# PHOENIX PRESS

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# INTRODUCTION & CONTENTS

Anarchitam is revolutionary anti-state socialian.

This is the first of what will be an annual event - an Anarchist Year Book. Its primary purpose (there are others) is to provide a guide to the anarchist movement in Britain. (If you don't know what anarchism is, see the statement on page 2). The bulk of the Year Book is two lists. A list of anarchist magazines, giving details of what they're about, starts on page 3, and a list of anarchist publishers starts on page 10. Notes towards a new anarchist manifesto follow on page 18. There's a quick look back at the departing year from an anarchist perspective on page 27 and finally a list of the various national groupings (page 29). As already said, this is the first Anarchist Year Book and it's been produced in a rush and without any previous experience. If you've any ideas on how subsequent editions could be improved then let the publisher, (Phoenix Press, the address in is the publishers' section), know. A seelo gaintow not been edt bas elsgunte to

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## ANARCHISM (BRIEFLY)

Anarchism is revolutionary anti-state socialism. In practical terms, anarchists aim for the destruction of the power of the ruling class and of all relationships based on domination and submission. This means taking over our industries and communities and changing them to meet the needs of all, as well as the ecological needs of the environment. Without this takeover we can struggle within capitalism but never replace it.

Anarchism will be created by millions of people, not a dictorial elite (we are not Marxist-Leninists), and all will have their part to play in shaping it. Power will lie with the organisations thrown up by and for the revolution, not with the political parties who will try to dominate and destroy them.

The new society will not be born through abstract ideas, but will come out of the realities of struggle and the need for working class people to unite. Such struggle doesn't just involve resistance to ruling class power (strikes, mass protests and other forms of direct action), but also construction - the building of the new, locally based federal organisations (examples of which go from grass roots anti-poll tax groups to the miners' support groups of the 1984 - 85 strike), plus the forging of solidarity and the willingness to go further.

There is no truce in the class war. The answer to ruling class power is continual and widening struggle - for social revolution and anarchism. There are a wide variety of magazines available, (though fewer local papers than was the case a few years ago). If you can't get these papers in your area then write direct to the magazine and ask for a specimen copy. Remember to include a few bob because they're all broke.

AUTONOME c/o Otto 121 Railton Road London SE24 Free. Appears every 2½-3 months. AUTONOME is a free resistance news-sheet with info about various forms of struggle/activity, dates, contacts. As advertised on TV.

BLACK CHIP C. G. H. Services Cwm Gwen Hall Pencader, Dyfed Cymru, SA39 9HA £1.50 an issue, £6 for a four issue sub. Irregular. A4 photocopied magazine. Content revolves around new technology. Not linked to any particular ideology / current / faction / viewpoint, but editorial practice is 'pluralist anarchist'. Welcomes informed input.

BLACK FLAG BM Hurricane London WC1N 3XX no information received

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# MAGAZINES

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BULLETIN OF ANARCHIST RESEARCH John Moore PO Box 556 London There are a wide variety of takazine SE5 ORL

£1.50 shops, £1 sub. Quarterly. Reviews, articles and information about anarchism, both historical and contemporary. Published by Anarchist Research Group which meets five times a year. Open to all those who do research on anarchism, virtually all articles are by subscribers. 40pp.

CLASS WAR PO Box 39 SW PDO Manchester M15 5HN

40p. Bi-monthly. Sex, scandal, crime, yuppies, nogo zones, poll tax - just a few of the things you'll find splattered across the fun-packed pages of Britain's most unruly tabloid - CLASS WAR. It drags politics out of the intellectual gutter and into working class peoples' imaginations. Buy one and see. Such struggle doesn't just beryd Vrebsone ?

COUNTER-INFORMATION Pigeon Hole CI Irregular. a footooooled and the stalugerrl c/o 11 Forth Street Edinburgh EH1

Free. Every two or three months. Fed up of being ordered about and exploited? Angry about men oppressing women? Disgusted at the many other injustices in society? You're not alone. Lots of people around the globe are fed up and fighting back. In COUNTER INFORMATION we report this oftencensored resistance, to encourage more such activity. boy information received DIRECT ACTION PO Box 106 Rotherham S60 1NW

periphery, first in the third world which AIGEMODE BM Box 7014 Balasisew, second thedt au galbase gote government so that it could no langer contract nobnol own periphery where green, anarchist no SCXXC MIOW No information received.

HACKNEY HECKLER ECHANGES ET MOUVEMENT c/o The Old Fire Station BM Box 91 London WC1N 3XX £5 a year, four issues plus pamphlets. All informations and discussions on capitalist evolution and class struggle. 64 issues since 1973. local based, along with artigles on wider desues

FEMINAXE Syswis bas been of antiseretal bas yes? c/o 121 Railton Road London SE24 chism printed in every 1 No information received but that's our fault because we forgot to send them the questionnaire. The title speaks for itself. letiers. Welcomes new articles and reviewsXQ2 88

FREEDOM SEIO 10 Lagruot IsoltencedT . Telugeral .13 84b Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX No information received. ee in shops, or for a modest subscriptiAA8t231

30p. Monthly. Paper of the Direct Action Movement, British section of the anarcho-syndicalist International Workers' Association. technology, achieved by revolution on the

Box H

34 Cowley Road

subjects, publishers. Cheap advertising available

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titles, reprinted titles, imported titles all

covered. Special features spotlight particular

GREEN ANARCHIST Box H 34 Cowley Road Oxford OX4 1HZ

60p. About quarterly. Favours autonomous, selfsufficient villages bringing regression of technology, achieved by revolution on the periphery, first in the third world which would stop sending us their crops, weakening our government so that it could no longer control its own periphery where green anarchist no-go areas would be set up.

ECHANGES ET MUUVEMBUT

HACKNEY HECKLER c/o The Old Fire Station 61 Leswin Road London N16

A free news-sheet with a print run of 10,000. Distributed throughout Hackney on council estates and by street leafletting. Contains a mix of both news and agitational articles, some specifically local based, along with articles on wider issues. Easy and interesting to read and always looks good.

THE HEAVY STUFF No information received but that PO Box 467 London The title speaks for itself. E8 3QX £1. Irregular. Theoretical journal of Class War.

HERE AND NOW PO Box 109 Leeds LS5 3AA 75p-11. Bi-annual. A magazine of radical ideas critical of that which passes for opposition today.

INSIDE INFORMATION Pigeon Hole CI 11 Forth Street Edinburgh EH1 Free. Information on prisoners.

INSURRECTION BM Elephant

The Cottage deb setalting the sugar transformetroo The Green Jour issolistize vd berevoo vilennos jour Leire Leicestershire LE17 5HL 75p. Three times a year. A magazine for the liberation of learning. 80p. Regular with a view to becoming quarterly. A4

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST NEWSLETTER 15p, £2 a year. Monthly, ten issues a year. Produced by class struggle anarchists, this is reflected in its general content and the statement of basic anarchism printed in every issue. Contents vary, frequent articles on Ireland, the poll tax, anti-fascism, class-struggle anarchist theory, also regular book reviews and readers' letters. Welcomes new articles and reviews.

NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street El. Quarterly. A joural of Tibertaria London E1 7QX

Free in shops, or for a modest subscription to individuals. 2-4 times a year depending on money available. Regular reviews of anarchist and related titles currently available in the UK. New titles, reprinted titles, imported titles all covered. Special features spotlight particular subjects, publishers. Cheap advertising available

to publishers, bookshops, etc.

40p. Every three months. ORGANISE! is the n nobnol WC1N 3XX Tebel Jataman Jat Common Jat Teder XXE MILLS No information received. which is published in order, to develop anarchist-LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION

to publishers, bookshops, etc. Print run 2,000 plus.

### ORGANISE!

Anarchist Communist Federation c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street London dent villages bringing regression of 999991

E1 7QX

40p. Every three months. ORGANISE! is the national magazine of the Anarchist Communist Federation. It is a quarterly theoretical and discussion magazine which is published in order to develop anarchistcommunist ideas. As well as discussing contemporary issues, it initiates debate on areas not normally covered by agitational journals.

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW PO Box B20 Huddersfield

HD1 1XS

80p. Regular with a view to becoming quarterly. A4 format, 32 pages (glossy cover) and detailed, well presented libertarian communist ideas. SOCIALISM FROM BELOW is the magazine of the Anarchist Workers' Group. The AWG is a national political organisation that through its propaganda and intervention aims to make anarchist ideas the leading ideas in a victorious workers' revolution.

# SOLIDARITY SOLIDARITY STATES SOLIDARITY

123 Lathom Road London E6 2EA £1. Quarterly. A jounal of libertarian socialism. E6 2EA See the entry in the publishers' section. Free in shops, or for a modest subscription to

VAGUE BCM Box 7207 related titles currently available in the Unnobnol WC1N 3XX Irregular. £3.50 or so. Big, glossy, lots in it.

Post situationist political and cultural magazine.

WILDCAT BM Cat London A short blurb gives an idea of what each pXXE MIOW

50p, £3 sub for four issues. Every six months. News of class struggle in all its forms against capitalism in all its forms. The second seco

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c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street LONDON B1 7QX

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The Tragedy of Spain by Rudolf Rocker, the 1 xoa struggle against Marzist Communiam in Spein19860-S2

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# PUBLISHERS

BM Cat

A short blurb gives an idea of what each publisher is about, plus a few words about some of the titles in print. If you have difficulty in getting any titles you're interested in from local shops then try going direct to the publisher in question or write to AK PRESS, details below, who do a comprehensive mail order service. Send them a large SAE for their catalogue.

ACE EDITIONS normally covered by agitational journals. ACF

pius.

c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street LONDON E1 7QX

Published by the Anarchist Communist Federation. The pamphlets cover specific areas and continue a long British revolutionary tradition of presenting popular and in depth arguments in a cheap format. Each pamphlet discusses and extends anarchistcommunist ideas which will help bring about the anarchist revolution.

Titles:

VCIE SZX

Beating the Poll Tax Manifesto of Libertarian Communism The Myth of Labour's Socialism Marxism & Its Failures The Role of the Revolutionary Organisation Basic Bakunin

AGIT PRESS Box 4 52 Call lane LEEDS No information received.

Post situationist political and cultural magazine.

AK PRESS

3 Balmoral Place

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Mostly a mail order service but a bit of publishing as well. Current titles: Catechism of the Revolutionist by Sergei Nechayev Hungary 56 by Andy Anderson Terrorising the Neighbourhood: American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era by Noam Chomsky Forthcoming titles: Self-determination and Power Anarchism and the Black Struggle by Lorenzo Erwin Enrage and the Situationists

ASP me ahes the was then Beaker Kedheno ghing ishtadw BCM 3714 interests to get the British troops out. Until All are Free, the trial statement of . NOUNOL WC1N 3XX Anarcho-syndicalist, Bakuninist propaganda, revolutionary history, anti-Marxist. About 18 - 20 titles. Recent titles: Revolutionary Unionism in Latin America, an account of the history of the Argentine Anarchist union, the FORA. Cuba: the Anarchists and Liberty by F. Fernandez, a historical outline of Cuban anarchism. Red Years, Black Years, the anarchist struggle against fascism in Italy from 1920 to 1945 with a detailed account of the armed resistance to the

Nazi occupation. The Tragedy of Spain by Rudolf Rocker, the struggle against Marxist Communism in Spain 1936 -

any way that would help the state and its Current titles:

# ATTACK INTERNATIONAL

BM 6577

LONDON

WC1N 3XX

A small revolutionary propaganda group. Aims to spread ideas and information that help support and develop struggle by the working class against capitalism and the state. Wants to undermine the lies and illusions of capitalism and show that revolutionary change is not only possible, but both necessary and desirable. Current titles:

Breaking Free by Jack Daniels, a full length cartoon book featuring the adventures of Tintin in his battles against the bourgeoisie. The Spirit of Freedom, an attempt ot explain what's going on in Ireland and why it's in our interests to get the British troops out. Until All are Free, the trial statement of an American political prisoner The Free by M. Gilliland, a gripping political

thriller full of love, blood and revolutionary desire. anarchist revolution. Recent titles;

Revolutionary Unionism in Latin America, an :aelfil

B.M. CLAUDIA

Cuba: the Anarchists and Libbar by by by by bit is and WC1N 3XX . Mathematical and O to entities Isotrotati s Two titles have been produced and one of them, I, Claudia, is out of print. The other, Love Lies Bleeding, is a look at male violence against women and the feminist misconception of the same. An individual and unusual approach. An examination of Trotskyist morality is promised.

37.

CLYDESIDE PRESS LTD. 37 High Street Glasgow Cross GLASGOW G1 1LX Clydeside Press is Glasgow based and caters mainly for community groups and many anti-poll tax groups. The titles we publish are almost exclusively about working-class Glasgow. 7 titles at present. Current titles: se and at anted otal error seeing and Workers City by F. McClay John McLean by James D. Young Last Threads by Ann Kerr Clydeside Lad by Bill Sutherland Making Trouble by James D. Young Glasgow Limbo by Jack Withers Fighting for Survival by James Kelman (Scottish Steel) nvolved in a wide, rangequation ganding

DARK STAR id Third World debt. Forthcom c/o AK Press FREEDOM PRESSentraneanoo nee 3 Balmoral Place 84b Whiteohapel High Street Stirling FK8 2RD No new titles being produced but back catalogue still available.

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DERRICK A. PIKE HOOLIGAN PRESS 1 Market Place BM Hooligan GLASTONBURY BA6 9HD VCIE SXX Derrick Pike resigned from a lucrative and reserved occupation in order to take a stand as a conscientious objector in 1939. Earned a living since then by teaching in technical colleges and running my own businesses but never by working in any way that would help the state and its violence. Current titles: Anarcho-pacifism: questions and answers Creating Peaceful People

ELEPHANT EDITIONS BM Elephant LONDON WC1N 3XX No information received.

EXITSTENCIL PRESS PO Box 279

LONDON. N22 and illusions of capitalism and showingbeing ta The press came into being in the early 70's publishing small handouts on personal observations until it became part of Crass Records in 1977. Although little has been published in the last few years, Exitstencil Press retains its spirit and facility as a publisher and will continue to do SO. Titles: done follow famile Tradman godilet to do and antidard

Anything can happen.

A Series of Shock Slogans and Mindless Token Tantrums

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LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION The Cottage The Green, LEIRE Leicestershire LE17 5HL seebt well betoernoo gated at (aplaasio Publisher of books and resources on libertarian education. Titles: Free School, the White Lion Experience by N. Wright A DIY Guide to the Liberation of Learning

PIRATE PRESS LONDON GREENPEACE c/o 5 Caledonian Road LONDON N1 9DX Open ecological anarchist collective, established 1970. Involved in a wide range of struggles for human and animal liberation. Current campaigns against McDonalds and fast food industry and the IMF/World Bank and Third World debt. Forthcoming campaign against 'green consumerism'. Titles: derte bradoli vd eachterteulli Wildlife and the Atom Energy for All McDonalds - Turning Death into Money

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NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE Box 14 136 Kingsland High Street 84b Whitechapel High Street . LONDON **E8** No information received. Publishers of three major works of situationism,

three of revolutionary history, one introduction

to anarchism and one to anarcho-feminism. Also

One Step Beyond or Smash the RCP

# PHOENIX PRESS PO Box 824 LONDON

N1 9DL An over concentration on old titles (so-called classics) is being corrected. New ideas plus an evaluation of anarchist history. A theoretical journal is promised. A unique loan system enables people to help get anarchist ideas into print. Nearly 20 titles in print, the two most important ones are Fredy Perlman's Continuing Appeal of Nationalism and Valerie Solanas' Scum Manifesto.

PIRATE PRESS Black Star PO Box 446 SHEFFIELD Open ecological anarchist collective, estelynthis Mainly reprints of old stuff done cheaply. Some of our titles need a second print run. We aim to do a new title roughly once a year. 9 titles. God and the State, by Bakunin Critique of State Socialism, by Bakunin, illustrations by Richard Warren The Paris Commune and the Idea of the State, by Bakunin EDETRY for All Peter Kropotkin - his Federalist Ideas, by Camillo Berneri Whiteway - a Colony in the Cotswolds, by Nellie Shaw The Wage System, by Kropotkin The Kronstadt Revolt, by Anton Ciliga One Step Beyond or Smash the RCP t catalogue still REBEL PRESS 136 Kingeland High Street Box R 84b Whitechapel High Street LONDON E1 7QX Publishers of three major works of situationism, three of revolutionary history, one introduction to anarchism and one to anarcho-feminism. Also

of print. hundred years and we must therefore a

ideas to today's changed circumstances. Repeating SOLIDARITY 123 Lathom Road LONDON E6 2EA the 60's and 70's.

SPECTACULAR TIMES Box 99 84b Whitechapel High Street LONDON E1 7QX Situationism in popular pocketbook format. Very cheap and accessible. Since the death of the author two years ago A Distribution have been gradually bringing the series back into print.

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UNPOPULAR BOOKS Box 15 136 Kingsland High Street LONDON E8 No information received.

Stirner's Ego and its Own which is currently out

No longer publishing new titles (apart from the quarterly magazine) but an extensive back catalogue, including many important titles. The most important British libertarian publisher in

Anarchism has a tradition going back over a hundred years and we must therefore adapt our ideas to today's changed circumstances. Repeating views put forward years ago by anarchists, however prominent, simply isn't on. We of all people should know better than to think that we have or had all the answers and in any case history has shown clearly that our earlier thinkers were far too optimistic in their talk about the nearness of the millenium. Another major error was their reliance on the fraudulent economic system of karl Marx. A contemporary anarchist manifesto analysing our society is an obvious deficiency in our propaganda and these few pages are notes towards exactly that. Constructive criticism is invited.

## WHAT'S GOING ON?

Everyone needs a reasonable standard of living and to achieve this only takes a small part of the work currently done. A couple of days a week per person would do it, once all the unnecessary and undesirable work has been eliminated and what's left is shared out. (Look at all the junk in the shops, think of all the unnecessary work done in offices, the activities of anti-social parasites like the police, and so on.) Obviously we are nowhere near this state of affairs, and this despite the huge gains in productivity of the last couple of centuries. The technology that should have brought well-being and leisure, hasn't. We either have too much work, so that it dominates our lives, or too little - unemployment. We do useless work for obnoxious employers and consume junk in our spare time. Both we and the planet suffer from pollution and we are using up nonrenewable resources at an unsustainable rate. (Which suggests our way of life may be coming to an end. What will replace it?) There is starvation in large areas of the third world, and political

what's wrong?

An understanding of basic economics is essential to an understanding of society and basic economics means the law of supply and demand. The law of supply and demand is what determines the price of things, both the things we buy in shops, and ourselves, when we put ourselves on the job market and our work is bought by employers. Supply is the amount of something that's available for sale and demand is the amount of money that people are able and willing to pay for it. (If you haven't got any money then you haven't got any demand.) If there are lots of buyers and sellers (so that no one is so powerful that they can control the market) then price will move in accordance with changes in the conditions of supply and demand. If demand goes up (or down) while supply stays the same, then price will go up (or down). If supply goes up (or down) while demand stays the same, then price goes down (or up). If both supply and demand change then things are more complicated, but you get the picture. Why do doctors earn more than labourers? Because the supply of doctors is far smaller than that of labourers. And the doctors' union, a middle-class racket called the British Medical Association, makes sure the supply of doctors stays artificially low. The law of supply and demand explains lots of features of society but the most important one is that in societies such as ours with unequal distribution of wealth (= demand), production (= supply) is skewed towards the better off. I'll exaggerate to make the point clear. Luxuries for the better off are produced rather than necessities for the poor because the rich have more demand. (Not just the rich, but also the better off. Demand of £10,000 can be one person with £10,000, 10 with £1,000 each, or 1,000 people with £10 each. Look also at the demand made up by the government once it has commandeered all its

repression both there and, more subtly, here. So

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taxes.) Unequal distribution of wealth is not necessarily bad. It could be possible to produce enough for everyone but, as already seen, it doesn't work like that, especially in the third world. Why this is so will be explained later.

## PARLIAMENTARY DEMOCRACY

Parliamentary democracy is the latest in a series of confidence tricks designed to defuse our natural antagonism towards those who order us about. In parliamentary democracies government is supposed to be the servant of the people, rather than the naked exercise of power over them. We are supposed to give consent to our rulers. Laws are passed by an elected body, true, and this was granted after years of struggle, but the victory is an illusory one, in two senses.

Firstly, government is run by and for a privileged minority, and to the extent that parliament does not operate in the interests of that minority, parliament does not govern. Real power lies outside of the Westminster talking shop in big business and finance, in the police and armed forces. None of these are elected. Inconvenient laws are ignored by the powerful, like those relating to safety at work and those forbidding the police to beat up strikers. On the other hand, laws on racial justice and sex discrimination have been on the statute books for years without having any noticeable effect. Of course we have to obey the law. Otherwise we're threatening democracy! This is the day to day operation of parliamentary democracy. On the rare occasions when parliamentary democracy gets above its station and threatens the ruling class then parliamentary democracy is abolished. Look at Spain in 1936. (There are many more recent examples but the situation is usually complicated

by the fact that the United States government is behind the overthrow.)

Secondly, if parliament did wield power, if it controlled the armed forces, then it would do so in the interests of the ruling minority, not the people as a whole. Look at the countries where Marxists have taken power. But that's real politics, back to the parliamentary diversion.

There are big differences between parliamentary democracy and open dictatorship. A higher standard of living (here in the established democracies of the West, at least), more freedom (= less unfreedom), but the system is basically the same. A privileged minority rule, through consent if their confidence trick has worked and through force if it hasn't. (In which case, goodbye democracy). The similarity between the two systems is shown by the ease with which a country can go from one to the other. Look at what has happened in Eastern Europe recently. Parliamentary democracy enables industrial society to run more efficiently (in its own terms of profit and productivity, that is). Why is this? Does the illusion of consent really make all that difference? Apparently so. The carrot is mightier than the stick.

In parliamentary democracy, unlike dictatorships, we have what is laughingly called free speech. Anyone can start up a national newspaper. All it takes is a few million quid and all of us have that, ha ha. Possession of the aforesaid few million pretty well dictates what sort of views the newspaper owner will want put across but that's by the by. Newspapers are owned by their shareholders but they are controlled by their advertisers and have to say what is acceptable to the big businesses who place the adverts. This does away with the need for government to vet every issue of every newspaper before it can appear. So much more efficient than ever.

the old Prussian method, though government censorship is not abolished but kept in reserve. Views unacceptable to big business, such as these ones, are denied advertising and thus access to the great majority of the potential audience. This is free speech as practiced in parliamentary democracy - freedom for the rich and powerful to say what they want and freedom for the rest of us to shut up. Advertisers perform another function, besides providing us with the illusion of free speech. Their dehumanised images are another way in which we are kept in line, offering us fraudulent pleasures that don't exist and consequently can't be had. A donkey chasing a carrot that doesn't exist will have to run for The parliamentary illusion is helped by the fiction that there are differences of principle between the rival parties, rather than differences of emphasis. In Britain we have two main parties, labour and tory. The tories are openly in the service of the rich and are therefore less interesting than labour who pretend to offer a challenge to the rich and their system. In fact labour are seeking only to make the system work more smoothly (while gaining positions of privilege within that system for some of their members). They may start off as radicals but the exercise of the (strictly limited) power allowed to parliament will mean they see things from a different perspective. More importantly, whatever is done through government is poisoned by the means used. Government rests ultimately on force, not persuasion, and consists of extortion and thuggery carried out on behalf of a ruling class. Labour can bring about changes but these primarily benefit the system and only help us secondarily, if that. Universal education provides Capital with a skilled work force. A universal health service provides Capital with a healthy work force.

Subsidised housing means that Capital has to pay us less because we have to pay out less. Subsidised public transport is another subsidy to the employer. Is this really all we can hope for? Can we not help ourselves independently of government?

Labour present the illusion of opposition, fooling people into thinking that supporting labour is some sort of challenge to the system. In this way they divert rebellious energies into safe channels and buy off malcontents. (Look at the funding they give to special interest groups like racial minorities and gays. Once you're on the payroll your first loyalty is to your paymaster, not to your cause.) Labour try to maintain discipline among the lower orders ('You can't go on strike, we've got a labour government')! They are only an alternative tory party, as must be everyone who wants to put themselves in a position of power. Differences between the labour tories and the tory tories are real but of far less importance than the similarities.

# GOVERNMENT

The origin of government is violence. For example, in 1066 William the Conqueror and his band of cut-throats invaded Britain, murdering and stealing. (Not that the Saxon system they overthrew was up to much. The Saxons had slavery, for example.) Government requires both thugs and victims for the thugs to plunder. At a more sophisticated level the thugs are distinct from their masters who now give orders to the thugs to do the dirty work. Government requires people reduced to dependency so they can be either recruited as thugs or robbed by the thugs and so dependency must be created and perpetuated. One method is slavery which was formerly widespread and is obviously connected (how exactly?) with a low level of technology. But slavery has many

drawbacks for those operating the system. Apart from the heavy initial outlay in violence needed to enslave people, slavery creates strong resentment and resistance. Parliamentary democracy, where we consent to our oppression, avoids these difficulties. The system of violence, (implicit if not actual), extortion, and privilege for the rulers, stays the same.

Open repression has its disadvantages, as just mentioned, and a useful tool of government is a myth which justifies the system and which the people can be persuaded to accept. Parliamentary democracy is one such myth but there are others. Religion was once used to keep people in order but has declined here in the West. (Why? Has the advance of science undermined belief in an old man who lives in the sky?) The ability of Islam to fool people strikes us as odd since Christianity long ago lost its hold over most people in Western Europe. Of course we see nothing odd in the myth which supplanted religion in our culture, nationalism.

Nationalism promotes a fictitious national unity which is really a front for the sectional interests of the ruling minority. Note how the idea of a nation is used to promote government at the expense of people. Terms such as 'the French' mean the French government, and the French people have simply disappeared. They have no existence outside of their government. The tenets of nationalism, that nation A is better than nation B and so on, are as false as those of religion but have a great hold on us. It seems natural that uniformed thugs should control the border between one nation state and another, demanding to see licences issued by governments before people can pass from the territory controlled by one government to that controlled by another. Being in the armed forces is seen as a duty when once soldiers were mercenaries, or had been press

ganged. Getting people to stop believing in the myth of nationalism is obviously essential.

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Take a simple model of the economy. There are two of us and you want bread to eat and I want beer to drink. So you make bread and I make beer. Then we both make a bit more than we want for personal consumption and swop the extra with each other so now we both have both bread and beer. Expand the number of people involved and the number of goods produced and we have a rational economy, one that would be no use to the ruling class. They need dependent people to produce goods for them (they produce nothing themselves), dependent people to act as thugs for them, and dependent people to pay tax to finance the unproductive thugs. It is the need of the ruling class to deny us independence and freedom that is the cause of all the unnecessary evil in the world.

The initial step to deprive people of their independence was taken years ago in the West. (It still goes on today in parts of the third world.) At the time independence meant possession of land and so violence was used to push the peasants off and make them available as labour in the emerging factory system. Today the initial act of violence does not have to be repeated as market forces, and our acceptance of things as they are, run things on a day to day basis. (Of course the potential for violence is still there, in case we get out of hand.) There is the possibility of semiindependence for a minority of drop outs but this is a luxury only available to a minority. The great majority must remain firmly under the rule of Capital. were being used, a few years ago, to stop what was

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# POWER of the people to stop believing in RAVOY

The problem we face is that of Power. The ruling class ride on our backs and we will not be free until we get them off. We have been able to provide enough of everything for everybody for at least centuries, possibly for millenia, and it is only the perverted system inflicted on us by the rich that has stopped us. Whatever level of productivity has been reached, the existence of a ruling class depends on stopping the potential benefits of that productivity being fully available. Of course there is more to life than material possessions, like having more free time than work time, and like not having to do what bosses tell us to do. A free society will make these possible too.

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Power is not confined to class oppression. It extends beyond the official world of uniforms, taxation and regulated work into personal life. The power of men over women, prejudice against gays and racial/ethnic groups, the power of rapists and muggers, are all aspects of a general evil, one that is not explicable in strictly economic terms (though all these things have economic aspects). Capital is only a subdivision of Power and it is Power that is the real enemy.

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Since the Year Book is timed to be ready for the Anarchist Book Fair which is held in the autumn everything has to be written well before the end of 1990. Please bear that in mind when reading this premature obituary for 1990.

There have been three main international events in 1990. The swindle of parliamentary democracy continues to make progress in Eastern Europe, World War Three threatens to break out in the Gulf, and the reunification of Germany, important in itself, shows the continuing power of nationalism. Parliamentary democracy will no doubt bring higher standards of living for the peoples of Eastern Europe (eventually, if not immediately), and lower standards of political repression. But parliamentary democracy is only a fraud designed to help capitalist society run more smoothly. If anything it makes the prospect of a free society more distant. (People are fooled into thinking that they can reform the system through voting and they are then not going to think in terms of rebelling against it). The need for an understanding of society which takes parliamentary democracy as its starting point is obvious and notes towards this are elsewhere in the Year Book. The Gulf crisis reminds us of the realities underlying parliamentary democracy. Saddam is an evil thug, obviously, but the hypocrisy of Western leaders in denouncing him as such is sickening. Where were they when his regime was murdering Iraqi dissidents, dropping poison gas on Kurdish villages? All the West is interested in is the oil and sanctimonious denunciation of Saddam for invading Kuwait is disgusting. When are the Western leaders going to attack the US for invading a foreign country? Remember that a lot of the Iraqi army's weapons come from the West and were being used, a few years ago, to stop what was seen as Islamic fundamentalism in the shape of the

## LOOK BACK AT 1990

murderous nature of the system we live under and

Iranian army. The whole affair reminds us of the murderous nature of the system we live under and of our inability to do anything much about it. Will the US government really attack Iraq in order to show that invading other countries is the prerogative of the West and the Third World musn't get uppity?

Back in Blighty it seems that Thatcher might finally have been rumbled and could be replaced by the acceptable face of capitalism, Kinnock. Well, he's not acceptable to me. Let's stick with the anti-Poll Tax campaign and help create a real opposition to the system. We've got to hold out until the won't pays meet up with the can't pays and then, hopefully, there'll just be too many of us for them to deal with. (A few martyrs who'll go to prison would be a good ides.) Labour will try and defuse our struggle and maybe we should be looking at ways to provide local services directly, rather than through local government. The blackmail, 'it's poll tax dodgers who are causing cuts in services' has already started. Whatever happens, an outlaw culture is developing in opposition to the Poll Tax, an outlaw culture that will be receptive to our ideas. (There's a census next year. Watch that one fall flat on its face. And how about the electoral roll?) 1992 will see European capitalism uniting to keep US capitalism out and the long term dominance of US capitalism is firmly under challenge, both from European capitalism and from Japanese capitalism. I suppose I should end this with a pep talk on the nearness of the anarchist millenium but why not be realistic instead?

Vestern leaders going to attack the US for invading a foreign country? Remember that a lot of the Iraqi army's weapons come from the Vest and were being used, a few years ago, to stop what was seen as Islamic fundamentalism in the shape of the

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There are four national groupings of anarchists in Britain, five if the Class Struggle Network is included. (But the CSN is open to all class struggle anarchists, whether or not they're members of one of the other groups.) Future editions of the Year Book will include brief descriptions of each of the national groups but the first edition only has their name and addresses. If you want to know more about each group then look at the relevant entries in the lists of publishers and magazines, and then get in touch directly. The address given below is of the group's national secretary or similar. If you want to get in touch with the local branch (if there's one in your area) then ask the national secretary. The magaziness of the groups usually have lists of local groups.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION c/o 84 Whitechapel High Street London E1 7QX

ANARCHIST WORKERS' GROUP PO Box B20 Huddersfield HD1 1XS

CLASS STRUGGLE NETWORK PO Box 446 Sheffield S1 1NY

CLASS WAR PO Box 39 SW PDO Manchester M15 5HN

# NATIONAL GROUPS

PO Box 29

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT PO Box 29 SW PDO Manchester M15 5HN boldel elegende and beig beig histigtigt included. "But the CSN fe open to all olass

One last thought. Don't forget the Anarchist Book Fair, held every autumn in Central London. Write to the New Anarchist Review for details.

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