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**Anarchist
Year Book
1995**

Anarchist

Year

Book

1995

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 dictatorial 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 only answer to ruling class power is continual and widening struggle - for social revolution and for anarchism.

NEW TITLES

What follows is a fairly comprehensive list of the libertarian titles that were published in Britain between the 1993 Anarchist Bookfair and the going to press of the 1995 *Anarchist Yearbook*. If you know of any titles that should have been included but weren't then write and let Phoenix know. That way we can try and avoid any titles being missed next year. It's difficult getting hold of libertarian (and other fringe) books in Britain. This copy of the *Anarchist Yearbook* was sold to you by

and they should be able to get you other libertarian titles including the ones listed below. Failing that, see the list of publishers for those who do mail order.

AGAINST THE GOD EMPEROR

Stefan Anarkowic

Kate Sharpley Library

1 873605 55 2

£1.00

An account of the little-known "anarchist treason trials" in Japan in 1911.

ANARCHIST YEARBOOK 1995

Phoenix Press

0 984948 28 7

£1.50

You're reading it. The indispensable guide to the anarchist movement in Britain. Don't forget to buy it next year as well.

AT WAR WITH THE TRUTH

Larry O'Hara
Mina Enterprises
no ISBN
£2.00

An attack on the supposedly anti-fascist magazine *Searchlight* and its pamphlet *At War With Society* which claimed to be an exposé of the BNP. Follows on from last year's *A Lie Too Far*.

BAKUNIN - the Philosophy of Freedom

Brian Morris
Black Rose
1 895431 66 2
£11.99

Biography of the founder of the anarchist movement. Sympathetic, and one of the few titles on Bakunin that are in print.

BREAKING FREE

No author
Attack International
0 9514261 0 9
£3.95

Reprinted with a new cover. Hergé's cartoon character Tintin transformed into a "picket line yob", as one newspaper put it.

BRIDGE OF COURAGE

Jennifer Harbury
AK Press
1 873176 61 9
£7.95

First hand accounts mostly from the late 70s and early 80s of revolutionaries in Guatemala. "The guerrillas' powerful testimonies graphically depict their daily life and struggle against US-backed death squads and government terror". Introduction by Noam Chomsky.

BRITISH SYNDICALISM, Pages of Labour History

Tom Brown

Kate Sharpley Library

1 873605 70 6

£1.00

Articles from the early 60s by Britain's best advocate of anarcho-syndicalism.

CARRY ON RECRUITING!

Trotwatch

AK Press and *Trotwatch*

1 873176 02 3

£2.95

"The SWP is set to become probably the biggest, most influential, and most prominent organisation on what claims to be the British revolutionary left. Yet even a cursory study of the antics of the party reveals the reality of that 'revolutionary' character."

CIVIL RIGHTS, STORMONT WRONGS

Fionbarra O'Dochartaigh

£1.50

Pamphlet on the discrimination against Catholics in Ulster. By the author of *Ulster's White Negroes* which is also described in this list.

THE CLINTON VISION

Noam Chomsky

AK Press

1 873176 92 9

£10.95

Not a book but a CD by the author of *Keeping the Rabble In Line* (mentioned later on) and many other books. He "speaks about the US President's actions on NAFTA, health care, labor relations, foreign policy and the economy".

EVEN EDEN

Steve Booth

Green Anarchist

0 9521226 2 6

£3.00

A novel by the author of *City Death*. "Eschewing

sentimentalism, *Even Eden* distinctly places itself in the northern landscape. It is a profound work of psychological geography and is also an unrestrained celebration of sex."

IMMEDIATISM

Hakim Bey

AK Press

1 873176 42 2

£4.95

". . . the latest tome from the insurrectionist theoretician Hakim Bey. His incendiary words are beautifully illustrated by the renowned collage artist Freddie Baer."

KEEPING THE RABBLE IN LINE

Noam Chomsky

AK Press

1 873176 18 X

£9.95

"Collection of recent Chomsky interviews by David Barsamian - a follow up to *Chronicles of Dissent*. Chomsky analyses the New World Order, Clinton, the media and the US's current military involvement around the world. Noam Chomsky is a famous linguistic philosopher, anarchist thinker and critic of US foreign policy."

MYTHS OF DISPERSED FORDISM

Advocom/Echanges et Mouvement

£1.75

Subtitled "A controversy about the transformation of the working class", this has several different writers discussing the working class today.

THE NATURE OF THE STATE

Derrick A Pike

0 9504597 4 7

£4.15

Ambitious anarcho-pacifist attempt to explain our society. "If we are to eliminate our disastrous social conditions that cause us so much suffering.

. .we must first understand the nature of the state".

NO MASTER HIGH OR LOW

John Shotton

Lib ED

0 9513997 3 X

£7.95

Libertarian education and schooling in Britain 1890-1990. ". . .a reminder of hopeful days before the deliberate downgrading of teachers to form-filling testers". (Colin Ward)

PAPER BOYS

£1.50

One man's accounts of picketing at Wapping during the long News International lock-out. A genuine working class document apart from the preface which is by someone else, probably a dalek.

THE PEN AND THE SWORD

Edward W. Said

(conversations with David Barsamian

AK Press

i 873176 23 6

£7.95

The well-known diaspora Palestinian on "the decline of the American left, the current predicament of the liberation struggle in Palestine" and more.

Writings Against POWER AND DEATH

Alex Comfort

Freedom Press

0 900384 71 9

£5.00

Best known as the author of *The Joy of Sex*, Comfort is also a pacifist and an anarchist. This book is all the articles he wrote for *Freedom and War Commentary* in the 40s and 50s, plus a few other pieces.

PROLEGOMENA

Rebel Press

0 946061 13 0

£4.50

Almost unknown anthology of short pieces of "ultra prose and poetry" that first appeared in the US in the late 60s. Now with introduction and illustrations by Clifford Harper. Dedicated to the late Pete Webb.

RED LONDON

Stewart Home

AK Press

1 873176 12 0

£5.95

"Latest novel of sex, violence, pathological sadism and class war from the author of *No Pity*. Fellatio Jones and his Skinhead Squad shoot, shag, stab, bludgeon and plunder their way from the mean streets of Mile End to aristocratic Belgravia. As class anger explodes from the rotting heart of London, corpse is piled upon corpse and the roads run red with blood".

SEVERELY DEALT WITH

John Caldwell

Northern Herald Books

1 870605 90 X

£5.95

First instalment of the autobiography of the man who worked with Guy Aldred for so many years and wrote Aldred's biography *Come Dungeons Dark*. "A moving, often humorous account of a determined quest for knowledge and understanding in the teeth of poverty, brutality and injustice."

TELEVISIONARIES - the Red Army Faction Story 1963-1993

tom vague

AK Press

1 873176 47 3

£4.50

Revised and expanded version of *Televisionaries* issue of *Vague*. An irreverent history and analysis of THE terrorist group that shot and bombed their way through the last three decades of Western Capitalism. It's all here - student radicalism, Stammheim, June 2nd Movement, Euroterrorism. Profanely illustrated with photographs and cool graphics with guns.

TEST CARD F

AK Press

1 873176 91 0

£3.95

"Using savage image/text cut and paste *Test Card F* explodes all previous media theories and riots through the Global Village, looting the ideological supermarket of all its products". It's about television.

TURNING UP THE HEAT: MI5 AFTER THE COLD WAR

Larry O'Hara

Phoenix Press

0 948984 29 5

£5.00

Exposing what the secret state is doing in Britain. Now they can't pretend the Russian army is about to invade they're trying to push British dissidents in the direction of armed struggle so they can nick them/us and thereby justify their own existence. They're unaccountable to anyone but themselves, they break the law they lyingly claim to uphold, they're proof that parliamentary democracy is a con.

TWO LIES THAT SHOOK THE WORLD

Kate Sharpley Library

1 873605 60 9

£1.00

Exposing the anti-semitic forgery *Protocols of the Elders of Zion* and also the much less well known *Decree for the Nationalisation of Women*.

ULSTER'S WHITE NEGROES (from civil rights to insurrection)

Fionbarra O'Dochartaigh

AK Press

1 873176 67 8

"How the struggle for basic civil liberties in Northern Ireland developed into an all-out revolutionary war - a war which has claimed over 3,000 lives and has raged, with little respite, for more than a quarter of a century."

WHICH WAY FOR THE ECOLOGY MOVEMENT?

Murray Bookchin

AK Press

1 873176 26 0

£4.50

"Essays in which the veteran anarchist and ecological activist and thinker Murray Bookchin attacks notions that the environmental crisis is caused by overpopulation or by humanity's genetic make-up. He points to the social causes - patriarchy, racism and a capitalist grow or die economy."

WILDCAT HEALTH SERVICE

Donald Room and. . . .

Freedom Press

0 900384 ?? ?

£1.95

Another instalment of Wildcat cartoons as featured in *Freedom*. This time, with the help of an anonymous co-author, she's looking at the Health Service and the Tory attacks on it.

PERIODICALS

The following descriptions are written by the periodicals themselves. Where no information has been sent, this is recorded. If we think that a magazine no longer exists we don't just put "no information received", we delete the entry.

BAD ATTITUDE

121 Railton Road

Brixton

London SE24 0LR

Tel 071 978 9057, fax 071 326 0353

Bad Attitude. Got it? Be positive about negativity girlz! The only national nasty feminist newspaper lashing back against the backlash. International news, interviews, cartoons, jokes, reviews. Quarterly. Subscriptions £5, £10 for boys and supporters (6 issues). The unacceptable face of feminism.

BLACK FLAG

BM Hurricane

London

WC1N 3XX

More than just the best anarchist mag in the English language, it's a focus for international anarchism (not the diluted sort). Published weekly during the upsurge of activity in the strike years, it's now a glossy quarterly. Guaranteed to make the sham-ans do their nut but well respected by class struggle activists. News, theory and stories from the real anarchist and syndicalist past. Its team have always been involved in many other fighting organisations. Free sample copy on request.

CLASS WAR

PO Box 772

Bristol

BS99 1EG

Tel 0272 870050

The agitational paper of the most widespread anarchist/communist current in Britain, with groups in most towns and cities. On the ball news and views coverage of events in Britain and abroad. This is more than just comment, this is a campaigning paper and movement to change the world.

CONTRAFLOW

c/o 56a Infoshop
56 Crampton Street
London SE17

Contraflow is the free magazine of the London office of the European Counter Network, an evolving network based on the exchange of information via computers. Firmly based in the anti-authoritarian camp, we cover as much as we can from the industrial to the sexual. We distribute to bookshops, centres, groups and individuals (in and out of the anarchist milieu), exchange *Contraflow* for other publications and offer copies on a one stamp = one issue basis. We are not computer boffins and we don't bite.

COUNTER INFORMATION

Pigeon Hole CI
c/o 11 Forth Street
Edinburgh EH1

For ten years *CI* has been reporting on social struggles world-wide, workers', community, women's, prisoners', resistance to racism, environmental destruction . . . and more! We encourage self-organisation, collective direct action, and the generalisation of resistance to all oppression and exploitation. SAE brings sample. Bundles available for free distribution (12,000 printed). Donations, news, exchanges welcome.

DIRECT ACTION

no information received

ECHANGES ET MOUVEMENT

BM Box 91

London

WC1N 3XX

A network of comrades and groups exchanging information and discussions on class struggle, trying to escape the traditional sectarian opposition of ready-made theories, learning from class actions against capital. Quarterly bulletin in English and French, and pamphlets. Presentation text and publications from above address or from BP 241, 75866 Paris, Cedex 18.

EDUCATION WORKER NETWORK

no information received

FIGHTING TIMES

Box A

Arjuna

12 Mill Road

Cambridge

Rag of Cambridge anarchists. Twice a year, covering wide range of subjects, in particular direct action, involvement with anti-pornography, Earth First!, animal rights, Greenham Common Women's Peace Camp, International Struggles, anti-censorship, and lots more, not to mention cartoons, crosswords, poetry. . .refusing to toe anarchist party lines. 25p + SAE.

FREEDOM

(in Angel Alley)

84b Whitechapel High Street

London E1 7QX

Tel 071 247 9249

Fortnightly (24 issues a year) 50p. Write, phone or call at Freedom Press (q. v.) bookshop for a free specimen copy. Aims to build the anarchist movement by persuading people to be anarchists. First published in 1886 but always up-to-date.

GREEN ANARCHIST

c/o Box ZZ
111 Magdalen Road
Oxford
OX4 1RQ

UK's quarterly primitivist paper, 20+ A3 pages, 75p. Now in its tenth year. Forum for international network of Earth First! anti-fascist, animal and sexual liberationist, and other autonomous groups. (See Green Anarchist Network entry in Organisations list). Challenging, practical range of publications via GA mail order PO Box 407, Camberley GU15 2FL.

THE HEAVY STUFF

PO Box 467
London
E8 3QX
Tel 0272 870050

New look and emphasis have been given to the thoughts of Class War activists. Every edition will put our ideas to the front of struggles and help create a real revolutionary movement that is not afraid to muck in, rather than snipe from the rear. Our day will come.

HERE AND NOW

c/o 28 King Street, Glasgow G1 5QP
PO Box 109, Leeds LS5 3AA

Irregular magazine of irregular ideas. Trying to find a way out of the impasse of radical politics. Heretical articles, letters, spoofs, reports on particular social processes and events published. Alternate editorial addresses.

Lib ED
170 Wells Road
Bristol
BS4 2AG

Since the mid-sixties, Libertarian Education has been actively promoting freedom in education by publishing books, pamphlets and magazines and org-

anising meetings, conferences and other events. For full information and a free copy of Lib ED magazine, send a large (A4) stamped, addressed envelope.

NEW ANARCHIST REVIEW

84b Whitechapel High Street
London
E1 7QX

Now rather irregular review of anarchist titles currently in print and available in the UK. At least one issue a year. Free to shops or available for a small sub to individuals. Its publishers are also the organisers of the annual Anarchist Bookfair which takes place in London each October.

ORGANISE!

84b Whitechapel High Street
London
E1 7QX

50p. 20 pages. Magazine of the Anarchist Communist Federation, published quarterly since 1988. Carries the important debates, the big issues in the revolutionary movement. Equally against academic sterility and anti-intellectual posturing. International news, reviews and discussion. Puts the class into class politics.

PUBLIC SERVICE WORKERS' NETWORK

PO Box 73, Norwich NR1 2EB
PO Box 29, Manchester M15 5HW
PO Box 1681, London N8 7LE

Is affiliated to the Solidarity Federation, British Section of the International Workers' Association. Promotes workers' self-management and revolutionary unions as the way to overthrow capitalism and establish libertarian communist society. We seek to network with public service workers whether in health, municipalities or the voluntary or 'private' sector.

THE RAVEN

84b Whitechapel High Street

London

E1 7QX

Tel 071 247 9249

Quarterly, 96 pages (or more) A5, £3.00 post free. Each issue consists of articles related to a particular topic of anarchist interest. 1994 issues (25 to 28) are on Religion, Science (part 2), Religious Fundamentalism, and a topic we haven't yet decided as this *Yearbook* goes to press. All back issues available at £3.00 post free. Bound volumes (4 issues plus index) £18.00.

SUBVERSION

Dept 10

1 Newton Street

Manchester

M1 1HW

Free bulletin published every 3 or 4 months, with news, comment, analysis, debate and dialogue on inter/national politics and class struggle. Neither Anarchist nor Marxist but - read it and find out. Also available: *The Best of Subversion* - a compilation of articles from early issues - and pamphlets on Ireland and the Labour Party.

TAKING LIBERTIES

c/o London ABC

121 Railton Road

London SE24 0LR

Tel 071 274 6655, fax 071 326 0383

is published roughly quarterly, costs 25p and subscriptions are as follows;

£5/£3 individuals, waged/unwaged

£10/£5 organisations, large/small

Covers the cases of working class prisoners, whether imprisoned for resistance to capitalism, framed by the police or fighting the prison system. It also covers prison resistance, news, views and writings by prisoners, and attacks

prisons from a class perspective. The ABC is an active prisoner solidarity network.

TRANSPORT WORKER NETWORK
no information received

TROTWATCH

c/o Box NDF
72 Radford Road
Hyson Green
Nottingham NG7 5FT

the leading anti-left, anarcho-proletarian publishing force, studying the gruesome reality of the counter-revolutionary (and just plain capitalist reformist) British party-ist left. Our hard fought struggle to become the most irregular anarchist publication continues. *Carry on recruiting!* - our pamphlet critique of the SWP - remains in print. Work on TW2 is well underway; other projects are under scrutiny. TW welcomes correspondence from interested comrades.

WORKERS SOLIDARITY

Workers Solidarity Movement
PO Box 1528
Dublin 8
Ireland

Due to our expanded readership we have switched from a magazine to a newspaper format. And soon we will be launching a new magazine *Red & Black Revolution*. We want to hear from anyone interested in selling these publications or our range of pamphlets. Send £5 for a sub, free samples available.

PUBLISHERS

ACE EDITIONS

84b Whitechapel High Street
LONDON E1 7QX

Publishing imprint of the Anarchist Communist Federation. We produce cheaply, distribute widely. Printing with a purpose, we regard our pamphlets as tools to help build the libertarian revolutionary movement. Titles in print: Manifesto of Libertarian Communism; Role of the Revolutionary Organisation; Basic Bakunin; As We See It. Pamphlets for 94/95 on Ireland; Ecology and a Manifesto for the Millenium.

AK PRESS

22 Luton Place
Edinburgh
EH8 9PE
031 667 1507

AK Press publishes books. And pamphlets. On a wide variety of anarchist, situationist, libertarian and related themes. Everything from poetry to parapolitics. Other active service units of the AK empire include AK Press mail order for individuals. Our current catalogue has around 4,000 books, magazines, political tapes and sexy sportswear. Ask us for a copy of the catalogue.

APORIA PRESS

no information received

DS4A

Box 8, Greenleaf Bookshop
82 Colston Street
Bristol BS1 5BB

Published so far: "Last of the Hippies" by Crass. "Zapatista Uprising in Mexico - Interviews with Marcos". We also distribute hundreds of books, records, CDs, patches, T shirts etc (related to anarchism).

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street

LONDON

E1 7QX

Tel 071 247 9249

Publisher of *Freedom*, *The Raven*, and some fifty anarchist books and pamphlets. Bookshop open Monday to Friday 10.30 to 6.00, Saturday 10.30 to 5.00, closed Sundays and Bank Holidays, is in Angel Alley, up an unattractive pedestrian tunnel at the side of the Whitechapel Art Gallery. Hundreds of anarchist titles in stock. Mail order service (many titles post free). Send for free catalogue.

IRATE PRESS

still no address

Still ticking over at about 2-3 titles a year. Mostly reprints. All available from AK Press. Sticking to class struggle anarchist or communist stuff, but completely mercenary. "If it sells, print it!" Rumours of an offshoot called Rate Press are, as yet, unfounded. Very into anti-Stalinism, not anti-sexism.

Kate Sharpley Library (KSL)

BM Hurricane

London

WC1N 3XX

The Kate Sharpley Library exists as an archival centre holding anarchist publications from the 19th century onwards as well as valuable letters, minutes and countless unpublished manuscripts. We continue to publish the voices from our movement that have not been heard as well as material that sheds new light on our history. A list of our publications is available by sending an SAE to our address. Use us for your research, enquiries and discussions. All donations of material are welcome.

PHOENIX PRESS

PO Box 824

LONDON

N1 9DL

Mixture of old titles and new ones. Working towards a history of anarchism and a new anarchist manifesto. Existing titles include Valerie Solanas' *Scum Manifesto* and the *Anarchist Yearbook*. See elsewhere in the *Yearbook* for details of Phoenix's loan system by which you can help publish anarchist books.

DERRICK A PIKE

1 Market Place

Glastonbury BA6 9HD

Tel 0458 831648

Self publisher. Subjects anarchism and pacifism. Four titles in print which deal with state propaganda, making anarchists and pacifists, the nature of the state, and how anarcho-pacifists should behave to produce the free society.

PIRATE PRESS

PO Box 446

SHEFFIELD

S1 1NY

Produces anarchist pamphlets cheaply. Mixture of class struggle serious stuff and more situationist, but we print whatever takes our fancy. Only published one pamphlet in 94 but should be back in full flow in 95.

REBEL PRESS

Box R

84b Whitechapel High Street

LONDON

E1 7QX

Publishers of a number of key texts (eg *Revolution of Everyday Life*, *The Ego and Its Own*) as well as other titles around the theme of anarchism and situationism. Titles are distributed in the UK by A Distribution only.

SPECTACULAR TIMES

Box 99

84b Whitechapel High Street

LONDON

E1 7QX

Pocketbooks with a situationist-inspired critique of the 20th century. Originally authored and published by Larry Law. Since Larry's death A Distribution has had stewardship of the titles and has been gradually bringing them back into print. (11 are currently available.)

SPUNK PRESS

is an electronic anarchist press, which freely redistributes anarchist texts (theory, actions, present, past, fiction and fact) via the Internet, BBS systems, and diskettes. For more information, and to contribute material, send electronic mail to "spunk-info-request@lysator.liu.se" or write to Electronic Anarchist Archive, Box A, Arjuna, 12 Mill Road, Cambridge CB1.

UNPOPULAR BOOKS

Box 15

136 Kingsland High Street

LONDON E8 2NS

Purveyors of proletarian literature since 1983. Peculiarly pertinent portrayals of proletarian pressure to usher in outernational notions that negate normal ideological identifications in a nonsense way. In particular, publishers of London Psychogeographical Association material along with such gems as *Black Mask* and Asger Jorn's *Open Creation and Its Enemies*.

ORGANISATIONS

There are four national groupings of anarchists and/or libertarians in Britain. They have slightly different views on things, see the list of Aims and Principles or equivalent that each of them has in their paper.

ANARCHIST COMMUNIST FEDERATION

See the entry *Organise!* in the periodicals list.

CLASS WAR

See the entry *Class War* in the periodicals list.

GREEN ANARCHIST NETWORK

See *Green Anarchist* entry in periodicals list. "An international network of some 40+ autonomous groups dedicated to fighting for a free society in harmony with nature. See *GA* for your regional coordinator - we'll make you a UAB if you can't be a full-time contact. Other networked publications: *Lancaster Bomber*, *Bolton Scumbuster*, *Robbixian Anarchist Times*, *Camberley Arsonist* and *Land and Liberty*."

SOLIDARITY FEDERATION

See the entry *Public Service Workers' Network* in the periodicals list.

In addition to the national groups there are various other organisations, plus all the periodicals and publishers listed elsewhere in the *Yearbook*. The Anarchist Black Cross, (a prisoners' support group, see the entry *Taking Liberties* in the periodicals list), were written up in detail in the last but one *Yearbook*. The Kate Sharpley Library is an archive of anarchist material. See their entry in the publishers list.

There are several shops in London which should be mentioned because they have good selections of

anarchist books. Freedom Press Bookshop is covered in the list of publishers. 121 Bookshop is at 121 Railton Road, Brixton, London SE24 (Tel 071 274 6655) and is open 1 - 5 Wednesday and Thursday, 2 - 5 Friday, 1 - 5 Saturday and 3 - 5 Sunday. The 56a Infoshop is at 56 Crampton Street, Elephant and Castle, London SE17 and is open Monday, Thursday and Friday from 3 - 7. See their entry in the periodicals list. Housmans Bookshop is at 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N1 9DX and Compendium is at 234 Camden High Street, London NW1 8QS. There's space on page 2 of the *Yearbook* for the stamp of the shop which sold this copy and if it's been used then whoever it is ought to be able to get anarchist books for you. Any shop which has a reasonable stock of anarchist books, write and say you want to be in next year's edition of the *Yearbook*.

London Greenpeace can be written to at 5 Caledonian Road, Kings Cross, London N1 9DX and their phone number is 071 837 7557. They are a anarchist ecological collective, two of whose members are (still!) being sued for libel by MacDonaldis, the multi-national corporation behind the plastic smile of Ronald McDonald. They have a Fayre in Central London every autumn and are no relation to Greenpeace UK. Another annual event held in Central London in the autumn is the Anarchist Book Fair. This is a major event in anarchist circles but the publication date of the *Yearbook* means it can't give the date of the current year's Fair. See the anarchist press for details, nearer the time.

The Anarchist Distribution Service sends out free material to class struggle groups around the country once a month or so. With a bit of luck this fills in some of the gaps between the three national groups. Send them a hundred copies of the leaflet you want sent out, plus a fiver for the

postage. Class struggle stuff only. Their address is PO Box 446, Sheffield, S1 1NY

Moving outside the anarchist ghetto there is the Anti-Nuclear Network, a direct action group whose address is c/o 265 Seven Sisters Road, Finsbury Park, London N4 2DE. The Stop the M11 campaign are currently at 66 Claremont Road, Leyton, London E11 4EE but may have been evicted by the time you read this. (It's a squat in the way of the M11.) But if they are evicted mail will be forwarded to the next address. Their phone number is 081 558 2638 and their fax is 081 558 1236. If any other groups whose aims are libertarian and who practice direct action want to be in the *Yearbook* then get in touch to see if they can be included next year.

Last of all, a special mention for South Bristol Anarchists whose address is PO Box 1076, Bristol BS99 1WF and who wish you to know that they were born out of the 1992 Hartcliffe riots and their main aim is to produce propaganda and distribute it on the working class estates of South Bristol. In 2 years they've put class struggle anarchist alternatives into the letter boxes of over 12,000 homes, concentrating on, among other things, anti-social crime, police harassment and murders, bailiffs and dodgy councillors. This has resulted in a lot of support from local communities plus local media attention.

BUSINESS?

The *Yearbook* is aimed at individuals, letting them know what books have been published in the last year, what periodicals are being produced, and so on. Another aspect of anarchist activity is trade distribution (mostly to bookshops.) If you're a bookshop looking for anarchist titles to stock (or a group setting up a book stall) then the following organisations will supply material at trade terms. All the addresses are in the publishers list.

A Distribution (address as Rebel Press) are distributors of anarchist and situationist titles, especially those of Rebel Press and Spectacular Times. They are sole distributors in both cases, and also carry some titles from the US.

AK Distribution distribute their own AK Press titles and a lot else including Phoenix Press.

DS4A distribute music as well as literature.

Freedom Press distribute their own titles, plus a few others.

It's traditional for the *Yearbook* to make some grandiose claim that next year's edition will carry more and better information than the current one. So next year should see a much more informative section on trade distribution.

PHOENIX PRESS

After the revolution money will either be abolished or will grow on trees, I forget which. In these decadent, pre-revolutionary times, however, printers want to be paid for their work. So if you want to see more anarchist books in print and don't mind putting your money where your mouth is, Phoenix Press has a loan system whereby money is collected in small sums until enough has been got to pay for the printing of a book. Over ten books have been printed using this system. The basic sum of money being asked for as a loan is currently £40. (It used to be less but that's inflation for you.) This sum has been chosen because it's slightly less than a week's full dole and therefore within the reach of most people. For the £40 loan you'll get a copy of the book for which the money was lent, plus a copy of the current *Anarchist Yearbook*. When enough books have been sold you'll be offered your loan back. (Remember that Phoenix is asking for loans, not gifts.) This takes ages and of course you'll be asked to continue the loan for another book.

The Phoenix loan system means you can help anarchist publishing without having to put up the full cost of a book (at least £2,000, a sum beyond the reach of most people). So if you think anarchist publishing is worth supporting, and can afford it, send a £40 loan to Phoenix Press at PO Box 824, London N1 9DL. Try and remember to include your name and address since these come in handy when sending you the book. The book for which loans are currently being sought is *Turning Up the Heat: MI5 After the Cold War* by Larry O'Hara. This is an attack on our unelected and unaccountable secret state. (See the write-up on page 8.) By the time you read this it will have been printed but lend the money anyway. There's a book every year and once you've lent the £40 you'll get a copy of each year's book.

A (VERY) BRIEF HISTORY OF ANARCHISM

Anarchy means society without government and anarchism is the movement that's trying to get us there. It's usually thought that government is needed to keep order, to stop the strong preying on the weak, and that anarchy would mean chaos. This is the opposite of the truth. The government are the strong preying on the weak (ie us), and anarchism is an attempt to get the bastards off our backs. Look at yourself. Are you only stopped from anti-social crime by fear of being caught by the police? Or are you a normal person who doesn't need threats to make them behave in a responsible way? It's true that anti-social criminals are a problem, and the worst of them are the government.

Resistance to government is as old as government itself. Human beings have been around, in one form or another for several million years. For nearly all this time we lived in small tribes that roamed freely around the planet. Life in such societies wouldn't have been perfect but it must have seemed so to those who were attacked by the first governments. Government started around 7,000 years ago in the Middle East. One group enslaved another and forced them to work for them. (See *Against His-story, Against Leviathan* by Fredy Perlman for an account of how this may have happened.) The murders, abductions and tortures needed to turn free people into slaves are usually referred to as civilisation, or progress, lies to hide the reality of an oppressive system that has slowly spread over the whole world. Today, here in the West, social conditions are far removed from the slavery of the early days but the central element of compulsion remains, disguised by a very competent propaganda system, just as slavery was hidden by euphemisms like civilisation.

As already stated, resistance to government is as old as government itself. A combination of flight and fight was used for thousands of years but today government has spread all over the world and there's nowhere left to run to. The anarchist movement is a new form of fight that started in the middle of last century in Western Europe as a reaction to the emerging world system of imperialism, industrialisation, the nation-state, and the conquest and colonisation of all of the non-industrialised countries. Anarchism's first major thinker was Pierre Joseph Proudhon but later developments make it more sensible to start with Michael Bakunin, the founder of the modern anarchist movement.

Bakunin was born in Russia in the early 1800s, the son of a wealthy landowner. As a young man he resigned his commission as an army officer and went to the West. He took part in the revolutions of 1848 and 1849, was captured, and spent the next six years in prison, mostly in Russia. He was then exiled to Siberia but escaped after a few years, returning to the West. Here he returned to revolutionary politics and started to develop his anarchist ideas. He advocated revolution, the abolition of government, and the remaking of society from the bottom up, with federalism, rather than centralism, as a means of co-ordination and organisation. He and his followers joined the International Working Men's Association and came into conflict with the authoritarian socialist Karl Marx. Now Bakunin made his famous prophecy, which was proved correct fifty years later, that seizure of state power by the Marxists would not lead to the disappearance of government and the emergence of a free society, (which is what the Marxists claimed) but "would be nothing else. . . than a new form of very hard slavery for the proletariat."

Bakunin's thought is flawed in many ways. For a start he never suggested any method of organisa-

tion other the secret societies which had been forced upon those working in dictatorships like Tsarist Russia. This would be put right when the anarcho-syndicalist movements emerged towards the end of the century but for the moment Bakunin left an organisational vacuum. As a hangover from his past he advocated an "invisible dictatorship" of anarchist revolutionaries, not recognising that authoritarian means do not lead to libertarian goals. He had already pointed this out when criticising Marx but lacked the insight to apply it to his own ideas. His anti-semitism, inspired by his dislike of Marx, also has to be rejected. But Bakunin's life was drawing to a close and he never got rid of the contradictions in his thought. In late 1870 he tried to start a revolution in Lyons but unsuccessfully. (Six months later Paris exploded in the Paris Commune but that's another story.) In 1872 Marx managed to get Bakunin expelled from the International Working Men's Association on trumped-up charges. The next year Bakunin tried to start a revolution in Bologna but that too failed. It was Bakunin's last major act, he died three years later.

Futile acts of insurrection and individualist terror now wasted the time of the anarchist movement until the emergence of anarcho-syndicalist unions, particularly in Latin countries. These were revolutionary unions which rejected parliametary politics and aimed at social revolution to be started by a general strike. Crucially they consisted of the workers in particular industries, that is, they weren't led by outside intellectuals like Bakunin or Marx. The most powerful of the anarcho-syndicalist movements was in Spain and in 1936 it came closer to achieving a free society than anyone else before or since. But before that there was a disaster for the revolutionary movement. In Russia Marxists seized power.

In 1905 an unsuccessful revolution had seen a new form of organisation, soviets. These were councils formed of workers or peasants or soldiers spontaneously set up to organise the defence of the revolution. Twelve years later in 1917 the Communists were to seize power under the slogan "All power to the soviets". In fact they took over the soviets, perverting them from their original aim, and destroyed by force those that resisted. The Marxist takeover of the 1917 revolution was completed in 1921 when the revolt against their dictatorship at the naval fortress of Kronstadt was defeated and when the Ukrainian peasant army of Nestor Makhno was also beaten. Bakunin's gloomy prediction came true and the world revolutionary movement was largely hijacked by the new ruling class in Russia. For years the false glamour of the Russian Revolution meant that many revolutionaries in the West identified their cause with that of the Communist dictatorship in the East.

One area where the revolutionary movement stayed independent of the Marxist illusion in Russia was Spain. Bakunin's influence had always been strong here and after the First World War the world's largest anarcho-syndicalist movement, the CNT, developed. For years they agitated and fought, spreading libertarian ideas among Spanish workers and peasants. In 1936 General Franco led a military rebellion against the elected government. It was initially defeated in many areas of Spain and where the anarchists were numerous there was a far-reaching collectivisation of farms and industry under workers' control. But slowly the revolution was defeated. The CNT leaders, recognising their movement to be a minority, fatally compromised their principles and entered the Republican government. Meanwhile the Spanish Communist Party, acting as agents of Stalin's dictatorship, stabbed the revolution in the back, returning farms from collectivisation to their former owners, arresting and killing anarchist

militants in industrial areas. The revolution which had stopped the military uprising was converted into a conventional war which was lost in 1939. Spain was now subjected to Franco's barbarism.

What now? If anarchism is to be judged by its results then it's simple. We've failed. Neither we nor anyone else have been able to set up a free society. With the benefit of hindsight it is easy to see that 1936 was the high water point of anarcho-syndicalism. Since the destruction of the CNT in Spain anarcho-syndicalism has never been able to re-establish itself as a mass movement. The social conditions that made the CNT possible have changed and, if we are serious about our politics, we have to adapt to our new circumstances and work out why (so far) it's not been possible to build another mass anarchist movement. Only half the old ideas were right and we must supplement them with new ones. Whatever the future brings, one thing is certain. As long as there is power, there will be resistance to it.

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ANARCHIST BOOKS, PAMPHLETS, POSTERS, BADGES,
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This is the fifth edition of the *Anarchist Year-book*. It's a guide to the books that have been published in the previous year, to the periodicals that are being brought out, to the publishers and organisations of the anarchist and libertarian movement in Britain today.

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