

A MODEST PROPOSAL . . .

REVOLUTION

A HASTILY ASSEMBLED COLLECTION
OF THE BEST FROM THE FIRST TWO
YEARS OF **REVOLUTION**,
THE FIGHTING PAPER FOR WORKING
CLASS YOUTH.

PRICE 50P

JOIN US! PHONE 0171 357 0388

INTRODUCING. . .

REVOLUTION

Welcome, reader, to this compilation of ancient texts from the distant past of our species.

Back in the last years of the twentieth century, only a few decades before the final overthrow of prehistoric class society, many people - incredible as it may now seem - thought that there was no alternative to endless exploitation, oppression, bloodshed, toil and war. Though millions ached for change, the numbers who held a vision of the communist future we now enjoy seemed pitifully small.

The following articles - painstakingly typed on ludicrously primitive 'personal computers' - are a record of how some individuals struggled for communism against all the odds. Some of these documents will at first appear unusual, even incomprehensible. But we appeal to the reader to try to imagine just what the world they lived in was like.

As we celebrate the fiftieth anniversary of the abolition of the two-hour working week, bear in mind that in those dark days the majority were forced to work - some for several hours every day - just in order to stay alive. The crude rationing system of 'money' bound every human being in invisible chains. Whole 'nations' were conquered and subjected to the will of others. Laughably, sex, dancing and MDMA were regarded as unhealthy things for young people to do. Skin colour and sexual orientation were used to distinguish between people and deny basic rights. A violent state with special armed 'police' existed to enforce control by the rich minority. Women were actually regarded as inferior to men!

Of course the style in which these ancient communists wrote seems disturbing to us today. Their violent rage has faded into the past along with the private property, armies and laws that caused it. So too their descriptions of the communist future seem naive and unrealistic. But how were even the most far-sighted of them to know how the world of freedom and abundance they fought for would finally surpass even their greatest hopes and expectations? To use their obsolete language of property and obligation, we 'owe' them a great 'debt'.

Diziet Sma (aged 8), for the Institute of Ancient Historical Studies, 25 December 2096.

CONTENTS

Action Reports	p3
Communism	p4-5
Capitalism	p6-7
Racism	p8-9
Brixton Riot	p10
Newbury protest	p11
War	p12-13
Animal Rights	p14
Arms Trade	p15
Democracy	p16-17
Ireland	p18-19
Criminal Justice	p20-21
Battle of Hyde Park	p22-23
Anarchism	p24-25
Drugs	p26-27
Sex	p28
Partying	p29
Women's Liberation	p30-31
Cars	p32
Environment	p33
Russia	p34-35

ALL ARTICLES ARE TAKEN FROM THE FIRST 18 ISSUES OF REVOLUTION, MARCH 1994 TO OCTOBER 1996.

STUDENT ACTION

Free Education for All!

BY SIMON, NOTTINGHAM TRENT UNIVERSITY

Centuries ago only the rich were educated. One of the ways in which the ruling classes produced their next generation was through an education system that only the privileged had access to. With the introduction of welfare state provisions, millions had the opportunity to get an education. That is not to say that the education system has ever been perfect. There have always been inequalities. But the education system is now moving backwards with education cuts, student loans, the graduate tax which Labour proposes and the possible introduction of students paying their own tuition fees. If this carries on then soon only the privileged and the rich will be able to go to university. The Tories are trying to create a more flexible workforce, this effectively means shoving working class youth into part time, temporary, low paid, low skilled jobs. After all, the capitalist bosses don't need educated mushroom pickers. The cuts also coincide with the introduction of the job seekers allowance, so after they've thrown you out of higher education, you can work part time for fuck all at MacDonaldis, Lucky you! Where does it end though? Once they've made us get a loan to go to university they'll have us get loans to have an operation in hospital. And if you can't afford that, tough shit, they'll find someone physically fit to pick mushrooms.

Thousands of students are living in poverty, classroom sizes are rocketing as universities pack in students to make more money. As numbers of students increase, resources decrease. We want to kick the market out of education and create a free and decent education for all.

Demo success

by Mike, Nottingham Trent Uni

Over 8000 enraged students took to the streets of London for a National Demonstration, on the 20th November, called for by the Campaign for Free Education (CFE). What did we want? Grants not loans!! The demo was a noisy protest against Tory cutbacks, the proposed imposition of tuition fees, (which, according to the committee of Vice-principals and Chancellors proposals, could leave us £20 grand in debt when we graduate!), and Blair's bright ideas about a Graduate tax, which means we'd have to spend up to 20 years paying for our degrees after we graduate!. We were also protesting against the NUS sucking up to the right wing by dropping their commitment to free education last year. NUS president Douglas Trainer lived up to his nickname of Gutless Traitor by actually sabotaging the demo, telling the press that there were only 1500 people there! It later turned out that this was, in fact, the case 3 hours BEFORE the Demo started!!!

At Nottingham Trent University, we organized over 300 students to go to the Demo - the second largest delegation. This was

despite a fairly hostile union council executive, several of whom actually voted against supporting the Demo! Between just a few of us, we proved that an organized network of student activists can beat the bureaucrats both locally and nationally.

The Tories and New Labour, as well as the ironically-named right-wing New Solutions group within the NUS, all claim that we can't afford free education. This is bollocks! We could easily afford the £5.5 billion necessary for free education, for example by introducing a heavy progressive tax on the rich. Altogether, the Tories have been giving away £10 billion per year to finance tax handouts to the rich and to big businesses owned by the rich. This money is ours by right! Fight for a truly free education system!!

- ¥ Free Education for All
- ¥ Tax the Rich to pay for it!
- ¥ Organise students to fight the NUS leaders who support the cutbacks
- ¥ Kick the market out of education!

What is Communism?

BY RICHARD BRENNER

South London

Communism. The word conjures up images of a grey world in which everyone is the same, where queues form for everyday goods, no-one can speak their mind for fear of the secret police, and everyone wears boring clothes. It is an image of uniformity, repression and sterility. Since the collapse of the Eastern European states in 1989, the word communism has carried with it another, even more negative, image - the image of failure.

But for us, communism means something different. It means fighting the deep-seated injustices of the system we live under today, siding with working class people all around the world when they fight for a better life, and pointing the way forward to a future free from poverty, oppression and war.

We live under the capitalist system. A handful of multi-millionaires own the majority of the world's wealth. While enough food is produced to feed the entire world, farmers are paid to destroy food that cannot be sold at a profit and millions of people go hungry. Every year tens of thousands of us leave school and go straight onto the dole or onto rip-off "training schemes" that have no jobs at the end of them. We are told there is not enough work to go round, but there are homes and hospitals to be built, education and transport systems to be improved, a million and one things that people could be doing to improve life for all of us. Whole countries in Africa, Asia, and Latin America are held in backwardness, not because these countries have less natural wealth than Europe, Japan or America, but because every decision that is made about what to produce and how to produce it is controlled by

the powerful Western banks and companies. All they want is to make huge profits, at the expense of the needs of the vast majority.

Communism is a criticism of the chaos and inhumanity of the capitalist system - but it goes further than that. Some people only want to dream of a better existence. For them there are a multitude of religions, every one of them preaching obedience to authority in the here and now in return for the worst deal ever offered - eternal bliss once you're six feet under. Communists make no such childish promises. Our answer is not to wait but to fight back now.

Communists believe that the most important thing dividing humanity is not race, nationality, sex or religion. It is class. Alongside the tiny handful of profiteers stands the working class. A billion strong and growing, with 100 million industrial workers at its core, the world working class is made up of people with no stake in the capitalist system. While the capitalists own factories, plant, machinery, huge blocks of shares and money to invest all over the world at the touch of a button, the working class have nothing besides a handful of hard-earned possessions and the ability to work. Our work produces everything, all the wealth on the planet, but it is owned and controlled by the capitalists.

From the struggle of black workers in South Africa through to the mass campaign against the Poll Tax in Britain, it has been the working class that

has come to the fore in the fight against exploitation and oppression. Out of its struggles the working class has pointed the way forward to a new type of society - in which production can be planned to meet real needs, in which all the work that needs to be done can be divided up between the millions of people available to do it.

Many people say communism is undemocratic. But look at the excuse for democracy that exists in this country today. We get the chance to put a cross on a piece of paper every five years, but all the real decisions are made for us by company directors, civil servants, judges, police and military chiefs that no-one ever elected and who come from the families of the rich and powerful.

The struggles of the working class throughout history show that there is a better way, a type of democracy that really puts people in control of their lives. Time and again, workers have formed their own democratic councils, which draw in delegates from the factories, the workplaces, the estates and the unions, and which elect representatives who can be replaced at any time, who are accountable to the people they are supposed to be fighting for. It was workers' councils of this type that formed the backbone of the Russian Revolution in 1917. In the early days of the revolution, the Russian working class had more real control, more power over their own lives than any other people in history. They used it to abolish the profit system and plan the economy for the good of the people.

That is what communists are fighting for today. If the working class was in power, then all the inequalities of

capitalist society could be gradually overcome. Instead of being used to throw more workers onto the dole, new machinery could be used to ease the burden of work, shortening the working week. Organising work for need rather than profit would enable jobs that are currently done in the home, such as educating children of pre-school age, doing the washing, cooking and so on, to be carried out in decent nurseries, laundries and restaurants, freeing women from the burden of doing the housework.

This would not be a grey, lifeless society, but one in which real democratic control would bring with it a riot of debate and discussion about the sort of world we want to build. We would have more time for leisure, more variety, more culture, more education, and more freedom. Instead of the vast organisations of state repression that the capitalist minority have to maintain to keep the working class majority in our place, a working class state would need no secret bureaucracy or permanent army set up against the people. For as long as the minority of capitalists still existed and fought to get back control, they could be resisted by the armed majority, organised on democratic lines. But without their private property, the capitalist class would eventually wither away, allowing all the tasks of the new working class state to be taken over by society as a whole.

That is our goal - a communist society without classes, private property or a state. It is possible because capitalism has made it possible by developing industries that can produce enough for all, and alongside it developing the working class, which can organise a new system under which all can enjoy what is produced. It is necessary because capitalism has made it necessary, by reducing the majority of humanity to poverty and desperation.

Communism is possible and is necessary, but it is not inevitable. There are tremendous obstacles to it. The first is the state apparatus. The police and army will be used against any serious attempt to get rid of the profit system. That is what they are there for. In Chile in 1973 the Socialist Party tried to change society along socialist lines through carrying out new laws in parliament. The army soon showed where the real power lies under capitalism, by overthrowing the elected government and murdering tens of thousands of the most determined workers.

That is why communists are revolutionaries. We know that all history shows the need for the workers to smash the capitalists' army, police and bureaucracy through a violent uprising. In their place we want government to be based on workers' councils and the armed working class.

There is another obstacle to communism. It is the nation state. No one country can hope to produce enough for its people by itself. The world economy is international. The Russian Revolution failed in the end because it did not spread to other countries in time. They had to trade and do deals with the West, and a layer of bureaucrats developed who grew rich and powerful from their position as middlemen. These parasites - the Stalinists - abandoned the idea of world revolution and claimed it would be possible to build communism in one country. They smashed the workers' organisations, abolished working class democracy, scrapped rights for women, national minorities, lesbians and gays. They threw real communists like Leon Trotsky out of the Communist Party and murdered them in their thousands. They tried to plan the economy without allowing the mass of the people any say in what should be produced, and they produced low quality goods and a drab existence for the masses. They have ended up trying to bring back capitalism to Russia, with all the mass unemployment, crime, nationalism and despair that it brings with it.

No wonder communism is a dirty word today. We have to restore its true meaning - world revolution, workers' democracy, equality and real freedom. ■



IDEAS

What do we mean by

CAPITALISM

“CAPITALISM” - you hear the word everywhere, but what is it? The simple answer is: **it's the system we live in.**

Today, nearly everything we need to live our daily lives - from Big Macs to bus rides - has to be paid for. Water, gas, electricity, housing, transport, food and clothing - the principle is the same: if you're broke, you can't have any.

And in this society there are vast divisions in wealth.

7% of the population of Britain own 84% of the wealth. Worldwide the difference is even bigger. Millions starve while a few thousands live in luxury lifestyles.

Teachers, politicians and the media try to portray this as a “natural” state of affairs: “it's always been like this, and it always will be”, they say.

But they're wrong. Early human societies were communal: they weren't divided into rich and poor and they shared property instead of having to buy and sell the things they needed.

After this, human history is a succession of different class societies: different systems of the rich exploiting the poor. We get the slavery of Ancient Greece and Rome, then the feudal system of knights, lords and peasants, and then we get capitalism.

CLASS DIVISIONS

Under capitalism the vast majority of the world's population is systematically deprived of any way of supporting itself other than working for an employer. Peasants are thrown off the land. The traditional “professional classes” like office workers and teachers are turned into wage slaves like the rest of us.

At the end of a week's work on a Sainsbury's supermarket check out,

you come away with only your wages. You do not own the equipment you use, the uniform you wear and you have no right to consume any of the mountains of food and drink you've passed through the barcode till. And, on £3.15 an hour - £126 for a 40 hour week - you won't be buying much of it either.

That makes you part of the working class - whether you like it or not.

PROFITS

Now let's look at the owner of Sainsburys, David Sainsbury. His annual salary is £362,000. That's £6,900 a week. “But he earns it”, your economics teacher might say. Of course that's rubbish: why are the skills of one person worth seventy six times more than another's (work it out!).

But consider this. In addition to his £362,000 salary David Sainsbury gets **£37.6 million a year** from share dividends. His real income is nearer £723,000 a week.

What are “share dividends”?

David Sainsbury does not just own a flash car and a few big houses. He owns a large part of the Sainsbury's supermarket chain as well. Share dividends are the shared out profits of Sainsbury's. It is this ability to make millions of pounds worth of profits from owning a business that makes David Sainsbury a *capitalist*.

Where do these profits come from? Part of them come from buying cheap and selling dear. Sainsburys buys fruit for a few pennies a kilo, in the third world, and “marks up” the price in Britain. But that is not the main source of profit. If all capitalists systematically charged too much for the things they sell there would be spiralling inflation and the system would collapse.

No, the real source of profit is the labour of all the people who work

for Sainsbury's: from the fruit pickers in Africa, to the lorry drivers who transport the fruit, to the checkout workers and shelf stackers in the store.

The harder David Sainsbury can make the workers work, and the lower the wages he can pay them, the bigger his “share dividend” will be at the end of the year.

“But it's still fair”, says your economics teacher: “Sainsbury's great grandfather gambled his savings setting up a corner shop, and anyway David Sainsbury is doing society a service, running the business that brought you Kiwi fruit and Sunday shopping - and he runs a massive charity.”

It clearly is not “fair” that one man makes millions while others work for peanuts. But that's not the whole point.

The real point is that the system does not work.

David Sainsbury and his marketing executives do not look at a Kiwi fruit as a piece of exotic food. They look at it as a potential profit maker. They do not look at Sunday opening as a great service for hard pressed working families, but as a way of maximising profit.

The same goes for all production under capitalism. If it makes a profit, it will be produced. If it does not, it won't.

If capitalism was a nice, easy-going system where every capitalist produced a profit every year this would not matter so much. But it is not.

CRISIS

Capitalism is an anarchic, crisis ridden system. Behind the backs of the marketing executives stalk market forces that are as unpredictable as the weather. Three times in the last 30 years big world economic

L I S M ?

crises have destroyed profit rates across entire industries.

Car factories have closed down, mines and shipyards have closed down, and even supermarkets - all because their owners could not make a profit.

Because of capitalism's tendency to produce dramatic crises, millions are condemned to either low pay or long-term unemployment. There are 2.7 million people unemployed in Britain. There are four million people working for less than £4 an hour, including the majority of 16-21 year olds.

And capitalism does not just affect your income.

It affects your **education** - as class sizes rise, as student grants are cut - all so that the bosses do not have to pay tax; so that they can take home more profits.

It affects your **health** - as the NHS is cut back, as we are made to eat diseased beef to maximise the profits of farming businesses.

It affects your **environment** - as rain-forests are felled so that the paper industry bosses can make easy profits, as dangerous nuclear power stations are kept running to provide cheap energy, and higher profits, for the capitalists.

It threatens your **life** - as the different capitalists of different countries squabble over who can make the biggest profits, they go to war.

Or rather, they send the low paid, poorly educated and unemployed youth off to die while they just watch on CNN.

It destroys your **mind** - you are bombarded from hoardings, TV ads and by fashion magazines with the message: buy these £100 trainers, buy these designer label clothes - or you're nobody.

Depression, suicide and low self-esteem are caused by capitalism - not by the individual sufferers.

But there is an answer.

Society could be organised as if people mattered.

We would have to start by taking the major industries, services and trade networks out of the hands of the big capitalists and putting them into the hands of the millions of working people.

We would have to plan production, using the latest and safest modern technology to make sure that people worked fewer and fewer hours a week, with more leisure time, more money and more high quality education and services to improve the quality of life.

By planning production, and by common ownership of the means of production we could begin to construct a society not based on profit but based on human need.

There would still be conflicts: should we build roads, bicycle networks or railway lines? Should rail transport be free or just cheap, with the fares used to subsidise aid to third world countries?

Dilemmas like these would be solved by workers' democracy.

A utopia? No. It's a necessity. And by creating a massive working class who have nothing to lose from ending the profit system - and everything to gain - capitalism itself has created its own gravedigger.

Again and again over the last two hundred years working class people have entered the road of revolution. Some successes, and many failures, have littered our history.

But capitalism holds no future for the human race other than the destruction of the environment, mass poverty and unemployment, disease and war.

Capitalism's not natural, its not fair and its not permanent. It will produce either socialism or barbarism. Which will it be?

That's up to you! ■



WHEELER DEALERS WHO CONTROL OUR LIVES

The roots of ra

RACIST BRITAIN: THE FACTS

John Major says he is opposed to "any barrier built on race". But just look at the facts:

JOBS

Black people are twice as likely to be unemployed than white people. One in ten young men are unemployed - but for young black men the figure is one in five.

STATUS

Black workers have far less chance of being promoted. On London Underground one in three of the workers is black, but an incredible 97% of managers are white. White workers are twice as likely to get promoted.

HOUSING

In Tower Hamlets, East London, the Nazi BNP won votes by claiming that black people get better housing than whites. The opposite is true. 25% of all people in Tower Hamlets are black, but 80% of council houses in the borough are occupied by whites. Black people are given the worst accommodation.

PAY

The trade unions have exposed the fact that on average black workers get paid 15% less than white workers.

COURTS

The courts and the judges are far more likely to send black people to prison. Ethnic minorities are only around 5% of the whole population. But 16% of all male prisoners are black. For women it is even worse. 28% of female prisoners are black.

IMMIGRATION

The government keeps making it

harder for black people to get into Britain. But there have been no limits on the number of white immigrants from Australia, New Zealand and South Africa. Black people trying to get in have been herded into terrible prisons like the Campsfield Detention centre, where they are denied basic human rights. But the rich can come and go as they please - if you have £150,000 the Tories will let you live here regardless of race, creed or colour.

VIOLENCE

In 1988 there were an estimated 4,000 racist attacks on black people. By 1993 there were 140,000! Discrimination against black people creates the idea that blacks are "aliens", encouraging cowardly racist thugs like the gangs that killed black teenager Stephen Lawrence and put Asian schoolboy Quddus Ali on a life support machine. These attackers were never brought to justice by the police.

POLICE

The police are worse than useless at 'protecting' black people. They are racist killers themselves. When a special police squad came to deport Joy Gardner in 1993, they tied 7 feet of tape round her mouth, suffocating her to death. Her family are still fighting for justice. And only last month police in South London killed Brian Douglas after stopping him on the street for "routine" questioning. They smashed his skull with their new US-style truncheons.

These facts speak for themselves. John Major is a bloody liar. Britain is a racist society - racist to the core. ■

What causes racism? REVOLUTION does not believe that racism is just part of human nature. If that were true, there would be no point in fighting back against all the injustice that racism causes. Instead we believe that racism is part and parcel of the capitalist profit system.

Britain once ruled over a vast and powerful Empire, spanning the globe. Britain conquered large parts of Africa and the whole of India.

The rich businessmen that rule Britain made millions and millions of pounds from these colonies. They stole food, minerals and precious stones. They enslaved millions of Africans and transported them to America and the West Indies in the slave trade. They forced millions of Africans and Indians to work for very low wages, and they made enormous profits as a result.

When the victims of this system fought back, the British army crushed them using the best weapons technology could create. For years they steadfastly refused to meet the demands of the colonial peoples for independence. At Amritsar in India in 1919, the British Army shot down hundreds of Indian men, women and children in a bloody massacre.

At home the British ruling class tried to present themselves as democrats and "good Christians". But in the Empire the people were denied any rights at all.

To justify this, the capitalists developed the ideas of modern racism.

To explain why the British and European colonialists had the "right" to trade in slaves as if they were cattle, and to kill them like animals, the colonialists had to pretend that black people were not really human.

Theories started to appear suggesting that black people were really closer to apes than humans. These lies became very deep-rooted; we still hear echoes of these sick ideas in racist taunts in the playground and the classroom today.

Books claiming to be "scientific" appeared in the 1800s trying to "prove" that black people were inferior.

This was the same as the books circulated by the Nazis which argued that Jews were "subhuman". The same arguments appear today in the writings of US psychologists who claim that black people are "naturally" less intelligent.

It is all lies. It is nothing more than an excuse for oppression and mass murder.

ism what it is and how to fight it

The British Empire came to an end in the years after the Second World War. Today - with a handful of exceptions - Britain does not rule over its old colonies directly. But Britain, along with France, America and other prosperous advanced countries, still has the main say in the

running of the former colonies.

Big western companies decide what is produced and where. They force whole countries to produce things for the West, not for themselves. The former colonies have to pay off massive debts to the Western banks, which keeps them stuck in

terrible poverty.

The 'advanced' countries are still imperialists, exploiting the Third World and keeping millions below the poverty line. The former colonies are independent in nothing more than name: they are *semi-colonies*.

And how do the imperialists explain away the terrible poverty and suffering that their system causes? Through racism, of course.

They blame it all on the people of Africa and India themselves, for their "backwardness", "laziness", "corruption" and so on. And when people try to escape from this awful situation and come to the West, they keep them out with racist laws.

That is why we say that capitalism created racism, and keeps it going today. Racism is the capitalists' excuse for hundreds of years of crimes against black people. ■



Divide and rule...

There is another reason why the capitalists spread racist ideas: to keep the working class divided.

It's simple if you think about it. The capitalists have to blame somebody for all the problems their system creates. So they blame the victims. Black people become the scapegoats for the ills of capitalism.

These ideas can take a hold because many white workers want to keep themselves 'one step above' their black brothers and sisters.

Slightly higher wages, slightly better chances of getting a job or promotion, slightly better housing - all these things - according to racist ideas - need to be 'defended' against the claims of black people.

But the cost of defending the racist system is high for white workers too. Racist ideas weaken the struggles of all workers, including whites.

One report from American experts proved that where black workers suffer discrimination or lower wages than whites, the bosses will use this to push down all wages. In areas where there is less discrimination, wages of all workers will tend to be higher. Unity is strength.

Some black activists believe that white workers are so corrupted by racism that there is no chance of a united fight against the system. Instead they argue for

a separate black struggle against racism.

This is understandable given the long history of racism in Britain, and the racist actions of the Labour Party. In government in the past Labour has brought in racist immigration controls, and today Tony Blair supports increased powers for the racist police. But separatism is no answer to this.

Black people make up at most 6% of the population. This is just not enough to overthrow the root cause of racism - the capitalist system and the state that defends it. But the working class as a whole - black and white - makes up the overwhelming majority of the population. United in struggle, the working class could bring the whole racist system crashing down.

And workers can unite.

During the Great Miners' Strike of 1984, many miners who had previously been very racist discovered that black workers were among their most determined supporters.

The money collected in support of the miners in black communities was enormous. The miners suffered under extreme violence from the police throughout the strike, and this caused them to see police harassment of black youth in a different light.

As one miner told black delegates to

the miners' support committee in Birmingham: "Now we know what you have had to put up with. You have supported us. In the future we must support you."

Unity of black and white workers will not happen automatically - it will have to be fought for. One way of fighting for it is black self-organisation within the workers' movement - like the black workers caucuses and conferences in the unions. But neither Labour nor black separatism has the answers that can unite black and white workers.

Instead we have to build up a revolutionary youth movement and a new revolutionary working class party, to unite black and white workers in the fight for:

- *An end to all discrimination in housing, education and jobs.

- *Organised self-defence against police, racist and fascist attacks.

- *The abolition of all immigration controls, an end to all deportations of black people and the closure of the Campsfield Detention centre.

- *Cancel the Debts of the Third World countries to Western banks.

- *For a united working class fight against the system that causes racism: the capitalist profit system.

- Join REVOLUTION in the fight against racism and capitalism! ■

BRIXTON REBELLION!

“**H**E kept screaming for them to stop, but they just carried on smacking him, then they handcuffed him, threw him up against the van and beat him some more.”

These are the words of a witness who looked from a window as the Metropolitan Police delivered their fatal blows to Wayne Douglas before Christmas.

Wayne was hunted down on the streets of Brixton for a burglary offence. He is South London's second victim of new U.S.- style police batons. In May last year Brian Douglas was killed after repeated blows to the head.

On 13 January 1995, 300 people stood outside Brixton police station to demand Justice. The following events set Brixton ablaze.

Below **REVOLUTION** talks to Laurrainne Hall from Brixton, to find out how the Uprising of the 13th made international headlines.

What did you think of the picket?

It was for a good cause. The police killed Wayne Douglas. They just make people hate the police more.

Just because people hate them the police think they have the right to kill black people. A black lawyer made some good speeches, he done his speech blatantly and he said what we the people of Brixton are thinking.

How did the picket result in an uprising?

You see the police, right, they were there winding people up and we were there to show that we care for each other and we are not going to stand for their racist actions any more. Its not just now that the police have been killing black people, it is only now that people are fighting



INTERVIEW

against it, a lot of black people still

do not know what the police do to us.

The protest wanted to move from the station and walk through the main street to tell people what had happened to Wayne, but the police came out dressed in riot gear with weapons, vans and horses which came out of nowhere.

How did the uprising break out?

Wherever we marched the police started to follow us. It was like we could not even protest in our own area. By the time we reached the

middle of the shopping area people just exploded

The media show the victims of the uprising to be the black businesses - what is your view?

Black people are not benefiting from the black businesses anyway. Enough black people work there but nothing really belongs to the black people.

I mean the Brixton Challenge say that they are putting money into the community, but black people still can't get no jobs, most of the people I know are on the dole and I have lived in Brixton all my life. Most people have to find their own money.

The police talked more about looting that night than the murders of Wayne and Brian Douglas. How did this affect Brixton?

I don't like the word looting - it sounds as if people were doing it for fun. No one was out

there for fun, we

were on the streets to tell the police that they

can not get away with murder. Even the papers showed that they were all concerned about the shops more than the reason for the riot. The front page of one paper showed the police guarding Top Shop but it never showed you people dragging posh cars out of show rooms and burning them in anger. Unless the police fix up then there is going to be more like that in the future.

For the majority of people in Brixton, were the riots a black thing?

The police affect white people as well, there was white people there the night of the riot. When we take out our anger, then the white people

are taking their anger out on the police with us and that's good. But the police only see black people in a riot, any way it was a white person who broke Morleys' window and he weren't no photographer either. The white people of Brixton see black people being harassed every day so they know and they understand what its like for us.

What is the future for struggle against police violence against the black communities of Brixton?

What we are up against is like the statement of Paul Condon, the Police Commissioner. He says all

black men are muggers - this gives the police a licence to kill black people with stop and search powers. So we as youth have to fight this image of black people from the police.

We also have to fight the-BNP who also want to kill black people, 'cos the police won't stop them. We have to stop people being killed in Britain just because they are black, for every murder is a space in our families that can't be replaced.

We also have to fight against the laws that stop black people coming to Britain- we have to stop black people being thrown out of the

country.

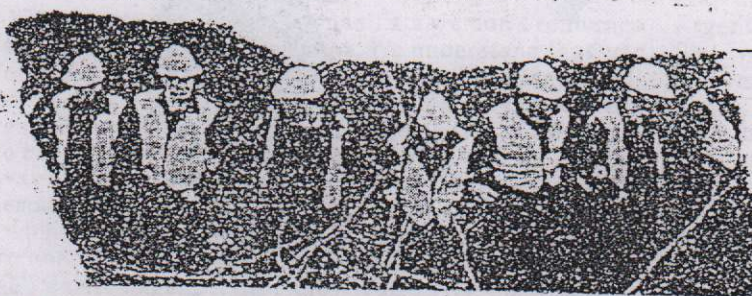
Every day they try and make it harder and harder for black people to live in this world. We have to stop fighting each other and fight back.



Justice MEETING

THURS 8 FEB

7.30 Brixton Recreation Centre
Speakers from Wayne Douglas
Campaign and Brian Douglas
Campaign.



NEWBURY PROTESTS

THE LATEST protests against the extensive road building in Newbury have come to a temporary stop, with protesters out of most trees and cleared from the area. This has only come about after months of daily battles between environmentalists in trees and coach-loads of bailiffs in their bulldozers and cherry-pickers. Even though the protest has lasted for a very long time, after the long M11 campaign which ended last year, the protesters could not passively resist the armed force of the law for ever.

There have been hundreds of people going down to Newbury over the last year, protesting against the government's road-building plans. There are nationwide networks of environmental groups, many in the Freedom Network, who have been involved in organising big protests, building tree houses, and securing trees from the hands of the bailiffs and security guards.

All the protesters have been attempting to stop or delay the clearing of trees in Reddings Copse and around Newbury; they are also trying to halt the government's general plans for road building, against "the bloody State steamrolling everything".

There have been many battles

between protesters and the Sheriff's office, backed up by hundreds of well-armed security guards, trained rock climbers, and coach loads of police.

They are the real face of the law! The protesters have been able to stop work for days, costing the local council thousands in police bills. Just as the police are trained to do, they have been going into the protesters in force, with all the weapons that they are allowed (as well as others which they have just "picked up"). With hundreds of security guards and police 24 hours a day, the protesters have had a heavy time trying to survive in their tree-top perches; with at least 40 arrests whenever an eviction takes place, not to mention the numbers of environmentalists injured, beaten up and left with broken bones!

REVOLUTION is against the government's plans to spend huge sums on road building at the same time as cutting funds for rail and bus transport. We demand that the government re-nationalise every area of public transport and provide funding for the extension of any necessary service. An integrated national transport policy is the only way to keep congestion, pollution and long

delays for commuters to a minimum.

But we are not against roads in themselves. We are reds, not greens.

We think it is pointless to oppose "the modern world" - we want to go forward to a planned socialist future, not back to some impossible version of the 'small scale' communities of the past.

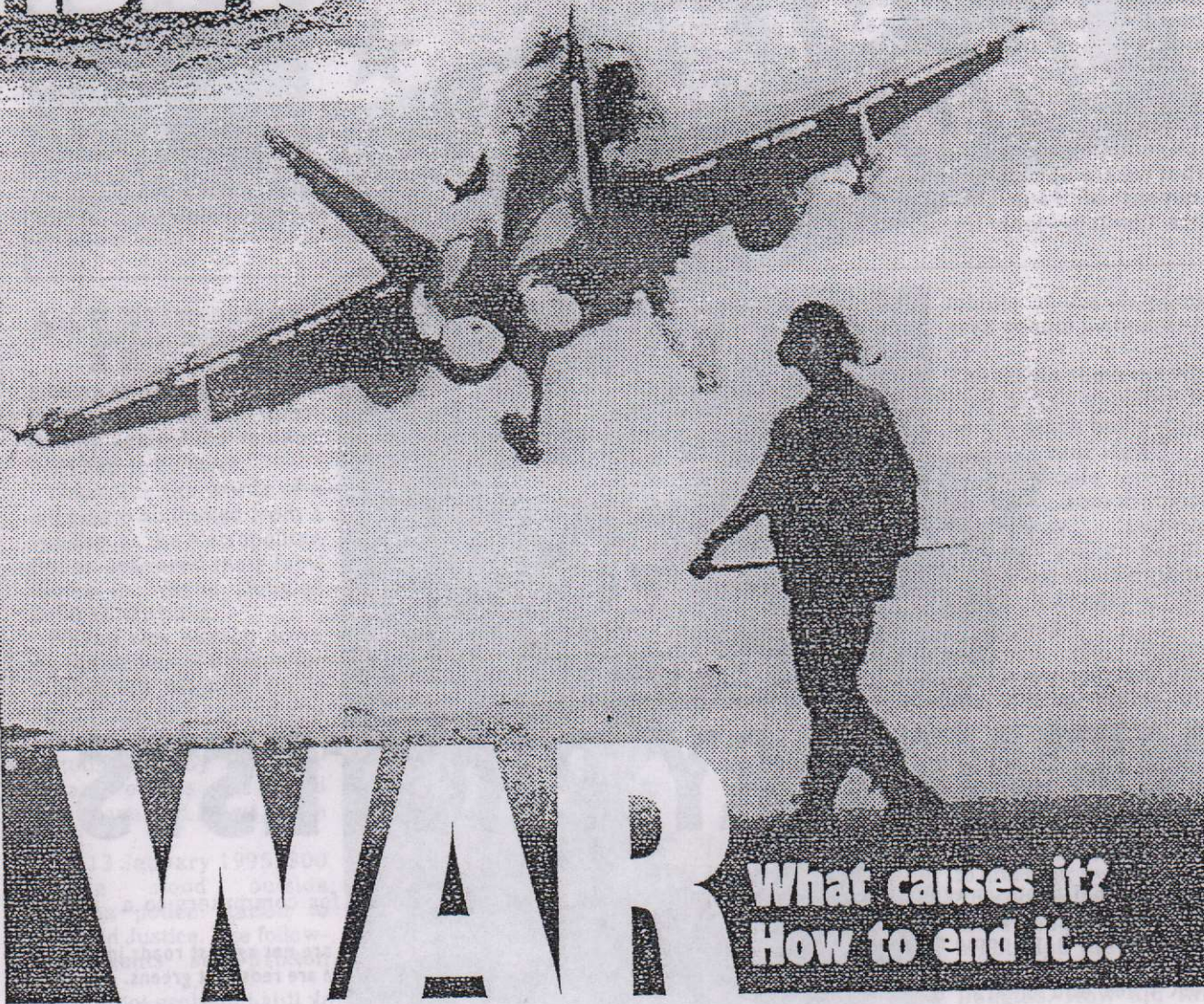
It is the possibilities that modern industry and technology have brought that will make it possible for a socialist world to house and feed everyone.

The only way of defending the environment in the long term is by workers taking control of the polluting factories, investigating them and ensuring that they are cleaned up; all this will be done with money taken from the bosses, not from the working people.

Anything that cannot be made safe should be closed and other jobs on full pay found for the workers.

To restore our planet into the next millennium the only system capable of supporting and monitoring the environment is one which takes the defence of the working class - automatically tied to the fate of the whole world in which we live - as its supreme goal. ■

4 IDEAS



What causes it?
How to end it...

US PLANE TAKES OFF OVER BOSNIA: WHERE NEXT?

BOSNIA: Hundreds of thousands have spent the past two years amidst terror and barbarity: Families destroyed, women systematically raped, sons and daughters butchered. In multi-ethnic Bosnian cities defenceless citizens have faced a daily nightmare of shelling and destruction by racist Serb armies wanting an ethnically cleansed "Greater Serbia".

Rwanda: Hundreds of thousands butchered. Rivers literally choked with bodies. Thousands more fleeing for their lives from genocide, left starving and without proper sanitation and medicine in squalid refugee camps.

Despite claims by John Major and Bill Clinton that we are living in a "New World Order" of peace and stability, one look at the real world shows a different picture.

We are living in a world of disorder, bloodshed and misery, where vicious nationalism has led to wars of eth-

nic cleansing and genocide. But that is not all. Across the globe, from the refugee camps of the Gaza Strip to Mexico and Kurdistan, workers, peasants and youth are fighting back against exploitation and brutality.

An estimated 100 million people have died in wars this century. But why? Is it because people just can't live together, is it in our nature to fight with each other? Or is it all down to a few power crazy dictators hell bent on military expansion and war?

These explanations are too simplistic. Wars are conflicts over material wealth, territory and resources. They raise the question: who will own and control the wealth of society?

At the start of this century the world was divided into on the one hand a few powerful nations such as Britain, Germany and France and on the other hand colonies such as India, Algeria and Egypt. The colonies were subjected to military

occupation, direct rule and daylight robbery by the major powers. In their quest for profits and markets, and using sheer force of arms, the governments of these rich capitalist nations divided up the world to secure protected markets for their goods and investments, access to resources and cheap labour.

This is what Marxists call Imperialism. It is a worldwide system in which a handful of countries dominate the "Third World" - the majority of the world's population - through military force and economic control. A hundred years ago imperialism was naked and undisguised - India was run by an appointed British dictator, the Viceroy of India. Today, many of the former colonies have been granted "independence", but real political and economic control still rests with the big Western banks and companies: these semi-colonial countries are in desperate poverty while at the same time they have to pay a fortune in debt repay-

ments and interest to the imperialist banks.

The most brutal and barbaric wars this century were the First and Second World Wars when the full might of the imperialists' war machines were let loose.

The First World War was a war between the great powers in Europe about who should control the rich resources of Africa, Asia and Latin America. Germany's economic expansion threatened the empires of Britain and France. So they sent millions of young workers to the killing fields to defend their colonial conquests. The Russian revolutionary Lenin explained the real character of the war:

"Picture to yourselves a slave-owner who owned 100 slaves warring against a slave-owner who owned 200 slaves for a more "just" distribution of slaves."

Historians and present day politicians would like us to believe that the Second World War was a war waged against fascism in Germany. This is a lie. Britain stood by while Hitler rose to power. All the European powers stood by when the Nazis began rounding up Jewish people, socialists and gays and sent them to the death camps. Only when it became clear to Britain and France that Germany's expansion would threaten their economic interests and colonies did they change their tune.

They tricked the masses into believing that the war against Germany was a war for democracy. But while they talked of democracy these very same governments maintained rule over their colonies such as India where there was no democracy at all.

The bosses never defended the rights of ordinary workers and peasants. What they defended was their property, privileges and profit.

The working class across the world were sent to kill each other while the capitalists made fortunes out of the war. In the name of "national unity" workers were expected to declare a truce in the class struggle, while the bosses were free to go on attacking workers wages, conditions and democratic rights.

Socialists did not support these wars. Unlike the Labour and trade union leaders, who at the time rallied to the side of the bosses and called for the "defence of the nation", socialists told the truth. They were wars between robbers who were fighting over who would have the biggest share of the loot, and because of this, workers should not support their governments. Workers in Britain had more in common with their fellow workers in Germany and

India than they did with their British bosses.

Revolutionary socialists declared: "The main enemy is at home! Turn your guns on your bosses, not your fellow workers and soliders. Turn this war of imperialist aggression into a civil war against profit, slavery and oppression!"

Socialists' attitude towards war is fundamentally different to those who consider themselves pacifists. This is because socialists recognise that for as long as class oppression and exploitation exist there will always be wars. So long as the drive for profit continues, the struggle for markets and domination of the world will take on a more and more destructive character.

Unlike pacifists we don't renounce all violence. We understand that war cannot be abolished until imperialism is overthrown and replaced with international socialism. If this could be done by pleading with the capitalists to put down their arms or by lighting joss sticks and singing "Give Peace a Chance", then war would have been abolished a long time ago.

But they won't give up without a fight. To abolish the real cause of wars we will need a violent revolution against the warmongers.

Revolutionary socialists oppose the militarism of the exploiters. But we support wars waged against imperialism and oppression.

The war fought heroically by the Vietnamese workers and peasants against the military might of the USA was a just war.

Millions of workers rallied to the side of the Vietnamese. Thousands of youth across Europe and the USA demonstrated against the war in Vietnam.

Anti-war students in the USA who condemned the role of the USA in Vietnam were repressed and even shot by the US state. The victory of the Vietnamese against the USA proved it was possible to fight back

against economic exploitation and military aggression. It showed that the "world policeman" was not invincible.

Today socialists have to oppose the wars of the imperialist powers whenever they take place.

We insist that not a penny and not a person should be sacrificed for wars for profit. But we support just wars against oppression, imperialism and racist genocide. "Turn the other cheek" is not a revolutionary principle. To liken the violence of the slaveowner who puts a slave in chains with the violence of the slave who breaks the chains is nothing but pathetic cowardice.

That is why we side with semi-colonial countries like Iraq and Argentina when they come into conflict with imperialism, and with movements for national independence like the Irish, Kurdish and Palestinian freedom fighters.

We support the youth in Tahiti who are fighting against the French conquest of their country. We back the Bosnian forces who are fighting against the ethnic cleansing carried out by the Serbs.

At the same time we oppose the imperialist hypocrites of the NATO powers, who have disarmed the Bosnians and are now bombing the Serbs to force all sides into an unjust settlement which will still leave Bosnia carved up along ethnic lines.

The road to real peace is the road of class war.

We have to fight to rid society of imperialism and replace it with a world socialist federation, in which the resources of the planet can be democratically planned for the benefit of everyone, and where there will be no rich capitalists to set us against each other on national, "ethnic" or racial lines. Only socialism can stop war.

Our loyalty is not to "our own" exploiters, but to the workers of the world and the future of humanity. ★



Animal experiments

Animal wrongs

Dear Revolution,

To many left-wing youth, animal rights and environmentalism is for ageing hippies and "trendy" middle class spoilt kids. But in reality, there is a lot more behind many of the animal rights and environmental issues of today than most people believe.

For a lot of people, there is this misconception that animal rights and environmentalism is a totally different issue to oppression and exploitation by the ruling capitalists. This is a misconception that has always been taught to us and is still a major problem that must be tackled.

Just because the massive multinational pharmaceutical companies tell us that animal experimentation is necessary, we don't have to believe their lies. These major companies do their secretive vivisection on animals instead of using new highly developed technology because they will lose some money in changing over. All these experiments are done secretly and the results are hardly ever published because there is so much competition in the development of new drugs as it brings in loads and loads of money for the discovering company. This is yet another case of putting the wealth of a few people above the needs of millions of others by not bringing together all the investigating teams from all over the world.

With farming, there's a similar story, as large companies own intensive battery farms and keep as many animals in as small a space possible to maximise their profits. These companies don't care how poor the living conditions of the animals or the farm workers are. They only care if the animals carry diseases and illnesses onto humans if it decreases the amount of money that they make. The thing is that not

eating animals or animal products cuts out having to grow crops for these animals to eat and creates more food and land to grow more crops on, which could greatly reduce famine all over the world.

Another thing that stinking rich capitalists do is just kill or seriously wound animals within the guise of "sport". These people just go out on fox hunts in their pomp and ceremony and then merely chase after a wild fox they find, or, more commonly, chase a fox that has already been captured and is just released in front of them. This "sport" and others similar to it are just the capitalists' way of showing the power they still hold. This power is demonstrated whenever a hunt saboteur is arrested by the police for trying to save a fox's life.

A lot of the factories and industries present today are needed, but the way they pollute and deplete many of the world's resources are not necessary. This destruction is occurring because the factory owners don't want to spend the money on cleaning up their factories, instead they spend their money on their own private health care. All this pollution and waste is not in workers' favour, quite the opposite, when the workers finally control their own working conditions, they will want to have as nice an environment as possible without the health fears that pollution is causing.

We should unite in the fight against the capitalists and all join in the fight to put the working class, the majority of the people, in control, a true democracy! ■

Adam Knight-Markiegi

So either we produce food so we don't starve be it animal or vegetable, both of which involve killing animals, or we go back to a hunter/gatherer existence.

Adam also uses the argument that if we stop eating meat the crops grown to feed animals could be used to reduce famine.

However there is already enough food in the world to ensure no-one starves.

It is the fact that distributing the food to areas of need such as Africa and Asia is

Dear Revolution,

I am replying to Adam's letter in the last issue. It is true that capitalism is largely responsible for the sad state of the environment today.

From not using techniques to reduce pollution to companies keeping the development of technology that will help improve things secret, the blame lies with profit.

However the question of "animal rights" is not so simple. I agree that humans have a responsibility not to inflict unnecessary suffering on animals. However do animals have rights the same as we have rights? Let's suppose they do. We could not kill animals under any circumstances.

If we take the plague in India for example. It is spread by rats. Should we tell the people there not to kill these rats as it is a violation of their rights? No, of course not because this plague could potentially wipe out millions. Therefore the lives of animals are subordinate to ours.

In terms of food many vegetarians would argue that we should give up eating meat because we can produce more vegetable food from a certain area than animal. However being able to have a

field of wheat has only happened because we have created farming land in many cases by clearing forests. This would have meant killing animals directly (the ones that live on trees) and indirectly (by removing their habitats).

So it is clear that we have always controlled our environment and must continue to do so. This effects animals. Most of the animals we eat don't just happen to be there but are produced and farmed by humans for our consumption.

unprofitable so the surplus food is destroyed instead. The world going vegetarian would under the present system have no effect on the starving millions. The only way of feeding the world is by distributing food whether it is profitable or not and that will only happen under socialism.

Shu,
Manchester

ARMS TRADE

BY COLIN (NORTH LONDON)

DEALING IN DEATH



FACT FILE

- The world arms trade is worth \$22 billion a year
- Each year third world countries spend \$125 billion on their armed forces. 4% of this could give primary education to all. 12% could provide health care and safe drinking water worldwide.
- Britain, France, the USA, Russia and China make up the United Nations "Security Council" which is supposed to stop war. Meanwhile they supply most of the weapons to third world countries!
- Officially world arms spending has fallen. But arms markets are awash with second hand weapons and prices have plummeted.★

BRITISH BOSSES AND THE ARMS TRADE
IN 1992 Britain went to war with Iraq. The reason was not to protect "democracy" but the unelected billionaire oil Sheiks of Kuwait.

Iraq was supposed to be under an arms embargo, because of the Iran-Iraq war in the

1980s. But British soldiers faced arms, including chemical weapons, made with British equipment and British help. The reason was money for British bosses. In 1989 Britain channeled \$9.75 million of loans to Iraq to buy British tools for Iraqi chemical weapons plants.

In 1991 Tory Foreign Secretary Douglas Hurd said that repressive regimes should not expect Britain to "support their folly." Weeks later the military regime in Indonesia shot 400 unarmed demonstrators in East Timor. The same year British aid to Indonesia increased by 250%, to £81 million a year. Now Britain is their biggest arms supplier.

Britain used over half its money for "over-seas aid" to fund the Pergau Dam in Malaysia. In return they got a huge arms deal with the military dictatorship which runs Malaysia.

The British capitalists and their government are not friends of democracy. They are friends of money - especially their own.

When it suits them, our rulers are also quite prepared to stop people getting hold of guns. For the last three years the Bosnians have been defending themselves and their multi-ethnic towns and cities against genocide and "ethnic cleansing". So Britain and the United Nations imposed an arms embargo on all three sides in the Bosnian war to stop them getting weapons. But the Serbs have their own arms industry. Britain has really only stopped the Bosnians from getting arms by sending the Royal Navy to search every ship bound for Bosnia.

If you want to buy arms from the British government, you had better be an unelected dictatorship fighting your own people, not defending yourself from a racist holocaust in Bosnia or East Timor.■

FACT: In 1987 Margaret Thatcher negotiated the biggest arms deal in history between Britain and Saudi Arabia [an unelected, brutally repressive regime]. Her son, arms dealer Mark Thatcher, raked in an estimated £5 million "commission" for closing the deal.■

What we Think

There is a stench of hypocrisy surrounding the arms trade - and a stench of death. But wars don't happen because arms exist. A gun on its own won't kill anyone - it has to be fired for that. Wars happen because capitalist governments fight each other over territory and resources. The biggest capitalist powers are imperialists - they dominate the world economically and politically. They use armed force to smash any third world government that steps out of line, and especially any attempt at revolution.

So should we call for a ban on all arms production? Imagine you are Kurdish. You live under the military occupation of your country by Turkey. The government bombs your village with napalm and rounds up the young men for torture and interrogation. You might join the guerilla resistance. But you will need a gun. The Turkish army has plenty, supplied by Britain, Germany and the USA. The last thing you need is western liberals telling you "the arms trade should be stopped, starting with you".

Calls to ban the arms trade miss the point. So do individual acts of protest like putting your money in a "humanitarian" bank which doesn't finance arms deals. This will change nothing.

It is the hypocrisy of the capitalist arms trade that stinks. We call for the arms industry to be nationalised under workers' control to stop this obscene profiteering in death. And we want an end to all secret government deals so we can all know just what our rulers are really doing. Aid - including arms if necessary - should be sent without strings to people fighting back against oppression, torture and dictatorship.

REVOLUTION is not a pacifist paper. Our aim is to overthrow capitalism, the system that causes war. That will have to be done through a revolution, and the bosses will resist. At the end of the day the masses of the working class will have to be armed to defeat the bosses and the rich. If we are not, they will use their guns on us anyway.

War is a permanent symptom of the sick profit system. It will only disappear when the working class builds a new, socialist society throughout the world.■



Whose democracy?

We are told we live in a democracy. The word means "rule of the people". But how democratic is Britain really? And do the people really hold the power?

It is true that we have a parliament. It is elected by everyone over the age of 18 at least every five years. We can choose who to vote for.

But once it is elected there is no means of controlling MP's, parliament or the government until the next election. If the government breaks its promises, which it always does, we cannot get rid of it, (according to the law that is), until the next election.

On a day to day basis we see how democratic our society really is. When a factory owner decides to close down a factory, the workers in that factory don't get a vote on whether it should stay open. There is no debate about it - the factory is his to do with as he pleases. The homeless never get a ballot on whether they can occupy empty housing or change decisions to build homes instead of luxury

office blocks. Black people and youth cannot decide to remove racist police who harass and attack them from their area.

Revolutionaries believe that even under the parliamentary system, real power lies outside parliament. Unelected civil servants, the owners of the press and television, judges, police chiefs, and army officers decide what is going to happen in society. The monarchy and the House of Lords, who are not elected by anyone, have the power to delay and block laws. The Queen still has the power to dismiss a government. She used it as recently as 1975, when she sacked an elected Labour government in Australia!

Real power also lies with those who own and control the wealth of society: the top bankers, financiers and big businessmen who make up the capitalist class. It is they who decide how the resources of this country are dished out. As most wealth and property is in their hands they want to keep it that way.

The real apparatus of decision making and law enforcement - the state - is completely outside any democratic control. It is answerable only to the rich capitalists. It exists to protect the whole system of private property from the rest of us.

So when the media say we live under the "rule of the people", we reply: which people? Certainly not the majority of us. We live under the rule of part of the people - the rich part. We live in a *capitalist democracy*.

Of course this does not mean that we have no democratic rights at all. We have the right to hold meetings and to print newspapers to get our point of view across. We can hold demonstrations to protest against things we do not agree with. Workers have the right to join a trade union. But these rights were not just granted to us from above out of the goodness of our rulers' hearts. Every one of them, including the right to vote, had to be fought for from below.

Today the government is trying to restrict our rights. That is what the Criminal Justice Bill is about. Over the last years the Tories have brought in a series of laws which limit the ability of trade unions to strike in defence of their jobs and conditions. They have given the police more powers to attack demonstrators and break up picket lines. They have brought in powers to censor what we can

By Chris,
Birmingham

say, for example banning Sinn Fein speakers from the airwaves.

While we fight for the broadest possible democratic rights, we do not believe that real and lasting change can come through parliament. A government that tried to take wealth and property out of the hands of the rich would soon meet with opposition from within the state itself. That is what happened in Chile in 1973. The people elected a government that said it would really change things for the better. The workers demanded that the government take over the wealth and property of the rich and put it in the hands of the people. The army overthrew the government, brought in a military dictatorship and murdered thousands and thousands of their opponents.

Many people might think that this could only happen in South America and that the British army and police would never disobey the rule of democratic law. But they would be wrong. All of the unelected top civil servants, judges, police chiefs and army officers in Britain come from the same class. They and their families have enormous personal wealth. They go to the same private schools together and then on to top Oxford or Cambridge colleges. They have the same outlook on life - that they have the right to own most of the wealth. They are determined to keep it and if that means getting rid of elected governments then so be it.

That is why throughout history the most determined sections of the working class have rejected the idea that the system can be peacefully reformed and have fought for revolution. To transform society the working class will have to break the power of the unelected state, dissolve the army and police and bring in its own government with its own military force based on the armed population.

This idea is not pie in the sky. We know it can be done because the working class of Russia did it in 1917. They broke up the old state and formed their own government led by the Bolshevik (Communist) Party. This government took over the factories and put them under the control of the workers. They gave the land to the peasants.

We are usually told in school that the Bolshevik government was a totalitarian dictatorship right from the start. But in its early years it was the most democratic

system ever seen. The government was based on the power of *soviets*. Soviets were councils of workers in every town and city, made up of delegates elected directly from all the different factories and areas.

The delegates to these soviets were *accountable* and *recallable*. They had to report back to mass meetings of the workers who had elected them. If the workers thought their delegate had done something wrong or was arguing the wrong policy they didn't have to wait five years - they could change them on the spot. All decisions could be discussed out in front

To transform society the working class will have to break the power of the unelected state, dissolve the army and police and bring in its own government with its own military force based on the armed population.

of the workers. This was entirely different from capitalist democracy: it was *workers' democracy*.

Later, when the revolution was isolated and in retreat, a layer of bureaucrats arose under Stalin, who abolished the rule of the soviets altogether. But while it lasted the democracy of the soviets gave the majority of working people more real power and control over society than has ever been seen, before or since.

All states and all governments are ways in which one class rules over another. They are bodies of armed people defending the property of a particular class. Under capitalism the real state is in the hands of a tiny minority. In Britain we have some important democratic rights, but at the end of the day the state is still a dictatorship of the rich minority over the vast majority of the population. A state based on workers' councils would be the opposite. It would be democratic for the majority, but it would also be a dictator-

ship of that majority over the tiny minority of capitalists. It would deny them their most cherished rights - the right to own all the wealth, the right not to have to do a proper day's work, the right to have every luxury at their disposal and to treat the rest of us like dirt.

The old owners of the land, banks and factories will try to get "their" property back again. History shows that a revolutionary government will have to use force to stop them. In Russia after the revolution, the old landowners and capitalists formed White Armies to fight the soviet government. Wherever they went they arrested and shot the delegates elected by the workers and abolished the soviets, handing the land and factories back to their former owners. In response the soviet government refused to back down. It formed the Red Army which took on and defeated the Whites.

The rise of the Stalinist dictatorship in Russia showed that no revolution can succeed if it is isolated in one country alone. But a revolution that spread across the world could gradually break the resistance of the capitalists. Democratic planning and redistribution of wealth could gradually overcome the very division of society into haves and have-nots. Because every state exists to defend the interests of one class against another, as classes disappear altogether there will be less and less need for any special state machine.

Once the capitalists disappear as a class, all the functions of a workers' state could be taken over by society as a whole. The state would wither away. Government and authority - even of the most democratic sort - could be replaced with the simple administration of society by the people.

In this way, Marxists have the same aim as the anarchists - a society without classes and without a state. But we reject the idea that the state can just be wished away or abolished overnight. To create the conditions for a classless society, capitalism must first be abolished. For that we will need a state power of our own. Without a workers' state to keep them down, the capitalists could easily re-assert control and re-establish themselves as the ruling class.

And if that were to happen, then the "rule of people" will remain what it is today - a fraud rather than a reality. ☺

IRELAND

A GUIDE TO THE IRISH WAR



What is the Irish conflict all about?

The IRA - and the political party that supports them, Sinn Fein - are fighting for a United Ireland. They want an end to the division of their country into two separate states, so that the Irish people as a whole can decide their own future. This means an end to the presence of British troops in Northern Ireland, and an end to the Northern Ireland state itself.

Why was Ireland divided in the first place?

For hundreds of years Ireland was a colony of Britain. The Irish did not have their own government and were ruled directly from London! In 1918 - the last time there was an all-Ireland election - the majority of Irish people voted to set up an independent state.

Britain would not respect the wishes of the Irish people. They sent in troops and gangs of criminals recruited to terrorise the people, who were known as the "Black and Tans". The Irish did not accept this lying down. They fought a brave and bloody war against the British occupation of their country.

In 1921, the British made a deal and divided Ireland into two. The relied for support on the Protestant minority in the North East. Using the

BY DAVE, LEICESTER

tried and tested technique of "Divide and Rule", they gave the Protestant people slight privileges over the Catholic majority: better chances of finding work, better housing, better chances at school, and more freedom. So it was no surprise that most Protestants became "Loyalists" or "Unionists" and decided they wanted to stay "part of Britain".

Why won't the IRA let Northern Ireland stay part of Britain if that's what people want?

Not everyone in Northern Ireland is a Loyalist. On the contrary there is a large minority - mainly Catholics - who want independence and Irish Unity.

The Loyalists are only a majority in the northern state because Britain cheated when Ireland was divided. Originally the province of Ulster had 9 counties. In these, a majority were Catholics - mainly nationalists who wanted Irish independence. So Britain drew an artificial border that was mapped out in London with only one aim in mind - keeping the nationalists as a minority. Only 6 of the 9 counties of Ulster were included in the new state, which one Loyalist leader called "a Protestant state for a Protestant people."

Discrimination against Catholics and nationalists was built into the set up right from the start.

How did the present Troubles begin?

After the Civil war of the 1920s, anger and discontent continued simmering away until the late 1960s. By then the nationalists in the North had had enough. In 1966 in Derry, for example, there were twice as many Catholics as Protestants, but the Protestant areas had 12 seats in the northern Ireland parliament and the Catholics had only 8.

In the autumn of 1968 a Civil Rights movement was begun by Northern nationalists, who were impressed by the brave struggle of black people in the USA for freedom and equal rights. But when the Nationalists marched they were faced with violent attacks by police, soldiers and unofficial gangs, all overwhelmingly made up of Loyalists. Soon mobs were attacking the nationalist areas every night. The Catholic communities - especially the youth - set up street committees to organise their own defence, building barricades and bravely fighting back.

The situation was heading for civil war or revolution. The British took no chances. Not for the first (or the

last) time, a Labour government put the interests of the bosses' establishment before that of democracy and freedom - they sent British troops back into Northern Ireland.

They claimed to be "neutral", a 'peacekeeping force' to "keep the two sides apart". But their real aim was to defeat the movement for equal rights and Irish unity.

The British Army took down the barricades defending catholic areas and started imprisoning nationalists without trial, breaking down doors in the early hours of the morning and dragging young people away to prison.

When the nationalists held a march against internment on 30 January 1972 the British opened fire, killing 14 unarmed demonstrators. This day became known as Bloody Sunday. After that Catholic youth flocked to join the provisional IRA, which vowed to fight until the British troops were forced to leave Ireland for good.

But surely violence is always wrong!

At first this sounds obvious. After all, only psychopaths could claim to enjoy seeing people hurt, suffering and killed.

But in reality very few people really believe that violence is always wrong. The Church says "Thou shalt not kill", but has backed two World Wars this century.

Most people would say there have been occasions when violence and war are justified - such as the violence of Jewish partisans resisting the Nazis who wanted to wipe out all Jews during World War Two. And who could honestly say that the violence of a slaveowner who puts a captive in chains is the same as the violence of slaves who free themselves from their chains? The point is that before condemning violence, it is necessary to look at its real causes, and decide who, if anybody, is in the right.

The establishment are perfectly willing to take sides. For example, British newspapers tell us that the IRA are cowardly terrorists whereas the British Army, despite their long history of cruel killings of Catholic youth with plastic bullets, despite Bloody Sunday, despite the raids and the torture and the beatings, are just brave men doing their job. This is because the millionaires who own the papers have taken sides in the Irish war - with Britain and against a United Ireland.

Why have the IRA thrown away the chance for peace?

They haven't - John Major and the British government have. For 17

months the IRA stopped all armed actions. There were no IRA

shootings or bombings, either in Britain or Northern Ireland. This ceasefire was a clear demonstration by the IRA that they were prepared to talk to the British government and the Loyalists and try to come to a negotiated settlement.

But Major would not start the talks, he insisted that the IRA should give up all their guns first... while the British Army was to remain in Ireland. This was incredibly unrealistic. At the same time as he admits that the conflict in Ireland was a war, Major tried to get one side to do what no other military force has ever done - surrender before peace talks even began. The real reason - Major's government is weak. He needs to keep some support from the Loyalist MPs in parliament. He put his own survival before the peace process and the lives of hundreds of soldiers and civilians.



Can the IRA win?

Revolution supports the IRA in their war against the British occupation of their country. But we do not think they can win unless they change their whole political strategy. Right from the start the IRA tried to force Britain out by using the methods of guerrilla war - bombings of military and commercial targets, and armed attacks on soldiers. As revolutionary youth in Britain we will not condemn these actions - even if civilians are killed. The responsibility for the war lies with the British ruling class.

But the whole idea of guerrilla war is doomed to fail. It relies on a handful of dedicated fighters rather than the actions of the masses of anti-unionist workers themselves. And a few hundred IRA fighters will never be able to defeat over 30,000 British troops, 13,000 armed police, and a loyalist community which is allowed by British law to keep hold of its 130,000 guns and weapons.

In fact, today even the IRA admit

IRELAND

they cannot bomb Britain out of Ireland. They are just trying to bomb Britain to the negotiating table. Because their approach has failed to get the British out over the last 25 years, they are prepared to go into talks without any chance of real success.

So what can be done?

In Britain, the working class movement - the unions and the Labour party - should end their disgraceful support for the British occupation of Ireland. Young people in particular have a vital role to play in building broad support for the immediate withdrawal of British troops from Ireland. The Irish people themselves - as a whole, in elections across the whole 32 counties of Ireland - should have the right to determine their own future. The Prevention of Terrorism Act - which is used to harass Irish people - should be scrapped and all IRA prisoners of war should be released.

In Ireland the anti-unionists have shown great bravery - now they need a strategy that can win a just and lasting peace. Instead of relying on an elite band of guerrilla fighters, they should look to mass action by the working class - strikes, marches and organised self-defence of their communities. Instead of giving up their guns, the IRA should put them at the disposal of the masses, setting up popular defence committees to control the action.

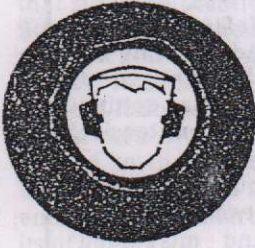
The Loyalist 'community' is in fact an alliance between two classes: the Unionist bosses and misguided Protestant workers. Only a socialist movement would be able to combine the fight for a united Ireland with a real campaign for jobs, homes and better conditions for all working class people. Only a movement to take over ownership and control of private industry and the banks, taxing the rich and planning society on a democratic socialist basis, could show the Loyalist workers who their real friends are and tear them away from their long alliance with their own bosses.

The nationalism of the IRA can never do this. The national and democratic revolution in Ireland can only succeed as a socialist workers' revolution. That is why REVOLUTION supports the efforts of the Irish Workers Group, which is campaigning for a new party with the goal of a United Workers' Republic of Ireland.

SMASH THE CJB!



The CJB brings in restrictions on hunt saboteurs, ravers, and New Age travellers. It increases police rights to imprison young people. It allows the police to physically violate any "suspect" they choose in their hunt for evidence. They no longer have to destroy this evidence if a suspect with a previous conviction is proved innocent. It removes the right to silence, and allows the police to stop and search people whenever they want.



The Bill attacks young people in particular. It outlaws "sounds wholly or predominantly characterised by the emission of a succession of repetitive beats." This covers everything from Beethoven to Blur, but everyone knows it is really aimed at Techno, Jungle and dance music in general. Raves - "a gathering on land in open air of 100 or more persons" - will be illegal.

Police will have the right to stop people

travelling to a rave. They will have the right of entry (without a warrant) to private land where they think a rave might be going on—even if the owner objects to their entry! The police can then move people on using force, seizing vehicles and equipment which they can later sell, destroy or keep and then charge the owners for the "inconvenience"!

If this were not enough, the police can then re-arrest you if you return to the site within seven days. A hefty fine and three months sentence can result. The wide-boys raking money in from the semi-legal rave scene will go "legit" and move upmarket—but thousands of youth will be left without the basic right to enjoy themselves outside of the bleak world of mainstream "discos" and church-run youth clubs.



The police can also introduce virtual martial law. New "stop and search" laws can be invoked covering as large or as small an area as the police see fit. Failing to stop or obstructing a police officer will mean six months imprisonment and a fine.



Other sections aim to "protect" the bosses in their country retreats. They give the state the power to prevent travellers finding a place to stop, they can stop disruption of fox hunts, and even rambles will be unable to enjoy "private" stretches of countryside.

It will even be illegal for a group of people to appear to be preparing to trespass. If the "trespass" is a planned event, then the Secretary of State can issue a banning order covering a five mile radius lasting up to four days. This order affects not just those attempting to get access to the land on the day—police can arrest anyone organising or publicising the event.

This law will not just be used against travellers, ravers or hunt sabs. It could also hit workers planning to occupy workplaces or carry out regular picketing. The womens' pit camps protesting against mine closures could have been banned, as could the protest camp outside the Campsfield Refugee prison.

Property owners' rights are increased by the sections dealing with squatters. It will

be easier for rich landlords to chuck people out onto the streets for occupying empty properties. Squatters will have to leave if asked by "anyone the landlord chooses to nominate for that purpose".

Once these new laws have got youth and "misfits" into the courts, their rights will be fewer than before.



The section on "Prevention of Terrorism and Offences Against Public Security" marks a huge shift in the legal process. The accused will be guilty until proven innocent! It will also be an offence for a person to collect or record any information which is likely to be useful to terrorists, or have in their possession such information without "reasonable excuse".

The right to silence has been a thorn in the side of the police for many years. Throughout 1993 leading Tory bigots, like Lord Chief Justice Taylor, made loud pronouncements of their opposition to it. Some, like Hugh Annesley, the Chief Constable of the RUC, went so far as to argue that failure to answer

The Criminal Justice Bill (CJB)—soon to become law for one reason: to increase the property owners' rights removing more of the democratic rights of the people extends police intimidation.

police questions should be a crime in itself!

The attempt to remove the right of silence is especially dangerous. Courts will soon be able to "draw inferences" from an accused exercising the right to silence, both during police interrogation or during a trial. In plain language this means some barrister giving a slimy speech to the jury along the lines of "Why would any innocent person refuse to answer police questions?"

We know why. A whole series of "miscarriages of justice"—from the Guildford Four to the Tottenham Three—has involved the police squeezing "confessions" out of terrified people under long interrogation. It should remain the legal right of every citizen to remain silent under police questioning.

SMASH THE CAPITALIST SYSTEM!

Public Order Bill
the law—is there
classes whilst
the most basic
from the rest of us. It
powers to harass,
arrest and detain.

WE CAN BEAT THIS BILL. The Labour Party leaders will condemn all active opposition. But like the movement against the Poll Tax, mass opposition by millions can win. So far the youth have led this fight. The last demo brought over sixty thousand onto the streets. Now young people need to broaden out opposition to the Bill to all those affected by it - to the working class as a whole.

This means taking the fight into the workplace, the dole queues, onto the estates and—vitaly—into the trade unions. Together workers and youth, trade unionists and the unemployed, hunt saboteurs, squatters and the homeless must be mobilised on a scale not seen since the anti-Poll Tax Demo of March 1990.

All those affected will need to organise in a democratic, co-ordinated campaign, locally and nationally. If the Bill is passed we will need a campaign to resist and break it. Any attempt to use the provisions of the CJB—banning raves, smashing up demos and squats, opening up new private youth detention centres—must be met with a campaign of direct action.

OME PEOPLE argue that we should take the "moral high ground" and refuse to use violent resistance. But what is so morally correct about refusing to fight back against a force prepared to use violence and intimidation against the youth and the working class? The police will not be shamed into backing down - they have no shame. They won't listen to passive protests. That is why we are against sit-down protests, which just leave people as easy victims for the police, who will nick them anyway, and give them a "nonviolent" kicking in the back of the van. In the face of police threats and violence we need to be prepared, not through disorganised rioting, but by setting up well-prepared defence groups to see off the coppers if they try and push us around.

SELF DEFENCE IS NO OFFENCE!

- Mass non-co-operation with the law, including organised occupations of empty properties
- Organised self defence of squats, marches and direct actions. Non-violent direct action is no use against a police force which is definitely not committed to "non-violence".
- Strike action and workplace occupations—the most powerful weapons the working class can wield—must be built in response to any attempt to use the Bill against unions or other working class organisations. ■

Far harsher sentences will be meted out, especially to youth. *Twelve year olds* can now be kept in police cells. *Ten year olds* can be locked up for fourteen years under Section 16 of the Bill.

The Home Secretary will have powers to send young offenders to any place he sees fit: not necessarily a children's home. Orders from the courts will condemn accused youth to imprisonment even before they have been found guilty.

The whole Criminal Justice Bill is full of clauses that give the police the right to arrest on suspicion, stop and search, detain, impose bail conditions. It allows the police to ban marches and even picket lines. It will be used by the state to smash any demonstration of resistance against the rich and their rotten system. ■

THE TORIES ARE CALCULATING THAT THE REAL FEAR OF CRIME THAT STALKS MANY WORKING CLASS COMMUNITIES WILL PUSH THE MAJORITY OF PEOPLE INTO SUPPORTING THE BILL. BUT THE WHOLE LAW AND ORDER SCARE IS A SMOKE SCREEN.

FIGURES SHOW THAT YOUTH CRIME IS FALLING, NOT RISING. BUT THE TORIES ARE RUNNING A SCARE CAMPAIGN TO BLAME YOUNG PEOPLE FOR THE FAILURE OF THEIR SYSTEM. THEY HAVE NO OTHER SOLUTION TO THE INCREASING POVERTY, UNEMPLOYMENT, FRUSTRATION, ISOLATION, AND LACK OF HOPE THAT CAUSE CRIME.

THE VERY SAME POLICE WHO WILL BE CHASING HUNT SABOTEURS ALL OVER THE SOUTH OF ENGLAND ARE THE ONES WHO HAVE JUST DECLARED THEY WON'T ANSWER 999 CALLS FOR CAR BREAK-INS AND MINOR BURGLARIES. THEY SENT 7,000 TOOLED-UP POLICE TO DEFEND THE NAZI BNP'S HEADQUARTERS IN WELLING LAST OCTOBER, BUT THEY HAVE DONE NOTHING TO FIND THE RACIST KILLERS OF BLACK YOUTH LIKE ROLAN ADAMS, STEPHEN LAWRENCE AND ROHIT DUGGAL. ♦



EVERYONE OPPOSED TO the CJB should think long and hard about why the Tories are bringing it in. They know that all their talk about a new world order of peace and justice is rubbish, that people hate the Tories and that the youth are getting angry. They know that over the next years more and more working class people are going to fight back against their system. They are preparing tougher laws and police powers so they can hold us down.

That is what the police and whole state apparatus is really there for, not to protect the people, but to protect our real rulers, the multimillionaire landowners, bankers and businessmen. When the chips are down the state - the police, army, prisons and courts - are there to defend the private property of the rich and the wasteful capitalist system that puts private wealth before the rights, living standards, interests, health and environment of working class people. The CJB shows how far they are prepared to go. Young people who hate the CJB should be fighting the whole system and the state that protects it. That is why REVOLUTION is fighting not only against the CJB, but for a new youth movement that can oppose every injustice of this system. We want a movement that can prepare for the years to come, prepare for a revolution to break up the capitalist state and replace it with the power of organised working people. That way we can plan a world based on need, not greed - a socialist society which will put an end to poverty, homelessness, privilege and oppression for good. ■

You can run, but you can't Hyde!

by Zebedee

The recent demonstration against the Criminal Justice Bill on October 9 ended in the worst defeat for the police since the Poll Tax riot.

The march ended peacefully with a rally in Hyde Park. Then people gathered around a mobile sound system to dance. They were not causing any trouble. The police obviously decided to implement the Bill early, and decided to stop this disgraceful "emission of a succession of repetitive beats". They formed lines around the ravers. The lines were four or five thick with dozens of police vans behind. It was very intimidating, an attempt to threaten the ravers. The sound system left without much incident.

But then people were not allowed to return to their coaches. Liz from Manchester said:

"I went to one end but I was turned back, so I went to the other end and the police blocked the exit there as well."

These police actions caused confusion and anger. Eventually scuffles broke out between demonstrators and police. Mounted police charged to break up the crowd, chasing people and cracking heads with their batons. When they charged, the demonstrators charged back. They were incredibly brave, chasing at least three units of mounted police around before giving them a working class escort away from the demonstrators. This was the first clue to how the day would end.

The second major incident occurred a few minutes later when riot and mounted police had assembled deeper in the park and continuously charged the crowd. Again the crowd fought back chasing the police onto Park Lane just outside the park. The mounted police were forced into a hasty retreat. They penned themselves into a section of Park Lane separated only by railings between them and the crowd. By now spirits and confidence were sky high because we had already inflicted two defeats on the Old Bill! The marchers went on to inflict another by

pelting the police with everything they had (which wasn't much, despite the claims that the demonstrators had come prepared for trouble, because if they had they would have been able to throw more than flimsy bits of wood from placards.)

There are important lessons to be learnt from the day. Firstly it shows that the police are not neutral. They attacked a peaceful demonstration because they want to keep us in our place - after all, that's what the Criminal Justice Bill is all about! Secondly it shows that they are not invincible: if the youth on the demo could

see them off with a bit of bravery and determination, just think what millions of working class people could do with a bit of organisation - we could turn this country upside down!

Thirdly it proves that there is much to be gained from organising self-defence of marches. That way we can ensure that whenever police try and break up demos, squats, picket lines or occupations, which they will have the legal power to do when the CJB is passed, we can resist. In the words of Cypress Hill, we ain't goin' out like that. ★

we were

The Tory press like the Sun and the Star told total lies about the violence after the Crib who support the Bill because they want to keep the rest of us in line. REVOLUTION is a d our readers saw at the demo - the truth.

"I took part in a very peaceful protest against the CJB which the papers failed to mention. Then I sat in the park for about an hour. It was very peaceful until the police locked the gates."
Annmarie C.

"I was a bit of a fluffy before it started but when I saw what the police were doing - well they got what they deserved."
A Leicester coalition member

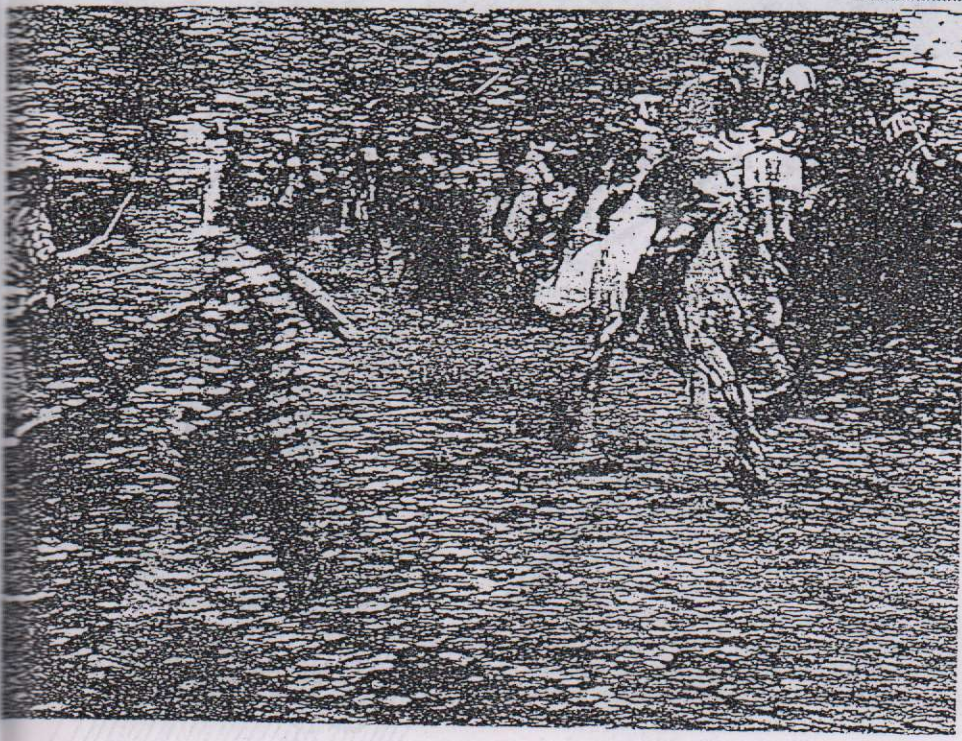
"In the papers they made out it was mindless violence. This is just bullshit. When fire engines went by people shouted 'don't throw, they are workers, trade unionists!' While the fire engines went by not one missile was thrown."
Chris.

"It was the best day of my life so far. At first I thought we'd get massacred. The police came charging in time and

time again, battering anyone who got in their way. People were going under the horses. At first we were all scared but then we got confident - we got the hang of it. When the police horses charged we parted - they went through the middle - then we closed up behind them and let them have it - fucking brilliant. They did one last really long charge. Then they gave up and tried to gallop out of the park. Thousands of us were chasing after them. We had won the battle, we had defended the demonstration in the park - it was brilliant. It was better than 'E'."
Dave W

"I've been on the last two demos against the CJB and have seen how the police have dealt with both demonstrations. On the second demo, from Westminster Hall to Parliament, the violence was caused by the riot police not allowing us to march to and lobby parliament. The police used force to

Scrap Royal Scoundgers!



there...

Justice Bill Demo. What a surprise: after all the papers are all owned by millionaires
ent sort of paper, written by working class youth for working class youth. Here's what

block our way and to make us go back, splitting us up. The police, after closing off all the roads, chased us down the streets, with horses and raised truncheons, over the river and along main roads, causing loads of congestion.

The police are even stopping us from protesting before the CJB has been passed.

Knowing what actually happened in demonstrations I also know how the press have been lying, especially their reports on the second demo which was almost entirely passive." Adam KM

"The police were using scare tactics - loudspeakers, dogs, riot gear and horses - to disperse the crowds, who were mainly pacifists sitting down in front of Parliament. The police, after warnings that force would be used against us, brought horses forward, trapping people in and causing panic". Sam P

"I think its stupid the police beating up people for no proper reason!". Tom

"The police were swamping us with military tactics to break up a peaceful demonstration." Matt M

"We were determined that the police wouldn't be able to smash up our demonstration. And we were determined to tell the government that we don't want their stinking laws that keeps us in control so that they can keep getting richer while the rest of us go to hell.

That's why unarmed demonstrators were prepared to dodge charging police horses and then try to get the police off of them.

And thats why demonstrators were taking on riot police with truncheons and shields. Now that's what I call brave." Dave E. ★

He talks to plants. He wants to be a tampax. He hates his dad. He cried at school. He wants to be King of England.

Charles Windsor, Prince of Wales, is having trouble with his wife. He wants to take his kids fox hunting. She wants to take them house hunting.

Every day the papers ask - will they or won't they? Will they divorce? Will they become king and queen? Will they wreck the monarchy? Will they ever shut up?

The royal family are in a complete mess. Good. This "beloved institution", as John Major called them, behave like they belong in one - and a pretty secure one at that.

There's such a battle raging that it is tempting to take sides - like Di, but think Charles is a nut; respect the Queen but think Prince Philip is a shifty old git; admire Princess Anne, but hope the next fishbone in the throat finally chokes the the queen mum.

That's the idea. To try and rescue the whole idea of the monarchy the press is drawing us into the family feud. If they can get us to sympathise with one or another of these misfits then maybe we will keep a king or queen as head of state after all.

Don't believe it. The monarchy means an unelected head of state, dripping in millions of pounds of unearned wealth and with the power to dissolve elected parliaments, dismiss elected prime ministers (which the queen did in Australia in 1975), and declare war.

If the bosses ever have an emergency - a war and revolution - these powers will be used. In other words, if the power and wealth of the bosses is threatened then the power and wealth of monarchy will be used against us.

That is why the British army swear an oath of allegiance to the monarchy, not the people. It is why, despite the scandals, the ruling class is scheming about how to preserve the monarchy. They want it kept, in case they need it in the future.

At the moment they'd be better off with Disney's Lion King. Cartoon characters don't get their photographs taken sucking toes or drying their private parts in French villas. There's also less chance of them breeding with each other.

But we don't want Elizabeth, Charles or Simba. We want to get rid of the whole lot of them. The monarchy should be scrapped.

The queen's visit to Russia caused a lot of fuss because the heartless Bolshevik revolutionaries shot the Russian royal family.

Well, the Bolsheviks were right. The Tsar was a mass murderer who robbed his people blind. He was an anti-semite who organised massacres of Jews. And he was a figurehead for all the right wing generals who launched a bloody civil war against the Russian people.

When we have a revolution here we may have to do the same. Or we could be really cruel and come up with something that the royals will find even more uncomfortable - make them do a day's work for a change.



FASCISM: WHAT IT IS

"Only one thing could have broken our movement - if our enemies had understood its principle and from the first day had smashed the nucleus of our movement with extreme brutality."
(Adolf Hitler, 1933)

"If the enemy had known how weak we were, it would probably have reduced us to jelly. It would have crushed in blood the very beginning of our work."
(J Goebbels, 1934)

THese statements from the leaders of the Nazi party give us a clear insight into how the Nazis could have been defeated. Their opponents, the working class, should have crushed them right from the start.

We must learn these lessons for today and ensure we do the same to present day Nazis, like the BNP.

But what is fascism? As even Adolf Hitler recognised, in order to smash fascism its enemies need to understand what makes it tick.

Some people use the term fascist like a swearword to describe anyone that they don't like. Others use it to describe anyone who is racist, or who hates democracy. But for revolutionaries, the word fascism has a particular meaning.

We live in a capitalist society. All of the wealth that is produced is in the hands of a tiny elite who run the biggest banks and businesses. The capitalists run industry in order to make a profit.

All of this wealth is produced by the working class. For the capitalists to increase their profits they need to get the workers working longer hours, at a faster rate for as little wages as they can.

But the working class does not just accept this. It forms its own organisations, its parties and the trade unions to fight for its rights including the right to organise and the right to free speech. And these organisations also fight for higher wages, a shorter working week and better working conditions as well as for other improvements such as social security for unemployment and access to healthcare and education.

When capitalism goes into economic crisis the capitalists fight to claw back the workers' gains. They cannot stand anything they have

been forced to give up to the workers. This attitude of the bosses is starkly shown by Krupp, a big arms manufacturer in Germany in the 1920s, "We want only loyal workers who are grateful from the bottom of their hearts for the bread which we let them earn."

The rich capitalists have a variety of means at their disposal to attack the workers. They can rely on the leaders of the workers organisations to betray the fight of the workers and the fight for revolution or they will use state repression, the police or the army.

But when the rich decide they can no longer afford to allow the workers to organise or they are threatened by revolution they aim to destroy all of the organisations of the working class and deny them any rights.

Many times the capitalists have opted to use military dictatorships to do this. But they cannot always guarantee that the army and the police will be able to successfully do the job. This happened in Germany in 1920. With Germany in a political crisis, the workers constantly striking and demonstrating for their demands and a lot of the working class fighting for the overthrow of capitalism an attempt was made by the army to introduce a dictatorship. But the military coup, known as the Kapp putsch, failed because the workers were too well organised. They launched a general strike and with many of the workers armed were able to fight the army.

The German capitalists realised that to stop revolution or to destroy the workers organisations they would need an additional force to

fight with them.

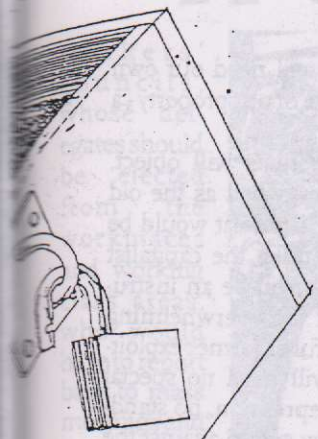
This is where fascism comes in. Fascism is different because it aims to build a mass movement. It seeks to build such a movement bringing into action those classes squeezed between the working class and the capitalists: These middle classes along with unorganised workers are also ruined by the crisis of the capitalist system and are looking for radical solutions to the problem. If the working class is unable to show the revolutionary way out of the crisis the middle classes will listen to the radical solutions of the fascists. This is dangerous for the capitalists too as it can lead to greater instability and they would rather rely on the forces of the army and the police. That is why fascism is a last resort for the bosses. But the capitalists are much more afraid of the working class and revolution.

The years of revolutionary struggle and the failure of the Kapp putsch left its mark on the German industrialists and bosses, "During an entire year - 1918-1919 - I felt that Germany was going to sink into anarchy... It was then I realised the necessity... of fighting all this radical agitation [of the left Socialists and the Communists] The memory of those days did much to dispose me, later on, to offer my help to National Socialism [the Nazis]"

These words from an industrialist Thyssen sums up the reasons why the German capitalists began to fund the Nazis. The Nazi Party organised its army; the brown-shirted stormtroopers to attack offices, meetings and



AND HOW TO FIGHT IT



See with you to STEAD

unions. Members and organisers of these parties and unions were rounded up and put into concentration camps. Many of them were shot. Hitler's regime of butchery and terror had began. It was a regime that went on to build death camps like Auschwitz.

Fascism is not just a racist, nationalist or extreme right wing movement. It can and does use these ideas to build its movement. Hitler and the Nazis used anti-semitism as a way of whipping up the anger of the middle classes, getting them to have someone to blame for the crisis in society and mobilising them on the streets. But Mussolini and the Italian Fascists did not use anti-semitism or racism to build their movement. Instead Mussolini talked of being for the "little man" and against the big trusts (companies). He also talked of a national revolution. What was common to both Germany and Italy was the fascists organised gangs to attack the workers' movement, to terrorise it.

In Italy after the First World War the workers launched a revolutionary struggle. There were countless strikes and workers occupied their factories. The poor peasants also began to take land for themselves no longer recognising the right of the landowners to keep it. The capitalists haunted by their fear of revolution backed the beginnings of the Fascist movement. The Fascists started to organise and to attack. In Milan in 1919 a demonstration and march of Socialists was attacked by Fascists armed with daggers and hand grenades. On the same day Fascist gangs attacked the offices of the Socialist paper, Avanti. Later in that year as the Socialist deputies left the House of Parliament they were attacked

and beaten up. The Fascists went from town to town beating up and murdering workers.

Once in power Italian Fascism set about its task to crush the trade unions and to give the bosses power to drive down wages and lower the workers standard of living. Workers were forbidden to go on strike. Socialists, Communists and trade unionists were imprisoned and their organisations banned.

The essential feature of fascism is that it works for the rich capitalists. That is why the working class must see it as a deadly enemy. And there was nothing special about the German or Italian bosses that made them use fascism. Any ruling class will be prepared to use it.

Winston Churchill, Britain's prime minister during the Second World War was supposed to be a great anti-fascist and democratic leader. Speaking in Rome in 1927 he said to Mussolini, "If I had been an Italian I am sure that I should have been whole heartedly with you from the start to finish in your triumphant struggle . . . against Leninism [Lenin was a leader of the 1917 Russian revolution]."

Churchill did not give a damn about the terrible conditions of life under fascism and their murderous regimes. His priority, like all of the ruling class, was to save the capitalist system.

We should remember the words from the leaders of the Nazi Party and make sure whenever fascists organise we crush them from the very beginning.

But if we want to finish with fascism once and for all then we will have to get rid of the system that breeds it by successful workers' revolution. ☐

demonstrations of the workers. And when Hitler came to power in 1933 he finished the job for the bosses. With the stormtroopers ranks swollen to 400,000 they began to smash the workers parties and their trade unions once and for all. The Communist and Socialist Parties were banned along with the trade

How to smash the BNP

The British National Party (BNP) will be standing candidates in the coming local and European elections. They will use their election campaign to spread their filthy lies. They will also use it to build up their gangs of thugs to attack black people, gays, socialists, and anyone else they oppose.

The BNP must be stopped from organising now. We cannot allow them to give out one leaflet, sell one paper or hold one single meeting or demonstration. Even more than that we must make sure their organised gangs are smashed before they do any damage.

What should we do to stop them?

In every workplace, school and estate anti-fascist groups should be built. Between these groups, other anti-racist and anti-fascist groups, trade unions and socialist organisations there must be maximum unity in action. This means that there should be joint committees in every town to co-ordinate action against the BNP. These joint organisations should be committed to physically smashing the BNP and to drawing in wide layers of active support from workers and youth: To physically prevent the BNP from campaigning, organised anti-fascist defence squads should be built. These should not be separate from the anti-fascist organisations but under their democratic control. A massive campaign must be launched to expose the BNP's lies. It is not black people that cause unemployment, poor housing and poverty. It is capitalism that throws workers on the dole or will not build houses because there is no profit to be made.

Last month over 50,000 workers and youth marched through the East End of London against racism called by the Trades Union Congress (TUC). With just a fraction of the seven and a half million workers in the TUC and thousands of youth in an active and militant campaign we can stop the BNP Nazi's plans and send them back to the sewers where they belong. ☐



You only have to go on a march against the Criminal Justice Bill to see that anarchist ideas are having a lot of influence on young people at the moment.

Small wonder. Anarchism appeals to people who are sick of being pushed around by the coppers, who are enraged by laws that stop us holding free festivals and raves, who are furious at a system where the rich have several enormous homes while thousands live on the streets. Above all anarchism has a lasting appeal to anyone who has had to put up with pointless, petty controls meted out by figures of authority in the school and in the family.

Its message is direct: an end to authority in all its forms. Above all, an end to the state: an end to a system that means power for the few while the majority have no real say over their lives.

REVOLUTION wants to build a movement that can overthrow this system and create a society based on equality and freedom. But it is not an anarchist paper. We are Marxists. This article explains the difference between Marxism and Anarchism on one crucial question: the state.

ANARCHISTS WANT to abolish the state. To many people, this seems unthinkable. After all, runs the "common sense" argument, without state authority to hold things together, society would just fall apart. Without government, we are told, everything would grind to a halt. Without the courts and the police, everyone would be on the make, ripping each other off, robbing and abusing each other. These are the most usual arguments against the anarchists.

We reject these criticisms completely. Our criticism of the anarchists is entirely different.

We agree with the anarchists that States do not exist to hold things together or to protect ordinary people from crime. They exist to defend the property and privileges of the rich. In a society based on real equality, a genuinely communist society in which scarcity, poverty and class divisions had been overcome, it would be possible to administer the economy, and to plan the production and distribution of goods, without the need for any special state apparatus separated from the population. As for crime, most of it is directly caused by poverty anyway. Any genuinely anti-social crime such as rape or violence could be dealt with much more effectively by the community itself than by any police force.

Our difference with the anarchists is not about what might be possible in a future society. It is about how to get a new society in the first place. That is why we do not believe that the state can simply be abolished. Before we can get rid of the state altogether, it will at first be necessary to create a new type of state.

This sounds like a contradiction. But in reality it is the only revolutionary way

forward.

Our starting point is to understand everything in terms of class. Under the present system, society is divided into two main classes. The capitalists are a tiny minority - they own factories, banks and land, all the main blocks of shares . . . in short they control the overwhelming majority of wealth in society. But the wealth is produced by the other main class - the working class. The workers are the overwhelming majority. They have nothing but a few possessions paid for out of hard earned wages. Unlike the capitalists, all they have to sell is the ability to work. They produce everything - the capitalists own it.

We view the state from this standpoint. The entire state apparatus - the army, police, judges and faceless civil servants - is nothing more than an instrument for the rule of one class by another. Stripped of all the usual flowery phrases about democracy, patriotism and the rule of law which are used to cover up what the state is really about, we want to see it for what it is. At the end of the day, the state is nothing more nor less than *armed force in defence of property*.

Before we can abolish classes and plan production for need instead of greed, the private property of the minority must become the public property of the majority. This means that the capitalist state will have to be smashed and the capitalists' property will have to be confiscated. The division of society into classes will not disappear immediately - instead the working class will need to use new laws and direct force to stop the capitalists from holding onto their wealth and from trying to get it back.

In short, the working class will become

the ruling class. We will need our own armed force in defence of our property - a workers' state.

At this point anarchists will object. Wouldn't this just be as bad as the old state? We say it would not - it would be radically different. Unlike the capitalist state, a workers' state will be an instrument for the rule of the overwhelming majority over a handful of former exploiters. Such a state will need no special apparatus of secret repression, no standing professional army set up against the people, no secret permanent bureaucracy. It will base its power on the armed population and on the broadest democratic control by the working class through democratic workers' councils, able to directly elect its delegates and recall them as soon as the workers want to.

To anarchists who are serious about wanting to change society, we pose a question. How will you deal with the capitalists once they have been driven from power? Will the people be entitled to organise to stop them raising private armies and resisting the will of the majority? If so, then that organisation - whatever you might prefer to call it - would to all intents and purposes be a state. It would be an apparatus designed to enable one class to rule over another. But this time the tables would be turned. The state would be nothing more than the organised power of working people.

But - runs the last-ditch defence of the anarchists - power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely! How could we stop that happening?

The Bolsheviks had to tackle that problem when they established a workers' state after the Russian Revolution of 1917. They adopted four principles:

1. No privileges. No official could receive more in wages than the average skilled worker.
2. Rotation of official duties to stop a fixed layer of bureaucrats emerging.
3. All working people were to bear arms so that the revolution could be protected from threats from both the outside and from within.
4. All power was to be in the hands of

Which way to freedom?

workers' councils, whose delegates should be elected from the workplaces and working class areas, who would have to report back to mass meetings and who could be replaced by the workers at any time, not just once every five

years like in British elections today.

The Russian revolutionary V. I. Lenin summed this all up when he said "when everyone is a bureaucrat, no-one is a bureaucrat". The whole idea was that once all private capitalist property was abolished and once attempts by the capitalists to recapture their property had been defeated, the old capitalist class would gradually die out. Their children and descendants would be forced to work like everyone else. The whole need for a special apparatus to rule on behalf of one class over another - even on behalf of the working class - would disappear. The government of persons would become replaced by "the administration of things". The workers' state would gradually wither away altogether.

The Russian revolution went wrong. Stalin and his supporters abolished every shred of working class democracy and control - power passed into the hands of a monstrous regiment of bureaucrats. But the reason for this was not that the mass of the workers were corrupted by having too much power. It was that the workers' councils and mass control were undermined because of Russia having to fight to defend its revolution against the armies of 14 capitalist countries in a devastating war, and because the revolution did not spread. Russia was a backward



country and could not build socialism on its own. A whole layer of middlemen and bureaucrats emerged.

The way to avoid this in the future is to build a strong international movement so that the next country in which the workers take power will not be isolated for long, but will soon be joined by other countries. By contrast, the anarchist conclusion is not to build any sort of state in the first place - not even a democratic workers' state. But that way the capitalists will never be stopped when they try to get their property back - something they will definitely try to do.

By opposing the whole idea of the state in case it goes wrong, the anarchists are rejecting something which is essential if the workers are to have a chance of beating the bosses and building a classless socialist society. This is like a football team refusing to kick the ball. That way you are guaranteed against scoring an own goal - but you stand no chance of winning the match.

This is not just an academic argument. During the Spanish revolution of 1936-39 the influence of anarchists helped to prevent the working class from winning victory. In the Spanish Republic, the working class responded to a fascist rebellion in 1936 by seizing control of the factories and taking arms into their own hands.

Meanwhile the peasants took control of the land away from the rich landlords. The opportunity was there for the working class to take power and build socialism.

The anarchist movement was very strong in Spain at the time, in the form of the anarchist trade union the CNT. But the government of the Spanish Republic was made up of parties that wanted to stop the working class taking over political power - including Stalin's puppets in the Communist Party. By 1937 the government felt strong enough to try to break the control of the workers over the factories and workplaces. In Barcelona - the heart of the revolution - the government sent troops in to drive the workers out of their telephone exchange. But the workers weren't having it. They responded with a general strike.

This was the time to bring the revolution to a head. The workers' own democratic organisations needed to launch an uprising and take political power, establishing a workers' state. That would have been the only way to secure their control of the factories and land and stop them being handed back to the control of the capitalists. But the anarchist leaders (yes, in reality they do have leaders, just like every movement!) rejected this. Because they were anarchists, they were against the whole idea of a workers' state. But there was no other way forward. So they ordered their supporters to return to work, and some anarchist leaders even joined the capitalist government!

The opportunity was missed to build a democratic workers' state. Exactly as the Trotskyists (Marxists who were opposed to Stalin) warned at the time, this left the capitalists free to regain control. The workers were defeated and the fascist revolt won out in the end. Spain had to suffer over 30 years of fascism, and it remains a capitalist country today.

The lesson is that there can be no lasting victories for the working class and no chance of socialism without the working class fighting for workers' power and a workers' state.

Despite sounding very revolutionary, the problem with anarchism is that it is not revolutionary enough.

If you want a future free from capitalism, inequality, and ultimately free from classes and states, turn to Marxism and join **REVOLUTION.**

INTERVIEW

"We had to strike"

Last month there was a walk-out by school students in a central London secondary school. Tom and Emma, two Revolution supporters, were there.

Revo: Why did the students walk out?

Tom: Because when it's hot outside, our school, made of glass, heats up just like a greenhouse does. This makes working in the classroom very uncomfortable and unproductive.

Emma: I was very hot and pissed off and the teachers were moaning at us because they were hot too, so we had to strike.

Revo: How did the walk-out start?

Tom: It was arranged for 12 o'clock, so when it came people started walking out of their lessons. Most gathered on the school's concourse but some left the building and didn't come back. There were about 300 students who walked out of their lessons, of which 250 stayed inside.

Revo: What was the response from teachers?

Tom: Most subject teachers basically said that they couldn't stop people from going but they wrote down the names of the students that left. My science teacher just told us to turn off the Bunsen burners before we left. But some teachers physically stopped students from leaving their lesson. When we arrived on the concourse we found the deputy heads and high-ranking teachers who were waiting for us, telling us to go back to our lessons. If we stayed and sat down, they told us to get up and go back. Some of these teachers took a small minority of us to talk to us individually.

Emma: The teachers just picked on a few of us for starting the walk-out, probably because of the way we dress and look.

Revo: What was the headteacher's attitude after the walk-out?

Tom: She blamed the whole walk-out on just a couple of students and threatened us with disciplinary action. She spoke to and wrote letters to our parents. Heads of years said that if anything like this happened again the students would be suspended or even expelled.

Emma: I had to go to the head's office about 4 or 5 times, going into her room with about 6 fans keeping her cool; no wonder she said the school wasn't that hot!

Revo: What could have made it more effective?

Tom: If the people who had left the school building would have stayed inside and all the students should have stayed and protested peacefully on the concourse.

REVOLUTION immediately launched a campaign against the victimisation of a few prominent students and their threatened suspensions. The management's actions were dropped but the head's warnings are still in place.

We are against headteachers and heads of years taking action against a few students because of mass, united student action. We must all stand together in defence of victimised students and organise democratic school councils in every school. These student councils should link up with the ordinary teachers' organisations so that we don't let the management get away with what they like, without any say from us, the students.

We need a national school students' union that links up all students, so that we can fight for our needs and not be afraid to take direct action against the management's terrible proposals.

Overheating of classrooms is just the tip of the iceberg. Class sizes are getting bigger and bigger: experts all agree this makes it much more difficult to study - the rich go to private schools with much smaller classes. It's all about money: that's why there are fewer books and facilities, teachers are paid crap money, there's so few jobs for school leavers and unemployed 16 and 17 year-olds get no benefits at all from the government. REVOLUTION stands for taxing the rich to pay for decent schools and colleges, and for a socialist education system under the control of the students and teachers themselves, not the Tories and the rich. ■

6 SCHOOL STRIKE

Revolution and counter-revolution in Pimlico...

AT THE end of last term the Head Teacher of Pimlico secondary school, central London, forced Mr Manyan, a teacher at the school, to resign. He was the only black head of year in the school. His "crime" was telling his Fifth year that he was being bullied by the school's management and that he had been a victim of racial discrimination.

The Fifth year walked out of their lessons in protest and did not return to classes. The next day there was a mass meeting of all Fifth year and other students from Pimlico. The meeting, held in a big playground, decided to stay out on strike.

The students were not going to let the Head get away with it. Revolution supporters in the school got involved straight away. We spoke to hundreds of the students from the playground wall, arguing for the strike.

The students stayed in the playground whilst a smaller group of people tried to get other classes out. All the top teachers tried to order people back in, but they were just ignored. Revolution supporters and others made it clear that they were staying out and protesting.

The chair of governors, none other than the "honourable" Jack Straw, Labour's shadow Home Secretary, had to rush to the school to answer for the Head's unruly acts. All the strikers agreed to listen to what he

had to say and then kept him in the school's cram-packed hall until he had answered every single question they had.

After that most of the students returned to the playground. But, because a self-appointed group of Fifth years, not representing anybody but themselves, came up with three petty demands that the Head readily agreed to, most people returned to classes after lunch. All they did in the classrooms was sit and talk about the strike; no one had any proper lessons.

All the school's students returned on the Friday. They were met by **REVOLUTION** supporters at the gates handing out a leaflet. It called for a mass meeting of students and demanded a full inquiry under the control of students, parents and teachers. It called for anyone guilty of racism to be sacked:

Most students praised the leaflet and many helped hand it out.

But by lunch time things had changed. Management fought back.

They got a group of self-appointed Fifth years to write a leaflet. It was obviously produced by management

REVOLUTION is continuing to fight racist undemocratic procedures in the school. They can lie all they like about us, but they will never silence us!

and was printed in vast numbers on school equipment. They used the school's money and resources to block student activity and student independence!

The counter-Revolution group of Fifth years, secretly

helped by the 'Senior teachers', gave out their leaflet at lunch time and stuck them up around the school, taking down every Revolution poster. Their leaflet was called "STOP!". It said nothing about students getting more information or three need for an inquiry. It didn't answer any of the points Revolution had raised. Instead it blamed us for trying to "disrupt" the school and attacked us for being "political".

We are political. The choice was between management's politics of keeping quiet and having no say, or the politics of democracy and student power.

Because of this witch-hunt, only 40 students turned up to the meeting. Management were there with sly grins on their faces.

At the meeting a few Revolution supporters argued against all the petty attacks from the "counter-revolution" group. They could only use insults and abuse to sustain their position. It was clear that **REVOLUTION** had the best arguments and the most logical politics.

The Head is now on "sick leave" for three months which means that it is unlikely that she will return.

But this does not mean that there will be no more bullying from the 'Senior staff', nor does it mean that the students have gained any more rights.

All that it means is that information affecting the lives of the students is being kept secret. The majority of the school - the students - have no rights and no say in the school.

REVOLUTION is continuing to fight racist undemocratic procedures in the school. They can lie all they like about us, but they will never silence us!★

JOIN REVOLUTION!

I WANT TO JOIN REVOLUTION []
PLEASE SEND ME COPIES TO SELL AT 10p A COPY []

NAME:
ADDRESS:

TEL:

RETURN TO BCM BOX 7750 LONDON WC1N 3XX

DRUGS

IN THE last 5 years deaths directly caused by the most widely used drugs were:

Tobacco	550,000
Alcohol	125,000
Heroin	800
Ecstasy	54
Cannabis	Nil.

Only a minority of the deaths caused by ecstasy were allergic (or anaphylactic) reactions. Most were caused by dehydration and overheating while dancing. A tiny number were caused by the opposite - drinking too much water, or related to pre-existing heart conditions being aggravated by the drug. Considering the scale on which Ecstasy tablets are being taken every weekend, the figure for allergic casualties is lower than the numbers killed by adverse reactions to paracetamol or peanuts.

There has only ever been one recorded death by cannabis - a bale of weed apparently fell on somebody's head.

The fatalities caused by the legal drugs alcohol and tobacco are, by contrast, enormous. What is more, the British Medical Association reported in 1988 that unlike ecstasy and cannabis, there is a well documented link between alcohol and violence, with drink a factor in half of all domestic attacks, 75% of stabbings and 6 out of ten killings. And all this is before the figures for road traffic accidents are taken into account.

SAFER DRUG USE

Legalisation would make drug use safer for millions of people. At the moment you don't know exactly what is in, for example, an Ecstasy tablet. If you buy a gramme of speed you don't know what it has been cut with. This is not just a rip off - it can damage your health. Heroin dependents can be injured or even killed by the impurities that are present in the powder they inject, or by variations in the strength and purity. The provision of proper, pure, manufactured heroin without impurities and with a fixed dosage can enable heroin dependents to avoid these risks and the threat of overdose. One British doctor was recently in the news for prescribing clean pure heroin for dependents. The casualty figures among the heroin users on his books dwindled to almost nothing. Then the authorities stopped him and insisted he provide the substitute Methadone. The heroin users went back to buying smack on the streets . . . and the casualties quickly mounted again.

In Holland kits for testing the purity of Ecstasy tablets have been available for some time - you can get your E tested in clubs. Deaths from ecstasy in Holland are only a tiny fraction of the figures for Britain. In Britain the kits are banned.

If drugs were legally available then the same regulation, quality control and choice would apply as exists for other goods.

PROVIDE INFORMATION

Legalisation would allow proper, accurate, information to be available about drugs instead of the tissue of distortions and half-

truths we get today. We are told that all drugs are addictive, make you mad etc etc without any attempt being made to differentiate between the various drugs and their effects.

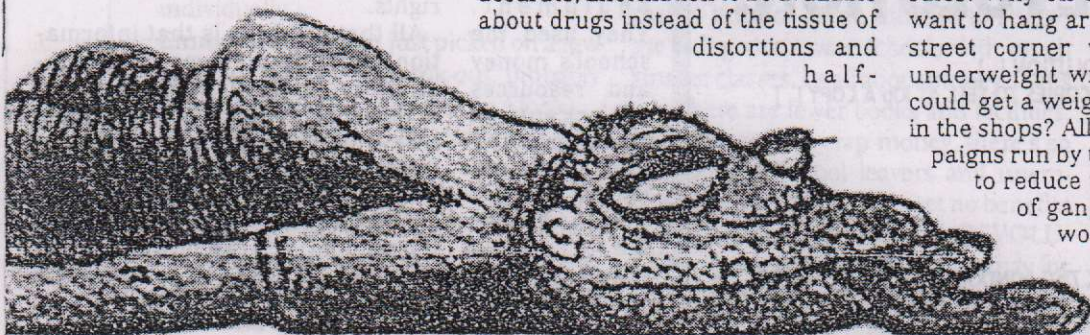
The net result of this is that the first time you actually try an illicit drug you suddenly realise what a load of rubbish you've been told about it. From then you don't believe a word of the official propaganda. But some drugs are genuinely dangerous, others have certain risks that could be minimised - if trustworthy information were available.

The London dance music station Kiss FM, until recently, carried regular adverts for the National Drugs helpline, which gave serious information about the effects of popular drugs like speed and ecstasy, and also exposed many of the myths about these drugs' effects. This information was useful to users, and helped to minimise risks without spreading panic and falsehood. Suddenly it changed. Instead of the voices of young people explaining how to reduce dehydration on ecstasy, a crude advert is being run describing drug dealers as "animals" who "maim and kill" and asking young people to help "put down a rat." This approach has already failed in the past. But while drugs are illegal, the main priority is catching the "criminals", not providing a service to millions of users.

BLOW TO ORGANISED CRIME

Legalisation would be a death blow to the gangster and criminal syndicates that make millions out of drug sales. Why on earth would anyone want to hang around nervously on a street corner waiting to buy an underweight wrap of weed if they could get a weighed quantity legally in the shops? All the anti-drugs campaigns run by the police have failed to reduce the scale and power of gangsters - legalisation would ruin them at a stroke.

Importantly every effort would have



THE CASE FOR LEGALISATION

to be made to ensure that the corporate gangsters of the multinational drug companies don't replace the street gangsters. A legalised drugs industry should be a nationalised industry under the control of drug users and the workers in the industry. Otherwise it won't be long before the profit hungry multinationals find their own way to cut drugs and sell you an inferior product.

STOP RACIST HARASSMENT

Legalisation would remove one of the main excuses the police have for systematically harassing young people. Black youth get a particularly hard time. It is well known just how widespread racist attitudes are within the police. Young black people get constant hassle, are moved on, flagged down in their cars, beaten up and even killed at police stations. The illegality of the popular and almost harmless drug cannabis provides the police with all the excuse they need to stop and search at will.

Nor can the police be expected to respond to drug taking among different social groups even handedly. Take cocaine for instance. This is a drug with a glamorous image. Because cocaine is subtle, sexy and very expensive. It is widely used in the music business and by smart young rich kids. Members of bands and DJs live in a constant blizzard of the stuff. But there is no big "anti-coke" campaign - it is a drug with status, and the police hardly bother about it.

Crack is another thing altogether as far as the police are concerned. Except that it's not another thing at all. It's the same thing in a different, smokeable, form. But it is not a glamorous drug - it has a "low-life" image. It is used mainly by young blacks, and by the poor and desperate. So there has been a scare campaign against crack cocaine and a big police clamp down. Of course there is more crime associated with crack cocaine than with the powder - it is a direct result of the poverty

and desperation among crack users. Slick yuppies don't have to steal to pay for their next line of coke. For them £60 a gramme is just another manageable expense - like champagne.

These double standards show what's really at stake. Legalisation would stop the police using the illegality of drugs as a pretext for their war against black youth.

PERSONAL CHOICE

Legalisation would enable people to choose what they want to do with their own bodies. By what democratic right does the state tell us what is and isn't acceptable for individuals to do for their own pleasure? It is not health considerations, as we have seen.

Nor is there any other acceptable reason. The real cause of the panic is that the more drug use expands, the sharper the profits of the big breweries fall.

Ecstasy and the dance culture are the main culprits as far as the breweries are concerned. During the peak years for rave - 1987 to 1992 - pub attendance fell by over 10%. The breweries' market researchers estimate that ravers spend £1.8 billion a year - but not on ale. The breweries don't like it. So they have launched new trendy drinks, bring out adverts suggesting that beer is smarter than E... and use their links to the Tory party to press for a clampdown on "dangerous" illegal drugs.

That's why there have been no posters of dead alcoholics with the words "Sorted" printed on them in massive letters. It is why you have heard of Leah Betts (killed by drinking too much water; by ignorance not by E), but have never heard of a single household name of an alcohol casualty. Famous drug addicts are regarded as a disgrace; famous drunks are just to be laughed at. It's why E is banned and alcohol is advertised on TV.

The Tories should have no right to tell us what we can and can't take while they are funded to the tune of

millions by the breweries - the biggest drug pushers of all.

BRING THE LAW INTUNE

Legalisation would bring society's laws into tune with society itself. The desire to consume plants or chemicals to get out of your head is as old as human civilisation itself. From early forms of wine and fermented spirits through to the use of cannabis, mescaline, psychoactive mushrooms and khat, every society has had some preferred stimulant which has been used to relax, to party or celebrate. This is not a moral or legal question - it is a fact of human history and of the nature of our species. No attempt to suppress drug use by law has ever succeeded.

REVOLUTION is neither pro- nor anti- drugs. Drug taking should be regarded as neither immoral nor glamorous. It is simply a fact of life.

Day to day living under capitalism is the pits for most - poverty, racism, sexism, homophobia, grinding alienating work. You've got a 48 hour weekend to escape from reality. Get smashed, drop a pill, smoke a joint, shoot up or snort a line; who's to blame?

But here a word of warning is needed. If you take an E at weekends or smoke a bit of draw that's not going to hurt you or anyone else. But if you are out of it all the time you're going to be no use to anyone. We need to fight the poverty, unemployment, bad housing, cuts and police repression that make life unbearable for so many youth today, and which push more and more to desperate responses like alcoholism, crack dependence and mainlining smack. Fighting back against this system is hard work - it needs energy, dedication, discipline and organisation. We don't have to tell each other to "Just Say No" - but we do need clear brains to break the chains.

SEX AT 14?

In response to the current moral panic about teenage sex, Peter Tatchell urges an age of consent of 14 for everyone, gay and straight.

FIRST IT WAS a judge, Sir Stephen Brown, breaking up the relationship between 13-year-old Sarah Cook and her Turkish boyfriend Musa Komegae. Now Tory MP, Peter Luff, wants a clamp down on teen magazines that give no-nonsense advice about sex.

One of the biggest obstacles to the sexual welfare of young people is the absurdly high ages of consent: 16 for heterosexual and lesbian sex, and 18 for sex between men.

This ban on sex under 16/18 inhibits the provision of effective sex education, contraceptive advice and safer sex materials to the one-in-two teenagers who become sexually active before the age of 16. By denying young people the right to make decisions about their own bodies, the present law plays into the hands of adults who want to exploit and abuse them.

For some teenagers, the age of consent results in a legal penalty. Every year, several hundred men under 21 are arrested and cautioned for the consensual offence of "unlawful sexual intercourse" with a girl aged 13-16. More than 200 others are convicted. A few end up in youth custody.

Coinciding with Valentines Day,

the queer rights movement, Outrage!, launched a campaign for the age of consent to be reduced to 14 for everyone, gay and straight. The aim is to create a culture of sexual rights where young people feel more confident about asserting their own sexual choices, including the right to say "yes" and the right to say "no".

Already 20 European countries have ages of consent lower than 16 (ranging from 12 to 15), and their laws apply equally to heterosexual and homosexual relations.

Outrage! is also proposing that sex involving young people under the age of 14 should not be prosecuted, providing both partners consent and there is no more than three years' difference in their ages. This element of flexibility takes into account the fact that some young people experiment sexually with each other from a very early age. They shouldn't be treated as criminals.

Restricting sex involving the under 14s to partners with a maximum three-year age difference would protect very young people from being manipulated by those much older.

OutRage! wants these legal changes backed by mandatory, explicit sex education in all schools,

from primary classes onwards. Schools should be educating young people about sex before they become sexually active. Reducing the age of consent is essential to remove the legal obstacles to this provision of early, effective information and, where necessary, contraception and condoms.

The OutRage! approach seeks to empower young people to make their own informed, responsible choices. It's modelled on the Netherlands, where the age of consent is effectively 12 for both hetero and homo relationships, where young people are taught they have a right to control their own bodies, and where there are freer attitudes towards teenage sex. The result? Dutch youths have their first sexual experience at a later age than their British counterparts. The rate of pregnancies and abortions in girls under 16 in the Netherlands is less than one-seventh of the rate in Britain.

Put simply: the sexual health and happiness of young people is best ensured by education and empowerment, not by repression.

Peter Tatchell is the author of the gay sex manual, Safer Sexy: The Guide to Gay Sex Safely (Freedom Editions, £14.99)

WHAT REVO SAYS

REMEMBER your first sex? Maybe it wasn't the best experience you've had. For some it leads an unwanted pregnancy, for others a sexually transmitted disease. Behind the sugary romance of the teenage magazines this can be the reality of teenage sex. But why?

Young people are prisoners of laws and taboos that deter having sex at an early age. Ignorance and embarrassment lead to unsafe sex and hang-ups. Fear and shame make us suppress our natural desires.

As Peter Tatchell points out, the age of consent laws (no legal sex until we're 16, or 18 if you're gay!), and bans on magazines, films and school sex education do not "protect" young people from abuse.

Most abuse comes from within the family. All it does is stop us getting

the information we need so we can make educated decisions about our own sex lives.

We say, remove all the laws that deny young people the right to make informed decisions: lift all age of consent laws and bans on books, films, TV and education.

Even this is not enough. Youth are treated as second class citizens. We're denied the right to vote. The council won't give us housing or benefits if we can't handle living at home, forcing many to live on the streets; and laws like the Criminal Justice Bill that even ban us from holding parties.

These are laws that allow parents, teachers, police and courts to brutally interfere in our lives. If we're old enough to work in a shit job for low wages, old enough to be kicked

onto the streets, then we're old enough to have sex when we're ready and old enough to party when we want.

We need safe space to hang out, housing provided for youth, and an education system controlled and run by workers and youth. Only then could youth be able get some control over their own lives.

Fight for the following!

- drop all age of consent laws
- no bans on media or education
- informative sex education in all schools
- free access to contraceptives and STD protection
- housing and resources for youth who want to leave home
- schools to be run by teachers and youth



RAVE

FIGHT FOR THE RIGHT TO PARTY

YOU'VE BEEN there: lasers sweep above the heads of a sea of dancers, slicing into sweet-smelling clouds of dry ice. You meet the eyes of someone dancing near you; huge grins, you shake their hand or hug them, or just leave it at the grin that says 'fucking awesome'. If you'd seen that person the day before and they'd looked at you like that, you probably would've thought they were a bit of a crank.

From the moment we are born, we are brought up in a world that says others are competition. Competition for money, for jobs, for school grades even for friendship. But at a good party, where we can relax and forget about the world around us, we find that's bullshit. There is nothing natural about being suspicious of one another, nothing natural about competition. We are a social animal and we are at our best when we are socialising. You can get that atmosphere in a good club, but to get that full-on, carefree party feeling, you can't beat a "free party" (dance parties organised independently - for fun, not for profit).

You take away the money motive and the "posers" and are left with people seriously committed to everyone having a great time.

ILLEGAL PARTIES

Big problem! Free parties, the proper ones, are illegal. The Criminal Justice Act means that organisers can be fined and even imprisoned for "conspiracy to cause a public nuisance". Why? It's not just that

those in power are a load of gits who want to stop us having a good time. They're also scared of us. Free party culture is outside their control.

Young people getting together and having such a good time raises all sorts of questions about how the world works. If the government tells us that drugs are bad, but millions take them every weekend and rarely is anyone hurt, why believe anything else they tell us? If we can get along brilliantly with people we've never met before in, why can't we do it seven days a week?

ALIENATION

The capitalist system we live in depends on alienation. In our work (assuming there's a job for us) we are alienated from what we produce. We have no control over the products we make, how the production process is run or what happens to the product in the end. If we had that sort of control, we would be saying: "let's produce for need, not profit"; "this production process damages our environment so we won't use it". Most importantly, we'd realise we don't need bosses. If we, the producers, run society there is no need for a class system where one class exploits the other.

We are alienated from the production process and alienated from each other. "Freedom" under capitalism means freedom to compete with each other. Not freedom to work together.

When the Tories drew up the Criminal Justice Bill, they not only

restricted the freedom to party, but restrictions on our ability to fight back in the workplace. This is no coincidence. They know the only way we can fight back is collectively. A tragedy of the fight against the CJA was that the party-people, huntsabs and roads protesters didn't unite with our frontline organisations, the trade unions. If we withdraw our labour, the bosses can't make a profit and the heart of their system is squashed.

But can't be all because the bosses, police and courts hit back and hit back hard. In October '94 the cops launched a brutal attack on people partying at an anti-CJA demo in London. Last summer, they launched one of the biggest police operations since the miners' strike to stop a free party and sent riot squads in against a "Reclaim the Streets" free party in North London.

Being "fluffy" is useless against horses and riot squads, still less the military who they'll use if need be. We must organise as effectively as the bosses and the state. That means we need a revolutionary party that organises to smash the state and replace it with our own democratic organisations. Replace it with a system where every working class person can have a say in how society is run.

You want to live in a world where people can smile at each other without one thinking the other's a nutter. So don't just escape to a party each weekend, become a revolutionary. And join a good party - both sorts!

Women count for a least half of the world's population. We do more work than men and yet we have less to show for it. Women earn less than 10% of the world's wealth and own only 1% of the world's property.

The higher you go up the social scale the fewer women you see. Ask yourself, these simple questions. How many women head multinational corporations? How many women have achieved world-wide recognition as scientists or inventors? How many women Prime Ministers can you name? Not many.

You can draw two conclusions from these simple observations. Either women just can't do those type of things or something is working against us that prevents us from having an equal footing with men.

I stand by the latter explanation. Something is working against us: it's called capitalism.

We live in a society that thinks women should stick with what they do best: look after the kids, keep their husbands satisfied, be understanding, and spend a lot of time on our hair. It's alright to work, as long as it doesn't interfere with family commitments, which is why so many women are in low paid part-time jobs.

And of course there are certain things women aren't supposed to do like become miners or builders, but we can become nurses, cleaners, teachers or secretaries. The biggest sin is to go and get pregnant and have the kid all on our own. According to the Tories, single mums are responsible for everything from mass unemployment to this summer's drought.

Men, however, are encouraged to do little more than change nappies and do the ironing. What with men being such strong, rational thinking creatures, they are encouraged to pursue their ambitions. It's perfectly possible to hold down a job, have a few good nights out with the lads and be a loving daddy of three. Fixing a babysitter isn't a problem when the wife will look after the kids.

This may sound like a stereotype but things haven't changed a fat lot for most women. Some values have changed from the days when our mothers were our age.

It's more acceptable to live with a man without getting married. Because of contraception, especially the Pill, more women can make choices about whether they want to have children. Some women have benefited from education and have become solicitors, directors, and doctors.

WHAT DO WE MEAN BY...

Women's Liberation

BY KIRSTIE, TOWER HAMLETS

Some women have even ventured into the almost exclusive male territory of the fire service, but not without a fair share of sexual and verbal harassment.

But despite all of these advances, for the vast majority of women the burden of running the home and looking after the kids still dominates their lives. There are 12 million women working in Britain, that's 50% of women. But a recent survey, *Social Focus on Women*, shows that women earn consistently less than men. This report blows the "new man" myth apart. Women, working or not, still tend to prepare the evening meal, do the washing, ironing and cleaning. Men have ventured to do a few more dishes and of

course, most of the household repairs. Being responsible for the bulk of childcare and household chores prevents women from participating in other aspects of life.

Looking after kids is a fulltime job. When women try and do other things like full-time work or education there are a multitude of barriers that make it very hard for us. How many universities or workplaces provide free, top quality childcare? In reality very few.

Private childcare can cost anything from £90 a week or more. This means that a woman on her own with a child would have to earn at least £300 a week if she wanted to work. Most working class women work in low paid jobs and have to rely on family and friends (most often other women) to look after the children. Other mothers can't afford to go to work and end up living on poverty benefits.

All this benefits the rich capitalists. Just think about it. Women do all that work for nothing.

For the bosses this means that future generations of workers are fed, washed, clothed and nursed all free of charge. The social function that women provide for society can't be underestimated. If society as a whole was responsible for providing all of these services, for example, running free creches, restaurants and laundrettes, it would be a massive drain on the profits of the bosses. This is why the capitalists keep things the way they are.

And in order to do that the capitalists do everything in their power to convince people that this is the way things should stay. To keep women in their place we are fed all sorts of lies that portray women as inferior.

The media, the church, schools and

The Myth of the 'New Man'

•84% of women do the washing and the ironing in the house compared with only 3% of men.

•70% of women make the evening meal compared with only 9% of men.

•33% of women earn £190 a week or less - only 13% of men earn so little.

•Women get less free time than men. In the North East women have 10.5 hours less free time a week than men, in Scotland 8.5 hours less and in London 0.5 hours less.

•Women lose more leisure time than men when children are born. Fathers suffer a 37% fall from 50.1 hours to 31.6 a week - but mothers slide 52% from 46.6 hours to 22.5.

demned her to a life sentence. Even now she has not been cleared.

The hypocrisy of the bosses knows no bounds. Prostitutes are portrayed as dirty, immoral women. And yet, not only do company directors and politicians go to brothels and call girls, they create the poverty conditions that drive thousands of women into prostitution in the first place.

For women in the third world, life is particularly brutal. They have to work in the most appalling conditions for pitifully low wages. These countries, sucked dry by debt repayments to the west, provide little or no support to families.

Women end up trying to raise families in the face of famine and terrible exploitation. The growth of religion, in particular Islamic Fundamentalism, backs up the treatment of women as second class citizens. In countries such as Saudi Arabia, Iran and Pakistan women are considered the property of men to the extent that beating your wife is considered acceptable. Millions of women suffer clitoridectomy (the removal of the clitoris) or infibulation (the sewing up of the vagina until the marriage night).

As long as capitalism exists women will remain oppressed. Some women can buy themselves out of their oppression. Women with money can afford nannies, giving them the freedom to pursue a career or an education and become financially independent. But for the vast ma-

majority of working class women this is no way out.

But women have never been passive victims. There is a courageous history of women fighting for equal rights.

From the Suffragettes and their campaign for a women's vote to the struggles of women workers at Timex against redundancies, women have organised against injustice and oppression.

We cannot separate the struggle against women's oppression from the struggle against the capitalist profit system. The role of women in the family lies at the heart of the capitalist system. That means smashing the whole system of profit and greed and replacing it with socialism.

Socialism can provide a real solution to the problems women face today. By organising a society based a democratic plan to meet peoples' needs we could provide all the things that women are expected to do on their own. Free, high quality child care would give women and men more freedom to do other things. Communal restaurants and professional cleaning services could be provided collectively.

The bosses moan and tell us there isn't enough money for such things. They are liars. The truth is they don't want to share their billions of profits with the likes of us. There's only one solution to that - take all the wealth from them and run things together for need not greed.

A socialist society would not only allow all women to participate as equal human beings in every aspect of life but it would create a culture of respect and equality so that all the reactionary ideas of the past would be challenged. Sexist behaviour in men would not be tolerated and a massive campaign to promote positive images of women would be used to undermine negative views.

A socialist society would provide free contraception and abortion so that we could make informed decisions about whether we want to have children or not.

Women are different from men. We can have babies and men can't. We have breasts and a vagina and men have a penis.

This is a biological fact. But capitalism tries to make us slaves to our biology.

Socialism lays the basis for a society that gives us the freedom to control our fertility and our lives. It is a society that will be based upon the best examples of human solidarity and compassion. This is a goal worth fighting for. ■

our own family all spread reactionary ideas about women. The Catholic church tells women that divorce is a sin, even if your husband is a wife batterer. Contraception is forbidden and abortion is murder. This means that women are denied any rights over their own fertility. In Ireland, where abortion is illegal, the state recently denied a 14 year old rape victim the right to an abortion.

Our bodies are treated as objects by men. We are told that our role is to serve the sexual needs of men. Millions of men see images of women as sexual objects and little else. Men are taught to believe that we are their property and if we play up they can beat us, rape us, and treat us like animals.

And when women fight back, like Sara Thornton, who killed her husband after years of brutal violence, the courts con-



CARS

CAN'T LIVE WITH THEM, CAN'T LIVE WITHOUT THEM?

THE EIGHTIES saw steady media coverage of the seriousness of environmental destruction throughout the world. Growing evidence of the increasing Greenhouse Effect showed how the rich industrialised countries and the big corporations were responsible for terrible destruction of the global environment. At the heart of the problem is the burning of fossil fuels, as well as slashing and burning of rainforests; other causes are the increasing dependence on the car in "first world" countries and the involvement of the World Bank in clearing Amazonian rainforests for the benefit of foreign investment. In other words, everything that is key to producing profits for the owners of the huge multinational companies.

Many predicted that these environmental campaigns were to be just another passing phase. A few years and everyone will forget car pollution, nuclear waste and the depleting ozone layer, they claimed. How wrong they were. Continuing campaigns around "green" and related issues has meant that even mainstream politicians have to pay lip service to environmental protection.

It's no wonder. People can't ignore environmental degradation. We live amidst it every day. Traffic jams in all major cities. Road accidents killing tens of thousands. Asthma steadily increasing. One third of all Australians will get some form of skin cancer in their lifetime because of ozone layer depletion.

Here in the UK there has been a steady increase in anti-roads campaigns. Not sur-

prising really. No-one can ignore the damage caused by cars; smog, noise, lead poisoning, lung disease and the list goes on.

So what is the answer? Some see the car, in and of itself, as the problem, or even the main cause of all these problems. But this is quite simply, a limited view. The heart of the problem lies with city planning and the fact that capitalist profit is easier to draw from the selling and use of privately owned cars, than from the development and use of public transport. And the government is so keen on protecting the interests of the car and petroleum industries, that it continues to spend more taxpayers' money on building roads and subsidising car related services, than it does on public transport.

A good invention?

But we must remember that cars are still a great invention. Who can honestly say they don't enjoy the freedom of owning or driving a car. Anyone who's had to endure isolation and drudgery in small towns or the sprawling suburbs of big cities, will understand the huge desire to escape, to travel; even if it's just for a night of clubbing or a trip to the coast or countryside. Cars have been a great advance for human society, allowing us to travel faster and cover further distances. Along with communication technology, transportation has enabled us to become an increasingly global society (for those that get access to this technology).

And cars could continue to be a benefit to society, even in crowded cities. Hydrogen cars, for example, have already been developed by several companies and can be equipped with sensors to monitor the

road and surrounding vehicles. A single lane of an automated highway could carry at least 6,000 vehicles per hour (three times more than a conventional highway), while 'drivers' simply sit back and read a book. Accidents would be reduced by at least a half. (New Internationalist, No 269, July 1995). Also, car pooling systems and fast track lanes for cars with four or more passengers would be easier to extend. This is in stark contrast to the image we now have of clogged highways, fumes, noise, smog and future climatic disaster.

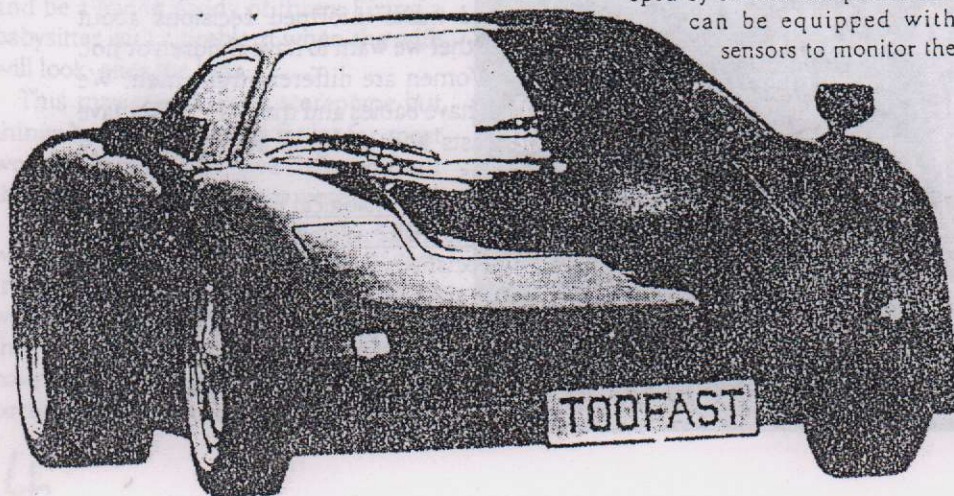
But such advances in transportation are unlikely to ever be introduced under the profit driven system we are forced to live our lives under. Especially when the car and petroleum companies actually "own" this sort of technology.

One solution!

Ultimately, there is only one way to protect the environment from destruction and the results of multinational competition for profit Human society - the cities, towns and communities, the distribution and production of goods - must be run collectively and democratically by the workers of the world.

Only under a fully democratic and planned economy, can we finally benefit from our technological advances, instead of living as slaves to them. The real enemy is not technology itself - not the car, not the factory, not the computer, not the nuclear power plant - the real enemies are those that own and control the technology and technological research: the capitalists. The force that can defend our environment and make the world a place fit for human beings is those that have the collective power to hit the capitalists where it really hurts - by withdrawing their labour that produces profit in the first place.

That is why *Revolution* welcomes the involvement of "Reclaim the Streets" and other environmental campaigners in supporting the struggle of the Liverpool Dockers and Underground workers. While we do not share their blanket opposition to all cars and roads, their turn to the working class movement is a massive step forward for anyone who wants to stop the profiteers wrecking our planet and our future. ■





ENVIRONMENT

GREEN CAPITALISM?

EVERY YEAR, across the globe, people are dying, becoming ill and suffering from the effects of pollution and environmental destruction. From the Newbury road protests to the youth rebellions in Tahiti, against the French nuclear tests, people are fighting back, forcing governments to take action on environmental issues. But the small-scale local actions of environmentalists and legislative solutions of governments are failing to address the real causes of the environmental destruction.

The biggest polluter and destroyer of our world is large-scale business, in its continuing attempts to gain quick and easy profit. Most industries produce harmful substances and release polluting gases as waste products. Not only are these commonly buried, or just dumped into rivers, but the same industries ignore any health risk to "their" workers.

Doing away with these risks and disposing of waste safely costs money, potentially reducing the profits of the industry bosses. This is clearly seen with Shell's Brent Spar affair, where the cost of getting rid of the oil rig was placed before the potential environmental dangers. Shell also finds it cheaper to pay the corrupt Nigerian military dictatorship, to repress environment activists in Nigeria, rather than clean up after itself.

The Tories say they are tackling environmental problems. But putting money into tree planting schemes, promoting unleaded petrol and energy efficiency in individual homes will do little to end pollution and environmental destruction. If the government really wanted to tackle environmental problems it would make the bosses of the polluting industries pay to clean up the mess, as well implementing strict environmental standards for industry.

REVOLUTION does not simply equate environmental destruction with industry, and draw the conclusion that the getting rid of industry will solve the problem. It is not

industry and technology that's the problem; the profit driven owners of industry that misuse technology are the real problem. We want to go forward with all the improvements of modern technology and we can see the potential benefits technological development can give to the millions of people on this planet.

REVOLUTION realises that the continuing destruction and pollution of the environment is a product of the logic that is driving the rulers of the world. The logic that puts profit before human need. The logic of capitalism.

The logic of a mad system that produces three times the amount of food needed to feed the world yet allows millions to die from starvation and malnutrition each year; that spends millions on new roads to add to our all ready jammed and smoke bellowing highways while cutting back on public transport spending; that throw thousands of workers on to the unemployment scrap heap in the name of the free market and deregulation; that is continuing the destruction of the environment, destroying people's health, and placing life on the planet in danger.

We do not just campaign for cleaner technology, or on single issues such as saving the forests. We will fight alongside green groups in the struggle to save the environment, but the environment must be looked at in relation to the rest of society. **REVOLUTION** puts the needs of millions above the greed and privileges of a few: the rich and its (government) agents. We will join struggles to bring in greater and improved public transport services throughout the country, but will not just stop at saving a few trees.

Some environmental reforms can be won under capitalism. In cities like Los Angeles, or Mexico City where the health of ruling class has been threatened by air pollution clean air laws are being enforced to curb pollution. But as every environmental activist knows, when the struggle to save the environment threatens the profitability and com-

fortable lives of the rich and powerful, the full weight of the capitalist state, the police and the army, is used.

The Tories, and the Labour Party are defenders of the logic of capitalism. That is why they play lip service to environmental issues but will never really attempt to stop pollution or environmental destruction.

We cannot continue to leave the problems of the environment to capitalist governments, who do not really represent the millions of people on this world; nor can we leave it to money-making organisations like Greenpeace who have made peace with capitalism, and its profit logic, long ago and are run from the top by a Lord. The question of the environment must be tied to the needs of the poor, the homeless, the workers and youth.

To save the environment we need to be able to plan and control the fair distribution of food, housing, jobs, and the use of the worlds natural resources and not leave it to the 'market' to decide. We need to end the privileges of the rich few and take back the land, the resources, the factories, and place them in control of the majority of the world's population.

To achieve this we have to win the support of the class that actually keeps society running, the working class of the world. The working class has no reason to save money by continuing to pollute and destroy our environment. It is only this class that can fight internationally to provide a fair system based on need, not on profit and destruction of the environment. That system is Socialism.

REVOLUTION SAYS:

- For a workplace veto over unsafe practices
- Force bosses to pay compensation and clean up their damage
- For an integrated public transport policy
- Nationalise the big corporations under workers' control.

"There's no point in having a revolution - it would just end up like Russia". We hear this every time we raise socialist arguments in school, at college, or at home. So what happened in Russia? Dave, a REVOLUTION supporter from Leicester, tells the real story.

THE RUSSIAN revolution of October 1917 was the most important event of the twentieth century. It changed the face of history. The Russian workers, organised and led by the *Bolshevik Party*, smashed the state power of the capitalists and the rich. They broke up the bosses' police force and bureaucracy. All armed power and authority passed into the hands of the working people. They set themselves the task of building a world socialist society, based on mutual co-operation and production for need instead of profit.

But the revolution never finished its job. The task of building socialism still lies ahead of us.

Under Stalin in the 1920s and 30s, Russia became a monstrous caricature of socialism. Instead of being a society controlled by the workers it became a totalitarian dictatorship. Workers were not allowed any freedom to express their ideas and had no control over their workplaces, their communities or their country. The so-called socialist state was not used to protect and fight for people's rights but to spy on people and make sure there was no opposition to Stalin and his government. Millions of people, including socialists, were sent to die in labour camps if they disagreed with what was happening.

So are the pessimists right when they say socialism is an impossible dream? Is capitalism just something we have to learn to live with? Will all revolutions start with hope but end in tyranny?

In 1917 the backbone of the Russian Revolution was the Soviets. These started out as councils made up from delegates of workers, peasants and soldiers. They came together to organise the fight for freedom - against the Tsar (the Russian King), against the factory owners, against police persecution and against war.

They were real democracy in action. If your delegates broke their promises or did not argue what you wanted, you could get them out immediately and replace them with someone who did! But they weren't just talking shops. Decisions would be implemented by them as they were made, whether it was a call for a demonstration, a strike, an occupation or the setting up of armed workers' defence to challenge the Tsar's police.

It was *Lenin* and the Bolsheviks who first realised that Soviets could be the basis for a whole new society once the capitalist class had been overthrown. They could be the foundation of a totally new type of state, where workers could directly plan

Do all revolutions What really hap

and implement decisions on what was produced and how it was distributed. They could do this better than a 'normal' parliament which is elected only every five years and can then break all of its promises without being held to account.

The new workers' state pulled Russia out of the bloody First World War which the rich were fighting for profits. They gave the land to the peasants and the factories to the workers. They introduced free abortion, divorce on demand, and tried to set up decent public dining, laundry and nursery facilities, to allow women to have control of their lives instead of being treated like men's property. Homosexuality was legalised and racist anti-Jewish groups were suppressed. They sacked army officers and let the soldiers elect new ones. Their aim was to rotate all government duties so that, as Lenin put it, "all may, for a time become 'bureaucrats' and therefore nobody can become a bureaucrat".

But the Bolsheviks faced serious problems. Russia was a very backward country: 70% of production was based on farming using extremely old-fashioned methods. Only 20% of the population could read or write, limiting office tasks to a minority of the population. The industry of the country had been totally drained by the War.

Even worse, in the middle of 1918 armies from 14 different capitalist countries invaded Russia. They wanted to crush the new workers' state before it could get off its feet. All production had to be geared towards defence rather than development. Compromises that normally would never have been contemplated had to be brought in to defend the state. Plans to elect officers were temporarily scrapped, because they needed military expertise immediately! This meant re-appointing former Tsarist officers to the army, under armed guard. Those workers most committed to socialism were the first to join the Red Army and go to war to defend the revolution. Thou-



Young Bolsheviks in Red Square 1920

sands of committed revolutionaries were wiped out. To meet the needs of the desperate war effort, the running of the factories was centralised in the hands of appointed officials rather than elected delegates. Again this often meant ex-Tsarist officials. But these measures were seen as temporary, necessary evils to be reversed as soon as possible.

The Red Army, led by *Leon Trotsky*, defeated the counter-revolutionary armies and drove them out. But Russia was devastated. Worse still, the revolution was isolated.

The Bolsheviks had always realised that Russia could not achieve socialism on its own. The most urgent task was to spread the revolution world wide. There would need to be successful revolutions in more advanced countries, like Germany and Britain, so that Russia could get technical help. If the workers in the advanced countries could take power then they would be able to send aid to Russia. They would be able to make steel for new rail roads, they could help Russia set up new factories, engineers could come and help them build up industry. Without the revolution spreading, the Russian Revolution would go down to defeat. That is why they formed the

What went wrong? What happened in Russia



real practical problems.

The failure of revolution to spread to the West meant that Russia had to trade and do deals with the capitalists and make all sorts of compromises just to keep things going. A whole new layer of middlemen emerged, and for them compromise was not a necessary evil but a whole way of life. These people became the new bureaucrats. They looked to Stalin to protect their privileges. And they fought a long and bloody campaign to take over the Bolshevik party and the workers state.

Stalin banned all opposition and persecuted all the real socialists in the party. The leaders who had made the revolution were framed up, banished and killed one by one until only Stalin was left. The bureaucrats reversed the socialist measures that had been taken after the revolution. Abortion and homosexuality were banned again. Women were told 'your place is in the family'. The Soviets were turned into bodies to rubber-stamp Stalin's orders. Previously the Bolshevik Party was full of internal debate and discussion. But now the Chief demanded obedience and nothing more.

The idea that only world wide revolution could build socialism was abandoned. The Stalinists argued that socialism could be built in one country alone - Russia. This was rubbish, but the last thing the bureaucrats wanted was revolution or upheaval in another country upsetting their relations with foreign capitalists. In time Stalin ordered the Communist International not to fight for socialist revolution in their own countries but make deals with capitalist parties who he thought would be friendly to Russia. To keep capitalist governments friendly Stalin got Communist Parties to sabotage workers' revolutions in countries like France in 1934 and during the Spanish Civil War of 1936-9. In this way he blocked the one thing that could have saved the Russian Revolution - more revolutions

abroad.

But there were people in the Communist Parties that fought against Stalin. Trotsky and his supporters fought to keep the idea of world revolution alive. They fought for an end to the Stalin dictatorship and for the workers to seize back power from the bureaucrats.

The Stalinists responded with vicious repression of the Trotskyists. First they were expelled from the Bolshevik Party, then driven into exile. They were framed up in show trials and accused of everything under the sun. They were imprisoned, tortured and slaughtered in their thousands. Stalin's agents finally caught up with Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. He was killed by a blow to the head from an ice pick.

Why did the Stalinists bother? Because the Trotskyists never gave up fighting. Every time the Communist International betrayed workers they fought against the betrayal. Every piece of repression, every lie the Stalinists told, the Trotskyists countered with real revolutionary politics. Once they recognised that the Communist International would never be revolutionary again, they tried to build a new International, the *Fourth International*.

Stalinism was a disaster from start to finish. But it was not the inevitable result of revolution. It was the opposite of revolution. By the 1980s Stalin's successors ended up trying to bring capitalism back to Russia - the very system the Russian Revolution had overthrown. That is why today Russia is filled with unemployment, poverty and crime.

To end as we started: the tasks of revolution still lie ahead. They fall to working class youth. Who do not bare the scars of lost battles. Who do not fear the bosses and their police. Who do not look to parties like Labour who will only betray them. And who capitalism has nothing to offer.

Stalinism may have succeeded in destroying the Russian revolution. But there is a new generation rising. We will make new revolutions. We will learn from the past and do everything in our power to build an international movement from the start.

Today, hand in hand with groups in France, Austria, Ireland, Latin America, New Zealand and beyond, REVOLUTION is fighting to build an international working class youth movement. Youth are the future - join REVOLUTION and shake the world. ★

Communist International. It was made up of Communist Parties all over the world who were trying to spread the revolution. But no help came. In Germany the revolution after the war was betrayed by the Social Democratic Party. Like the Labour Party in Britain today they were reformists. They opposed revolution and just tried to get a few reforms by working within the system. The workers missed their chance to take power. In Italy the workers seized control of the factories and the peasants took over the land. They wanted revolution. But their leaders in the reformist Socialist Party said no. The workers paid a terrible price for this missed opportunity. Once the capitalists could see that the Socialist Party were not going to make a revolution, they put Mussolini's Fascists in power. Only in Hungary did the workers take power for a short time, but they were crushed by invading armies. The Russian workers were alone. It was the isolation of the revolution that led to its defeat. Some people say this was inevitable - that all power corrupts and so the revolution was bound to go wrong. But what these pessimists ignore is that the revolution started to go wrong because of

POLICE:



ONLY DOING THEIR JOB?

THE TV and the papers portray them as the thin blue line, defending 'normal' people from the hordes of criminals waiting to rob us blind, rape us, or murder us in our beds. The truth is something entirely different.

The fact is that when anti-social crimes like burglary, street robbery and so on are committed against working class women and men, if you phone the police from a working class estate, often they won't show for hours. Black people and women who have been raped or suffered domestic violence find the police incredibly unsympathetic. Many people believe this proves that the police should have more money or power. This conclusion is absolutely wrong because it ignores the fact that the fundamental, main role of the police is not to prevent crime.

The real task of the police is first and foremost to defend the existing social order, and this means repressing resistance to capitalism and its effects. This is what their 'law and order' really means, and it is not in our interests. Therefore they have to disguise this role:

The police need to get the trust of ordinary people, to ensure our day-to-day obedience and co-operation, and also to get us to accept law-and-order policies: more power, more weapons and more numbers. To do this, they need to con us into believing that without them crime would explode. The press and politicians, Tory and Labour alike, back them in this lie. It is all based on the idea that our communities would be incapable of policing themselves if they were allowed to.

POLICE POWERS

The police are arming themselves up with American batons and CS gas, and there is a strong lobby for the routine carrying of guns.

The gas and baton body count has already begun. Only weeks after

these new weapons were introduced onto the streets two black men died at police hands. Brian Douglas was clubbed across the back of the head with a US-style baton. Ibrahima Sey was CS gassed to death inside a police station.

These deaths were not one off's or accidents. Day in day out police dish out harassment to working class and especially black youth, increasingly using the stop and search rights the Criminal Justice Act (CJA) gave them. As in Bradford last spring, when youth rise up against racist harassment their streets are flooded with police and they are attacked. The results of police carrying guns are not hard to predict.

WHO THEY REALLY POLICE

The true role of the police goes much further than systematic harassment and reinforcing racism. It exposes itself most nakedly when the working class and oppressed organise together and fight back.

In 1984 the most militant section of the working class, the miners, fought back in a strike against the hated Tory government who were trying to close the pits. The Tories knew they had to win this fight at any cost. They pumped billions of pounds into the police force and intelligence services.

Thousands of police from London were poured into the pit villages. Pitched battles were fought as police tried to smash picket lines, so they could get scabs in to work and break the strike. The state was determined to smash the miners and they used their police force to help them do it.

And that's not all. The march against the Nazi HQ in Wellington and the demonstration against the Criminal Justice Act at Hyde Park were both attacked by a tooled up police force on the instructions of the government.

Against police harassment and their attacks on demos and pickets,

we should not turn the other cheek. We need to organise disciplined defence capable of winning when the police attack. On demonstrations, stewarding should be geared to defence and organised enough to resist attack. On pickets, defence squads run by the workers need to be set up to stop the police getting scabs in. Against racist attacks need our own street patrols under the control of committees of local workers and the community. As well as preventing police harassment these patrols could deal more effectively with anti-social crime than the police ever could.

Imagine if a movement, supported by the mass of working people, tried to seriously change the distribution of wealth from the rich to the poor. Who would the police side with? The answer is clear. The police are an arm of the state, and when it comes to the crunch the state will always defend the interests of the bosses against the struggles of workers. The state is not neutral and neither are the police. What they do to our demonstrations is nothing compared to what they will do if workers get anywhere near succeeding in a revolution and seizing the property of the bosses. Before we can start building a socialist society the police will have to be broken up and replaced by the armed self-defence of the population.

The police are a real, every day threat to our interests and an obstacle to our socialist goal. This is why we must strip them of their powers, and fight for our right to self defence -now!

REVOLUTION says:

- Abolish the police.
- Abolish the Tactical Support Groups (the bastards in the blue helmets)
- Strip the police of their weapons: no batons, CS gas, riot shields, etc.
- For organised self-defence.
- Workers and youth to safeguard their own areas.