

RIGHTS

RIGHTS CONSTANTLY CROP up in our lives. Almost all debate and choice about what we can or cannot do is coloured by talk about different rights. Natural Rights, Human Rights, Children's Rights, Animal Rights, the Right to Life, The Right to Die, the Right to Know, the Right to Privacy and endless others. All are appeals for people to get what they deserve and what they are entitled to. Collectively rights amount to a universal fairness, which, if only they were all respected, would leave no one with cause for complaint. All that is needed for any disputes in society to be resolved is for conflicting rights to be weighed against one another and the most equitable solution found.

It will surprise few of our readers that we think this view is utter rubbish and we shall not disappoint those who were expecting the famous quote by saying we agree with the philosopher Jeremy Bentham who said that natural rights were "nonsense upon stilts". The plot of the rest of this article will follow with a very brief look at rights, a longer critique of what's wrong with them and more importantly what anarchists can use as an alternative in political dialogue. Obviously we are not going to say that changing the theoretical framework of political discussion can bring revolutionary change in itself. However we do say there is a reciprocal interchange between ideas and practice which grow from one another. In this instance a rejection of campaigning for our 'rights' when in struggle enables us to see beyond immediate goals within the confines of present society just as actual struggles have shown us the need to go beyond what the bosses can concede in terms of rights.

Are Rights Right On?

As promised there will be no long lecture on the historical and philosophical origins of the concept of rights. While we would not dismiss this topic as pure Kant, it is all Paine for little gain and will be Locke'd away for the moment. Those comrades who find it grist to their John Stuart Mill's will find a plentiful literature on the subject that we have no space for here.

Suffice to say rights became a major political influence with the American and French revolutions and have since expanded to almost all aspects of human interaction. One distinction worth making is between positive and negative rights. The latter are rights which allow individuals freedom from interference from the state. These rights, mostly advocated by ideological 20 Organise!

liberals, were in general the first to be put forward e.g. the right to life, liberty and the pursuit of happiness in the American constitution. Positive rights have come later, pushed for by state socialists and Keynesian capitalists. They differ in requiring action by others or the state to ensure their fulfilment. An example is the right to work. To 'enjoy' this right someone must provide a job for you to do. The distinction between these two types of rights is by no means clear cut and they are united by the justification for their existence. All these claims of rights rest on being part of a natural order with which human society should conform. This is the concept of Natural Rights. Human, Animal or any other sets of rights that apply to individuals because they are members of certain groups are subsets of these Natural Rights.

What's Wrong With Rights?

Logically there are gaping holes in the theory of rights. Firstly there is no evidence that rights exist as part of a supposed natural order. Even if they did, to move from what actually is to what ought to be is not necessarily so (naturalistic fallacy if you want to know G.E Moore about it). For example it is natural for people to die of disease but that doesn't mean we shouldn't try to cure the sick. Secondly, rights accruing to certain groups have problems of demarcation. Do human rights extend to fetuses? Do animal rights extend to non-vertebrates?

However to anarchists these are minor quibbles. Our objection to rights rests on their political content. Rights are only of use if they can be enforced. To which we must ask - who decides what rights there are and who will make sure they are put into effect? This cannot be simply side-stepped by more 'democratic' or anarchist forms of decision making. The idea of rights presupposes that there is a correct answer to be discovered and that makes it an issue for experts. Anarchists do not believe that there are factual answers to how people interact. It effects everyone in a community and everyone should participate in the decision making process. No one is greater expert on you than yourself. Of course if you want to build a house you would be foolish not to consult people with expertise in architecture or bricklaying but they have no greater knowledge than anyone else in the community as to whether a house needs to be built. These types of decision can be blurred on occasion but with rights we can see a definite difference. Rights are the product of a hierarchical society. If you are



in dispute with someone over a clash of rights you must appeal to a higher authority. When decisions go against people in British courts they go to the European Court of Human Rights. Regardless of whether they win or lose they have surrendered control of their own lives to someone else. We are not saying that the idea of rights is a manipulative con by capitalism to divert rebellion into acceptable channels but it is product of capitalist, individualistic and authoritarian thinking which cannot serve as the basis for a society of freedom and equality.

Right On!

What can be done about this? Obviously we shouldn't give up what practical rights the bosses have conceded to us in the present. In fact they should get a hearty kicking for even thinking about taking away our rights to pensions, striking, free abortion etc. Unfortunately they've already done most of that if we ever had it anyway. We need somehow to gain power for ourselves that they can't take away. Without speculating overmuch on a future anarchist society we can see some key features of it emerging through the struggles of our own class in the here and now. One of these is the kind of arguments we use in settling points of controversy between us. Anarchism rejects opinions that rely for their justification on what is 'naturally' the case or on someone's judgement simply because of who they are. Instead we aim at a leadership of ideas that convince people because of their own merits. Real decisions about people's lives cannot be resolved fruitfully by recourse to abstract categories, however benign they may appear. To place our faith in rights is to abdicate responsibility for our own decisions and surrender to a tyranny subtler but more all embracing than the cosh.

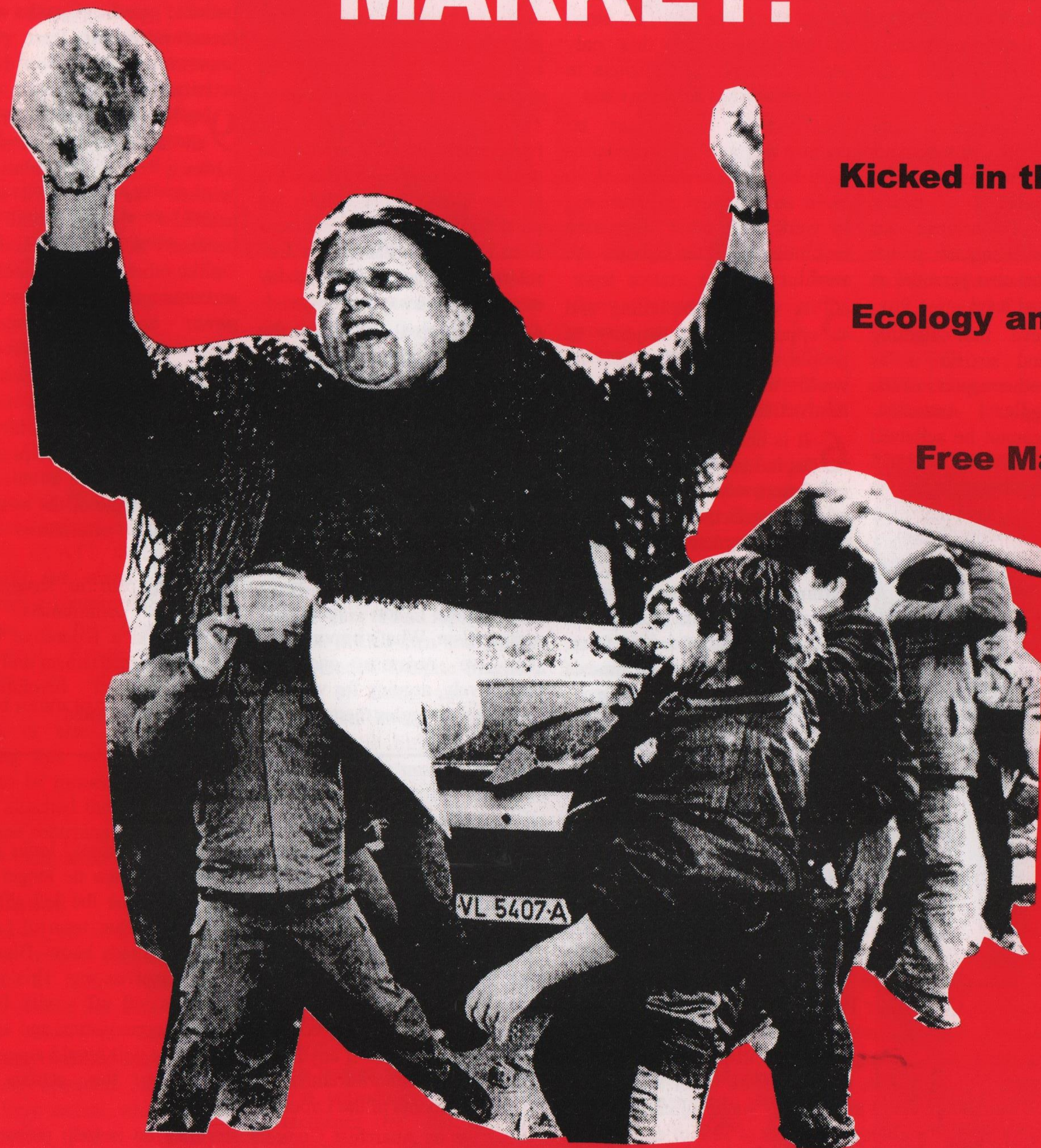
This is the last in the series Aspects of Anarchism. We start a new series - Myths - on the back page next issue.

No 45 Spring 1997

ORGANISE!

FOR CLASS STRUGGLE ANARCHISM
ISSUE NO 45 SPRING 1997 £1 (FREE TO PRISONERS)

WELCOME TO THE FREE MARKET!



Kicked in the Balkans

Ecology and Industry

Free Mark Taylor!

Albania

Letters

Magazine of the
Anarchist Communist Federation

Aims and Principles

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

2 Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppresses another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in struggle that benefits the ruling class.

Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action which challenges social and economic power relationships. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as political level.

3 We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other aspects of the class struggle. Anarchist-communism cannot be achieved while sexism and racism still exist. In order to be effective in their struggle against their oppression both within society and within the working class, women and black people may at times need to organise independently. However, this should be as working class women and black people as cross-class movements hide real class differences and achieve

little for them. Full emancipation cannot be achieved without the abolition of capitalism.

4 We are opposed to the ideology of national liberation movements which claims that there is some common interest between native bosses and the working class in face of foreign domination. We do support working class struggles against racism, genocide, ethnocide and political and economic colonialism. We oppose the creation of any new ruling class. We reject all forms of nationalism, as this only serves to redefine divisions in the international working class.

The working class has no country and national boundaries must be eliminated. We seek to build an anarchist international to work with other libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

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

6 It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which will arise out of class conflict. The ruling class must be completely overthrown to achieve anarchist communism. Because the ruling class will not relinquish power without the use of armed force, this revolution will be a time of violence as well as liberation.

7 Unions by their very nature cannot become vehicles for the revolutionary transformation of society. They have to be accepted by capitalism in order to function and so cannot play a part on its overthrow. Trade unions divide the working class (between employed and unemployed, trade and craft, skilled and unskilled, etc.).

Even syndicalist unions are constrained by the fundamental nature of unionism. The union has to be able to control its membership in order to make deals with management. Their aim, through negotiation, is to achieve a fairer form of exploitation for the workforce.

The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different to ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow.

Our ultimate aim must be the complete abolition of wage slavery. Working within the unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people to leave unions until they are made irrelevant by the revolutionary event. The union is a common point of departure for many workers. Rank and file initiatives may strengthen us in the battle for anarchist-communism. What's important is that we organise ourselves collectively, arguing for workers to control struggles themselves.

8 Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self-activity of the working class on a mass scale. An anarchist communist society means not only co-operation between equals, but active involvement in the shaping and creating of that society during and after the revolution. In times of upheaval and struggle, people will need to create their own revolutionary organisations controlled by everyone in them. These autonomous organisations will be outside the control of political parties, and within them we will learn many important lessons of self-activity.

9 As anarchists we organise in all areas of life to try to advance the revolutionary process. We believe a strong anarchist organisation is necessary to help us to this end. Unlike other so-called socialists or communists we do not want power or control for our organisation.

We recognise that the revolution can only be carried out directly by the working class. However, the revolution must be preceded by organisations able to convince people of the anarchist communist alternative and method.

We participate in struggle as anarchist communists, and organise on a federative basis. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.

The old tosh about "voting Labour without illusions" looks pretty threadbare these days. Many of the working class no longer have any illusions in Labour, in fact it seems to be the left that do! People don't have to be led through yet another term of Labour government to make them see what many already know. Blair and his chums "mean business" as they themselves say. This means that they will carry on where the Tories left off - with further attacks on the unemployed, on workplace organisation and against any form of dissent. If anything, Labour rule will herald a period of increasing authoritarianism, judging by the actions and pronouncements of the Labour leadership.

What we as Anarchist Communists must do is help prepare the working class on the industrial, social and environmental fronts, to resist these coming attacks.

Editorial

This latest edition comes out in what is the run-up to a General Election (if Major hasn't gone for an earlier date than May 1st). On the basis of the Wirral by-election results we can assume a majority for Labour. What Wirral has shown is that Labour have gained the votes of "Middle England". In the working class, things are a little different. There is increasing cynicism and disillusionment with the Labour Party. Many unemployed people are conscious that Labour, if elected, will be just as vicious, if not more so, than the Tories, forcing them into ill-paid workfare and training schemes. Young people, never in work or in shitty jobs, know what Labour thinks about topics like "young offenders" and drugs. Some Trot groups, realising the levels of lack of enthusiasm for Labour, are distancing themselves from Labour, whilst long-time cheerleaders for a Labour vote like the Socialist Workers Party have to increasingly qualify their support.

2 Organise!

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SACKED MAGNET WORKERS BATTLE ON

ALMOST EIGHT MONTHS into their dispute, and the workers sacked by Magnet, manufacturers of kitchens, in Darlington continue to battle on for reinstatement. Outside of the north-east little has been heard of the dispute. Yet action has continued: one example being the angry demonstration which met shareholders on their way to a meeting of parent company Beresford in London last January. The events led a spokesman for the group to describe the battle as "the most vicious dispute in history".



It all started last August when management turned down demands for a pay rise. Workers, some of them with over 30 years of experience, saw this as the last straw in a game of patience which had been going on since their last pay deal in 1992. As nearly 300 workers walked out, the unions (T&G, UCATT, GMB and the AEEU) set about trying to arrange a compromise. Instead, bosses at the firm's Yarm Industrial Estate gave the strikers an ultimatum: they could return to work within one week or else face the sack. Seeing this as an opportunity not to be missed, the company also attached the condition that anyone returning to work must sever their union membership.

Defiance

Surprised, but undeterred, many of the strikers dismissed these threats as hollow and set up camp outside the plant. With no back down in sight, the company fulfilled their promise and on September 3rd 1996 all 300 were sacked, while the firm promptly began recruiting scabs.

Clearly shocked, the unions attempted to return to negotiations cap in hand, only

to be shown the door by the bosses. Since then, round the clock pickets have continued, including several mass pickets. Marches through town have received a good deal of support among locals, even extending to staff at the town's main Job Centre, who initially refused to display cards from magnet targeting potential scabs.

Indeed, the firm has only been partially successful in endeavours to find replacements for the skilled men and women it off-loaded. Despite Magnet's claim of being up to full production levels, most agree that this is little more than bluff, with the number of scabs providing only a skeleton operation, compounded by the fact that most have come to the job unskilled.

Wider Picture

They do, however, provide Magnet with the kind of workforce which the capitalists increasingly desire as we near the millennium. Union ties have been broken with the company as it introduces that terrible watchword for the nineties: "flexibility". This, combined with other trends such as short-term contracts, casualisation and the growth of de-skilling in

many sectors, all serve to drive down labour costs, pitting worker against worker. In this environment it remains difficult to see how a negotiated settlement can be reached for the folks in Darlington.

If there's one thing which the pickets have proved as they continue urging the public to boycott the company's goods though, is their resilience. Bosses at Magnet were surprised that the pickets had continued beyond ninety days, let alone eight months. With no sign of outside support waning either, there could be further surprises in store for the company, whose parent shareholders are very keen indeed to see an end to this protracted dispute, even if it means a dreaded back down. We await further developments but in the meantime: The Magnet workers are in desperate need of financial help if they are to continue their fight, a fight which represents a crucial battle against capitalism's continual assault on workers, seen also in the sacking of the Liverpool dockers. It's about time we won one!

Donations can be sent to:

The Magnet Strike Committee,

c/o Ian Crammond
109 Jedburgh Drive
Darlington
DL3 9UP

Make cheques payable to the "Magnet Families Hardship Fund"

Friends and Neighbours

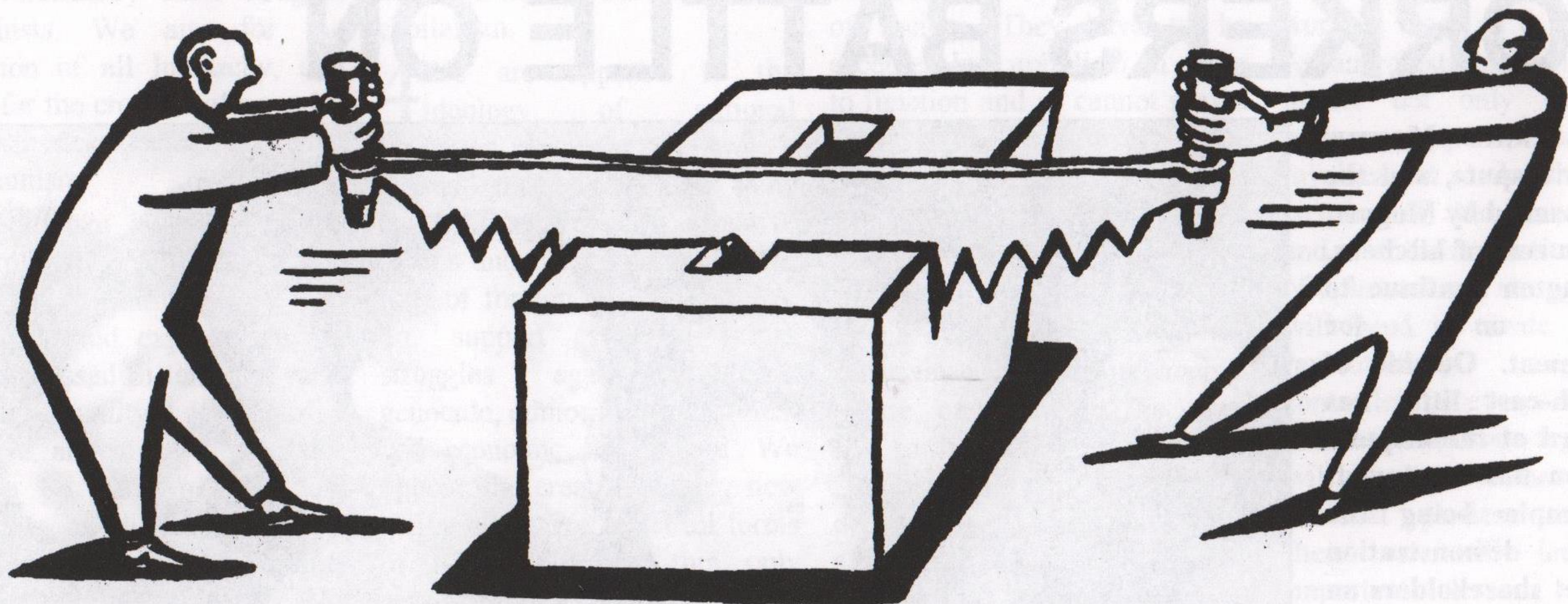
If you like what you read in Organise! you might be interested in these publications:

Counter Information. Quarterly newsheet produced by independent collective. Information on struggle worldwide. Free copy with SAE from Pigeonhole Cl. c/o 11 Forth St. Edinburgh EH1, Scotland.

Subversion. Quarterly magazine of group of same name, with politics close to ours. Free copy from Dept 10, 1 Newton St. Manchester M1 1HW.

Contraflow. Bulletin of the European Counter Network. For free copy sent SAE to 56a Info Shop, 56 Crampton Street, London SE17

THE DAY WE WENT TO VOTE



ELECTION DAY 1997 was a bad day for the people - the government got back in. John Tweedledum resigned and Tony Tweedledee got to bow his knee to Queenie. His first Cabinet had no surprises; Harriet Harman was appointed Mistress of Public Morals, declaring the nation's motto for the next five years would be 'do as we say, not as we do'. Jack Straw got to be No-Home Secretary and announced that street people would be tagged and stuck in one Howard's Houses, as the cosy prisons, sorry involuntary hostels, run by Group 4 were now known. Things got worse...

October 1997

Rather than read the Queen's Speech, Brenda resigned and Charles III crowned by Shree Bhagwan Rajneesh, four ex-Bishops and their husbands, newly converted to the Church of Tony. John Prescott shot himself rather than be ousted as a closet socialist by Young Christians for Labour, an accusation proved false when it was conclusively shown that he was just a fat Northern.

January 1998

The Tories split after the Conference from Hell. Clarke and Hezzer formed a 'Get Rich over There Party' and moved to Tuscany to become MP's. Howard, Portillo and Lilley formed 'Break 'Em, Block 'Em and Flog 'Em', a party to deal once and for all with the unemployed, asylum-seekers and trouble makers. Tweedledum led the rump into alliance with Ulster's Unionist who immediately annexed Dundee and the Docklands to put them under protective rule before the IRA arrived.

April 1998

First challenge for the Government was putting the economy right. To stimulate demand everyone was required to shop 'One 4 Organise!'

More Day for Britain', and what they purchased fed into a computer in Staines. Anyone spending less than £50 was declared fiscally immoral and made to take consumer classes at their local Sainsburys (which had won the contract to deliver education). Children in orphanages were given classes in how to sell themselves and many got work; the lucky ones went to Hampstead where servants were hired, those with unfortunate accents got to sell themselves outside Kings Cross...

May 1999

May Day was replaced by Stakeholder Day. All citizens were given shares in newly privatised schools, a shareout of newly created wealth made possible by banning strikes and introducing 'Workflex', a new system of employment that let people work whenever they were lucky enough to find a job and a master hiring. The first deportation for tampering with the Idchip under everyone's skin took place, the unfortunate non-European citizen being sent to Asia South.

September 1999

The Church received a big payout from the CIA for bringing down communism and bought the NHS, creating work for thousands of nuns recalled from famine work in Africa, now so well run by CDC (Christ doesn't Care).

March 2001

Unemployment reached zero, as New Labour had promised, since by now everyone worked or was digging ditches somewhere. No one was counting anyway. The last New Age Traveller was rounded up and forced into a uniform. She was given a job collecting toils on the ten lane access road to the new terminal at Heathrow airport, built by Project Work battalions

from the Government's last big push against scroungers. Ross Perot was sworn in as President of America, then married Hillary Clinton after she divorced Bill. Power became the great aphrodisiac of the 21st Century and was bottled by Chanel.

Easter 2001

After a long-time of public service, Cardinal Blair resigned and was replaced by blessed Harriet, after Robin Cook was discovered in bed with Gillian Shepherd, the Archbishop of Canterbury. In a snap election, New Con, European division of Murdoch's News Corporation, was elected. It pledged everything would be different - but the same. No one noticed since the country was being run by a satellite beaming instructions from Newcorp HQ in America anyway.

October 2001

Peter Mandelson ran the campaign that got Tony Blair elected Pope. The Taliban in Paris issued a fatwah and British beef was banned again, along with Britain itself. Premier Tung was assassinated visiting an auto plant in Japan, as the forcibly unified Korea was now called, and China declared war. The Moral Militia joined in and launched the last of America's ICBMs in the 'Biggest Shoot Out Since the Last One', as it was to become known. Production (for the rich) and consumption (by the rich) were now so perfectly in harmony that poor people weren't needed and just caused unnecessary guilt. The rest is history...

THE DAY NO ONE WENT TO VOTE**Unelection Day 1997**

What a strange and wonderful day that was, when no none went to vote. The police were bored, the polling stations closed early

and all over the country, mounds of party food went uneaten except by dogs and the homeless who found the dustbins outside party offices overflowing. Pundits babbled, television blared and the newspapers predicted chaos, then fell silent. Ex-MPs turned up at Parliament and carried on talking, pausing only to chase curious mocking people off the benches. No one paid attention.

July 1997

John Tweedledee gave up and got a job as an accountant just as people stopped using money, then vanished into obscurity. Tony Tweedleum declared New Labour was now the Church of Nice. The stock market closed and was turned into a Cybercafe by enterprising youngsters from Camden who came across it while out exploring.

September 1997

Ex-Ministers tried to think of laws to pass and things to do, then gave up. Whitehall went up in flames as the last civil servant left and forgot to lock the doors. Realising teachers wouldn't work if they weren't being paid, the children poured out of their prisons and went home. Industry ground to a halt as people of all ages got to know each other again.

June 1998

Farming went organic as chemical plants closed and diggers and dreamers invaded the land. Thousands headed west and north to build wind farms and wavepower stations. The National Exhibition Centre was turned into the biggest car recycling plant in the islands - in they went and buses, bikes and trains came out. The last car was kept in a glass box for children to throw stones at. The first Cycle marathon around the newly grasses over M25 was held and won by a team from Critical Mass who, after all, had had lots of practice.

April 1999

Marriages and parenting claims dissolved as the housing problem was finally solved. Now everyone could live where and how they wanted. Millions of neighbourhood gardens planted in the Autumn began to grow and previously feared towns and estates came back to life. Everyone could live where they wanted. Soon hundreds of thousands of people were on the move, welcomed everywhere, and people talked for years about the friendships they'd made on the Great Road Home.



"Cold and miserable weather set to continue for the next few days- blame the Tories!"

world didn't turn for work.

July 2000

The Moral Minutemen surrendered the last ICBM stolen in 1998 and went home, piling guns in vast mounds that soon found their way to the smelting plants. Millions of Mexican Americans were reunited as the border dissolved as did America itself. There was an attempt to reintroduce money and markets but the sight of people trying to buy and sell things you could get for free made so many people laugh that the 'Merchant Princes' gave up and handed back apartments stuffed with goods they didn't need.

January 2001

The next century arrived, just as the last government closed down and the last policeman hung up his gun. In any case, losing the uniforms the year before made policing seem less attractive somehow. The biggest Internet conference in history linked 4 billion people and satellite lasers were used for a fireworks display that moved around the globe.

The rest of your life

It was suddenly realised that there weren't too many problems left so people stopped trying - things would work out. The people who liked sorting things out could go on working at them, while the rest of the people did the things that they liked. Pretty soon people stooped fighting over the past and worrying about the future and started enjoying the now. The rest, as they say, was the end of history.

ACF Foreign Language Pamphlets

Thanks to the efforts of comrades in Yugoslavia we now have translations of our pamphlets *As We See It* and *The Role of the Revolutionary Organisation* available in Serbo-Croat.

If you know anybody who speaks Serbo-Croat in Britain, or you have contacts in Croatia, Serbia, Bosnia, Slovenia or Macedonia where Serbo-Croat is understood then why not send them copies. They are available for 50p plus post from the London ACF address c/o 84b Whitechapel High St. London E1 7QX.

Similarly we have a Greek translation of *As We See It*. If you can circulate this among the Greek speaking population here, or you have contacts in Greece or Cyprus, then why not send for a copy? 50p plus post from London address.

A Portuguese, French, Italian and Spanish translation of our *Aims and Principles* is also available for 20p plus postage.

Albania: Chaos or Anarchy?

THE PEOPLE OF Albania have been duped on a massive scale; they swallowed the lie of democracy and the confidence trick of the free market. Now people who had next to nothing, have absolutely nothing. Albania is one of Europe's poorest countries despite having natural resources that could be the envy of other peoples: petroleum, mineral ores, temperate climate and fertile land. The new 'democratic' rulers have used the state apparatus in order to get as rich as possible as quick as possible. As the poorest ruling elite in Europe they had to be the least scrupulous.

Instead of the legal drugs (alcohol and nicotine) and legitimate trade they are happy to team up with Mafiosi in selling heroin and smuggling desperate migrants into Italy. They set up short term scams instead of the longer haul Western banking methods of wage slavery and debt.

Robbed of what little they have and staring at a hopeless future, Albanian workers vent their anger on what representatives of the state they can find, mostly pasty faced young police conscripts. Even if they broke through them and the army to confront the criminal clique who make up the governing 'Democratic Party' (allied to the Conservative Party via the European Democratic Union) they would still be missing the true perpetrators that hide in the board rooms of Frankfurt and London. This regime has been propped up by the overseas aid budget of the European Union. The West backed the new regime wholeheartedly. Albania was needed as a buffer state in the Balkans, between the splintering Yugoslavia and Greece. Berisha agreed to let NATO use Albania as a base for operations into ex-Yugoslavia and agreed to backdown over previous support for the Albanian population of Kosovo province in Serbia. The US supervised the purge of the Albanian military high

command and the reduction of the armed forces by two thirds. Now, America, frightened by the increasingly insurrectionary situation is telling Berisha to back off and to open talks with opposition parties. These opposition parties will attempt to hijack the insurrection. The Socialist Party (Hoxha's Party of Labour under a new name) has expressed willingness to take part in this fix and be a "loyal party of opposition".



Corrupt Officials

Our own dear Queen was presented with a silver box from President Sali Berisha and Baroness Chalker and looks charming in a silver necklace and matching belt that were looted from Albania's museums and illegally imported into Britain. After all, laws are only for ordinary people.

The banks that have collapsed after promising the Earth were part of a money laundering scheme for various organised crime gangs. The paltry sums sent home by Albania's thousands of emigrants were collected together to make a tidy sum and then shared out between corrupt officials and hoods, who are in fact the same people, and the people now face ruin. Many sold their homes to 'invest'. Some 80,000 people were thrown into complete poverty. This is not an aberration of history; it is how ruling elites gain the wealth and power that after generations become 'respectable'. Albania is remarkable because it is on the

continent of Europe. Bokassa, Amin or Hussein are just a little further away from our Eurocentric consciousness. The English ruling class is insulated from its criminal past by centuries of privilege. Anarchists recognise that capital is only obtained through dispossession, plunder and exploitation.

Converts

When the Albanian workers overthrew the remnants of the Stalinist police state they believed in a Voice Of America, MTV and Big Mac future, but the wealth comes from grinding the poor, not liberating them. The market was to be the economic miracle that would spring them from the trap of dependency on the all incorporating state. Like workers across the old 'Marxist' states have found, capitalism is not worker friendly.

The present clutch of vipers in Tirana were functionaries of the old Stalinist Hoxha regime. They converted as quickly to the free market as Hoxha had converted from Moscow to Belgrade to Beijing as it suited his short term need to keep in power. There is no principle in government. The clique who have controlled things for so long have never had much use for the economic insights of a nineteenth century social scientist. Anarchists have always recognised that the strongest element of 'Marxist' doctrine is perpetuating their regime regardless of consequence.

The rioting Albanian workers are like a smith heating iron till it burns in the fire instead of forging the metal into a useful implement. They are working without a vision of a new society, only rage at the present chaos.

The apologists for capitalism wring their hands and declare that 'Albania is sinking into anarchy' blaming the particularly corrupt nature of Albania's rulers for

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producing chaos. Anarchist Communists are sickened by the dissimulation of using 'anarchy' as meaning chaos. The contradiction does not miss us, it is through leadership that Albania has been reduced to chaos.

Imperialists

The peoples of the Balkans have a history of authoritarian domination from invading imperialists and home grown tyrants alike. The present crisis has its roots in the Congress of Berlin in 1878 when the imperial powers carved up the world. Albania was given to the Ottoman Empire.

Albania has been bled by foreign masters for most of the last thousand years. It has suffered under Byzantine, Serbian, Ottoman and Italian domination and domestic tyrants

like Ahmed Zogu ('King' Zog) and Enver Hoxha.

Royalist leaders have failed Albanians, 'Marxist' leaders have failed them, 'democratic' leaders have failed them, leadership is bankrupt.

If we were to believe those comrades who worship the 'revolutionary spontaneity' of the working class we would be greatly optimistic for the Albanian people. Surely now they can create the new society from the ashes of collapsing capitalism. But, as anarchist communists, we fear that the crucial ingredient is missing - revolutionary consciousness.

The Albanian people have been denied information of all types, kept in ignorance for generations and refused the opportunity to make even the most basic decisions about their lives or environments. Intellectual

ammunition is needed to transform protest into revolution.

The tragedy of the Albanian working class will most probably take another twist when some new saviour comes along on a white charger. The international boss class will probably fund some *renewal* movement - authoritarians fear a power vacuum. It will give an alternative source of funding to the gangsters so they can transform themselves into 'statesmen' - they hope that somehow enough people will suspend disbelief long enough to be duped again. The Albanian working masses have to reject both the 'Democratic' Party and the 'Socialist' Party. For an alternative scenario read ACE pamphlets "As We See It" and "The Role Of The Revolutionary Organisation" (sorry, no Albanian translation is available as yet).

REACTION IN FRANCE

THE CONSOLIDATION OF the extreme right racist Front National continues with the capture of the municipality of Vitrolles in southern France. In the 1994 elections the FN gained nearly 20% of the votes cast in the presidential poll. Previous to the capture of Vitrolles, three other town halls had been taken by the FN. This dramatic rise is a result of years of Socialist rule under Mitterrand where the working class became embittered and bewildered by the high hopes invested in a Socialist administration. These illusions had been reinforced by the Communist Party and by the extreme left. The fact that vicious anti-working class measures were carried out under Socialist rule was not something that the leftists were prepared to admit before the elections that swept Mitterrand to power.

Racism is deeply engrained in French society. There is the legacy of racism from the days of French imperialism. There is the sense of cultural superiority nurtured by the French Revolution (when the bourgeoisie overthrew the monarchy) and by Napoleon. There is the legacy of the Algerian war, when the French were forced to withdraw physically from Algeria. There are the large numbers of deeply racist pied noirs, French

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La Plume Noire Bookshop After the Attack

settlers in Algeria who were forced to relocate, mostly to the south of France. There is the strong tradition of anti-Semitism and 'revolutionary' reaction, going back to the days of Action Francaise who often resorted to street actions. There is the experience of the Vichy regime, the implication of many in a fascist regime kept in power by the German Nazis. Add to this the reactionary right of the Catholic Church, particularly strong in France and opposed to the equally strong traditions of secularism and free thought, many of them active in the FN. Take account of the consistently nationalistic stand of the Communist Party, who had a mass following in the working class, which only in the last few years is dwindling. Also take note of the fact that the extreme left, as well as many anarchists, failed to address themselves in a serious fashion to the problems of racism. There was no effective propagandising against racism and the Front National (the largest

leftist outfit Lutte Ouvriere produces several hundred factory bulletins twice a month - which have totally ignored the problems of racism and the FN). The extreme left, for the most part, lined up behind the Socialist Party and the unions in peaceful demonstrations that failed to confront the FN. There was a general feeling that the FN was a phenomenon that would quickly pass. Only with the honourable exception of groups like SCALP was there any awareness that racism must be countered with revolutionary arguments and that the FN had to be seriously challenged, both theoretically and physically, before it could grow.

Roots

Now the FN has grown considerably and is putting down roots through its strategy of capturing the town halls. In the municipalities it has captured, hounding of the immigrant populations, including

physical attacks, increases, and the public libraries are purged of books, as in Orange, that upset the FN. Various cultural groups are deprived of funding, and black musicians are discouraged from playing there. In Toulon the FN mayor colluded with the local police, themselves thoroughly riddled with FN members, to dismiss the director of the National Theatre of Dance and Image, who had consistently opposed the FN. As a French anarchist writes: "The current centre-right government as well as their predecessors the Socialists have been particularly complicit in the rise of fascist ideology in France. By saying that the FN has 'bad solutions to good questions' they have allowed the fascists to set the tone of political debate. In introducing ever more xenophobic immigration laws both governments hoped to steal the FN's thunder. On the contrary the FN has been able to control policy, maintain its popular image as anti-establishment and avoid the blame for the failure of the racist policies....".

The core of the FN was an alliance between reactionary Catholics, outright fascists from the now defunct Ordre Nouveau, monarchists, and petty-bourgeois reactionaries from the old Poujadist movement. Now however, the FN is going beyond its petty-bourgeois and small and big business supporters to the working class. Within the last year increasing numbers of working class people have been attending FN rallies and some of the FN vote is certainly from the working class.

Attacks on the Anarchists

The only credible alternative to the FN is coming from the anarchists. We have deep criticisms of the Federation Anarchiste(FA), the anarcho-syndicalist union the CNT-F, and organisations like Alternative Libertaire (on the right of the libertarian communist current) and Organisation Communiste Libertaire (sound on a lot of things but with questionable positions on national liberation). Nevertheless, these anarchists have often been at the forefront of the struggles both in the workplace, and in the struggles in defence of abortion rights, divorce and illegal immigrants. Alongside the rise of the FN there has been increasing combativity in the working class and there seems to be a growing polarisation of French society.

The FN and indeed the boss class in general is aware of the appeal of anarchist ideas. As a result a number of prosecutions have been taken by the FN and by the government against the anarchist press. The leader of the FN, Le Pen, took out a writ against the Federation Anarchiste's paper *Le Monde Libertaire*, because it contained a cartoon that upset him. Around the same time,

Debre, the Minister of the Interior, sued *Le Monde Libertaire* for abuse, slander and incitement to murder of policemen! A little later, the MP Christine Boutin, a leader of the Catholic right and several anti-abortion groups, sued the anarcho-syndicalist paper *Le Combat Syndicaliste* for defamation of anti-abortion groups. These trials are pending. In the case of the Le Pen prosecution, the chances are that he will lose. However, Debre hopes to cripple *Le Monde Libertaire* with a fine of between 100,000 and 300,000 francs, whilst Boutin hopes that she can get 65,000 francs compensation. The aim of all these prosecutions is to silence the libertarian press, seen as offering a pole of resistance.

If this were not bad enough, physical attacks have begun against anarchists. Following a demonstration by groups of the FA in Lyon on February 15th, to protest against the Le Pen prosecution, 50 stickers were plastered up over the FA bookshop/offices in Lyon during the night. They were signed by the youth wing of the Front National. This had never happened in the neighbourhood, which is regarded as a revolutionary stronghold. Later at 5am the following day, the bookshop was set on fire. The entire stock and the shop were incinerated although adjacent meeting rooms remain usable. The arsonists set fire to the doorway to an adjacent residential block, where many immigrants lived. By luck, there was no loss of life.

In the aftermath, a demonstration of support of 3,000 took place on 22 February in Lyon, with a thousand people in the anarchist section. The same day an anarchist

demonstration of support in Montpellier assembled 400 people (on the same day 100,000 demonstrated in Paris against the anti-immigration laws). Two days later a benefit supper in support of illegal immigrants and against the Debre anti-immigration laws in Lyon, was swamped by a thousand people (only 50 meals had been prepared!) The arson attack had been successfully turned against the fascists, with massive support among the Lyonnais population. The phone and fax at the bookshop have been reinstalled as a first step. The International Secretariat of the FA noted in their correspondence over these incidents that: "Our enemy is not only fascism, but the whole society of exploitation and oppression: so we refuse to fragment our struggle which has to be global".

We urge all comrades and interested parties to send letters of solidarity and donations to Plume Noire, 19 Rue Pierre Blanc, Lyon, France.

Footnote- A New Popular front

As social unrest increases rapidly and the old institutions of the French State start to decay, it is no surprise to find the forces of the Left looking for a solution that will maintain capitalism and restore stability. In the forefront of this is the French Communist Party(PCF). At their recent conference in December they discussed in detail a renewal of an alliance with the Socialist Party. This would prepare the way for a new coalition government which could replace the Juppe administration if it was forced to resign due to mounting social

Stormy Petrel Pamphlets

London ACF are proud to announce the appearance of a new pamphlet in the Stormy Petrel series:

A Brief Flowering of Freedom: The Hungarian Revolution 1956. An exciting account of one of the first post-war uprisings against the Stalinist monolith. Also includes a history of the Hungarian Anarchist movement. 60p plus post.

Malatesta's Anarchism and Violence. Complete with a new introduction by an ACF member this important document in the history of anarchist theory refutes the common misrepresentation of anarchism as mindless destruction while restating the need for revolution to create a free and equal society. 50p plus post.

The Friends of Durruti- The Friends of Durruti were a much misunderstood group who attempted to defend and extend the Spanish Revolution of 1936. Included are an historical introduction from an ACF member and two political statements from the Friends themselves.

Copies of these pamphlets are available from

ACF(London) c/o 84b Whitechapel High St, London E1 at 75p including postage.

Next from Stormy Petrel: *The Italian Factory Councils 1920-21.*

unrest. Specific mention was made of the Popular Front government of the 1930s by Robert Hue, PCF National Secretary. He stated that: "Our party has a duty to take part in government to ensure that a policy of change is implemented. We consider that...the possibility of Communist Ministers will relay citizens' demands to France's institutions and rulers".

The conference was designed as a cosmetic exercise. It was entitled a "conference of reform" and a number of old Stalinist hacks resigned from the Central Committee as 'proof' of this change. A leading Stalinist in the leadership of the CGT, the union central dominated by the PCF, "resigned" from the Party. The conference set out to prove to the boss class that the PCF was a nice tame pussycat of a Party, whilst at the same time offering an "alternative" to the working class. In cahoots with the Socialists a new Popular-Front style administration will be used to

defuse the unrest that is gathering a head of steam.

And this is a repeat performance of the 1981 "Government of the Left" that included the PCF as well as small leftist parties like the Unified Socialist Party(PSU). In this period massive attacks were undertaken against the working class. The PCF is attempting to show that this time the package is something different. This was behind Hue's remarks distancing himself from the previous leadership of Georges Marchais which had enthusiastically supported the Soviet Union and its allies. Like Blair, Hue sings the praises of the market. Like his counterparts in Italy, Hue will lead a PCF that will collaborate in vicious attacks on any gains made in the past by the working class.

But in order to do this, the PCF needs to bring in new allies. It has lost a lot of influence and respect within the French working class. In order to regain some

credibility, it must bring in new partners from Trotskyism. It would like to gain the support of groups like the Parti des Travailleurs, Lutte Ouvriere and the Ligue Communiste Revolutionnaire. So far, Lutte Ouvriere has held them at arm's length, but there seems more chance with the Parti des Travailleurs and the Ligue. Already the 1968 veteran and leader of the Ligue, Alain Krivine, has appeared on joint platforms with the PCF. There is a good chance that Krivine will serve in a future Popular Front administration. Already he has been given extensive coverage by the ruling class media. A Trotskyist legitimisation of a joint Socialist-Communist-unions bloc administration would possibly open the way to growing disillusionment and the possibility of an FN government. Against these manoeuvres it is vital that a credible revolutionary alternative be offered.

Kicked In The Balkans



Storming the Bulgarian Parliament

SERBIA

AS WE WRITE the Milosevic regime in Serbia might now have already fallen. The demonstrations, some as large as 250,000 in Belgrade, which threaten the ex-Stalinists of the regime were set off after the municipal and federal elections of November 3rd. The opposition parties did well and the ruling Socialist Party of Serbia (SPS) refused to accept the results, annulling them through the courts by claiming fraud. The opposition alliance Zajedno has mobilised tens and hundreds of thousands on a daily basis in Belgrade alone. This Alliance has support from students and the wider population.

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However, Zajedno is as much implicated in Serb nationalism as Milosevic and the SPS. Vuk Draskovic and his Serbian Renewal Movement has made rapid ultra-nationalist speeches in the past and organised a paramilitary organisation, the Serbian Guard, which fought in Croatia, before he made a U-turn and became anti-war. Zoran Djindjic, leader of the Democratic Party, is a supporter of the Bosnian Serbs' murderous leaders, in particular the apostle of ethnic cleansing, Radovan Karadzic. Both he and Draskovic have refused to denounce the Bosnian Serb leaders. The third opposition leader, Vesna Pesic of the Civic Alliance, has not engaged in nationalist rhetoric but his relative isolation points to the nationalism which the others

are still exploiting. The alliance is highly brittle. All that unites it are opposition to Milosevic, Serb nationalism and anti-'communism'. If Milosevic were to fall, it is likely that it would break up.

The alliance is composed mainly of intellectuals and professionals. They have appealed to the working class to come to their aid in the mobilisations. Such support has not been readily forthcoming. The working class did indeed vote for Zajedno in large numbers but this can be seen merely as a desire to remove Milosevic. The working class has suffered badly under the regime, with wages being paid on an irregular basis. There have been long strikes over non-payment of wages in the last year, one of the most important being that of 6,000 workers at the Zastava arms factory in September. Workers used the Zajedno mobilisations to launch their own demands for pay and conditions, when several factories struck in Belgrade and large groups of workers were to be seen on the demonstrations.

Zajedno represents pro-market forces. For his part Milosevic remains a Stalinist bureaucrat who exploited Serb nationalism to stay in power. The protests were, to begin with, not anti-war but sparked off by his abandonment of the Bosnian Serbs and his labelling of Karadzic as a war criminal. The UN sanctions have created massive inflation, reaching one million per cent during one month(!) whilst unemployment is at 23%. Milosevic used the war to fan nationalism, in the process extinguishing anti-war protests in which the working class were active in the early part of the war. He

succeeded in bringing about the disorganisation of the working class, who as well as taking part in anti-war protests were taking industrial action over pay and conditions.

Milosevic needed to drop his former Bosnian allies in order to get the sanctions lifted. The Dayton agreements meant that the Americans would continue to back him if he did this and ensured stability in the region. In the process, Milosevic has now lost the support of the Orthodox Church, much of the armed forces and his junior partners in the Montenegro government. He hoped to wear out the opposition in the streets, but the protests continue unabated. He can still rely on the 90,000 strong police force who he has armed and paid well. This is still his major defence.

The opposition forces are very much in favour of the market, which as in other East European countries would mean greater unemployment and further shut-downs of state factories. The working class, along with any revolutionary forces in Serbia, must attempt to develop an independent opposition, separate from Zajedno. The collapse of the Milosevic regime must not mean a surrender to pro-market forces. Milosevic has made a deal with the Croatian leadership under Tudjman. He abandoned his Krajena Serb allies in Croatia. Tudjman himself is facing mounting opposition in Croatia. The fall of Milosevic would strengthen the possibility of the collapse of his regime. These events could have immense repercussions. The working class revolutionary movement that seemed invisible during the last few years of appalling bloodshed in the Balkans, may have a chance of re-emerging. In the process, the false alternatives of Zajedno and its counterpart in Croatia must be seen for what they are.

CROATIA

Franjo Tudjman, the nationalist strong man of Croatia, has been threatened by mass demonstrations himself. He lost municipal elections in the capital, Zagreb, a year ago and has since blocked the formation of an opposition-controlled local council. In December last year the Tudjman government attempted to close down an opposition radio station, Radio 101, which resulted in 100,000 taking to the streets of Zagreb.

In the last elections, in order to stay in power, Tudjman had to include the Bosnian Croats, who are dominated by extreme

nationalism, in the electorate. At the end of the Serb-Croat war in 1995, Tudjman and Milosevic came to a deal that meant them recognising each other. They both carved out great chunks of Bosnia for themselves in the recent war there, with Tudjman's henchmen turning on their Muslim allies and engaging in massacres against the local population. There was an unwritten agreement that both Serbia and Croatia would annex parts of Bosnia to enlarge their own States. Neither Tudjman nor Milosevic have allowed privatisations on a large scale which the West wanted, both because of fear of popular unrest. As in Serbia, the latest mobilisations are designed to remove an obstacle to a fully fledged market capitalism.



President-elect Peter Stoyanov addresses protesters

BULGARIA

The communist party in Bulgaria, under its new name the Bulgarian Socialist Party (BSP), regained power through the elections in 1994. Since then, wages and living standards have plummeted further. Inflation has shot up by 300% and Bulgaria is even beating Albania as the economic disaster of Europe. The situation is so severe that soup kitchens have been opened up to feed the thousands near starvation. Pensioners' heating has been turned off because their pensions allow them only to make a choice between food and heating. Hospitals have run out of medical supplies, patients needing blood transfusions have to buy blood on the black market or bring relatives to give blood.

The result of these conditions has been the mass demonstrations throughout Bulgaria. Unfortunately, this mass discontent has

once again been hijacked. In 1990 the pro-market forces, eventually grouped in the Union of Democratic Forces (UDF), were able to win the elections of 1991. Now, once again, the UDF is using its previous expertise to jump on the back of the simmering social unrest. Last November, Peter Stoyanov, a leader of the UDF, was voted in as President-elect. The BSP government resigned in December but hung on to power by nominating their Interior Minister to head a new government. The BSP refused to hold elections. As a result the UDF mobilised large sections of the population to make the BSP back down and agree to elections. The mobilisations were obviously inspired by similar mobilisations in Serbia, as were other movements in Albania and Belarus.

The large mass mobilisations in the early 1990s in eastern Europe were used to bring about the end of the state-controlled economies and to introduce the market. As such they served the interests of 'liberal' market capitalism. In the aftermath, the old Communist Parties transformed themselves into enthusiastic advocates of the market, many of them turning themselves into capitalists or hanging on in the state bureaucracies. Whatever type of capitalism they chose, state or private, they brought about massive attacks on the working populations of both the urban and rural areas. Vicious austerity programmes, galloping inflation, sackings and part-time work have been inflicted on the working class.

Now that the workers have been nicely softened up for full-scale market 'reforms', the old Communist Parties are now no longer needed. They have fulfilled their role as midwives of the market. The latest mobilisations in Bulgaria and Serbia mean the removal of old style Stalinists from office and their replacement by fully fledged disciples of the market. The working class has allowed itself to be mobilised to a lesser or greater extent to help this course come about and has thus failed to assert any of its own priorities.

In Albania, where an openly pro-market party had already taken power, the anger felt by the mass of the population is taking on an insurrectionary tone. In Southern Albania the resistance has indeed become a fully-fledged insurrection, with what appears to be many features of genuine working class revolution. Only here may the working class develop its own autonomous and independent demands, and considering the conditions, with no revolutionary currents and no recent history of struggle, this will be difficult.

Ecology and Industry: Friends or Foes?

A DECISIVE COLLISION looms. On one side is the 'grow-or-die' industry of Capitalism, lurching out of control. On the other, the fragile conditions known as the biosphere necessary for the maintenance of advanced life forms on this planet. Does there have to be one or the other? Ecologists, economists and sociologists are beginning to find common ground between ecology and industry, and discovering that by working together and abolishing the 'grow-or-die' aspect of industry, a sustainable future may really be possible.

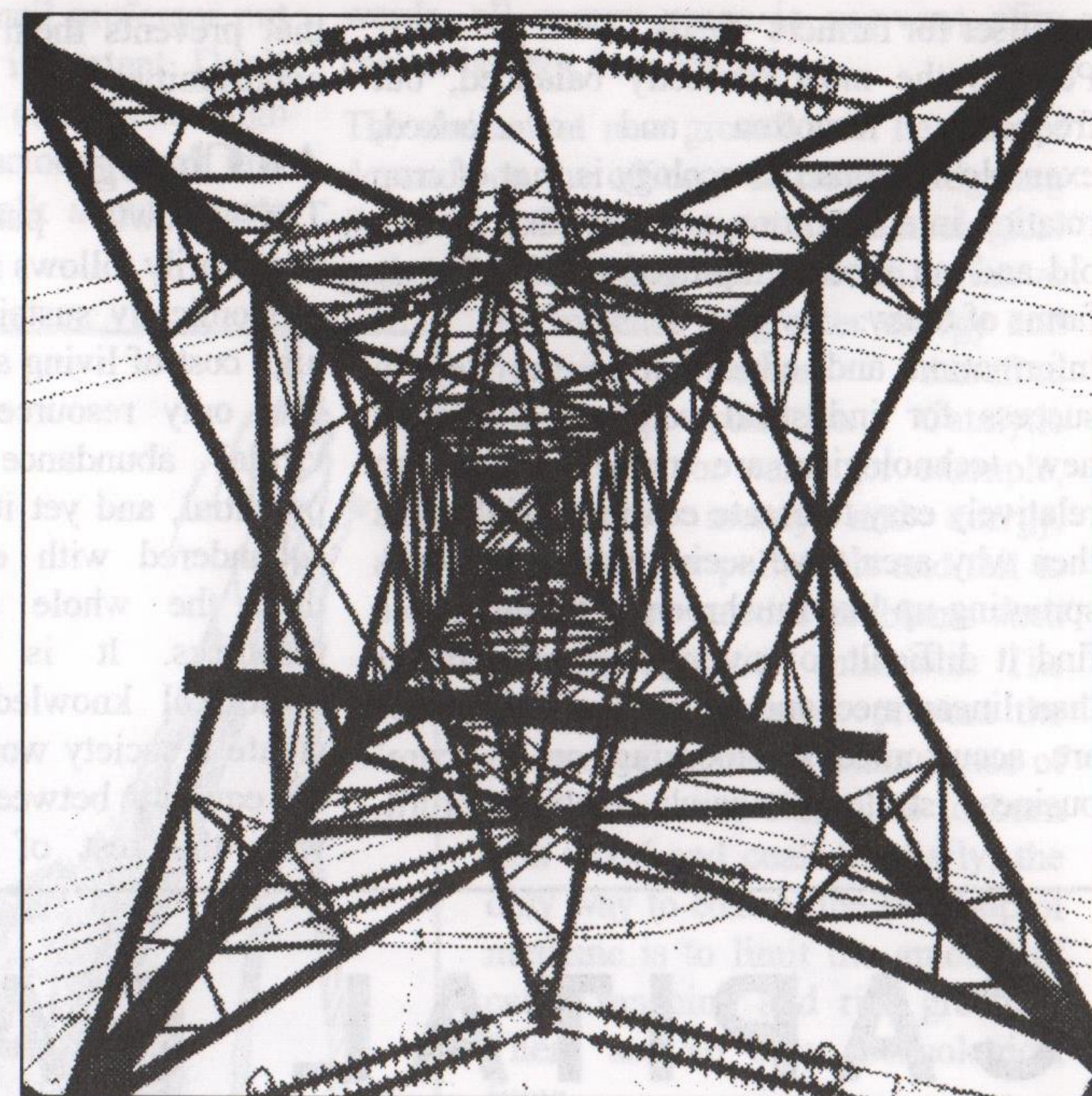
The vision of whole networks of industries, each efficiently feeding off others by-products to eliminate waste and pollution, like natural ecosystems may not be as idealistic as it once seemed. Harmful emissions wouldn't just be curbed to a governments (un)acceptable level, they'd be abolished completely.

In ecosystems, materials flow cyclically

from producers (plants) to consumers (animals), and recycled by decomposers (fungi, microbes) and scavengers (vultures, hyenas and so on). *Everything* is put to use and the concept of 'waste' is meaningless. In the present Capitalist industries by severe contrast,

materials move in a linear fashion from manufacturer to consumer and then straight into the air or into a dump. 'Waste' is essentially a human invention.

Industrial ecology aims to 'close the loop', making waste and pollution obsolete. This requires industries to recycle more resources, use raw materials to the full and create as few unwanted by-products as possible. However, big business executives are more concerned with getting a stable



supply of materials of consistent quality than accepting the by-product of the industry next door. It demands a shift in thinking. Products need to be seen not as the end of the line, but as temporary embodiments of materials.

Curbing industrial emissions to 'zero' may not be possible for as long as industry continues to use fossil fuels. Nature's ecosystems are powered by the Sun, while we burn fossil fuels, and that, inevitably

produces greenhouse gases including carbon dioxide. The difficulty in eliminating or recycling such emissions means that there will always be some pollution and waste. But this needn't deter us from trying to cut waste as much as we can now.

In Kalundborg, Denmark - a seaside town of 10,000 - everyone knows about 'industrial symbiosis'. A coal-fired power station pumps steam heat, which would normally be lost energy, into an oil refinery, a drugs company and to the town. Additional recovered heat goes to a nearby fish farm. Gypsum created by the power plants scrubber is sold to a local plasterboard manufacturer which also uses the refinery's light gas, normally burnt off as waste, to fire its ovens for drying the wallboard. The refinery pumps its cooling water to the power plant for use in cleaning as boiler feedwater. Organic sludge from the fish farm and drugs company, where microbes are cultured, provides

'BYPASS' ALERT!

AN 11-MILE DUAL carriageway of the A36 trunk road around Salisbury, costing at least £150m to build by private finance, is proposed. This will cut off and wreck the landscape setting of this medieval city, cross three out of five rivers in Britain's best chalk stream system, carve through chalk hills in cuttings as deep as 60ft and bury one corner of one of the country's rarest grass meadows. Yet, for all this waste and destruction, this 'bypass' would *do nothing* to reduce traffic and pollution in the city itself.

"It would be wrong to give the public the impression that the bypass will take traffic out of the city centre" - Dept. of Transport evidence to public inquiry, 2 Dec. 1993 - although that is exactly what they are doing.

The government said that it was a bypass to relieve traffic congestion in Salisbury, yet even at the time of the inquiry the Department of Transport's own figures showed that most traffic is 'local' and congestion would therefore get steadily worse, even with the bypass. New roads they said, drew in new traffic, so leading to congestion and reducing time-savings that road builders use to justify their schemes. They admitted that the bypass was being built to serve through traffic and that this accounted for only 10% of traffic in Salisbury. *"There will be a traffic increase in Salisbury, bypass or no bypass"* - DoT, 10 Nov. 1993.

The DoT knows that this road is bigger and uglier than Newbury, that the landscape and city under threat is far more valuable and that it will have 'presentational difficulties' building a privatised road through the watermeadows and chalk hills here. It is too late for second thoughts when the bulldozers come. To be silent now is to invite the earthmovers to rip into the chalk hills and dump them across the river valleys. It is time to act!

For further information, contact the ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

fertiliser for farmers' fields.

Perhaps the most perfectly balanced, but frequently forgotten and overlooked, example of industrial ecology is that of crop rotation in agriculture, a system that is ages old and yet rarely employed by the factory farms of today.

Information and education is the key to success for industrial ecology, expensive new technologies are not. If it is so relatively easy to create eco-industrial parks then why aren't we seeing such complexes sprouting up like mushrooms? Many people find it difficult to envisage *systems*, rather than linear mechanical set-ups. Companies are accustomed to focusing on a 'core' business strategy, namely making profit,

that prevents them from considering other opportunities.

All Change

The growth pattern that capitalism necessarily follows is neither ecologically or economically sustainable. It is creating a high cost of living and a low quality of life. The only resource which we possess in virtual abundance is that of human potential, and yet it is a resource which is squandered with even greater profligacy than the whole of the Earth's finite resources. It is time humanity used ecological knowledge and applied it to create a society worth living in, one based on equality between people and harmony with the rest of nature. The supposedly

unavoidable conflict between our 'insatiable needs' and 'scarce natural resources' only exists under capitalism; it need not always be the case. If humanity is governed by the competitive marketplace maxim 'grow or die', industry will literally devour the biosphere, turning forests into lumber and soil into sand.

'If you make yourselves the soil, and cooperate with your neighbours; if you utilise what experiment has already taught us, and call to your aid science and technical invention, you will see that to grow that yearly food of a family, under rational conditions of culture, requires little labour and little from the soil...' - Kropotkin.

CAPITAL EATS GREENS



CAPITALISM HAS RESPONDED in a variety of ways to the criticisms and opposition of Greens, both reformist and radical. This response has fallen into two categories: the velvet glove (capitalism is and can be green) and the iron fist (jailing, physical intimidation and the murder of green activists).

Many greens have become part of the problem: capitalism, rather than the solution: green anarchist communism. This is because their lack of radical class analysis leads them to believe that capitalism can be reformed and made green through strategies such as technological fixes e.g. electronic cars, green consumerism and the big myth of green/sustainable growth. More radical greens are prey to other theoretical cul-de-sacs such as spirituality or electoral politics. Technophobia is another pitfall as well as misanthropy, tendencies exhibited by parts of Earth First, Green Anarchist and Fifth Estate.

Waste

One of the greens' central criticisms of capitalism is the amount of waste it produces. In order of priority, the best option to tackle waste is waste reduction, followed by re-use, then recycling, with landfill burial and incineration off the green scale. Unsurprisingly, capital has promoted recycling and landfill/incineration because they don't tackle the fundamental causes of the problem which is that waste is endemic to a system of production based on the domination, exploitation and hence destruction of the planet and its people. As far as capitalism is concerned, the earth and humans only exist in order that they can be converted from being 'useless', non-profit-making into products that can be sold for a profit. So people are only useful as workers or consumers. Land must be used for agricultural or industrial purposes rather than being left as 'wasteland' or 'wilderness'. Capitalist production is therefore necessarily wasteful in terms of energy and resources because it needs to

continually transform resources into profit-making products.

Reduction and re-use of products consume up to five times less energy than recycling and involve a lower level of technology. For example, compare returnable bottles which are 20% energy efficient with bottle banks which are only 5% efficient. Industry and government also promote landfill burial and incineration as 'green' answers. Burial is obviously a form of tipping and pollution. Incineration puts dangerous pollutants such as toxic dioxins into the air and produces toxic ash buried in landfill sites. Many of the new generation of 'clean burn' incinerators beloved of many local authorities also produce heat energy; they are not clean or green, however. Incinerators undermine recycling and waste reduction because they need so much waste fed into them to generate electricity efficiently.

Plastic

Most plastic packaging is obviously wasteful and unnecessary; it is used once and then discarded. Recycling is too expensive to be a viable option in that it is cheaper and easier to make plastic from fresh inputs. The industry seeks to hide this non-green reality by opening up new markets with 'recycled plastic' while new plastic production continues. Plastics that cannot be recycled are incinerated, producing electricity.

Aluminium is another example of the shortcomings of recycling. It is generally extracted from bauxite ore which requires huge amounts of electricity, hence great waste and pollution. Economically, the industry can only function through being subsidised by energy utilities and governments. For example, in France it pays a quarter of the price for electricity as the rest of industry which is an eighth of what

the ordinary French consumer pays. Each ton of aluminium extracted results in the production of at least a ton of toxic red mud made up of metallic oxides and other contaminants which pollute ground and surface water. Recycling is only a partial answer. It takes about six percent as much energy to produce energy from scrap as it does to make it from ore. In 1990 over five million tons, nearly a quarter of world output, were produced from recycled aluminium. However, recycling cannot eliminate primary production and recycling statistics can be very misleading. In America, for example, drinks cans account for most recycling. Although half are recycled, the other half are thrown away, constituting a total which exceeds that of the world use of aluminium by all but the top seven countries. Therefore, recycling is of limited value. We need to consider both cutting down the overall use of these products as well as the re-use of those produced. Refillable drinks containers such as bottles would use a tenth or less of the energy as cans, even if all aluminium cans were recycled.

Soft Soap

One soft soap tactic used by industry and government is 'greenballs': money spent on PR to extol how 'green' they are. One example is Shell's famous ad about their invisible pipeline under the Snowdonia National Park. Another is Scott Paper's (the Andrex manufacturers) £3 million advertisement claiming that, "for every tree we harvest we grow one or more in its place". This farming uses far more energy than paper recycling and requires pesticides to be sprayed from the air, polluting a wide area. In addition, the trees they supposedly plant are no replacement for natural woodlands which are disappearing whilst unsightly conifer plantations are expanding.

Another soft tactic is to push the line that "we're all on the same side really" or "social responsibility is good business and good business is social responsibility", as Bob Reid, chair of Shell said in 1990. Business tries to convince critics of their sincerity by throwing money at them. In the early 1990s Shell was giving £200,000 a year to conservation groups. As a British Coal representative said, "if you build up good relationships with your neighbours then they're much more tolerant when you have an incident". I think we've seen that Shell accomplished that and Exxon hasn't as Shell managed to get off lightly after it spilt 156 tons of crude oil in the Mersey in 1989.

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As an Environmental Council professor put it, "Semantics are terribly important. Don't talk about 'incinerators', call them 'high temperature thermal destructors'. Don't talk about 'waste dumping', talk about 'waste management'".



Sustainable Growth

The idea that economic growth can be ecological is a myth, merely dressing up the capitalist ethic of 'grow or die' in green clothing. According to this argument capitalist wealth creation is the cure for all ills such as global poverty, rather than their cause. Green growth is no different from any other form of expansion. It also faces the barrier of increasing negative trade-offs and insurmountable limiting factors. Savings on waste and built-in obsolescence may provide the wherewithal for the re-direction of existing resources, but further expansion can only be attained by putting even more earth under concrete, open cast excavator, the plough, or impounded water. The human-constructed economy and the technologies that serve it are totally dependent on the natural economy whose ecological systems represent the biophysical foundation of all wealth. Direct benefits include foodstuffs and medicine whilst indirect benefits include the capture, conversion and storage of solar energy, the disposal of wastes and the recycling of nutrients and the generation and maintenance of soil fertility.

There are intrinsic limits to the resources humans can take from the earth on a sustainable basis. The transformation of energy and raw materials by people generates wastes which return to the air, soil and water. There are equivalent limits to what the earth can sustainably re-assimilate of these, due to the size of the earth, its resources and entropy. In other

words, all energy usage is one-way; ash cannot be relit from the ashes.

The claim that new growth will be cleaner depends on the efficacy of clever gadgetry fitted to polluting processes. Technological gadgets merely shift the problem, often at the expense of greater energy and material inputs, therefore increasing pollution. Catalytic converters for cars, for example, cost more money and energy, generate new pollutants and fail to tackle more serious problems such as carbon dioxide emissions. The only practical way to prevent the release of carbon, a main cause of the Greenhouse Effect, is to burn less wood and coal. Similarly, the only way to control the build-up of methane is to limit the amount of cattle ranching and rice growing. There are no easy technological fixes.

Iron Fist

Corporations have also organised politically with the Right. The Washington-based Competitive Enterprise Institute is a group of

right-wing think tanks with members in America, Australia and Europe. They oppose state regulation and argue for 'free market environmentalism', i.e. the privatisation of resources. CEI work with the Wise Use movement which is a coalition of ranchers, miners, farmers etc. with right-wing activists corporate front groups. Their explicit aim is the destruction of the environmental movement. They have gained support in resource-dependent areas around the world. Wise Use have exploited the environmental movements general neglect of social concerns and concentration on lobbying the people at the top rather than prioritising grass roots activism. Business has responded to the Greens 'success' in getting environmental laws passed; they have bought politicians, funded 'independent' think tanks and corporate front groups and spent huge amounts of money on public relations. O'Dwyers PR Services, the main PR flagship, called environmentalism "the life and death battle of the 1990s".

Capital has also sought to marginalise and physically attack the environmental movement. Greens have been labelled extremists, terrorists, communists, fascists and religious fanatics with a hidden agenda of 'totalitarian one world government'. In Britain during the 1994 campaign against the dumping at sea of Shell's Brent Spar oil platform, the energy minister Tim Eggar accused Greenpeace of environmental terrorism. The Tories have also labelled anti-roads campaigners as terrorists and

fascist. Such scapegoating justifies surveillance, harassment and violence by companies and the State. Recent high-profile murders of greens have included those of Ken Saro-Wiwa and eight Ogoni in Nigeria and the assassination of Chico Mendes the Brazilian anti-logging leader.

Environmentalists now commonly face legal intimidation world-wide in the form of Strategic Lawsuits Against Public Participation (SLAPPs). They rarely come to court and are designed to frighten people into silence. In Britain, the McLibel case is an example of SLAPP that backfired. Other

examples are government legal action against the M11 and Twyford Down campaigners and provisions in the Criminal Justice Act which penalise intent rather than action.

Life and Death

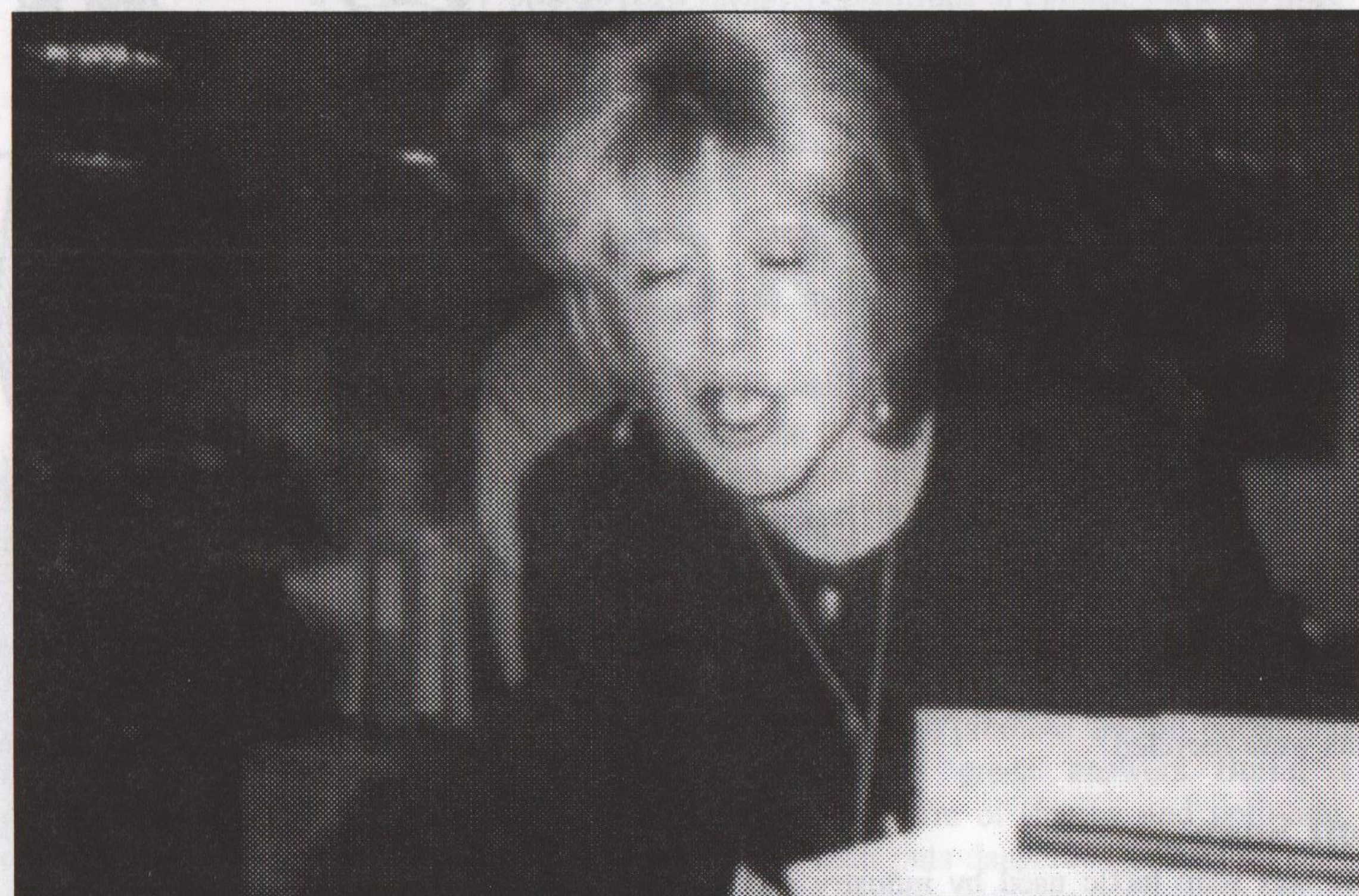
The response of companies and governments to environmentalism has shown that they know it is a life and death issue, part of the class struggle between Capital and the majority of humanity, the working class. It is vital that class struggle

libertarians and environmentalists argue and act together in the fight for an equal human society which is in harmony with the rest of nature. Hopefully this process has started to happen. For example, Earth First in the US has realised that their fight was not with logging workers but with companies and government and stopped their anti-worker tree spiking. In Britain, we have the joint actions of the Liverpool dockers and the anti-roads campaigners to show us the way.

Three Strikes

THE THREE STRIKES strategy was thought up as a way of exposing dole workers and management who are using the JSA to harass claimants. Unions like the CPSA, as well as the TUC and many on the Left, have condemned this initiative. Indeed the CPSA counterposed the demand of security screens to protect dole workers from angry claimants. Nationally, the doleworkers unions have done little to practically resist the JSA, and their members have been implementing both the JSA and Project Work. Locally, some union leaders were threatening and pointing out unemployed activists. Unemployed activists in Edinburgh reported to the Groundswell meeting that a 'Third Strike' was being issued against a claimant adviser.

The whole questioning of the Three Strikes strategy by the Left reveals that once again, they are not the solution, but part of the problem. For instance, one can read in *Socialist Outlook*, paper of the Trotskyist group of the same name, an article by one



Dole manageress shows her teeth

Keith Sinclair called 'How Not To Fight the Job Seekers Allowance or Three Strikes that Shouldn't be Supported'. The remarkably ill-informed article (aren't Trots supposed to be in the vanguard of theory?) tells us that the Three Strikes strategy is "no longer the national policy of that group". The hack then goes on to tell us that: "The *Three Strikes* policy cuts across attempts to win over job centre workers to actively oppose the JSA. Left activists in the CPSA are put on the defensive, as management and right-wing union officials combine to suggest that all anti-JSA activities are targeted at CPSA members. *Three Strikes* makes it more difficult to win over job centre workers, and is, in reality, a gift to management and the right -wing leadership of the CPSA". We are also told that the "main advocates of 'Three Strikes' tend to be from an anarchist background. However anarchists and syndicalists who operate within the existing trade unions and Trade Councils are often opposed to Three Strikes. Support for Three Strikes is often linked with a refusal to put pressure on the Labour Party and union leaderships to fight the JSA and Project Work"(!).

Let's look at this statement in detail. From our own involvement in anti-JSA activity it is certainly not our view that Three Strikes has been abandoned by Groundswell. There was certainly no visible opposition to it at the last meeting. Indeed, there seemed to be general approval for any Three Strikes action. As to the statement that anarchists and syndicalists were opposed to it, well, it does not seem true of the comrades of the anarcho-syndicalist Solidarity Federation. The only other syndicalist group noticeably active in the Trades Councils are the Syndicalist Bulletin people. We were not aware that they opposed Three Strikes. Perhaps we can have some information from them on their stance?

Ludicrous

Then we come to the ludicrous and misleading demands to put pressure on Labour and the union leaders (and end up wasting our time). There are no plans to repeal the JSA from Labour, indeed there has been no opposition from them at all. In fact, Gordon Brown, Labour Shadow Chancellor, has made it clear that he will not remove the JSA and proposes that the young unemployed work for their dole. To

name from Militant), Socialist Outlook, the SWP and the Alliance for Workers Liberty are particularly active in the CPSA, Socialist Party/Militant having most success in capturing positions in the bureaucracy. There has been general hostility to Three Strikes in the ranks of the Left, not just the Trotskyists but groups like the Scargillite Socialist Labour Party.

We have to face facts. There is a general culture among doleworkers of contempt towards claimants. The misleading argument that ranks are broken by the unemployed defending themselves fails to recognise that a particular hierarchical relationship exists between doleworkers and the unemployed. For a start, the Left has deliberately misunderstood the general thrust of Three Strikes. It would be chiefly aimed at office managers and 'advisers' - the enforcers sent in to make sure the JSA is put through effectively. It would very

rarely be aimed at lowly doleworkers. However, where there were cases of doleworkers behaving in an arrogant and bullying way to claimants, and enthusiastically applying the terms of the JSA, no doubt Three Strikes actions would be undertaken. On the other hand, could it not be safely argued by doleworkers that they were refusing to get enthusiastic about applying the JSA precisely because they feared action from the unemployed?

The unemployed have few methods of defence at their disposal. Unlike waged workers who work in one workplace, or several owned by the same firm, they have few opportunities to get together. The re-organisation of signing on increased this atomisation, allowing few to congregate at one time. Obviously the unemployed should attempt to organise collectively where possible, establishing anti-JSA groups or joining those already in existence. Waged

workers have the weapons of workplace action at their disposal, be they strikes, work-to-rules, go-slows or occupations, etc. The unemployed have none of these means of action. Obviously occupations and sit-ins and demonstrations are some of the tactics that can be used. But why argue against a tactic that can be used under specific circumstances, by people who are often powerless?

Once again, as with previous examples like the Poll Tax, the Left has got it wrong. This reflects their wilful ignoring of the different positions of doleworkers and those signing on. It also reflects the deep compromises the Left has made by its positions within the trade unions. There is a clear line, a class divide if you like, between those Leftists who condemn Three Strikes and those revolutionaries who are open-minded about the tactic.

Prisoners

Mark Taylor

IAN MARRIOT, UNDER-MANAGER at the Mecca Ritz ballroom in Manchester died on the 28th September 1990, from the inhalation of hydrofluoric acid fumes. Carl Golds had intended to damage Marriot's car with the acid, but panicked when Marriot appeared and threw the acid at the car, splashing Marriot's clothes in the process, from which he inhaled the fumes. Mark Taylor was a doorman at the Ritz at the time. He had previously discussed with Golds how Marriot was disliked by the staff and that he would like to give him a leaving present, such as damaging his car. Mark was not present at the actual incident. Initially, the police seemed to view the incident for what it was - a tragic accident. However after a change of heart they started telling the media that it was a gangland killing, appealing to the 'underworld' for help. Mark was arrested and charged with conspiracy to murder.

At the trial, the prosecution made out that Mark was a dangerous underworld figure, based on the stereotype of doormen being thugs. The jury was given police protection as they claimed there was a threat to them.

The evidence against Mark was non-existent: three statements were made that he had quarrelled with Marriot and asked Golds to harm him, the three people contradicted these statements in court saying the police had pressurised them into making them: the only other evidence came from Golds his co-accused who changed his

Until all are free we are all imprisoned



plea to guilty during the trial and gave evidence against Mark. Finally, the jury unable to decide, and despite protests from the defence, were given tapes to listen to which had been covertly recorded by the police during family visits to Mark while he was on remand. In these tapes he was heard to say how he hated Marriot and the police for the way in which he was being treated. In context these were not surprising comments. He had been held for a long period in police 'container' cells, where he suffered from claustrophobia and deep depression, never having been locked up before, and he made a serious suicide attempt. Added to this his girlfriend was suffering harassment from a DC Hatton who repeatedly visited her demanding she make a statement incriminating Mark until she was forced to complain about him.

Mark Taylor is no underworld figure, he had a 'responsible' job, and only a few weeks earlier had saved Marriot from a serious beating as witnesses have testified. He had admitted that it was stupid to have considered damaging the car, yet he was

found guilty in July 1991, and was sentenced to life imprisonment with a recommendation from the judge that he serve 20 years.

The police agenda was upheld once again. The public had been saved from the criminal underworld who kill their victims in the most brutal manner and only the police can defeat. The criminal underworld did not exist! And hydrofluoric acid, as the weapon of the assassin is difficult to believe to say the least as there is only one other known case of someone dying from these fumes and that was thirty years ago, hardly a what could be described as a fail safe method of killing.

Since his conviction, Mark has been fighting his case, and attempting to get an appeal against his conviction. He would welcome -and deserves- your support!

Write to: Mark Taylor EE0302 HMP Full Sutton, Moor Lane, Full Sutton, York, YO4 1PS

More information:- ACF, PO Box 5754, Elgin, IV30 2ZD

3 STRIKES AND YOUR OUT

Aimed at *managers, client 'advisers'* and other officers who REPEATEDLY and VERIFIABLY go out of their way to harass and persecute individuals signing on.

- First Offence - A written warning is given to the offender and their manager - *Strike One!*
- Second Offence - Final written warning given to the offender and their manager - *Strike Two!*
- Third Offence - The offender is exposed as a dole bully. Their name and photo are distributed widely and they can expect an angry demo at their office. *Strike Three and Out!*

Gandalf Six

ON THE 16TH January 1996, four editors of *Green Anarchist*, the editor of the *ALF Supporters Group News Letter*, and the ALF press officer were arrested at the instigation of ARNI (Animal Rights National Index, part of Special Branch). This was the culmination of *Operation Washington*, which the police had claimed had been running since 1991 and included 55 police raids in Britain during 1995 and 1996.

The six were charged with conspiracy to incite criminal damage for reporting direct action news or knowing others who had. It carries a sentence of up to ten years imprisonment. Conspiracy is a catch all charge used basically when the police have no evidence. No criminal damage need be done, or any one need feel incited to do it; they need know nobody doing damage and need know each other only indirectly- in this case attending the same political rally. Basically the defendants have to prove they didn't intend anything. Conspiracy is merely a tool of repression, it serves no other purpose.

The committal hearing took place on 9-16th December in Portsmouth. During this it was admitted that MI5 had been involved in the

case, a clear sign that the 'spooks' are looking for new areas to entertain their warped minds in. It was also stated that without the ALF press officer there would be no case, however he walked free because he already been tried unsuccessfully on the same evidence. The police will be appealing this decision at the High Court this Easter.

This is a blatant attempt to silence political opposition through legal process. It must be opposed!

Contact:- GANDALF Defendants Campaign, PO Box 66, Stevenage, SG12TR

Anti-Fascists On Trial In Poland

AFTER REPEATED VIOLENT attacks by fascists in the town of Radomsko on young people there, a group of them got together to defend themselves as the authorities had turned a blind eye. A fight broke out and the police arrested 17 anti fascists. It later transpired that a fascist had died.

There are now 13 people in prison awaiting trial for the death, and 4 others are to be tried in a juvenile court. They need **YOUR** support and desperately require money to help pay legal costs.

Send messages of support to:- Krzysztof Biedolaj/ Stanislaw Szczesniewski/

Grzegorz Pasak/ Zbigniew Sikorski/ Adam Wloka, *Areszt Sledczy, Lodz, ul. Smunta 21 Poland*:

Mariusz Orzinski/ Marcin Baranski/ Zbigniew Gorzelak, *Zaklad Karny, Sieradz, Poland*

Mariusz Zych/ Tomasz Wilkoszewski/ Rafal Socha/ Grzegorz Niedbala/ Andzej Szczesniewski, *Areszt Sledczy, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Poland*

Defence Fund Michael Swiderski, PO Box 21-400 Lukow, Poland.

Letters of protest :- Saol Wojewodski, ul. Stowackiego5, 97-300, Piotrkow Trybunalski, Poland.

More information:- MRE, Box 74, 04-520 Warsaw 106 Poland or ACK/ABC- c/o GIS, PO Box 1457, 45-716 Opole7 Poland



OBITUARIES

Gerrard Van De Berg 1909-1997

LIFE LONG ACTIVIST and council communist Gerrard Van De Berg died February this year after a long illness. Gerrard was active in the workers struggles in his native Netherlands and across Europe. A member of the communist tendency influenced by Anton Pannekoek, he was a strong opponent of authoritarianism. Lenin's polemic "Left Wing Communism- An Infantile Disorder" was directly aimed against him and his comrades. Gerrard was a carpenter by trade and was active

in the workers movement and greatly respected for his integrity and fierce intelligence. He used whatever medium he could to get his message across: broadcasting on the airwaves or talking face to face he gained the respect of those who listened. He was in Paris in May 68 where he denounced the leadership of the student movement for its lack of revolutionary theory. In 1973 he participated in a year long factory occupation in France where he worked to influence the dispute towards a

redistribution of wealth. He was a stalwart of the solidarity movement for Spain and later a campaigner against the Vietnam war. Gerrard was always active until ill health restricted his abilities in his last months. He was an inspiration to successive generations of Dutch radicals and his funeral was attended by around 150 mourners who knew him from different times and areas of struggle. He will be missed.

Ono Tozaburo 1903-1996

ONO TOZABURO WAS born in 1903 in the Japanese town of Osaka which was experiencing transformation into one of the great industrial centres. This, of course, was accompanied by great industrial and economic unrest. He attended Tokyo University in 1920, dropping out after 8 months because of his objections to the authoritarian forms of education there. He then came in contact with the growing anarchist

movement. He started contributing to the new paper *Aka to Kuro (Red and Black)* in 1923 writing anarchist poetry for it, which was suppressed in 1924. He founded his own paper *Dam-Dam*, a Dadaist-anarchist publication, which he was only able to produce for one issue. No publisher would print his collection of poems *Hanbun Hiraita Mado (A Half-Opened Window)* so he printed it himself in 1926. He published another

anarchist magazine *Dando (Trajectory)* with anarchist poet Kiyoshi Akiyama which they were unable to publish for a year (1930-31). By about 1934 he had moved to a Marxist-realist position, but his poetry continued to be filled with social criticism. He was one of many active in the cultural wing of a vigorous anarchist movement. (See our pamphlet on the Japanese Anarchist movement by John Crump).

Adam Hughes

WE HAVE RECEIVED the sad news of the accidental death of Adam Hughes, at the young age of 18. Adam was one of several comrades who set up a group of

the ACF in Northern Ireland two years ago. Later his disagreements over anarcho-syndicalism led him to join the Irish anarcho-syndicalist group Organise! A

full obituary can be read in issue 6, Vol. 2 of Organise! The Voice of Anarcho-Syndicalism; 60p plus post from PO BOX 505, Belfast N. Ireland BT11 9EE

Letters



Dear Organise!

JM IS RIGHT (see last issue of *Organise!*). To equate a "project that questions the totality" with "pacifists and gradualists, with no conception of class struggle or revolution" does indeed demonstrate that "the ACF's understanding of anarcho-primitivism (exhibits) either wilful ignorance or a desire to distort it". It's reminiscent of the ol' Stalinist lie that all those more radical than themselves were fascists. Anarcho-primitivism doesn't "mask capitalism" and deny class struggle. As John Zerzan has said, "it seeks to broaden and deepen our understanding" of it.

Which brings us to Bookchin. It is hard to believe you suffered "no critical loss of faculties" when you featured his blatherings last issue. Didn't you realise you were being patronised by this prestigious college dean pleading his "limited income at the age of seventy-five" etc.? Didn't you know Bookchin's no anarchist communist? To everyone he's not seeking to use for his short-term political advantage as a lever against anarcho-primitivism, he's the founder of social ecologism, which he arrogantly sees as superseding all other cultures, including anarchist communism. Murray Bookchin Thought has foundered on the rock of libertarian municipalism, which Michael Williams's expose of *Ecologie Montreal* show, in practice, to be as liberal/reformist as anything you'd expect from the Green Party in the UK, for ol' Bookworm's overripe rhetoric to the contrary. So much for his 'revolutionism'! It's hilarious to see an old fossil like Bookchin rail against "the walking dead of the sixties...abandoning their convictions for private life and academic careers" when he first came to prominence then, is now comfortably cosseted in an academic career of his own, and is now scrapping all radical/redemptive features of social ecology in his senescence in a sad attempt to ally

himself with others even more conservative and historically doomed than himself.

It is incredible you find Green Anarchist's response to Bookchin's *Social Anarchism v. Lifestyle Anarchism* more "personalised and vitriolic" than the original provocation! As you clearly don't know, Bookchin's partner is one Janet Biehl. Her dubiously derivative, scrappy and poisonous *Ecofascism* smears all challenging urbanism as fascists, just like the ol' Stalinist ploy mentioned above. A curious line for a Green to take, you might think, but libertarian municipalism is the subtext again. Biehl's latest idiocy is to use Bookchin's journal, *Green Perspectives*, to accuse Jason McQuinn, the editor of a rival US anarcho-primitivist journal, *Anarchy*, of promoting Holocaust revisionism!

So Bookchin has some gall to accuse others of "ad hominem" attacks and he doesn't dare identify any of them so readers can make up their own minds. Foremost is John Clark, once a prominent social ecologist but now sickened by 'Kommissar' Bookchin's dogmatic libertarian municipalism. We'd also recommend David Watson's *Beyond Bookchin* (even though it is boringly 'cosmic' in places) and Bob Black's forthcoming *Anarchy After Leftism* for those too challenged by anarcho-primitivism to have actually read any yet.

Yours, for the destruction of Civilisation, Oxford Green Anarchists

Editors' reply: Are you saying that by publishing Bookchin's letter we suspended our critical faculties? Does that mean we shouldn't have published it? Well sorry, we publish all sorts of letters in *Organise!* from all points of view and if the inclusion of Bookchin's letter displeases you, tough! What's all this stuff about 'old fossils' and 'senescence' by the way? Does this mean that when you reach a certain age your ideas can be discounted? Surely age has nothing to do with it, it's ideas that count, not what age you are. Yes, we are not at all convinced by Bookchin's views about libertarian municipalism, but we attempt, we repeat, to move away from personalised attacks (*Organise!* has been guilty of this approach in the past with the Dave Douglass unions polemic) to a detached and analytical examination of libertarian thinkers.

Our mention of pacifists and gradualists, with no conception of class struggle or revolution, in our reply to JM's letter, was perfectly legitimate. JM cited Woodcock to back up his notion that 'second wave' anarchism emerged after World War Two. A better example of the pacifist/liberal/gradualist camp could not be found! It has always been our contention that revolutionary anarchism was undermined by the various humanists, individualists and reformists that described themselves as anarchists. This may have been inevitable as the result of the collapse of the revolutionary waves that swept through Europe and other parts of the world. It was a pretty grim time in the late 40s and 50s, with the aftermath of two world wars, fascism and Stalinism, and the virtual annihilation of the genuine revolutionary movements. The return of the class struggle anarchist movement began in the 60s, it could be argued, and everywhere we see its resurgence. Obviously there is a difference between Green Anarchist and the liberal/humanist/pacifist camp but JM muddled the waters by citing Woodcock, whose arguments typify the views of that camp. You seem to think that if you say long and loud enough that anarcho-primitivism is the new, modern anarchism destined to supersede 'classical' anarchism, it will become a fact. We're glad that you don't deny class struggle. But don't you write off the entire urban working class? Haven't you done this systematically in the pages of *Green Anarchist*? Far from 'broadening and deepening' an understanding of class struggle, you turn to notions of 'revolution from the periphery' where revolutions in the 'underdeveloped' world would ignite revolutions in the West. Isn't this a revised version of the old Third World revolutionist ideas that were so common in the 60s and 70s, very much influenced by Maoism? You seem to have no idea of the dynamic of class struggle- you failed to understand the Wapping printers' strike, when you criticised

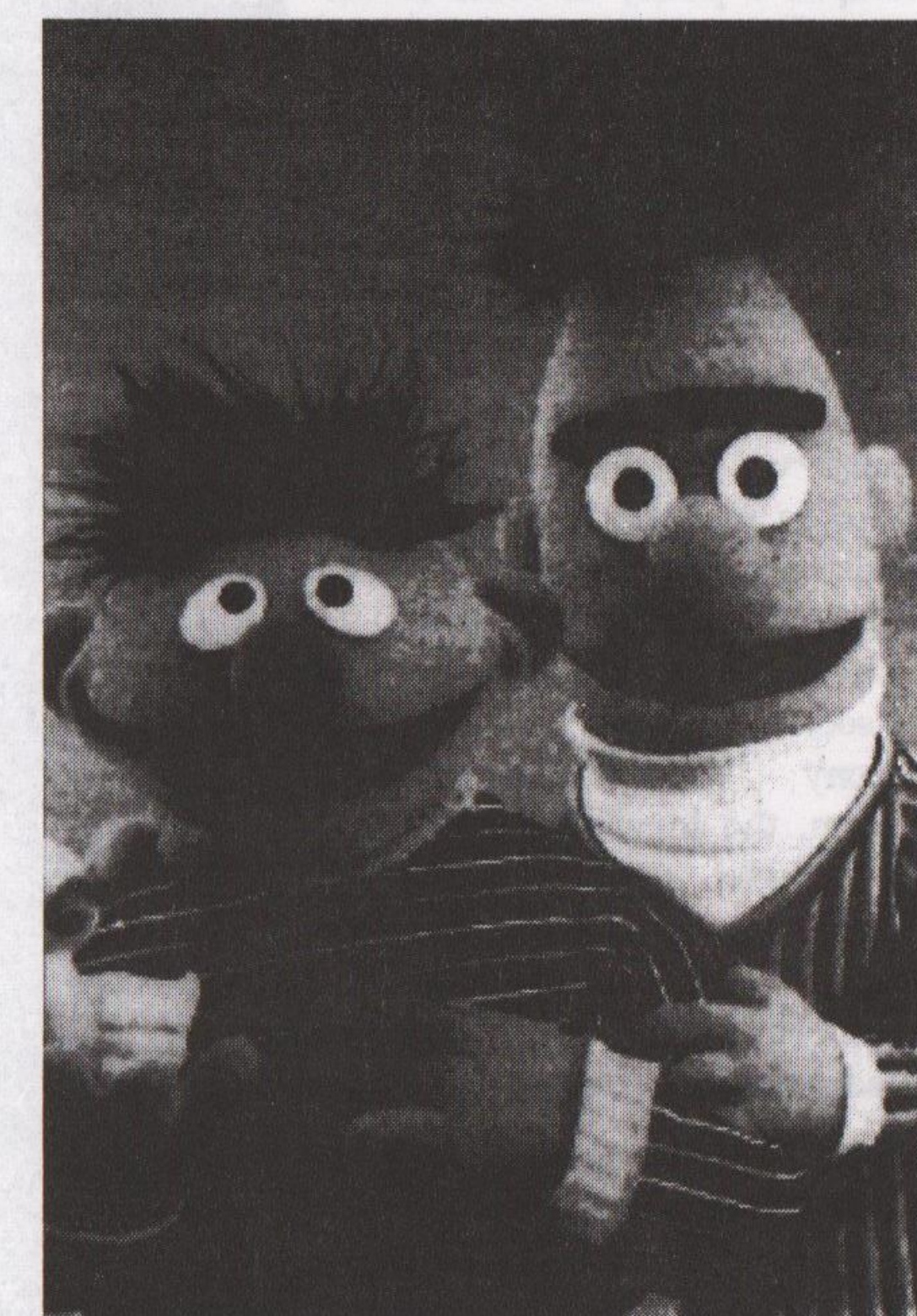
them for printing the Sun. This is an idealist position, and you fail to realise the nature of struggle, which starts off at present reality, but has the possibility of transforming that reality. Anarcho-primitivism is hardly new, people like Zisly and Gravelle and their group the Natures were putting forward similar ideas in the 1880s and 90s in France. These ideas were mistaken then, and we think that they are mistaken now. Modern anarchist-communism has learnt from many struggles, from the many insights of environmental, anti-racist and anti-sexist struggles. In our opinion-but we would say that, wouldn't we- it is the current that has superseded 'classical' anarchism.

We have received a similar letter from BB in the United States which covers the same ground as the above letter.

Dear Organise!

In D. Mc 's letter (*Organise!* 44 he points out that Red Action have been critiquing vanguardism, Leninism, and Trotskyism for years. I think that you should point out that Red Action have always acted like Leninists in practice, by physically attacking and threatening libertarian opponents around the country (even their leader is guilty)

D.C. London E8



The *Organise!* Editors



A CALL FOR AN ANARCHIST CONFERENCE

Dear *Organise!*,

We, Turkish and Kurdish anarchists who live in Britain, first would like to express very briefly some of the weaknesses such as lack of co-ordination, communication and solidarity that we see in the British anarchist movement which either we are part of or trying to take part in. Then we will put forward our suggestions and opinions, again very briefly.

We think that the British anarchist movement is at the moment in a situation in which it is disorganised and atomised, and it has no aims nation-wide. And except the Anarchist Bookfair which is organised every year and gradually becoming monotonous, we do not see each other, we do not communally inform each other, let alone directing our forces toward mutual aims. We know that there are some friends out there who try to do this. However, we also know that this is not enough. Everything goes on by itself. We are lost in the labyrinths the capitalist system has consciously and purposely created. British anarchists have come near the point at which they exist without sufficient communication and willpower, while they continually oppose the extreme centralism of Marxists. We all know that the elections are coming. Is it not necessary for British anarchists to agree upon a policy in order to act nation-wide against such a nation-wide event? But we do nothing. We seem to be quite comfortable in our little caves.

The lack of communication and solidarity among the anarchists affect most of us, that is, anarchists who come from other parts of the world. Although we try hard to become involved as much as we can in the anarchist movement, we have not been too successful integrating into it. We already experience among our own society, which is under the hegemony of Marxism and liberalism, the inevitable alienation. What a bitter experience this is! "Exile life is as grey as English weather". Anyway... It is not our intention here to moan but to persuade you our comrades.

We invite all groups, organisations, initiatives, etc. in the movement to organise an anarchist conference to discuss thoroughly what has been said in this letter as well as other points which we could not mention

here in order to arrive at certain conclusions, most importantly, to create an information centre, and even organise and form an anarchist confederation which would be composed of local as well as national anarchist groups and organisations, and which would be dependent upon such organisations' self-control and absolute autonomy. The call is from ours, to organise this would be your task. Because we know well that considering our own lack of communication we are not suitable for the job. The first three groups, organisations or individuals who would reply to this letter positively will organise the first preparatory committee of the conference. Our task is to get these three groups, organisations or individuals to meet each other. With other groups, organisations or individuals, this committee can later be expanded by the very people who have first started the initiative. We would like you all to discuss this and other things we have mentioned in this letter and send all your replies to the address below.

In solidarity,

5th May Group

OPEN LETTER TO ALL GROUPS IN THE ANTI-ELECTION ALLIANCE AND OTHERS

Dear *Organise!*,

We welcome the initiative that has been created by the formation of the Anti-Election Alliance. We feel that it is a real opportunity for the anarchist/libertarian movement to

pull together for a change.

Group sectarianism has served only to stifle our movement, and while groups are valid for national action, this is limited in the absence of a nationwide, united, co-ordinated approach to class struggle.

Too often groups are just point-scoring over each other. All of the various groups have their own validities and shortcomings. It is time for us all to recognise what all individuals and groups contribute to the movement as a whole. Infighting and bickering serve only one purpose: the labelling and divisions that the State wants.

No national group has the regional capacity to operate solely on their own terms. As is the case in East Kent, and the nation as a whole, members of various groups work together anyway as this is the only practical approach.

The Anti-Election Alliance has a lot of potential to become a unifying force in our movement. We feel that this alliance should survive the general election and become a coherent anarchist/libertarian coordinator. All groups involved in the AEA should see this as a forum for coordination between one another. We propose that the AEA publishes its own bulletin, which should be sent to all individuals and groups involved in it. This should allow all members of our movement to realise the validity and usefulness of our different approaches, and to provide a national vehicle for debate and action.

R. and A. East Kent Anarchists

MELTZER PRESS

Dear *Organise!*

A new specifically anarchist imprint, The Meltzer Press (TMP) has been launched to commemorate the late Albert Meltzer.

TMP will work in close collaboration with the Kate Sharpley Library which will receive 50% of all profits, the rest going towards an on-going publishing programme. Titles announced (we've not seen any of them-how about review copies TMP?) are the following: Sentenced To Death Under Franco-autobiographical account by Juan Busquets of his activity in the anarchist resistance in Francoist Spain, his arrest in 1948 and his 20 years in prison, as well as his activity from 1969 onwards; Volume 1 of The CNT in the Spanish Revolution -detailed account by leading CNTer of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union. Vols 2 and 3 to follow; We, the Anarchists! A Study of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (FAI) by Stuart Christie-what looks like a fascinating account of the specific anarchist organisation that operated in Spain. Also promised are an illustrated celebration of the life of Albert Meltzer and Ponzan, Resistant Extraordinary about the Spanish anarchist guerrilla. The Busquets and the Peirats books costs £12.50 each, the Christie book £12.95, (inc p+p) cheques, etc to The Meltzer Press PO Box 35, Hastings, East Sussex TN34 2UX

A.C.E. -Anarchist Communist Editions

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

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

Manifesto of Libertarian Communism by Georges Fontenis. A key text of anarchist communism. Though flawed, the best features need to be incorporated into modern revolutionary theory and practice. 60p & SAE. 6th printing now available.

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

Basic Bakunin. A revised edition of our very popular pamphlet on one of the founders of revolutionary anarchism. 60p & SAE.

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

Making Progress is out of print at the moment.

The Anarchist Movement in Japan. The fascinating account of Japanese Anarchism in the 20th century. Japan had an Anarchist-Communist movement that numbered tens of thousands. This new ACE pamphlet tells its story. £1 plus SAE

Where there's Brass, there's Muck. A stimulating and thought-provoking ACE pamphlet on ecology. £1 & SAE

Beyond Resistance- a Revolutionary Manifesto for the Millenium. Brand new this autumn-the ACF's in-depth analysis of the capitalist world in crisis, suggestions about what the alternative Anarchist Communist society could be like, and evaluation of social and organisational forces which play a part in the revolutionary process. £2 & SAE

ORGANISE!

ORGANISE! IS THE national magazine of the Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF). *Organise!* is a quarterly theoretical journal published in order to develop anarchist communist ideas. It aims to give a clear anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues, and initiate debates on areas not normally covered by agitational journals. All articles in the magazine are by ACF members unless signed. Some reflect ACF policy and others open up debate in undiscussed areas, helping us to develop our ideas further.

Please feel welcome to contribute articles to *Organise!* as long as they don't conflict with our Aims and Principles we will publish them.. (Letters, of course, need not agree with our A&Ps at all.). Deadlines for next issue are 2nd June for features and reviews, and 13th June for letters and news.

All contributions for the next issue should be sent to: ACF, c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

Press Fund

You can send cheques, POs, IMOs (made out to ACF) stamps etc. You can even send us a standing order to our account. (write to London address for details) All donations to London address.

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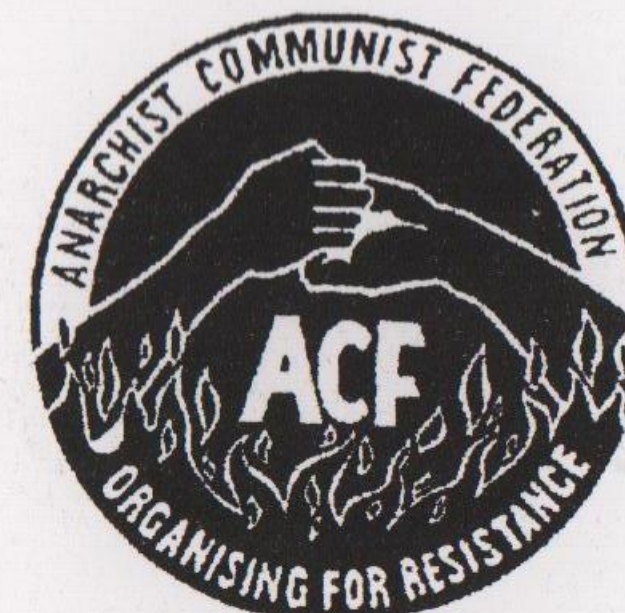
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Return this form to:

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We need to keep boosting circulation, so try and take a bundle to sell to friends and workmates. By selling *Organise!* you can help our ideas to reach more and more people. Write for *Organise!* You can help to make *Organise!* yours by writing letters and articles. Subscribe to *Organise!* Why not take out a sub to *Organise!* Better still take out a supporter sub. Get your friends to subscribe or treat them to a sub. *Organise!* will improve through a two-way process of criticism and feedback, and will better reflect the reality of struggle through readers communicating with us. Please write in with your ideas. Please send all feedback, contributions for *Organise!*, requests for papers and Press Fund money (payable to ACF) to the London address.



Anarchist Communist Federation

The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of class struggle Anarchists. For contacts:

Scotland: PO BOX 5754 Elgin, Scotland, IV 30 2ZD

Wales: P.O. Box 10, Pontypool. NP4 8YH

Merseyside: Merseyside ACF, PO Box 110, Liverpool L69 8DP

Brighton: Brighton ACF, c/o Unemployed Centre, Tilbury Place, Brighton, Sussex.

Newcastle: ACF, PO Box 11A, Newcastle upon Tyne, NE99 1TA

London and all other areas: ACF c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX

ACF International Contacts

New Zealand, write to PO Box 6572, Wellsey St. Auckland. New Zealand

Holland, write to Postbus 93515, 1090 EA. Amsterdam. Netherlands.

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