

**C.S.A.N.**  
**BULLETIN**  
**OCTOBER 89**







So what do I think about the Class Struggle Anarchist Network ?

Well for a start I think it should be just that, a network. A means of passing information between the different groups involved. A way of bringing anarchists from different areas and organisations together without <sup>interfering</sup> on the work or independence of those groups.

Anything more than a network would involve a degree of 'policy forming' and at the moment that can only lead to arguments and splits, and quite frankly, anarchism in Britain just isn't big enough to be engaging in such nonsense. A network should be loose enough for political arguments and developments to take place without any group or individual feeling the need to storm out.

However, we do need to draw up a brief statement to make it clear that the network is only open to those who consider class struggle central to their anarchism.

This is partly to exclude the liberals lifestylists and other odds and sods who populate the fringes of the movement, but mainly to state clearly that anarchism is about organisation, militancy and class struggle, and that we are the anarchist movement in this country.

Apart from communication, the network should also be used to co-ordinate anarchist activity on certain occasions. The regional tour by a Scottish anti-poll tax speaker is a good start. We could also, for example, work with Northern Anti-Fascist Action to ensure that the maximum number of anarchists were able to be present at anti-fascist events. Where there is something like an anti-poll tax march or a mass picket, the network could agree on a general mobilisation where we try to get as many people as possible on the anarchist section.

I feel strongly that demonstrations are part of the public face of the anarchist movement, so it is all the more annoying when people who are drunk or who are offensive to passers-by join the anarchist contingent. Now personally, I think that those people should be heaved out of the anarchist section and I know others share this view but no-one has done it yet because they fear crit-

icism from other anarchists. Again, this is where the network comes in handy because our response to such situations can be worked out in advance and the necessary action taken on the day.

We should be northern based for all the reasons stated in the introductory letter. A national network would be too big and difficult for us to co-ordinate anyway.

However if groups from outside the north wish to attend our meetings or receive our mailing, they should be welcomed as long as they are doing this with a view to forming a CSAN in their own region. We don't want to go national by default !

In the long term a viable national framework can only come about after the establishment of several healthy regional networks and if we in the north can make ours work, we should encourage the formation of others.

To help make the network work, I think that each group or individual who wants to go on the contact/membership/ mailing/ whatever you want to call it list, should pay a pound a year for printing and postage costs and to clearly define who's in and who isn't. This will mean having a membership secretary, but don't worry comrades, I'm sure we can handle this infant bureaucracy !

At the moment we have four national anarchist organisations and a great many local groups. However, none of them can claim to be the anarchist movement or to have all the answers (some, if not all of the nationals say as much in their Aims & Principles).

We aren't like the left - loads of tiny groups squabbling to be the party, the leadership. It's fine for class struggle anarchists to be in different groups with different approaches but none of those groups (not even the one I'm in !) can create an anarchist movement. The movement is all of those groups. It grows when the groups work together and develops it's ideas as their political ideas rub together:

I want the CSAN to become the anarchist movement, not by cramming all the organisations into one, but by providing them with a framework for co-ordination and communication.



THE ROLE OF THE C.S.A.N.

The Anarchist Workers' Group welcomes the initiative of the 'Class Struggle Anarchist Network'. However, our support for it must be critical, for reasons we hope this submission will make clear. We believe the network has a role to play in the "movement", but its very nature limits this role in terms of political efficiency. We believe the network cannot be much more than a talking shop as it stands at present, let alone play an interventionist role, because there is little in the way of real unity beyond a shared label of "class struggle anarchism".

For the network to adopt the specific title "class struggle" is encouraging as it shows that some anarchists are trying to shake off the lifestyle attitude of those who have dragged anarchism away from its working class libertarian roots. However, the best traditions of working class libertarianism have been imbued with the principles of theoretical and tactical unity, necessitating tight and coherent organisation. This is something which the network either fails or refuses to recognise.

"The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists"\* was drawn up because of the failings of Russian anarchists during and after October 1917. The Platform calls for "one organisation, constantly agitating, as demanded by the reality and the strategy of the class struggle" with "a homogeneous programme". The Diela Trouda Group\*\* identified the principle reason for anarchism as a "small event" in the history of the working class as "the absence of organisational principles and practises in the anarchist movement".

The network meeting's discussions highlight the anti-intellectualism of the British anarchist movement, leading to an unwillingness to develop our theory and test it out in the arena of class struggle, and the inability or refusal to draw out and learn from the specifically libertarian content and implication of struggles and argue our conclusions and strategies to the class. Lack of theoretical discussion in the preliminary stages of such an organisation means that unity is forced and merely delays disunity and disintegration of a group. Furthermore, without any understanding of our own history and especially the ideas developed by those who have recognised the weaknesses of spontaneism and synthesis, we have little hope of tackling those who have not learned from the defeat of the Russian rev-

olution, and who glorify the Bolshevik counter-revolution.

The class struggle network could never take a political lead on any class issue because it lacks a concrete political programme, and it seems to be unwilling to adopt one. There were strong displays of antipathy towards anarchist organisations which tends to be contradictory since the network, like it or not, is an organisation; albeit of the synthesis (umbrella) variety. Synthesis organisations can achieve little politically because they are unable to rise above "lowest common denominator" politics. This means that such an organisation will always be tail-ending struggles and campaigns, and its members will be unable to offer an alternative strategy to reformism and bankrupt ideologies such as Trotskyism.

We need a movement capable of ensuring that anarchist ideas are the leading ideas within the class.

This submission must appear to be considerably negative, but hopefully we have indicated why our organisation believes its support will remain critical and that there are concrete reasons for this critical standpoint.

On a more positive note, we intend to continue to attend the meetings and will be more than willing to provide speakers and reading material for groups meetings on various issues.

For libertarian communism,

Anarchist Workers Group northern branches.

\* "The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" written 1926 by the Diela Trouda Group, Russian anarchist militants in exile in Paris.

\*\* Diela Trouda meaning "workers cause"; the group included Nestor Makhno, Piotr Arshinov and Ida Mett.



For the Class Struggle Network Bulletin.

### Fighting racism today.

Unfortunatley AWG members had to leave the CSN meeting before the discussion on racism and events in Dewsbury. However there are a number of points we would like to make, resulting from the minutes of the meeting. Firstly, it should be made clear that we are taking on the growth in racism and not simply the small mobilisations of fascists. Most of the discussion seems to have centred on fighting fascists rather than the racist climate in which they are attempting to gain a foothold.

Three reasons were given in the minutes for public sympathies lying, more likely, with fascists, rather than anti-racists;

- 1) "Left wankers" seperating themselves from the working class,
- 2) Police manipulation,
- 3) Media representation as black vs white.

None of these touch on an understanding of the conditions under which racist ideas gain acceptance. It is ridiculous to blame the left for the present racist climate. This climate is the product of the backlash against the Rushdie campaign, and is underpinned by the state and medias attack on muslims. This has seen an unrelenting fueling of hatred against the Asian community. This comes in the context of a number of other incidents that have enforced racial prejudice. In education, the Dewsbury schools dispute of 1987 + the present dispute in Birmingham, have seen racism directed at the Asian communities involved. This has been flanked by consistant state racism - through immigration controls, Education Reform Acts and housing policies. Following the Dewsbury schools dispute racist attacks were to rise by 40%. In London black communities have felt widespread violence with rises in reported attacks up by 60%. From Muslim marches in Bradford to the Notting Hill carnival blacks have faced the brunt of racist policing.

To find an explanation for such persistant activity we should look towards the deeply rooted nationalism that is ingrained in British society. This is not a product of the left, but does display the vital need to build an anti-racist movement in the working class.

The events at the Dewsbury rally prove a number of points about fighting racism. We would like to provide more than calls to; **"mask up in future"**, (CSN MINUTES). The defence campaign set up in the aftermath of the rally is setting out to establish a focus for anti-racists, in the face of the backlash that is facing activists in the area. Police have made raids and arrests on more Asians in an attempt to round up the organisers of the rally. Nothing could prove more, the need to build a movement to respond to this victimisation.

Beggining with the court cases, we need to ensure that movement is built. The defence campaign is building links for a national mobilisation against racist attacks in November. Anarchists should build the greatest possible support for this initiative, if we are to confront the latent or organised racism that is on the rise.

The possibilities are great, with thousands of Asian youth ready to resist the oppression faced by their communities. Many though are drawn to the Rushdie campaign. Muslim leaders are aware of the groundswell



of anger that is more concerned with confronting racist British society than the Satanic Verses. Only recently Muslim leaders have met in Bradford to, in their own words to "put the campaign back on the rails". To provide an anti-racist alternative could organise these Asians into a powerful voice rather than taking refuge in Islam and the reactionary Rushdie campaign.

It will be necessary to take the issues into the working class, where we must win the arguments that workers have nothing to benefit from the divisions of racism. Anarchists should build support for a national anti-racist demo within trade union branches, student unions, and community groups. And within the campaign anarchists should provide the clear message of the need to build anti-racism from below and support the self defence of black communities.

HUDDERSFIELD AWG

The Dewsbury defence campaign can be contacted at ;  
Dewsbury Defence Campaign,  
Kirklees CRC,  
24 WESTGATE,  
Huddersfield.

CONTD FROM P.3

I want the network to be able to help set up anarchist groups and spread anarchist propaganda ( its own and that of its constituent groups), so that when people get interested in anarchism, there is a movement ready for them to join.

The last thing we want is for future anarchists to have to go through the same process as most of us did - working hard to search out other anarchists and then wasting time cutting through the liberalism and the bullshit before finding out what anarchism was really about.

I know some people are sceptical about anarchist networks, that old timers have seen them come and go before. But that is all the more reason to make this one work. We need tolerance and we need to think before making decisions. We also need a few successes - big mobilisations, good meetings, regional tours etc. We need to define anarchism as class based and to show like minded people that it is both possible and desirable to work through the CSAN.

When this happens we will have a real anarchist movement in the north.

K. LIVERPOOL.

LEEDS NEWS FOR CSAN

Hello, hope all's well,

We have just been given an A3 offset litho printer. The idea is to base it in the North West. We want anyone who's interested in printing to contact us. In the very near future we want to hold a meeting with all interested parties to discuss how we can run the machine effectively. It is meant to be a good offset and there will be a chance for all interested people to learn how to use it. Hopefully it will mean that all @ groups in the North will have access to some sort of printing facilities.

Please contact us at:

Printers, Box 25,  
52 Call Lane,  
LEEDS LS1,  
W.Yorks.

Also

Any group wanting a speaker from Scotland on the Poll Tax for their local group, contact the above address. We can coordinate an @narchist anti-poll taxer from Edinburgh. Please reply soon. Thanks.



# CLASS STRUGGLE ANARCHISM

The Trade Union movement today has more to do with controlling workers than it has to do with workers control.

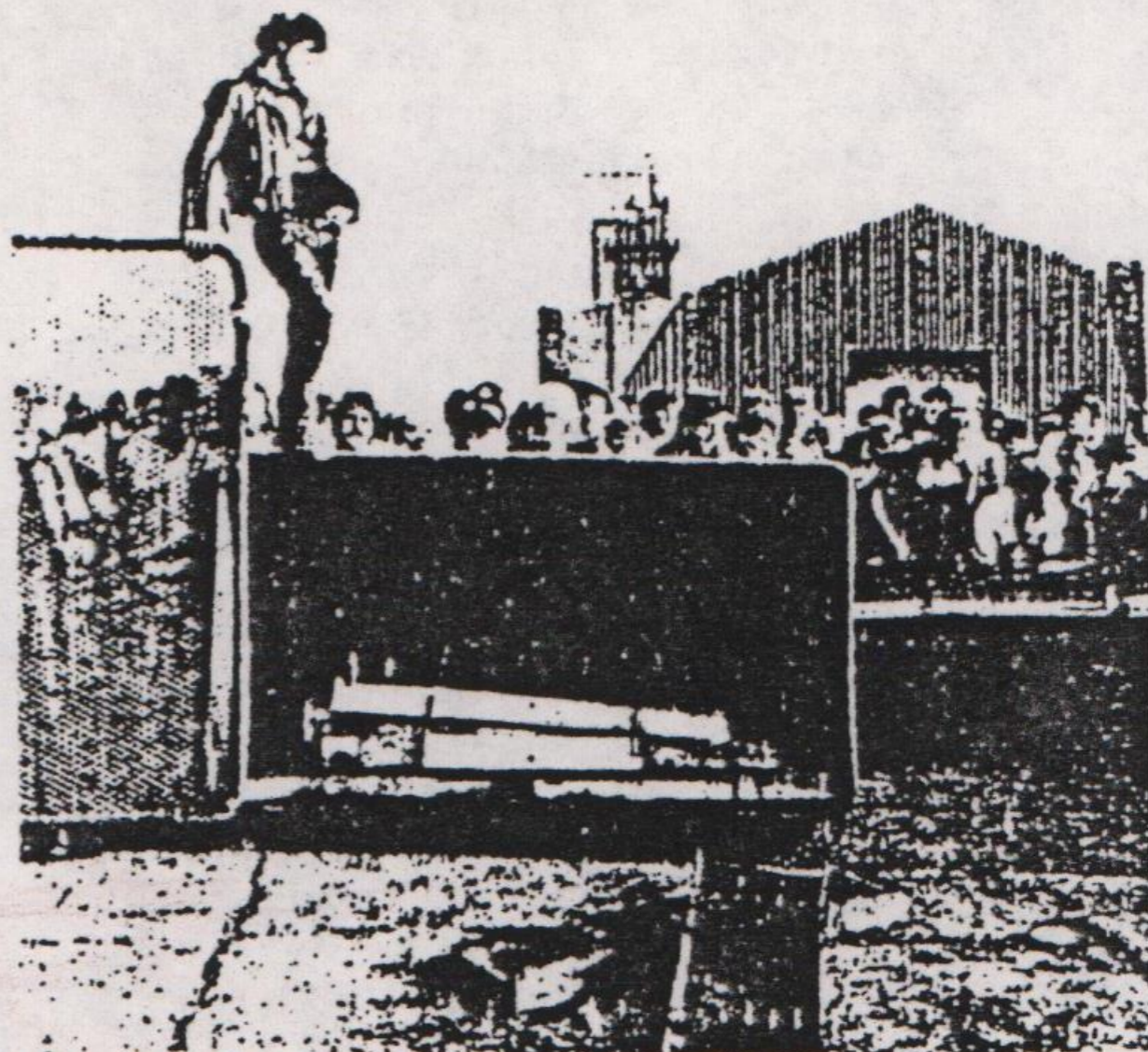
We live in a bitterly divided class society,

The working class, the middle class, and the ruling class make up this society. The working class, who comprise the vast majority of the population, are forced to sell their labour and brains to meet their basic needs: food, housing, clothing, etc. The wages we earn are but a mere fraction of what we produce for the bosses and the ruling class. A worker may be able to make 20-30 video recorders a week, but his/her wages will only allow him/her to buy one. This is one simple example of capitalism. We produce the wealth, not for ourselves, but for the ruling class, who reinvest this wealth back into the banks, machinery, raw materials, etc.; and ultimately into the luxurious lifestyles they are able to lead. This is the cycle of capitalism rolling always to the benefit of the ruling class. This tiny elite, the ruling class, made up of the most revolting bloodsuckers such as politicians, heads of church, freemasons, multinationals, top cops and generals, etc., own and control everything. They have the money, the land, and the power. 7% of the population OWN 84% OF THE WEALTH. The state (Governments, ministries, cops, army, teachers, family life, prisons, media, mental homes, etc.), though it may occasionally work against capitalism, keeps this process in order and crushes all those who dare to resist.



Capitalism, the state, and the class system, cannot be changed through bourgeois parliaments; we cannot expect real justice through the bourgeois courts, simply because these institutions were set up, and the rules made, by the ruling class, to protect their own interests, and control working class anger.

Asked nicely the ruling class will never give up its stolen, spoilt lives. It will never give up its power unless we take it as a class. The only language the ruling class and its paid mercenaries, the cops and army,



use is violence; the only language they understand is that of class violence. WE FIGHT FOR A WORKING CLASS REVOLUTION.

Class unification and class consciousness is what the capitalists fear most. To offset this they erect artificial barriers and deliberately foster ideas based on ignorance such as racism, sexism, heterosexism, wage slaves against the dole slaves, etc. When it comes to housing we are told to blame the Asian family on the corner, not the capitalists who own 3 or 4 houses, each costing hundreds of thousands. When companies sack the workers, and unemployment rises, we're told to blame the blacks, women workers, or the unions - not the bosses, who can sack overnight thousands of workers. White against black, men against women, protestant against catholic, united against city; DIVIDE AND RULE. The most nauseating spectacle since the second world war is the attempt made by the state and the ruling class to pretend class is a thing of the past. Read a copy of the 'SUN' and you'll see such trash as "we're all middle class now". We are apparently "middle class" now because we have a video or colour TV. Meanwhile the real middle-classes (Doctors, dentists, lawyers, professionals, etc.) are having it easy in luxury houses, living it up in posh restaurants, or pretending to be poor social workers while their bank accounts swell. We may now be able to afford a video recorder, after slaving away in a crummy office or stinking factory for years, but the power and the wealth always stays firmly in the hands of the capitalists. The mystification and deliberate attempt at confusing class is vital to the ruling class.

One of our first tasks as class struggle anarchists is to expose these false divisions, mystifications, and lies that prevent the working class from uniting and destroying capitalism and the state.



The working class, as was said earlier, consists of wage slaves. But it also consists of all those who are unable to work because of the erratic way capitalism operates, such as the unemployed, disabled and retired workers, etc. Also all those who, due to their age or sex, do not work for bosses, but work in the home ("housewives"), or at school (under 16s). Apart from the odd few who the media gleefully throw at us as an example, this class stays constant. Because of its position in society, only the working class can be the revolutionary class.

Obviously, as the class war comes to a head, vast numbers of the middle class will flock to our side. This is fair enough, and they should be treated as equals and as comrades. But we will not tolerate those who keep their feet in two camps; one with the revolutionaries, another in mummies and daddies bank account. Live with us or die with the bosses. Those who choose to stay with the bosses will suffer the same fate.

The same is true for all those working class people who are the paid mercenaries of the capitalists; the police and army. The working class must attempt to win over the more intelligent sections of these organisations, but those who prefer to stay class traitors will be dealt the class justice coming to them.

As class struggle anarchists we are strongly opposed to all those groups, parties and organisations who dare to think they can lead the working class to revolution - so they can replace the present capitalists, with the blood of the working class, and present themselves as the new (late) capitalists. They need us, but we do not need them. History has proven, time and time again, that the most successful actions the working class has done is when it has worked by itself, without the "help" of trade union bureaucrats, the vanguards, parties etc. Their "dictatorship of the proletariat" is nothing more than the dictatorship of the party; which then creates a new elite, the new ruling class, the lot of bosses to fight against.

The working class must see through and smash all the obstacles strewn in its path to revolution by the trade union bureaucrats, labour MPs, and the leftist/student/vanguard/intelligentsia. It can only do this by incessant, day to day class struggle.

The working class has created everything good in this world. It's our labour that built the homes, hospitals, roads etc, it's our work that brings in the food from the countryside, and it's our brains that have created all the socially useful objects and machines. We built this world! Why do we allow the capitalist ruling class to steal it all off us. It's our world, we can run it, we can organise without them; without the rich capitalist parasites and their protec-

tors the police and army. We want a world where the working class are in charge, not a small pampered elite. A world where working class pensioners don't die from hypothermia, while some rich toe-rag plays with more money on one roulette wheel than we'll see this year. A society where work is done for NEED, not greed and capitalist profit.

The working class black or white has no country. Our only enemy is the international ruling class and all those who maintain it, and apologise for it!

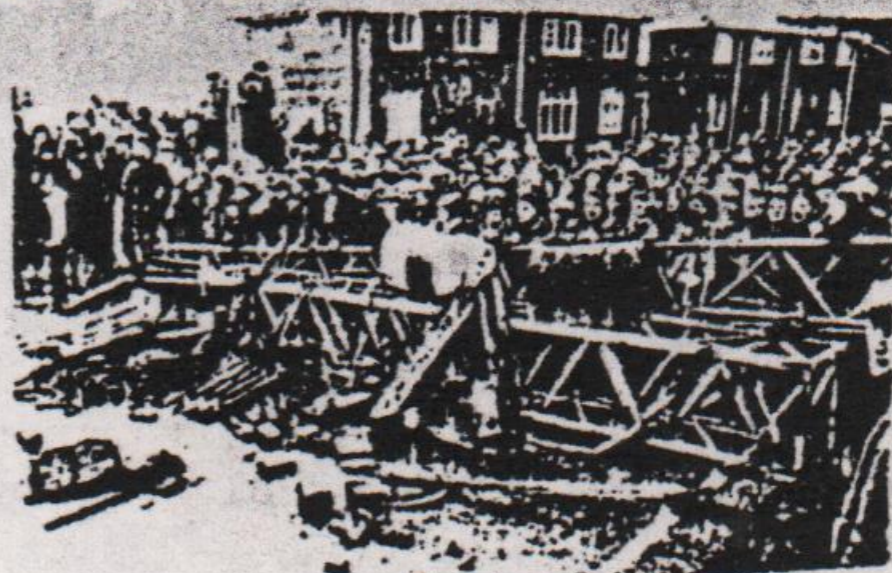
#### WHAT IS ANARCHISM ( BRIEFLY )

Anarchism is Revolutionary Anti-State Socialism - Libertarian Socialism. In practical terms, anarchists aim for the destruction of Ruling Class power, and all other relationships based on domination and submission. This destruction must mean the taking over of our industries and communities, adapting and changing them to meet the social needs of all, and the ecological needs of the environment. Without this taking over - Social Revolution and Expropriation - we may struggle within capitalism, but never replace it.

Libertarian Socialism will be the creation of millions, not a dictatorial elite (we are not Marxist-Leninists), and all have their part to play in shaping it. Power should lie with the organisations thrown up by and for the Revolution (examples in the past include the Factory and Neighbourhood Councils and Collectives - of the Russian, German, and Spanish Revolutions), not with the political parties who will try to dominate and destroy them.

The New Society will not be born through abstract programmes, but through the realities of struggle and the need for working class people to unite. Such struggle involves both Resistance to Ruling Class power - strikes, mass protests, and other forms of direct action - and Construction; the building of new, federal, organisations, the forging of solidarity and self-confidence, and the willingness to go further.

There is no truce in the Class War. The answer to Ruling Class domination is permanent, and widening, struggle - for Social Revolution and Anarchism.



**PO BOX 110  
LIVERPOOL 09**



# MARXIST LIES ON ANARCHISM

Most Marxists don't know what anarchism is. Instead of listening to what anarchists say, they get their ideas third hand - from the biased writings of dead Marxist Leaders. The usual rubbish that comes out is:

**1** "Anarchists are a rabble. They don't believe in organisation. They "live for themselves" with no regard for others and will even support scabs. If they call themselves socialists its only the "Socialism of the mob" (as Bukharin, a mate of Lenin's, said), and nothing to do with working class struggle."

Anarchism is Revolutionary Anti-State Socialism. Another way of describing it is Libertarian Socialism - socialism from below, based on individual initiative and collective action, on freedom and responsibility.

Anarchism arose, and draws its strength from, the class war - the struggle that exists between those who rule and those meant only to work and obey. Unlike Marxism, it does not claim to be the one and true ideology/religion of the working class ( a joke these days now that most Marxists are middle class). Nor does it look down on peasants or on those most crushed by the system (the so-called "lumpenproletariat").

Genuine anarchism is based on the world-wide workers and peasants movement. Anarchists believe in working class solidarity and mutual aid - both to fight back now and for broader change in the future. Rather than rely on politicians (both in and out of power) anarchists believe in direct action - action by the people themselves to get results. Not whether its "legal" or not but whether it wins.

To say anarchists are against organisation ignores the existence - both in the past and today - of large scale anarchist organisations - the Anarcho-Syndicalist movement in particular. Anarchists are not "against" organisation. What is rejected is authoritarian organisation - organisation from above for the benefit of a few.

**2** "Anarchists believe in and copy everything Proudhon and Bakunin said or did."

Proudhon, Bakunin, and a whole lot more (Emma Goldman, Reclus, etc.) were all people famous in their time, and all contributed in one way or another to the anarchist movement. Times have changed. Some of their ideas are relevant today, some are interesting though out of date, and still others were rejected long ago by later anarchists (eg Proudhon's views on women). Unlike a lot of Marxists, anarchists don't worship individuals. Anarchism is about how to change things, not about being chained to the past. We learn through our experiences and from others. Action leads to new ideas and theories, which in turn can lead to new forms of action.

Marxists hold anarchists responsible for the failings of all dead anarchists. This works both ways: Marx was hardly a saint, to put it mildly, in either his personal or political life.

**3** "Anarchism may be alright for attacking the system, but come the crunch, because they refuse to seize power, they leave the door open to counter-revolution."

Anarchists have a different view of revolution to Marxists: For Marxists (with the exception of some Council Communists) the "Socialist Revolution" means the seizure of power by their Party. Socialism will then be issued in by governmental decree. But, in reality, revolutions break out spontaneously, from below. The people move - leaving the politicians and self-styled "leaders" far behind. New organisations spring up, federate, and develop (Factory and Neighbourhood Committees, Workers Councils, etc..). For Marxists these organisations are only stepping stones on the road to power - the Party must lead or victory is impossible. If successful, the new Marxist Government can, at best, only legalise gains already made from below. At worst, and usually, the Party's new power is used to stop popular initiatives, impose state control, and strangle the revolution.

For anarchists, Social Revolution means Workers Democracy not Party Power. All power should lie with the organisations thrown up by the revolution, and all efforts should be made to develop and coordinate these and prevent minority power taking over. The state and its institutions should be physically dismantled and the economy reorganised on libertarian socialist lines (eg production for need not profit).

Anarchists do not reject the armed defence of the revolution (unless pacifists). What is rejected is an "armed vanguard" which imposes its will on society, or so-called Red Armies accountable only to Party or State. The People's Militia (or whatever) must be at the service of the people, not above them, and be accountable to society through its popular revolutionary organisations.

All too often revolutions end up as the old system under a new name - people know what they're against but not what they're for. To stop this, anarchists believe change must begin now. As far as possible the new world must be built in the shell of the old. Socialism must grow from below. The stronger this movement is before a revolution, the more chance of revolution becoming genuine social change.