. This is because it claims to have a universality that spans across ideologies of Left and Right. The battery of ideas, arguments and defences about human rights has grown and developed over the centuries as capitalism has been forced to defend itself more and more. As criticism, misery and anger have become increasingly articulate and organised, so has capitalism adapted with the aid of bourgeois philosophers. And so the date for the much predicted "crisis of capitalism" has been deferred as many times as that of the end of the world. Capitalism has used, in its smooth talking blandishments, many powerful ideas: human rights is perhaps the most significant and the most passionately defended. In the face of growing class consciousness over the centuries, capitalist ideology has sought to emphasise the rights of the individuals, giving a false sense of equality. The absurdity of this is encapsulated in Anatol France's well known remark that "The law in its majestic equality forbids the rich as well as the poor to sleep under bridges, to beg in the streets, and to steal bread".

As a class we have no rights. We have never achieved any small improvement in our lives through some philosophical or philanthropic gesture from the ruling classes. Any improvements have been wrung from them, when they have been motivated by fear and self-interest. They serve as a sop to sate our appetite for more real change. In reality we have only our own class to look to, we can only rely on ourselves and not on any abstract idea of human rights. It is class justice that we must look to for real change in our lives.

Adrienne Lintzgy

CLASS WAR

THE BEST CUT OF ALL

A SERIOUS BUSINESS

Regular readers of the CLASS WAR newspaper could be forgiven for thinking that the people who write it are nothing more than a bunch of hate-filled nutters without a serious political idea in their heads. The is definitely the image that certain national daily and Sunday newspapers would have people believe. It is also, we must admit, an image that the Class War organisation itself once courted, for one reason or another.

When they actually meet us and discover that we are in fact a pretty sane bunch with a political consciousness no less than that of any other political group, many people ask us why, if we are serious about wanting to "change the world", do we produce a paper full of 'Hospitalised Coppers' and articles about the ruling class's genitalia?

The following article is an attempt to answer that question.

PROPAGANDA

In the most general sense,
The aim of producing any politically orientated literature, whether it be a newspaper, leaflet or 'theoretical journal', is to get certain ideas or beliefs across to the people who read it.

The large majority of political newspapers available in the UK at present do not meet this basic objective. True, not everyone who reads, say, 'Socialist Worker', is a member or even a supporter of the SWP. However, the majority are at least vaguely 'left-wing' and a large proportion are political activists. Therefore, such papers are, to all intensive purposes, preaching to the converted.

**Socialist Worker**

**WHAT WENT WRONG?**

If this were not the case and left-wing papers were bought and read by and influential upon the mass of working class people, then we would have had 'socialism' in one form or another in the UK years ago, or at least some serious attempt to achieve it.

The plain fact of the matter is that ordinary, non-politicised working class people are not interested in political newspapers and are certainly not going to fork out between twenty and forty pence for the privilege of reading one.

**Vanguardism**

It could be argued that the majority of left-wing groups who produce newspapers are not really that bothered about giving the masses some socialist education or enlightening them about the oppressive system under which we live.

Socialists, or more precisely Marxist-Leninists, believe in the idea of the 'Revolutionary Party' or vanguard which seizes power on behalf of the working class. In theory this Party is made up of the most militant members of the working class - although in practice it is more likely to consist of middle-class intellectuals.

By 'most militant' they mean, of course, those with a certain degree of political consciousness, and not just those who are angry enough about something to get off their arses to do something about it.

Thus the political paper in this case is used to try to unite those 'militants' around a particular brand of Marxism-Leninism in order to 'build the Party, rather than trying to convert the masses to socialism. After all, a paper that was successful in stirring up the masses might provoke a revolution that The Party couldn't control.

There is also a belief amongst the left that people learn through struggle. That is, they become more open to new political ideas when they find themselves in conflict with a system they may have previously supported. For instance when workers are involved in a dispute with their employers. Thus you will always find hordes of lefty paper sellers swarming around picket lines during a strike, trying to 'build the Party'.

The CLASS WAR FEDERATION subscribe to the 'learning through struggle' idea too, and as such we involve ourselves and participate in the struggles of the rest of our class whenever we can, both in the community and the workplace. However, we do not believe in sitting around waiting for the various sections of the working class to find themselves in struggle so we can go and sell them a newspaper telling them what they should and shouldn't do.

We believe that our ideas must become part of peoples everyday lives, not just something that is a reaction to a hostile economic, social and/or political environment. Attempting to push political ideas through stories about strikes, demonstrations, criticisms of the Labour Party and TUC to the exclusion of all else that is not considered 'political' has the effect of 'ghettoising' such ideas. In other words most people.
end up seeing politics as only relating to other people in overt struggle, and not relevant to their own everyday lives.

Therefore, however readable a political paper is, whilst it continues to be overtly political in nature it will never, given the present circumstances, be popular and read by a wide cross-section of the working class.

CLASS WAR

Therefore, given our politics, Class War need a paper which is: a) appealing to the large mass of working class people; and b) not concerned with overtly political issues to the exclusion of all else.

HISTORY

Before we go any further, it is important to look at the evolution of the 'Class War' newspaper since its birth in May 1983.

In many ways the early issues of 'CLASS WAR' were as different to the latest issue ('Has Tebbit Lost His Balls?) as the latest issue is to, say, 'Militant'.

In the early days the people who wrote the paper were concerned with "breaking out of the ghetto of life-stylers, pacifists and middle class tossers" who dominated the anarchist movement in Britain. The apparent pre-occupation with violence, the forthright use of language and the no-compromise attacks on the rich and the Royal Family were, to a large extent, a reaction to the complacency and arm-chair intellectualism that characterised the Movement then and now.

However, in retrospect, the paper was still aimed at other 'anarchists', and was populated with articles urging them to drop their pacifist ideas and join the class struggle. Despite this the paper still appealed to many non-anarchists, particularly certain groups of 'disaffected' youth, who would otherwise have been unlikely to give a political paper a second glance.

It also became immensely popular amongst certain groups of workers, namely striking miners, who eagerly read any copies they could lay their hands on. 'CLASS WAR' was the only paper that actually congratulated them on their violent exploits on and off the picket lines, rather than trying to apologize for them as the left did.

The left themselves became enthusiastic readers, but preferred to call the paper "a comic" to be read for light relief only! However, despite their cries of "where's the analysis?" there were, between the swearing and the "Rich Scumbags", many well thought out and overtly political articles.

LIMITATIONS

After a while it became obvious that the paper in its particular form had its limitations. Whilst it had been successful - along with such actions as 'Bash the Rich' and 'Stop the D
City' — in putting Class War on the political map, and had developed a loyal following amongst many otherwise unpolticised working class people, it still only appealed to a relatively small section of the working class.

We had, in effect, created a new 'Class War Ghetto' and it was obvious that a new-style, even more 'populist' paper was required to break out of it.

We realised that the papers that are most effective at getting ideas and attitudes into people's minds are not the political ones like 'Socialist Worker' or 'The Next Step' (or 'Class War' at that time!), but rather the popular daily and Sunday tabloids. Nobody would ever think of calling 'The Sun' a political newspaper, yet it has been more successful in implanting ideas into working class people's heads than the left could ever hope to be. After all, who invented such common place terms as 'The Loony Left' and 'Bazzy Bernie'? And who was it that knocked Michael Foot's political career on the head by giving more column inches to his duffle coat than his politics?

IDEOLOGY
Pick up any copy of 'The Sun' and you can find dubious, political ideology hidden on virtually every page. From the statement about women and sex on Page 3 to the jingoism splattered across the sport pages.

Any issues that might provoke any sort of working class solidarity or fight-back are either totally ignored, misrepresented or trivialised, either by giving undue prominence to irrelevances (like Arthur Scargill's haircut) or by relegating the story to a inch-sized space at the bottom of page 12.

Most commonly, however, the reader's attention is diverted away from such issues by the huge amounts of space devoted to 'Angie and Denis' or 'Is Your Neighbour a Werewolf?' articles, making them seem more important.

The proprietors of the various newspapers will claim, of course, that they are merely writing about what the punters are interested in. Others may argue that it is the media which dictates and manipulates the people's interests.

However, such 'Chicken or Egg' arguments are totally irrelevant. The fact is that papers like 'The Sun', 'The Star' and the 'Daily Mirror' are read enthusiastically by around 20 million working class people in Britain every day. This is a reality that anyone who wishes to produce a popular 'alternative' newspaper must come to terms with.

THE 'NEW' CLASS WAR
In early 1987 it was agreed to adopt a new format for the 'CLASS WAR' newspaper,
and make a effort to apply our politics to the same sort of subjects that the popular tabloids cover: sex scandal, television, sport, and so on. Whatever the reasons these are the things that many working class people enjoy reading about even if we think they're not the sort of things they ought to enjoy reading about! We also decided to dispense with any 'unnecessary' swearing.

TEBBIT’S BALLS...
Since then, two issues of the paper have been published. They included many articles that would not have been seen in earlier issues: articles about the Cynthia Payne sex scandal, football, popstars' sex lives, 'East Enders', betting and the Beastie Boys. However, the most significant 'new style' articles were the scandalous exposes of the ruling class: The Queen is an imporator; the late Duchess of Windsor had a secret operation to reduce the size of her vagina; Norman Tebbit lost his testicles in the Brighton bombing!

CRITICISM
These particular articles provoked a fair amount of criticism both from within and outside the Federation. It was claimed that:
- a) the stories were untrue;
- b) that they had nothing to do with Class War's politics.

All three stories were based upon the sort of unverifiable gossip and rumour that the national tabloids thrive upon. Who can say whether they were true or not? And is their truthfulness particularly relevant? The common theme running through all the stories was their humour. Getting people to laugh at those in a position of power does, to a certain extent, undermine their authority. Laughter has the effect of 'desanctifying' them and the institutions they represent, and this is half way to getting people to actually attack them.

Looked at in this light, such articles are probably far more subversive than and relevant to our class politics than anything published in a political paper before.

Of course, the matter of sales and marketability was not entirely forgotten. Street sales of both issues, with their covers devoted to "Is This The Real Queen?" and "Has Tebbit Lost His Balls?", doubled that of previous issues. Given the number of hours we spend actually selling the paper, it would not be unreasonable to suggest that these issues out-sold every other political paper in the country!

AN ANARCHIST 'SUN'?...
However, readers should not assume that we are attempting to turn 'CLASS WAR' into a kind of anarchist version of 'The Sun'.

Although such papers are...
highly skilled at implanting their nasty ideas and attitudes into peoples' minds, they differ from 'CLASS WAR' in one very important aspect. Unlike 'CLASS WAR', the tabloids are not trying to get their readers to actually do anything. 'CLASS WAR', as well as trying to convince people of the evils of capitalism are also trying to persuade people to get off their arses and overthrow it! 'The Sun', however, prefers the working class to be tucked safely away in their front rooms watching 'Eastenders', and then once every five years going out to vote Tory. They do not actually want their readers to take to the streets and string up the nearest "Loony" Labour councillor (unfortunately!).

Despite what they may write about Jeffrey Archer or Prince Edward they are fully committed to the ruling class and the maintenance of the status quo. They do not want people indulging in any sort of untoward behaviour, right-wing or otherwise.

**HOSPITALISED COPPERS**

In order to motivate people to actually do something positive, the paper needs some more 'specific' articles to complement those of a more populist nature.

One of the most 'infamous' features of the 'CLASS WAR' paper has been the 'Hospotised Copper' pinup. These pinups are not just the product of a sick sense of humour, but are intended to make an important political statement.

Like the "Tebritt's Balls" article they encourage people to laugh at things which are not supposed to be funny, i.e. violence against the police. Most reporting of violent conflict between working class people and the police is totally distorted, both by the mainstream press and by the left.

The mainstream press prefers to focus on the 'poor, defenseless Bobby' suffering unprovoked attack from those evil blacks/miners/anarchists/etc. The left don't do much better. They fill their papers with stories and pictures of vicious-looking policemen making unprovoked attacks upon poor defenseless demonstrators/pickets/etc., and attempt to apologize or even condemn those who may have sought retribution. Their aim is obviously to try to 'balance' the distorted reporting of the right with their own distorted reporting.

However, all they achieve is an indignant moralistic response from their 'radical' middle-class readers who then go out to 'campaign' for an 'accountable police force'.

Meanwhile, any working class people who happen to fall for the left's account are likely to be totally demoralised, fearing that any murmur of dissent on their part will be met by an immediate and extremely violent response from some huge, baton-wielding and completely invincible riot cop. Hardly the sort of thing to inspire revolutionary fervour amongst the working class!

**FIGHTBACK**

There is also a need to undermine the myth that working class people are not fighting back, and to help dispell the isolation that many militant working class people experience. Thus the riot-roundups, reports about anti-gentrification actions and other positive developments in working class resistance.

**CONCLUSION**

Finally, this article cannot cover every single story and picture that has ever appeared - or will appear - in 'CLASS WAR'. However, it is a serious
attempt to explain what we consider a serious business - our paper.

We know and accept that 'CLASS WAR' is not and is unlikely to ever be 'perfect'. The fact that none of us is a trained journalist, editor or layout artist, and the decentralised manner in which the paper is produced virtually guarantee that.

But we do our best and try to make sure that we learn from our mistakes and experiences.

If you would like to help make 'CLASS WAR' even better, then contact your nearest local group today!

Andy Murphy

Liberating Everyday Life

Anybody could sit down and write plenty about what is wrong with the way society runs on a human level. It's been done before and there's no point in describing what we all see happening in our communities everyday. It's enough to say that this society forces a lot of people to adopt a sort of "personal capitalism", ruthlessly mistreating each other in order to make their way through life.

What must be done is to force people to question these attitudes and realise that there is a way of living based on co-operation rather than adopting a dog-eat-dog mentality. This UNITY forms part of a class conscious, fighting community spirit capable of destroying the rich's control over us, and running our factories, farms, schools and hospitals without leadership, for the benefit of all. This is not some idealistic, crimeless, utopian dream. It is the reality of the working class taking responsibility for their own lives, uniting together against oppression from anyone - police, muggers, rapists or drug pushers.

Above all, we must be together if we are going to challenge the power of the bosses. We've got to bury the divisions that keep us hating each other because of the colour of our skin, our sex or sexuality, what type of work we do or whatever.

But how can this be done? The practical realities of everyday life are hardly inspiring. Tension and distrust between ordinary people in the streets and workplaces is stopping us from breaking down the barriers this state-sick society places around us.

One thing is for certain, there is no way simply arguing for a more liberated way of life is going to achieve anything. Running around being "holier-than-thou" trying to set a "good example" doesn't achieve much either. The attitudes that divide us don't just help the ruling class, but are essential to keep them in position. From their ivory towers they use their power to maintain those attitudes within our class, a sort of vicious circle of oppression.

But, luckily, no-one is perfect and sometimes the powers that be push us too far, people are forced to take some form of direct action in the community or workplace to try and fight back. It is when people do this that they learn the lesson of uniting together as an essential part of defeating their enemy or reaching some common goal. "
This sort of situation also tends to produce a new questioning of accepted attitudes, and changes the way people see themselves in relation to each other.

An obvious and recent example occurred during the miners strike, where industrial and community were directly challenged by the State. The people in that struggle saw the importance of unity and came together to stop the boss messing around with their lives. People from outside the industry set up support groups all over the country and also internationally. Groups normally the victim of society's prejudices, like gays, were welcomed in their solidarity. In short, we forgot the petty differences that divided us in the past and got down to the job. The result of this was, of course, State oppression on a scale never before seen in recent times with Police brutality and corruption reaching new and disgusting depths. This, coupled with the sickening preaching of Union bureaucrats and politicians, lost the struggle.

Of crucial importance was the part played by women. They were active in defending their communities and rejected completely the passivity society traditionally expects of them. Because of their experiences in the struggle they took a fresh look at their role in society, many started finding work or going to college, basically deciding what they wanted to do with their lives. Together, they achieved for themselves what patronising middle class feminists had been trying to make them do for years with their expensive books and intellectual theories.

People become more liberated when they have to organise together, because effective organisation demands it. This does not have to be in a "struggle" in the sense of the miners strike, but could be any situation where people come together to fulfill some common aim. The key to changing the way we treat each other is to build activity in communities and workplaces, so that people no longer feel isolated.

Changing the way we see ourselves in society, pushing towards a more co-operative way of life, comes into direct conflict with the boss's interests. So it's not surprising that the whole way the rich have us live our lives is geared to stopping us ever uniting as a class. We spend so much time finding enough money to live on that we spend all our free time winding apart and use that energy to fight against the rich and powerful who caused the problem in the first place.

Chris Causer
POLITICS AND ITS RELATION TO THE MASSES

In the past, the political and practical application of Class War's theories and ideas began and ended with either a "Fuck-off" or the throwing of a brick. In many ways, this "to the point/direct action politics" has had an effect indeed that stirred the very stagnant pool of politics to life a bit, and showed a number of people that politics needn't be about complex theories, correct interpretations and utter boredom.

Through the paper, and involvement in various 'political events', Class War proved politics could combine humour & excitement in a way which would make it more interesting to ordinary people. In short, this "get-level politics" has been mildly successful so far, but what many of us have come to realise is that if we are to proceed any further along the 'rocky road to revolution', we will need to combine our previous 'edge' with more precise political direction, action and theory.

We must seriously begin to question our present methods, in all their forms, both our short and long term goals, and the practical application of our politics, now and in the future, if we want to be more effective at influencing the masses. Most importantly we must come to terms with what the working class is doing and thinking, why they think this way, and what we can do to influence this thinking.

The tasks before us are monumental. The immediate aim of this writing is to hopefully draw greater attention to the reasons for past failings and to make concrete suggestions for ways of avoiding these failings in the future.

Until we begin to ask the correct questions, we will never obtain the correct answers.

THE SHIFT FROM THE WORKPLACE

As will become obvious in this particular writing, most of the ideas, theories and actions will be based firmly around the 'community' as a base. The reason for this is that although we fully support industrial struggle in all its forms, and realise its importance in overall struggle, we feel that the emphasis has shifted from the workplace to the community, as the focal point for class struggle. As we will point out later, the riots, and indeed some workplace initiatives such as the Miner's strike, bear testimony to this theory. Of course we are not advocating ignoring the workplace as a major factor and weapon in our attempts to organise against and destroy capitalism; simply that changes within the workplace have brought about a decrease in its effectiveness as a 'lethal weapon' in the overall class war, generally speaking.

Many factors have contributed to this situation. Firstly, the traditionally militant heavy industries such as steel, coal mining, railways, shipbuilding and heavy engineering have rapidly declined, some almost to the point of extinction. In their place has come an expansion of office work and part-time work with low levels of union organisation. Secondly the constant imposition of harsher anti-union laws, and thirdly the continued rise of the black economy. Many people have said that changes in the work pattern have virtually destroyed the effectiveness of organised labour as a force for revolution. Government anti-union laws are retractable, but the changed work pattern, due to the wholesale destruction of heavy industry, is not.

The vastness of the 'black economy' stands formidable before any attempt to organise the entire workplace for a revolutionary initiative simply because it is beyond the scope and influence of any Union at all. The Government fully realises this, and for this reason alone does not bother to seriously restrain it.

A syndicalist Union such as the one in Spain earlier this century, took nearly 60 years to develop, and was built amidst totally different circumstances and conditions than those which prevail today. Circumstances such as those already mentioned would undoubtedly prevent its essential and proper functioning. Besides, have we really got 60 years to build a syndicalist Union? Unfortunately not!

We must seriously ask ourselves exactly which Union, workplace organisation or indeed industry itself is capable of bringing capitalism to its knees? If the miners.
the strongest and most militant workforce in this country, were totally defeated after their year long strike, precisely who is it that's going to cause this system to buckle at the knees? There isn't any, unfortunately. Many workers are getting fed up with being called out on strike over the smallest excuse by leaders and/or militants, who want to change the entire system and use them as ammunition. The workers lose money when they are on strike, and in this day and age, when every penny counts, they're getting more and more reluctant - hence the backlash against the, militants, such as the formation of the U.D.M. after the miners strike.

The only way the workforce can use industry as an effective weapon is when it is combined with general upheaval in the communities at large. Strikes and other workplace initiatives have always had a greater effect when they worked in support of, or simultaneously with, the community and its struggle.

However, rank-and-file workers groups, in both the blue collar industry and the white collar sector (a rapidly increasing part of the workforce), are springing up in many workplaces, and it is with these that we must communicate and incorporate within a broader organisation/network initiative.

Many anarchists and political people will disagree with this analysis, but as will become evident in the next few pages, we see no point in blindly following the obvious shortcomings of any political ideology, simply to label ourselves 'anarchists' or whatever, and consequently take no notice of the changes in society since the formation of such ideologies.

**DIRECTION**

Our political direction must be one of common-sense ideas provided in such a way that people can relate to them, both in their everyday existence and the problems they face during it.

To constantly talk of every minor confrontation, strike, picket and punch-up after closing time is getting us nowhere. How would most people relate these events to their everyday struggle in life, regardless of how we might consider them to be politically? This, in essence, is at the heart of our predicament in getting our ideas across to the masses. They're much more worried about 'making ends meet', getting mugged or burgled, the running down of services in their area etc. Unless we can tackle such problems effectively within our politics, we will be destined to plodding along endlessly, behind every other Left group, and the same issues that have been tried and tested unsuccessfully for the last 50 years obviously failing. We must seriously consider the effectiveness of all SINGLE ISSUE politics. It is time we took a long hard look at what we have actually achieved from endless public meetings on Anti-Racist Campaigns, 'feminists' forming their own exclusive groups with a strictly women only policy, and of course the traditional 20 mile marches, shouting the usual meaningless slogans at passers-by, who often consider the 'outsiders' passing through their areas as 'alien invaders'.

Just how many of the deeply ingrained racist and sexist attitudes that plague peoples lives have been challenged and defeated by such actions over the many years of their persistent use, is evident in our present not-so-good society. Of course, there are exceptions, but it must be emphasized that such events are only successful when the local working class community supports them. Therefore, we must involve ourselves in the community to directly challenge problems such as racism and sexism at their roots.

We have observed on numerous occasions the effectiveness of properly relating class community, then 'mobilising', and the results bear testimony to such a method. Some examples would be: the people of south-east London working with militants to attack the N.F. in Lewisham in 1977, the formation of the Residents Support Group for the striking print-workers at Wapping, or whole communities mobilising against scabs and the police during the miners strike.

**APPLYING OUR POLITICS - COMMUNITY CONTROL**

The totally regimental, by-the-book approach to politics by many groups, including ours, is the real reason for the total lack of interest in it from the masses. To them, and quite rightly so, too many of our ideas, theories, and methods are pie-in-the-sky products of utopian dreams.

Take the example of crime, which will be mentioned often throughout this journal; This is one of the main concerns of people today, because it is a daily fear and/or reality for many. How many anarchists/politicos really tackle this problem head-on?

In the case of the Left-wing political groups, they'll produce endless statistics and graphs showing how crime is a result of unemployment or the capitalist system, which may be so, but what consolation is that to a working class person who has just been mugged, raped or burgled? Are they supposed to say "Oh well, I'll blame the capitalist system for this", or what? Or in the instance of the anarchists, that "after a revolution, crime will cease to exist because all the wealth will be forcibly taken from the ruling classes and distributed equally amongst the masses". What a huge sigh of relief the victim of a mugger!
would take after hearing such a mind-boggling approach to crime, why, it'd be enough to make you hold your breath for the revolution!

Unfortunately for such dreamers, the working class have always been much more realistic and interested in short-term solutions. That is why at times they are seen to support extremely reactionary groups such as the Conservatives or the National Front, as they appear to offer a solution to their everyday problems, such as crime.

Luckily for us, the working class have so far seen through many of these so-called solutions, but unless our politics and actions encompass some short-term goals, such as immediate, workable and practical approaches to crime and similar issues, the forces of reaction will step in, and they will deal with the problem, at the expense of our freedom and liberty.

There are already signs that they have begun: The N.F. have been boasting their 'mugger-free zone' posters and their willingness to come in and 'police' areas for people and communities with the solution of repatriation. Or on the other hand we get the Tories and cops enforcing their version of a neighbourhood watch scheme, whereby anyone in the street late at night, or a stranger in the area, is automatically a criminal. This plays right into the hands of the authorities, as it makes everyone suspicious of everyone else and gives the cops an excellent opportunity to work more closely with with the community, which, as we know, is the exact opposite of the effect we'd like to see.

A similar situation existed in our support for the riots. Too often 'Class War' overlooked the resulting situation after and during riots, where a lawless 'vacuum' was created in the area, and instead of the community seizing the opportunity and and establishing their own 'self-policing' system, a situation was created which resembled a free-for-all in which no respect for working class people and what they own was demonstrated. That is why, particularly in parts of Brixton after the 1985 riots, the re-entry of the police into the area was not greeted with outright animosity because nothing creative or positive had emerged from within the riot zone which could replace the irresponsible and disliked approach of 'outsiders' like the police.

Thus the scene set a precedent for potential 'riot communities', to initiate a local body which not only promotes self-policing, but takes it a step further and actually begins it.

This doesn't have to happen on a housing estate or in a 'potential riot zone', but can be started in any working class community. It can revolve around a community action group, and the idea to initiate 'self-policing' can be launched by the calling of a public meeting in the local area. This is a good chance to see if the idea has much support. From there it would be a good idea for a freely elected committee of local people to organise patrols and to generally publicise the whole idea, both within the local area and outside it, so as to try and initiate other groups.

Generally, patrols are often enough to divert anti-social crime and its elements away from the working class areas, that is if they work together. These patrols, like the committee, are open to instant rejection if the people feel that they are not acting either in a 'fair' manner or in the best interests of the community.

Many 'libertarian minded' people will gasp at these suggestions, saying that they are "a step in the authoritarian direction", but if we are to really understand the immediate aspirations of most people we must both come to terms with their problems, and suggest some some practical solutions like this one. We've got to take a look at other 'crime deterrent initiatives', and understand why they have become popular, and incorporate these ideas in our own initiatives.

Take the example of 'Neighbourhood Watch Schemes'. Most anarchists and Left-wing politically minded people claim that they are "purely a middle class idea", or that they "reinforce materialism". Both these attempts to justify their own inactivity are based firstly around a popular misconception concerning the working class, which we'll discuss later, and secondly on a total detachment
from reality - everyone 'owns' something and they dont like having it stolen, its as simple as that. The fact is, however, that the Neighbourhood Watch schemes are a good idea IF they are based around the idea that the community works together to deter crime, and doesn't rely on the police in any way at all. These schemes are happening right now in working class areas. Either we accept their existence and try to influence them along the lines of complete independance from the authorities, or we allow the cops a free ride over our communities, all because we thought the idea "too authoritarian" or "a bit dodgy". Alternatively, we condemn ourselves to silence as people are mugged and raped outside our houses, or your neighbours are burgled whilst you and others do nothing about it.

Of course we aren't suggesting the installation of an outside vigilante squad, who kick kids off street corners and interrogate you at night. No peeping eyes on every unknown person who walks down your streets. What we're talking about is a body directly elected and re-callable by the community itself - a 'self-policing styled workers council' if you like.

The anarchist movement, in particular, played a very important role in the active support of squatting as a quick, positive solution to one of the working class's biggest problems - homelessness.

It's now very important that we help tackle the massive problem of ANTI-SOCIAL CRIME, in an equally direct and positive way.

COMMUNITY SPIRIT

This work within the community comes at a crucial time. Thatcher has foreseen the threat which working class communities pose to her, both now and in the future. Two events, more than any others, bought this message home to us, and to the Government; 1) The riots, and 2) The miners strike.

ROTS

The riots of the last few years have produced some negative as well as positive results. Obviously, muggings, burglaries and rape are the negative side, and they need to be challenged and dealt with thoroughly in future uprisings, if riots are going to continue to be a true expression of the anger and frustration of the entire community, not just of a minority. Riots have got to be seen as the community acting as one to expel an unwanted outside force. If they are just seen as an excuse for anyone to mug, victimise and harass indiscriminately, then they will lose the support of the very community whose feelings they are supposed to be an expression of.

However, there occurred many inspiring situations during the riots that not only deserve our support, but in essence contain that same collective thinking that the miners strike produced. Instances in riots of muggers being told to fuck off and actually chased off, lootened goods being shared, not only amongst the rioters but also amongst the non-participants within the community as well. Friends and strangers working, thinking and acting as one, fighting as one, sharing as one, laughing as one, and so on. In other words, that same change in attitude resulting from a breakdown of pre-conditioned misconceptions, as happened to the communities involved in the miners strike.

The problem we are posed with is how we can duplicate this same feeling of solidarity within our own communities without having to wait for the next riot.

MINERS STRIKE

To view the miners strike as purely and simply an industrial dispute is obviously wrong. The closure of the pits in places like Yorkshire and South Wales threatened not only the jobs of many local people, but the very existence of the community itself. Obviously, if a huge percentage of a town's population lose their jobs, the effects will be far reaching. For this reason, the miners retrieved such massive local support, and enforced picket lines as vigorously as they did.

The strike, and the resulting clashes with the police, gave whole communities an insight into the true ferocity and violence of the state and how it will use these forces against anyone who opposes it. The changes which took place within the communities on a person-to-person level clearly worried the Government, as the dispute brought people together and they began to challenge many of the ingrained misconceptions they held about the authorities. It is interesting, and very relevant to note that they quickly drew similarities between their communities under siege, and the attacks on the black community which precipitate riots, and thus voiced their support for the riots/rioters. This process nearly always happens when people are united in struggle.

Again, the question arises as to how we can duplicate this feeling of solidarity without having to wait for a similar dispute.

Clearly the Government is very worried by such communities rising up and challenging them, that is one reason why they have initiated the 'Urban Development'
Corporations' and anti-Union legislation -
to prevent people from feeling this soli-
darity with one another. The Urban Devel-
opment programmes, such as those
already in progress in London, Cardiff,
Glasgow, Southampton etc. are designed
to act like a wedge - splitting working
class communities and thus preventing
them from uniting during struggle.

COMMUNITY POLITICS

If we want to create this feeling of soli-
darity in the areas in which we live, we
must direct more of our attention and
energies towards our communities. Most
working class people have got more
worries in their daily lives than to worry
about 90% of the issues which most
anarchist and political groups attach
themselves to. The most important point
is that the real problems that working
class people face in their everyday lives
are political. Consequently it doesn't take
much effort to approach these problems
in a way which not only explains the
underlying politics of them, but also
suggests some concrete proposals for
defeating them.

LOCAL GROUPS

There have been some good initiativ-
es taken by people around the country
in starting their own papers/groups etc.,
but many have made the mistake that
their entire format is often about situa-
tions which are, wether we like it or not,
of no interest to the working class. Of
course, we aren't suggesting for one
minute that the only issue worth covering
is the 'privatisation of the local laundrette',
but simply that there must be a balance
between 'national' political issues, and
other groups only report local struggle
when they have involved violence or a
picket. The problem with adopting this
attitude is that it totally ignores the many
situations that have arisen in some com-
unities, that have been adequately dealt
with in a collective, positive way without
the use of violence. If they are reported in
a paper, they can be of use to people in
other areas facing similar problems. But
the most important point of covering
such community struggles in your local p
paper is that it is instantly going to be of
more interest and consequence to the
majority of local working class people,
more so than a picket by 5 Lefties and a budget-
gar outside a department store, or a cop
car getting a brick through its window on
a Saturday night. That is not to say that
such events aren't significant, but they
are a lot more so when they are part of
a larger local struggle.

LOCAL ORGANISATION

The paper itself can lead to the for-
mation of a local organisation, which not
only disseminates information, via the
paper, but can play an integral part in
co-ordinating local struggles. As well as
helping to initiate many 'services' involv-
ing local people, such as the 'self-policing'
initiative. To ensure that these
'community struggles' don't become
isolated, a network must be established
between different towns and cities,
informing each other of their local strugg-
les and what methods they are using in
approaching the problems in their own
area, their effectiveness, and to what
degree they are involving local people.

This communication network is of the
utmost importance if there is ever going
to be co-ordination nationally of infor-
mation, action and ideas. It will also serve

the important purpose of linking struggles
between large urban centres and rural
areas. This is something which is often
overlooked by many.

If we are going to challenge the estab-
lishment and the entire structure of
society, such co-ordination is very
necessary. There must be a functioning,
competent, communication line, before
any major occurrence which intensifies
the class struggle. To place all of our
hopes of such organisation and co-ordin-
ation on the age old anarchist excuse for
doing nothing - spontaneity - is to seriously
jeopardise the future struggle.

COMING TO TERMS WITH OUR
PRESENT RESOURCES

The urgency of our need for a free
organisation to help co-ordinate the
struggle in the various areas means we must
take a careful view of the loose network.
which already exists to a certain extent. The current system of communication and action incorporates a number of groups who, all roughly agreeing on the same ideas, do not work together enough or properly. These include a number of political groups, community action groups, tenants associations, rank-and-file workers organisations, claimants unions, and many others. Under no circumstances should we restrict ourselves to simply 'anarchist' groups - there are hundreds of these that, whilst not labelling themselves anything politically, their ideas and methods are very much aligned to our own immediate goals and political direction.

One of the most frequent criticisms of anarchists, both by the Left and by the masses themselves, is that there is no organisation to co-ordinate the struggles taking place in various areas, to collectively challenge the establishment. We must understand the uncertainty that underlies such criticisms from within the masses.

Unless we have this network of communication, organisations and associations, we will lose again - it's as simple as that. And this time we simply haven't the time to fail, for exactly the same reasons as in the past. Time is of the essence, so to speak, and so is our need for such organisation.

RURAL AREAS AND THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Rural areas are often overlooked by political groups. These areas have problems that are often quite different from those in the cities. Of course the underlying problems are the same, but the average political paper would be of no interest to them, simply because they confront none of the immediate problems unique to rural areas and their people. They don't often relate to riots, squatting etc., because these are essentially manifestations of urban, not rural life.

Too often, these rural areas are seen as 'Conservative strongholds', and therefore aren't a priority for political agitation. But this is part of a popular misconception, not only of rural areas as such, but of the working class as a whole. The people in these areas are among the most overworked and isolated in the country. The fact that they vote Conservative shouldn't greatly concern us at all, because it is simply that the patronising policies of the Labour party do not relate to them in any way. How does a 'Black sections' argument, a Gay and Lesbian only party, or a feminist lobby have any relevancy to them and to the working class as a whole? These examples do nothing but alienate the very people they are supposed to represent further from the working class, despite the fact that many Blacks, Asians, gays, lesbians and women's rights activists are an integral part of our class, and always have been. Despite this, these groups are scorned by their class because of the way they are represented by moronic institutions like the Labour Party and other middle class lobbies of parliament.

Many people in rural areas feel that the Left confront none of the problems which they face, (as shown by Thatcher's recent re-election on a sizeable proportion of the working class vote). Rural people, so to speak, often don't understand the struggles of the urban areas, and therefore are often reactionary in their opinions of them.

The rural areas contain a very large but unorganised workforce, which is ironic when you consider the conditions under which they work. Therefore, many of the Left's ideas aren't understood, such as the 'closed shop policy', and consequently the workforce often swallows the Tories' short-term solutions, such as 'freedom to refuse to join a Union', the right of workers to disobey their Unions and cross picket lines and their call for heavier sentences, more policing and rubber bullets to suppress urban uprisings. These policies are often seen as 'common sense'.

RURAL ORGANISATION

It is therefore imperative that our ideas, actions, and theories encompass the problems of these rural areas. To do this it is essential that people in these areas get a paper and an organisation formed that confronts the many problems the people in the areas face. They can then communicate developments and solutions that the local people have found, through an information network such as the one previously mentioned. Then the working class everywhere can relate to their own particular situation. This would result in the urban and rural areas understanding each others problems and situations, and their solutions, much better. Hopefully, through this communication process, rural people will come to understand the frustration and anger of the inner cities that results in riots, the need for organisation within the workplace, the alienation of black, gay and lesbian people, the problems that women face in our society, and those of us who live in the cities will comprehend the distinct and different problems facing the population of rural areas.

THE WORKING CLASS TODAY

Obviously, the Left's failure to come to terms with the rural working class is a part of a much broader failure - that of their inability to understand the struggles of the working class as a whole.

Despite what the papers and the leaders of the Left would have us believe, the working class is not a mob of cloth-capped, honest citizens, living in 1930's council flats with coal fires and no TV. Essentially, the working class of this country, and indeed of most of 'Western' nations, have experienced the benefits of 20th century capitalism; they might have a video, they may be able to afford the occasional holiday, or they might own a car or their own house. In other words, they have many of the so-called 'luxury' items, which, claim the ruling class, justifies their statement that 'The working class doesn't exist to a great extent any more.

However, despite the investment in such commodities, they are still working
class. Why shouldn’t the working class have their own houses, cars, or holidays in Spain every year? If we are supposed to revel in the misery of capitalism and exploitation all the time? Of course not. Like everyone else, the working class want to enjoy themselves, and why not?

Despite indulgence in such ‘luxuries’, the working class are in the same precarious position that they’ve always been in. They might own their house, but they still have difficulty in making ends meet and working within the limits of their weekly budget. They might own a car, but they’ll still have difficulties paying such essentials as electricity. Their videos probably on hire purchase, and they might be able to afford to go to Spain for a few weeks every year, but they’ll spend the rest of the year paying for it and paying their credit cards off. Obviously, despite the procurement of what the Left would call “the essentials of materialism”, the working class are still in a desperate position.

The way ‘the Left’ approach people with their politics, particularly anarchists, makes out that it’s against the people who own these items and live such lives, because it still equates home ownership and trips abroad with the ruling class, or at the very least, middle class. This is because they view the world, the class system, and the people, through 18th century glasses. All their theories are modelled on circumstances which were unique a hundred or so years ago. This results in the proletariat mistrusting ‘the Left’ because they don’t see their politics as being relevant to the 20th century society, and more importantly, relevant to their lives and the many problems they face. Consequently, they won’t sacrifice their video and their house for the cause of the Left with it’s half-baked ideas, particularly if they don’t see themselves as getting a better way of life from it than that which they are at present experiencing.

If we are to have any influence on the masses, then we must bring our politics up-to-date and into line with the working class as it exists today.

One of the reasons that people shun politics and avoid political groups is that they give off a very real impression of extreme boredom and tedious. What further reinforces this idea in many people’s minds is that the political people that they do have contact with, have such one track political minds that all they speak about is politics, politics and more politics. Many of the political groups themselves are something like being in the army! You’re given your duties and you unquestioningly carry them out. Even some anarchist groups, who supposedly have a non-hierarchical structure and a non-regimental approach are very similar when it gets down to it, to many other political groups of the Left.

If we really want the working class to listen to what we’ve got to say, then we must take ‘the message’ to them in a way which is a lot more personal and accessible than other previous methods. We’ve got to involve ourselves in youth clubs, community groups, strike support groups, snooker clubs, and a host of other activities in which the working class involve themselves.

Needless to say, we just do not have the time to wait for them to come to us. If we really want to change things, then we must take a closer look at our entire ‘operation’, realise our shortcomings, correct them, and proceed from there.

Darren Ryan

WORLD ECONOMICS

When as revolutionaries we talk about the world economic system, we should avoid being too bogged down with finer details like, for example the movement of stocks and shares etc. Although it is sometimes useful to have a few examples to show what is going on, the subject itself conjures up a rather boring image. However, a look at the situation does help us to have some idea of what is in store for us, and more importantly, the conclusions give us greater justification for our theory and actions.

CAPITALISM.

Obviously, we can define straight away that the world economic system is a capitalist one and when we do so we include the theory of state capitalism which runs off the same lines of profit and loss and has the same inequality in terms of power and wealth. Again as revolutionaries we must understand the nature of the world economic system in order to concentrate our activities on who the real enemy is. To do so we must make a distinction between capitalists who attempt to control the world economy and those who aren’t in a position to. For practical reasons we can make a distinction between for example, the local greengrocers or market stall or scrap merchant, as opposed to the directors of multinational companies. In class terms it would be possible to foresee many of the former group of people being won over to the side...
of the working class as equals during a period of intensified class struggle, whereas the latter group would continue to cling on to their power, wealth and privilege. It is this group which make up the capitalist ruling class, and which this article deals with.

MULTINATIONALS.
The capitalist class controls the world economy to the extent of extracting raw minerals, purchasing labour and controlling output and distribution through the price mechanism and the power of advertising. The growth of the multinational company in the West, and to a lesser extent the increased power of the state-capitalist bureaucracies of Eastern Europe, have enabled the bosses to increase profits even faster. To get some idea of how powerful a multinational company is, we should be aware that many such firms have a budget the size of a small European nation. Due to the fact that they are located worldwide, losses in one part of the world can be absorbed by profits in another. This flexibility enables them to reduce capital and job investment in an area where the 'host' government or people are hostile to their excesses, or where raw materials and labour are rather scarce or expensive, and to increase activity in a more favourable region. Dear to the heart of the capitalist ideology is the notion of free enterprise and competition. However, such enterprise is limited to the wealthy whilst wasteful over-production is the result of competition between rival capitalists. War is capitalist competition at its most intense. Under capitalism, the world economy consequently moves in cycles of booms and slumps. Those reformists who believe that the capitalist system can be made to permanently benefit all, or that the working class can compete with capitalism on its own terms seriously misunderstand a system that by definition can only serve the interests of a small minority.

THE STATE.
The state is a mechanism by which the minority capitalist ruling class maintain their position of power and wealth over the majority working class. As such it needs to be complex, requiring a great beurocracy, well armed police apparatus and judiciary, as well as diversions like the media and single issue politics. In times of crisis, the ruling class will resort to a kind of state capitalism to the extent where there is less competition, in order to preserve individual firms and also to save the economy from crumbling. The state, in the form of government, will appear to be restricting capitalist activity by intervening seemingly on behalf of the population as a whole. In reality, the state is a safety-net for capitalism and not for the working class. Again, reformists like the Labour Party, who feel that the state can be used to curb the power of the capitalist class, fails to understand it's permanent role as a tool of the bosses. Any real curbs by the state on individual capitalist firms merely serves to legitimise state functions or else put one set of bosses against another, e.g. the Monopolies Commission.

PERMANENT CRISIS.
Apart from misunderstanding the nature of capitalism and the state, reformists give the world capitalist economic system more credence than it deserves. The process of boom and slump which is built into the system is leading to it's final collapse. Wasted resources and mismanagement mean that each crisis is worse and lasts longer than the previous one. This century we have seen the 'Wall Street crash' and the 1973 'Oil Crisis' which some see the beginning of the end for the existing world capitalist set-up. The 1973 Oil Crisis was caused when the oil producing countries in the Middle-East decided to capitalise on their 'in demand' product, and increased the price of a barrel of oil. This in turn increased the manufacturing costs for industry in Europe and the West, which upset these economies. With the drop in the price of oil in the last year we have seen another upset as the oil producers have had less revenue to spend on manufactured goods from the West, who more than ever need to export their produce. The West got used to having a scarcity of oil, only to find a glut of it within fifteen years! As we can see, the capitalist economic system is in disarray.

THE CRISIS.
Far from being an abstract subject, the effects of the world economic crisis are being felt directly. All over the world the ruling-class is attacking living standards...
and working conditions in order to maintain profitability and to ensure expansion in the future. Under capitalism, anything granted in times of boom will be withdrawn in times of crisis, and so it is with the health service and benefits systems in Britain. As the economic collapse intensifies, the working class will be left with no choice but to fight back to survive.

CONCLUSION.
As an Anarchist group who believe in working-class revolution, we should be aware of the possibilities and impossibilities of revolution in Britain, and in this context, how the world affects this. We have to understand why Britain often appears to lag behind the rest of the world in terms of militant revolutionary activity. The period of industrialisation gives us some clues. In Europe there were a number of uprisings which enabled the dispossessed to successfully demand reform from a position of power. In Britain the ruling class granted reform before it could be demanded from them, and as such, the British ruling class were able to dictate the nature and terms of reform. This is not to say that militancy was any less here than abroad, but simply that the ruling class could successfully divert anger into a pressure valve of reformism. As the largest imperial power in the world, due to exploitation of the colonies and the slave trade, the British ruling class could afford limited reform, the economy was healthy enough to take it. In Europe the economy was less efficient and because it couldn't deal with reform, it had to deal with confrontation which consequently made them give more reform than they would have liked to.
A good example of this is that the British royal family survived because the ruling class made the reform. Abroad, when revolutionaries won change, the monarchy was first to go. The longer term effect is that the history of the working class struggle in Britain is forgotten, and illusions like freedom, democracy and fair play are substituted instead.
People see reform as something that is granted from above rather than demanded from below. If people see reform in this way, it makes it difficult to argue revolutionary class politics with them. However, all is not lost. We as Anarchists do not base our arguments against capitalism and the ruling class on any moral superiority over them. We should argue that NO small group can rule society or manage the capitalist world economy. This is in contrast to the Left who see themselves as an alternative ruling class rather than an alternative TO the ruling class. Our justification for fighting the capitalist world economic system is that that system CANNOT meet the needs of everyone. This can be seen in the vast inequalities in living standards from the extremes of thirdworld.
starvation through to the
wealth and luxury of royalty
and everything in between. The
world economic system IS in crisis. The bosses know
this, and they also know it
will deepen. The rise
of Thatcher type governments is a response to the threat
that faces the ruling class
who've more to lose in an
economic collapse. Under
capitalism's cycle of boom
and slump, it really is true
that "The bigger they come, the harder they fall."

Revolutionaries should
not be surprised by the attacks
on the working class by the
capitalist class, and
nor should we think that
the present downturn in
struggle will continue as
it is at present. The crisis
in the world economic system
is nothing to rejoice over,
as it means more and more
suffering for more and more
people. Instead we should
accept the inevitability
of this under a capitalist
system, and be in anticipation
of the backlash against
it. It is our class, the working
class, a permanently
deposessed class that by
its position in capitalist
society has everything to
gain and little to lose through
the overthrow of the present
capitalist order. As anarchists
and as part of the working
class we should stand
alongside revolutionary
class struggle,
giving support and solidarity.
We cannot and should not
put ourselves at the head
of the class, either as the
Left do through their
manipulation, or as individual
terrorists do by their isolated
activities. It is no use us
attacking one aspect of
capitalism, when as working
class revolutionaries we
are part of the inevitable
struggle against the whole.
That struggle will be fought
and won against an unwork-
able economic system that
cannot be reformed, improved
or patched up, but must
and will be swept aside
by the strength of the
universal working class
struggle.

THE CAPITALIST WORLD
ECONOMIC SYSTEM HAS
PUSHED ITSELF TO THE
EDGE OF A CLIFF. THE
WORKING CLASS WILL
PUSH IT OVER. IT'S ONLY
A MATTER OF TIME.

Additional notes.
1) Summer 1987 saw the
price of oil increase again,
partly due to capitalism's
response to the Gulf War,
but mostly because the
bosses cannot stabilise the
world market.
2) Rumours that the West
fears an economic crisis
caused by a South American
or Third-World nation failing
to repay massive loans,
was partly confirmed recently
when one of the high street
banks announced it was
setting up a fund "as a
precautionary measure"(!)
from profits through the
sale of a subsidiary to offset
this.

Dave Luton

This isn't written to Anarchists as an
attempt to build a better 'Anarchist Move-
ment', but to working class people in an
attempt to get us out of a rut by working
together for revolution.

WHERE WE ARE

In the last few years the working class
of this country would seem to have suffered
a number of severe defeats. From the
heady days of the summer of 1981 things
have gone rapidly downhill (except for a
few good days/nights here and there!).

And here we are in 1987 with a Tory
election victory, Thatcher in power until
at least 1992 and a Labour Party at last
making it COMPLETELY obvious what a
bunch of reactionary wankers they've
always been. The CHOICE we've always
had in this 'democracy' - right wing Tory
scum or right wing Labour scum, the
power stays in the same hands and the
police get stronger whenever you pick.

Outside of parliament things are equ-
ally depressing. 3 million on the
dole with all the hassle of that, and a workforce
being kept quiet with the threat of the
sack ("There's plenty of people out there
will have your job if you don't shut up", the
TUC calls it the 'New Realism'). Wages
are cut, conditions are shit and hours are
longer. And when we do fight back the
State has wised up since the sixties and
seventies and they're waiting for us in the
Brigade politics any more. We must take the initiative, building on issues that really matter to people instead of the issues that the State chooses to fight on. In our workplaces and communities we must organize and take action when WE want to, not when the bosses or the cops do something evil to us. We can build rank-and-file organizations at work (if we’ve got work), beginning to take control of our workplaces instead of using organization as just a self-defence mechanism.

In our communities we must organize and take back control of our houses and areas, building our communities into revolutionary communities. It’s no good just REACTING to the State’s provocations, we must take positive ACTION. We’ve got to build a revolutionary consciousness, we’ve got to GET SOMEWHERE and be seen to be a credible revolutionary movement, without leaders and with none led.

Most of all we’ve got to help to spread the ideas of resistance and FIGHTING BACK. As working class people, together, it is WE who should decide what happens in our streets, not the cops or other State representatives. We shouldn’t be waiting for them to provoke us into a riot, we should be running our communities ourselves, in a positive way, kicking the cops out when they try and patrol, rioting if they try and regain control.

Similarly at work unity could be an active process, we could be taking over our workplaces and making the decisions.

The miners suffered carefully coordinated State attacks during their massive strike of 1984/5, similarly with the recent printworkers strike at Wapping. Solidarity seems to be non-existent (it’s that ‘New Realism’ again) and the cops are getting better equipped every year. There’s a growing number of people at the bottom of the money-go-round, isolated and broke, whilst the financially better off members of the working class are being bought-off with Shares and middle class values (even though their class situation hasn’t changed).

The ‘active’ sections of the working class have consequently fallen into the rut of ‘Fire Brigade’ politics - waiting for the State to make the first move and then responding to it, either with strikes, rioting or ‘campaigning’, and since the State has often been expecting that resistance, they’ve been ready and waiting for us.

The Anarchist movement in it’s many forms has, on the whole, been pretty pathetic in all this, letting the state decide the issues along with everybody else. Besides the more feeble bullshit of the anti-working class, liberal side of the movement, the class struggle Anarchists have failed to take advantage of the simmering discontent that exists in this country. So many people are pissed-off and if we can’t spread revolutionary ideas in this kind of climate then it’s time for a re-think.

In parts of the Anarchist ‘ghetto’s the idea of a kind of Punk subculture that will demonstrate to the working class “the way things could be”. Apart from the boring and unimaginative farce that Punk has developed into, the Punk movement has become a reactionary force, it’s NO threat to the State and in no way revolutionary. If anything, we should be creating some kind of ‘counter-culture’ which challenges the State by it’s very existence, but which refuses to fall into the ELITIST traps that others have in the past. Meanwhile, the Leftist Parties continue to spout the same tired old cliches as their Party numbers drop. They have nothing to offer us and they never will.

**WE MUST LEARN FROM THE MISTAKES OF THE PAST**

We must take the OFFENSIVE in the class war, we can’t afford to play Fire
NIEDER MIT DEM KAPITALISMUS
("Down with Capitalism")

The following article is a translation of a paper produced by the South German Autonomous Plenum on the current situation of the working class in their country. It was compiled as the 'theoretical basis/background' for the 'Anti-Capitalist week' and the 1st May demonstration organised in South Germany earlier this year.

CAPITALISM is the system under which we all have to live. Under such a system everything is organised according to the profit interests of the capitalists. All aspects of life are based on this, from the dominant ideas and attitudes to the ruling conception of culture. The whole structure of society is continually being remoulded by capital to secure or maximise profits.

Capitalism means wage-labour and class-society, whereby the masses of the people are dependent upon wages and are forced to sell their capacity to work in order to survive.

Capitalism means wage-labour and class-society, whereby the masses of the people are dependent upon wages and are forced
We are faced with capitalistic organisation in every aspect of our daily lives: at school, work, and through hassles with landlords and the authorities. And capitalism does not only affect us in the West. Capital's interests do not stop at national borders. For the people of the Third World for instance, it means subjugation to the imperialism of the Metropole States' economically dominant, causing hunger, misery, war and oppression.

The degree of exploitation may vary from place to place, but it always comes down to the same thing: optimum exploitation of human ability to work. It must be clear to everyone that, within the present conditions, there is no chance of escaping capitalism in the long term.

*Den Kampf gegen das Kapital autonom führen!* (*Make the struggle against Capital autonomous!*)

**THE WORKPLACE.**

In the workplace capital is trying to push through new standards of exploitation with the introduction of new technology and the erosion of working conditions. New technology means rationalisation and automation of the production process, which has been broken down into smaller and smaller units. Workers are isolated and reduced to go first transport of old skills are devalued. At the same time, work is subjected to a higher degree of control, whether destroy the last free spaces within working hours or because the new highly sensitive areas must be better protected. For the people who work there, that means harsher selection and control.

In this way, rebellious conduct can be seized and suffocated when it starts. Two to three million unemployed are used as blackmail so that capital can push through changed forms and conditions of work: 'slave traders', sub-contractors, people working at home, etc., enter into competition with the regular workforce who have guaranteed labour conditions, so that worsened conditions are established there too.

The flexibilisation of working hours, which has been on everyone's lips since the DGB's (German TUC equivalent) campaign for the 35 hour week, should be seen in this context.

Behind flexibilisation and the lies about the advantages for us workers-longer shop opening times, free arrangement of working hours, etc. - that have been spun around it by the ruling class is, of course, the interest in profit maximisation and the use of machines to their fullest capacity—i.e. machines running continuously, which would be guaranteed through changing the shift schedules.

In the flexibilisation strategies of capital, precisely in regard to the debate about the re-introduction of Saturday and Sunday working (i.e. a 7 day week, according to requirements) the idea of complete control over the worker's time materialises. Through this, the conditions of exploitation are intensified: private life, friends, etc. are subordinated even more to profit interests.

The ideas about a future use of human labour power are clearest when you look at the 'KAPOVAZ' contracts—CAPacity-oriented, VARIABLE working time.

The worker is told when and how much he/she has to work; 12 hours one day, 4 hours the next.

The introduction of new technologies on the one hand, and the
undermining of guaranteed working conditions on the other are the ways in which capital intends to check the development of class consciousness and stop the organisation of the proletariat, in order to finally push through the intensification of it's exploitation unhindered.

THE WELFARE STATE.

The capitalist form of production has destroyed all existing social relations and the associated social protection. There were struggles in the last century by the proletariat against this destruction, and to stop this rising unrest, and to secure a long term supply of labour power, centralised state institutions were created; only those who seem re-usable get benefits (it still says that today in your health insurance contract).

The rudimentary self-help that existed was put under state control and bureaucratised. By only allowing individuals to claim their social benefits, solidaric ways of acting were made impossible. Moreover, the taking over of social security by the state is meant to create a positive interest in the preservation of the state.

In this way, social contradictions are to be pacified and the population integrated into the ruling conditions.

In the field of work at present, a compulsory mobilisation into worse and worse working conditions, i.e. badly paid, dirty jobs, is being pushed forward by the welfare state institutions (social security and employment offices). On the one hand against those who, up to now, had managed to at least temporarily evade the compulsion to work by using the so-called "social-safety net", on the other hand against the workers affected by the measures mentioned earlier, who do not want to accept their de-skilling.

Since 1976, the regulations concerning suitability for work have been greatly toughened, waiting/qualification times constantly lengthened, and real income from unemployment and supplementary benefit cut.

In the field of education (maintenance) grant payments were introduced as industry and state had a greater requirement of qualified people. Now that the requirement is met, grants are stopped, competition and selection increased, through elite universities and colleges and the remission of debts for the quickest and best.

WOMEN.

The most important precondition for the functioning of this system is, firstly, the unpaid or under-paid work of women. Secondly, the sexual division of labour in general. For a woman there is a choice between badly paid wage labour, which manifests itself in increasingly unprotected and worsening working conditions, or home-cooker - husband and children. As well as that, she faces the problem that women's wage labour is understood and assessed as additional income. Women's wage-labour certainly tending to increase, however the wages are not. The capitalists devalue women's wage-work, take from women the qualifications they have gained, and employ them above all as unskilled workers in the lowest wage groups. Other than that, women have part-time work paying around DM 430/£150 a month jobs, seasonal work, agency work, and job sharing to choose from.

Part time work, which in practice concerns only women, means more profits for the capitalists in many ways, through savings in unemployment insurance (N.I.), sickness insurance, social contributions etc. Through the new information and communication technologies, a restructuring of, above all, the typical 'women's jobs' is taking place. The computer-based home-work means total social isolation, which means that neither personal interchange nor organisation are possible. The women must always be available for work, and that means Sunday working also.

With that, comes for women the subjective advantage of better co-ordination of the multiple burdens of wage-work and unpaid house work. Along with that come savings for the state in the social field, as the women working at home are at the same time meant to take care of the sick and old.
Parallel to this is the state's present "home-cooker-children" campaign once again. This aims above all at securing women as, on the one hand, a mobile and above all cheap workforce reserve, and on the other hand, to still guarantee that reproduction work (i.e. the bearing of children – the future workforce), and the restoration of the productive family father, will be carried out, unpaid by women.

Various reasons underline the thesis that the nuclear family proves itself to be an adequate organisation of life in capitalism. In the family, the woman has the task of rebuilding the man, the wage-worker, psychologically as well as physically, and so his productive power, i.e. maintaining the optimum exploitability of his labour power. Also, the rearing of children is organised almost to perfection by the institution of the family, a useful side-effect is a "breadwinner's" greater liability to give in to pressure/blackmail. In addition, the family functions as old-age pension and social security. The family is, however, the optimum solution not only for the capitalists. To most workers it also seems like "the only prospect worth living for", the ideology has taken hold, the ideas about life are internalised.

The connection between the sexual division of labour, family, and wage-labour is clear. It is also clear that without getting rid of one, another cannot be changed. Capital still has a further interest however, besides the exploitation of the female workforce in wage, and reproduction work in the family, and this is the optimum exploitability of the specifically female 'productive power' as the 'producer' of human life.

In order to be able to exploit this 'natural resource' to its most effective, the woman must be deprived of the right of self-determination over her body, and subjected to the grip of the state. An example of this can be seen in paragraph 218 of the West German constitution, concerning the restriction of abortion. A further important point is genetic technology. As a method of gaining important findings in basic research, it is a technique of influencing nature, (agriculture, control and monopolisation

("No wonderland for Alice")
influence and change the economic, social and political structures and also the value-system of this society. Smelling the sweet scent of unlimited profits, large companies from Shell and Fiat to IBM and Sandoz invest in all the fields in which genetic manipulation could be profitably marketed. The range of applications is wide.

'ASYLANTS'/WORK IMMIGRANTS

As can be detected in the propaganda campaign organised by West German capital/state and its fascist helpers, the situation of migrant workers and those in (political) asylum (asylants), which has always been bad, is now drastically worsening. (deportation into war-zones is imminent-the threat of the death penalty or torture are no longer recognised as grounds for political asylum). Welcome guests in the times of economic prosperity/recovery, in some cases (as in Britain) brought into the country as cheap labour power, the situation has now changed to the opposite. The refugees and migrant workers, fleeing from imperialist war, from the impossibility of surviving in the Third e.g. Turkey, and does not want to give any help to persecuted revolutionaries. They all arrive in the following situation, or already live in it: the headlines of the entire media are adorned with newly-created words like 'asylant-food', 'problem of asylum', and many more, created by top politicians for the simple purpose of stirring up a pogrom-like sentiment in the population. Racist, nationalist propaganda has the aim of hindering the joining up of the oppressed people and to play us off against each other. Others are already a step further, reports of fascist attacks on refugee homes etc., and parades of militias are no longer a rare thing.

The West German Welfare State shows by its special provisions and changes in the law concerning the refugee question, what the real point is, i.e. regulation of the labour market and social control for capital. The lodgings are isolated from the rest of the population in camps, mass-catering (canteen grub) in the aforementioned place, or food coupons, and having to go before special courts, are measures that affect refugees today. Tomorrow it could be the unemployed young person/worker, social security claimant, or anyone who in any way does not fit into the system.

REPRESION/SOCIAL CONTROL

At the same time they are pushing through the restructuring on other levels. Firstly, against the resistance which arises and radicalises at more and more places/projects (the(nuclear) reprocessing plant at Wackersdorf, armament, environmental pollution), also against the anti-capitalist/anti-imperialist resistance and that of the guerrilla organisations, (RAF (Red Army Fraction), RZ (Revolutionary Cells)),

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Resistance is to be smashed through the restriction of the right to demonstrate, the outlawing of masks (on demonstrations), the banning of assemblies and events (National Conference of the Anti-Nuclear Movement, the meeting in Munich on the situation of the (political) prisoners), censorship and seizure of our papers ('Radiaktiv', 'Radikal', 'Freiraum' etc.), expansion of paragraph 129A (the law allowing heavy prison sentences for sabotage), collaboration between cops and the secret service, armament of cops (rubber bullets), etc. The new security laws are also directed at strikes, industrial struggles etc. that are imminent. Paragraph 129A covers future sabotage actions in the factory (calling it "interference with the economic infrastructure"), just as it covers "the cutting down of electricity pylons". With this they are trying to stifle every discussion amongst us, and the spreading of the discussion of militant forms of action. Everyone who puts up serious resistance to their organisation here is criminalised. Struggle against the capitalist power relations, for a self-determined life, always means struggle against the prisons as well as against high-security sections, isolation-torture, censorship and prohibition of self-determined communication. Anyone who does not submit their identity to the conditions of total control in prison, who does not conform without resistance, loses their right to exist. Permanent observation, separation and isolation are meant to hinder or destroy all solidarity, collectivity and discussion. The function of the system's prisons is to cater for those who do not submit themselves to capitalist living and exploitation conditions, and are seen in the eyes of the law of the State as necessarily criminal. These laws of the State are, of course, guided primarily by the profit interests of capital.
THE CENSUS: an instrument of the rulers to sound out "their people", to make them computable, governable. The essence and purpose of the whole procedure (estimated total cost is £250 million) is a) the apparatus gets a general view of social relations/structures (social flashpoints, possible trouble spots etc., can be pinpointed and dealt with before they flare up); b) the capitalists use the information gathering for, among other things, investment programmes, e.g. industrial development in areas with a low wage level, housing development etc.; c) the controversial projects are set up in supposedly politically stable areas, e.g. the nuclear reprocessing plant.

A step towards central recording, collection and co-ordination of the population is the machine-readable identity card.

INTERNATIONAL WORKING CLASS.

Already at the end of the last century, the then still young industrial proletariat were fighting against capital. As a first step towards liberation from wage-labour it demanded at that time, the introduction of the 8 hour day. In the year 1889 delegates from all over the world discussed at an international conference the necessity of an international day of struggle of the working class, and finally decided it should be on the 1st of May. Since then, every May 1st has been the symbol of the struggle that takes place the whole year through, and the right to have that symbolic day of struggle has had to be fought for again and again all over the world. On that day, workers were, and still are, imprisoned, sacked, and shot, over and over again. For example, in 1929 in Berlin, the Social-Democratic Police Chief Zoergibel let his police open fire on the demonstration. In Germany, the fascists were the first to succeed in twisting this day of struggle. Through the smashing of revolutionary organisations and by bringing the Unions into line, they succeeded in blotting out the awareness of a day of struggle against wage labour and capital in many peoples heads. Instead, work in itself is now celebrated on Labour Day. After the war, the capitalists and the DGB (installed with the help of the Allied capitalists), both agreed at once to keep this model, it fitted too well into their concept of social partnership. In recent years, however, more and more people here have also realised again, that the 1st of May can now, as before, be an important instrument in our struggle, as shown by strong anti-capitalist
ANTI-CAPITALIST WEEK
1st MAY.
What we want is to overcome the division between political and economic struggles, which means a coming together of our anti-NATO, anti-nuclear, South Africa and Central America fights with the struggles for daily survival (rent, work, social security and dole office, school etc.). It is however first necessary that it is not done by going on weekends to the flashpoints of our 'political struggles', like 'Staartbahn' (Frankfurt Airport's newest runway, of strategic value to NATO), women's camps, the (nuclear) reprocessing plant at Hanau, Hamburg (squatting movement centre) etc. etc., to fight there, to experience collectivity and develop our self-determined forms of life – so that on Monday we can carry on our lonely economic struggle again... in the realm of production, reproduction. This policy exactly contradicts our political action. We live in a society whose reality is on every level subject to the diktat of Capital accumulation, every decision is guided by the optimum use of capital. So all contradictions that arise (e.g. the reprocessing plant, pollution, Pershing, unemployment, property speculation, and genetic technology) can be traced back to one and the same cause: the antagonism between Capital and the working class. For us the point is therefore to smash the crystallisation-point of capitalist domination, i.e. first of all to recognise and foil their strategy.

Concretely, when capital carries out the restructuring of society as a whole to solve its crisis, i.e. installs new forms of organisation to secure control, the precise point is to analyse this plan, turn it around and direct it against capital. That means class-consciousness, which means coming from the technical class analysis created by capital, to the political one. The subject of discussion should be: the life and work structures planned by capital, the hierarchies enforced from above, industrial society and patriarchy; that means establishing our counter-power where their power arises.

Against their capitalist plan, we use the militant debate, the demystification of the ruling order on all levels, and the understanding of our politics in relation to class. To determine our position in the international class struggle, and in order to discuss strategy for individual struggles, we planned the anti-capitalist week, so that we could clarify our own anti-capitalist theory from a class standpoint and, in addition, we make the point that our struggle does not stop at an abstract/reformist resistance, but is directed at the capitalist system in its entirety.

AUTONOMOUS PLENUM OF SOUTHERN GERMANY.

translated by Roland Luke