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ANARCHIST

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YEARBOOK

INTRODUCTION

Welcome to the second edition of the Anarchist Yearbook. Same mixture as before but more of it. A guide to what's going on in the anarchist and libertarian movement in Britain with comprehensive lists of both magazines and publishers. Plus brief reviews of books published since last time, plus some articles, plus an often inaccurate report on anarchism in Britain today by bosses spy organisation, the Economic League. (They compile lists of subversives like us so that big employers won't let us work for them.) Could one of the magazines make a full list of the mistakes contained in this piece? Last time the Yearbook reprinted a basic statement of anarchism that had been put out by Glasgow anarchists. This time there's a longer statement of a libertarian position, the 1967 document AS WE SEE IT, put out by the Solidarity group. This is reprinted exactly as it was, including using the word "man" to mean women as well as men. Solidarity are no longer a national organisation (see their entries in the lists of publishers and magazines) but their ideas are a welcome change to the unrealistic talk of revolution usually found. Frankly the level of ideas and debate in the British anarchist movement is appalling, though there are definite signs that things are picking up. As Bakunin once said, "Dark storm clouds are gathering." Let's hope so.

ANARCHISM TODAY

The following text is part of a talk given in London in late 1990 by a member of one of the national anarchist groups. It is a look at the anarchist movement in Britain today, from a class struggle point of view, and raises questions also touched on in section 4 on local groups. The article printed here comes to an abrupt halt because the original talk went on to discuss the various class struggle groups from the point of view of one particular group whereas the Yearbook wishes to promote class struggle anarchism in general, and not one group rather than the others. On the other hand, the Yearbook tries to go beyond the existing class struggle anarchism and find common ground with other forms of anarchism and with groups who are libertarian but not anarchist. See the article on green anarchism in section 5, for example. Two final points. Firstly, the Northern Anarchist Network mentioned in the text is now called the Class Struggle Anarchist Network and is described in section 4. Secondly, the talk explicitly criticises the Freedom Press and so the article was shown to one of the Freedom Press group whose reply is printed at the end.

ANARCHISM TODAY

The words anarchism and anarchy conjure up in the popular mind images of dark cloaked individuals bent on acts of outrage and destruction. It may

also suggest hopeless romantics, unworkable and insane politics and most of all chaos. In reality, of course, assassination attempts and guerilla bands have only ever been a very minor aspect of anarchism and have barely existed at all in Britain.

In fact anarchism in this country is a very mixed kettle of fish. A great variety of ideas compete within the very small arena of British anarchism. There are extreme individualists who derive their beliefs from Max Stirner, who incidentally Marx considered so dangerous that he wrote a whole book against him. Then, in apparently complete contradiction, there are anarchist communists, who nevertheless value freedom very highly. There are green anarchists who want to return to pre-industrial society and there are syndicalists who want the workers to take industry over. How are we to make sense of all these? and their place in our movement?

Well, I think it is best to look at the problem on the basis of two values -- the attitude to revolution and the attitude to organisation.

Whenever anarchists become prominent in a riot or some other disorder, the hacks of Fleet Street troop down to the Freedom Bookshop in Aldgate East and interview the people down there. Being completely ignorant they imagine that the Freedom group in some sense represents mainstream anarchism. They could not be more wrong, for these individuals have almost completely broken from revolutionary anarchism. Firstly, they have given up the idea of some sort of frontal assault on the state and capitalism and opt instead for a gradual nibbling away at the system of oppression. They seem oblivious to the fact that under the Tories,

life has become much more restricted, the poor have become poorer and the state has grown in its powers.

A second feature of the Freedom group is their total rejection of organisation. Against all common sense, they opt instead for pure propagandism in the form of their paper FREEDOM. As regards a political standpoint, they are in fact on the extreme wing of liberalism. Any old ragbag of ideas is suitable for FREEDOM, so much so that they appear as dolly-mixture anarchists - anything goes.

The people at FREEDOM are of the older generation by and large. They lost their revolutionary ideas sometime in the 50s and 60s. But there exists if you like a young version of their approach. This is the anarchism of counter-culture and includes a variety of sub-groups. These answer to the name of hippies, punks and post-punks etc. They have adopted the label of anarchist, often without much understanding of what it implies except the idea of rebellion. For these people anarchism reduces itself often to squatting, fiddling the underground, stealing from shops and identifying with a particular music style. These so-called life-style anarchists are living their anarchism in their daily activities and often seem to think that dropping out is enough. Consequently, they reject working consistently for revolution though, to be fair, they are often very militant on issues which affect them directly. They also reject anarchist organisation. It is enough to listen to the music of the defunct band Crass or to Chumba-Wumba etc. Interestingly, it was members of Chumba Wumba who complained recently about the rise of serious organisational and revolutionary anarchism. To them, the music, the clothes, the life-style, were enough.

Linked to the former group and sometimes mixing with them are the third and perhaps largest grouping of the current scene. These are the adherents of the small group approach. Usually, a number of like minded individuals get together to fight a local campaign, perhaps start their own paper or engage in some other activity. Often such groups are set up by students who soon pass on to other things. In any case these "affinity groups" as they are sometimes called are highly unstable. They exist for a few months or years and disappear without trace. And, perhaps, a subsequent generation in a town will do the same thing, unable to gain from the failures of their unknown predecessors. They may bring out a publication, if they are lucky there will be more than one issue. They may be extremely active in the community but run out of energy and enthusiasm, as their labours do not seem to bring forth fruit.

Such frustration usually leads to disenchantment and passivity. Sometimes, as in the case of the Angry Brigade, it leads to underground military actions and with them to vanguardism, isolation, and, ultimately, repression and destruction.

The above aspects of anarchism have, until recently, dominated the movement. In recent years, however, increasing numbers of anarchists have considered the more difficult and less glamorous option of creating a serious, revolutionary, anarchist organisation.

Sometimes they stop short of creating a proper membership organisation with agreed principles and politics. An example of this is, I think, the Northern Anarchist Network which will admit anyone. The problem with this approach is that there are few agreed ideas for action. Secondly, since there is no formal membership, there is a

constantly shifting decision-making body which makes contradictory decisions. Thirdly, no-one feels bound to accept decisions; they can be implemented or not according to personal preference. And fourthly such organisations are ripe for domination by small determined groups of activists.

This is where the original talk has been cut short. A reply from one of the Freedom Press group now follows.

Most journalists are like most non-journalists in that they are ignorant of anarchism and the anarchist movement, but a few are quite well informed. They go to Freedom Bookshop, not because they hope to find the organisers of riots there, but because it is where anarchists are available for immediate comment. People with box number addresses cannot be contacted before the news has gone cold.

Of course the Freedom Press group notice how the poor have got poorer and the state has grown in power under the Tories. They also notice that the Tories were elected and re-elected by working-class voters. The first necessity for the anarchist revolution is the dissemination of anarchist ideas. So long as most people think the system is necessary and beneficial, frontal assaults on the system can only be futile gestures.

Freedom Press is entirely in favour of organisation, on the anarchist basis of voluntary co-operation. True, several of the people at Freedom are of the older generation. There has always been a mixture of ages there, since 1886.

The older ones choose age in preference to dying young, which is the only alternative. Young comrades who join in our activities are welcomed, as we were welcomed when we were young.



Analysis

A REVIEW OF CURRENT ISSUES

No. 6

April 1991

The State of Anarchy: I

The anarchist movement continues to attract new, and mainly young adherents, in Britain and on the continent. The first of this two part survey looks at the aims and methods of the four leading anarchist organisations in this country: the Class War Federation, the Direct Action Movement, the Anarchist Workers Group and the Anarchist Communist Federation.

Anarchists are today active in campaigns on peace, and in the 'green' and animal rights movements. Recently they have been at the heart of opposition to the poll tax, in demonstrations and encouraging defiance of the law. Some are trying to establish Industrial Networks and rank and file groups in the trade unions.

The second part of the survey will highlight a wide range of anarchist activity, including the international links now being developed.

**Economic
League**

Hackney, one of London's less prosperous parts, offers an unlikely setting for an international conference. In September, however, anarchists from around the world will converge on the east end borough for a week of discussions organised by the British group, the Class War Federation. Delegates are expected from most European countries, including a hundred from Germany, from the Soviet Union and the United States.

The large German contingent expected by the organisers, alongside members of recently emerged anarchist movements in former Communist countries in Eastern Europe, is a further indication of the stepping up of revolutionary activity on the continent. Like the Trotskyists described in last month's 'Analysis', the neo-Nazis who recently assailed Polish people crossing into Germany and the terrorists of the Red Army Fraction, these extremists do not want the momentous changes of the past eighteen months to be confirmed in the establishment of stable democracies. Instead they seek more drastic, and violent solutions which feed on economic grievance and the pains of the transition from a socialist to a market economy.

Just as British Trotskyists are trying to encourage any signs of unrest in Europe, so too are anarchist groups. For many years anarchists from various countries have congregated in cities such as Amsterdam and West Berlin. Now, those contacts are being developed further, with anarchists from Britain playing an important role in creating a more active and cohesive movement across the continent.

The Diversity of Anarchism

The first of this two part survey of the state of the anarchist movement today looks at its leading organisations in this country. Nationally, British anarchism is represented by four main bodies: the Class War Federation, the Anarchist Communist Federation, the Direct Action Movement, and the Anarchist Workers' Group. In addition, the 1991 Anarchist Yearbook lists twenty newspapers and magazines besides those produced by the leading four, and a similar number of publishers. Many of these are purely local ventures or concentrate on one issue. Life expectancy is not always very long. At present, these others include, for example, the Merseyside Anarchist Newsletter, Green Anarchist, Black Chip, a Welsh-based magazine which deals with computers and new technology, Libertarian Education, which is produced from an address in Leicestershire.

Anarchists are much drawn to this small-scale, localised activity. Cardinal to the beliefs of all of them is the rejection of the state, with all its associations of coercion and centralised government. Anarchists oppose all forms of authority, and all hierarchies and institutions, whether they are founded on politics, religion or business corporations. They envisage a society of autonomous communities — communes and collectives are favourite anarchist words — to describe their concept of organisation. Some anarchists incline towards pacificism and seek an escape from present society in an idealised ruralism, while others adopt a more militant posture to the world around them and are led to violence and terrorism.

Some anarchists see industry as a major battleground in the creation of their new society: they are the 'Syndicalists', and take their inspiration from Spanish workers earlier this century. They aim to form grass-roots organisations to represent the workers, outside the

old trade union structures. They believe in direct action, which ranges from factory occupations, to strikes and sabotage as legitimate methods in the revolutionary struggle. Although many anarchist ideas go back to the nineteenth and even the late eighteenth centuries, there are some more modern variants of the basic doctrine, such as 'Situationism' a nihilist tendency associated with the spirit of the 1960s, and the French student revolt.

Today, anarchists in Britain can be found on the fringes of the

'green' movement and in 'peace' protests, in urban squats and hippy convoys, and in the more militant sections of the animal rights campaign. Over the past two years they have also been prominent in opposition to the poll tax, on demonstrations such as the major riot in Trafalgar Square at the end of March last year, and in the efforts to promote non-payment of the tax and resist the bailiffs and the courts. As the Anarchist Year Book noted, the anti-poll tax campaign has seen the development of 'an outlaw culture that will be receptive to our ideas.' In these activities can be found supporters of any of the main national groups or individual anarchists who belong to no organisation. Each of the leading ones, however, has its own distinctive style and approach.

Fighting the Class War

Probably the biggest anarchist group of all is the Class War Federation. It came into being in 1983, a product of the punk phenomenon, which had some

"F* the Labour-Tory choices and the whole stinking, rotten electoral con trick...We're gonna shift the rancid ruling class from off our backs once and for all."
Class War, 1990.**

affinities with anarchism and the emergence of an underclass of rootless young people in the inner cities. Initially it was a disruptive influence in the then flourishing 'peace' movement, mocking its idealistic middle-class leaders. It then moved on to some spectacular publicity seeking enterprises such as the 'Stop the City' and 'Bash the Rich' campaigns in the mid 1980s. During those forays onto the streets, many hundreds of demonstrators were arrested as they tried physically to bring the City of London to a halt or wreck events in the summer social season, such as the Henley Regatta.

But in the past five years, Class War has developed a more formal structure in the shape of the National Federation, the creation of which caused some supporters to break away. Although its membership is believed only to number several hundred, it has a looser following of several thousands. Its newspaper 'Class War', which tries to live up to its reputation by describing itself as 'Britains Most Unruly Tabloid', has a circulation in the region of 10,000. It contains vivid, sometimes lurid and abusive attacks on politicians of all parties, the rich and the police. One of its most popular features is the 'Hospitalised Copper', in which a photograph of a policeman injured in a riot or demonstration is accompanied by a mocking text. A recent example declared that: 'Our lovely page 3 fella is Bristol bobby, Billy Burns. He got bashed on the bonce by a poll tax mob, and got a free lift to a casualty department of his choice (along with seven of his mates).' In a less sensational vein, the group also publishes a theoretical magazine called 'The Heavy Stuff'.

'Class War' says that society's ills "can only be sorted out by the destruction of the ruling class by the working class. This is class war... Violence is a necessary part of class war, but only as mass class violence out in the open." The Federation is divided into ten regions covering England, Scotland and Wales, and it claims that many new branches are currently being formed, for example in Surrey, Edinburgh and Derby. Efforts have also been made to form a Class War group in Londonderry. Its most active sections are in London, centred on Hackney, where its international conference will be held, Manchester, Bristol, Yorkshire and in the North East. The Class War name has also been adopted by anarchists in Germany, the United States and Finland. Class War groups exist for workers in the National Health Service and the Post Office.

Although some anarchists disown the Class War Federation, there can be little doubt that it continues to gain support and that its sensation-seeking, violent posture is attractive to some young people who seek a revolutionary outlet for their ideals but reject the failed doctrines of Marxism.

Direct Action and the Industrial Dimension

The 'syndicalist' face of British anarchism has its main expression in the Direct Action Movement (DAM). It says it is "fighting to abolish the state capitalism and wage slavery in all its forms." It believes that to bring about a 'new social order' the working class must establish independent organisations in the workplace and the community, in opposition to all political parties and trade unions.

DAM was formed twelve years ago by members of the Syndicalist Workers Federation, which had existed since 1946. It is the British section of the International Workers Association, a body set up in 1922, with supporters in about ten countries, mainly in Europe. The organisation's national secretary is based in Manchester, and its monthly newspaper, 'Direct Action' is produced by an editorial collective in Rotherham and printed in Glasgow. There are around twenty local groups in six regions, but much of its activity is centred on its industrial sections.

One of the central features of DAM'S industrial activity is the creation of Industrial

Networks, small groups of supporters in a particular industry. Last year's DAM conference reported that attempts were being made to build Networks among DAM members who work in health, education and local government. The organisation was also involved in a new Council Workers' Network with supporters in London, Manchester and Doncaster. DAM has groups among railway workers and despatch riders. Two years ago it formed the Despatch Industry Workers Union, currently based in Hackney and claims that it is growing rapidly, despite opposition from employers and trade unions alike. DAM claims that it has been able to help support strike action, including involvement in an unofficial strike at a number of South London Social Security offices last year.

Recent estimates of the number of DAM members put it in the region of 400 people. In keeping with its principles DAM has concentrated on building support around small numbers of sympathisers at the grass-roots and selected targets. Unlike some Marxists,

"The state cannot be reformed, bypassed or brought under democratic control. It must be destroyed and replaced by the power of workers' councils." Anarchist Workers Group, Founding Statement, 1988.

anarcho-syndicalists do not attempt to change the world instantly from the top or to challenge trade unions directly. To that extent their methods are more attuned to a realistic assessment of their own capabilities, than those of some Marxists.

The Anarchist Workers

The strategy adopted by the DAM is not, however, without its critics in the syndicalist movement. In June 1988 some DAM members broke away to form the Anarchist Workers Group (AWG). They argued that the formation of separate syndicalist unions in a country like Britain was inappropriate, given the entrenched position of the existing trade unions. Although these unions are part of the capitalist system, revolutionaries had to work within them, in rank and file groups which will oppose 'reformist' and 'bureaucratic' trade union leaders.

The AWG maintains that: "there is no parliamentary road to socialism... The power of the ruling class can only be contested effectively at the point of production, which is primarily where socialists must organise. The state is an instrument of class domination and cannot be used in any way to further the interests of the working class... The capitalist courts, local councils and industrial arbitration bodies cannot serve as a substitute for direct action by workers".

Based in Huddersfield, the AWG is perhaps the smallest of the national organisations. It publishes a magazine 'Socialism from Below', which appears at irregular intervals, and the group describes itself as 'libertarian communist' as much as pure anarchist (however that may be defined). Last year it approached the Anarchist Communist Federation to carry out joint activity in the interests of a united anarchist movement, but its overtures were rejected.

Supporting Confrontation

In its militancy and commitment to violence in the name of revolutionary struggle, the Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF) is second only to Class

War. After last year's anti poll tax riots, the ACF said that it "totally supports such confrontations with the state as Trafalgar Square — as they give the working class the confidence and skills needed to overthrow the ruling class. They teach us to show our anger and enjoy our class strength.... Our role is to encourage dissatisfaction and resistance wherever it raises its head."

The ACF was formed in 1986 as a result of a merger between an Anarchist-Communist Discussion Group and the Syndicalist Fight Group. Its magazine was originally called 'Virus — The Enemy Within', and was subsequently changed to 'Organise!', under which title it now appears once a quarter. It also publishes a series of pamphlets on subjects such as 'Beating the Poll Tax', 'The Myth of Labour's Socialism', and 'Marxism and Its Failures'. The ACF claims to have members in nearly twenty towns and cities and in Northern Ireland, with its main contact address in Nottingham. It defines itself as

an "organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists" which aims "for the abolition of all hierarchy, and... for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism."

Its vision of the 'classless society' is rather different from that of Mr Major's. The ACF considers that "violence is inevitable in a situation of class conflict — it is also necessary to bring about ultimate change." It asks "Why shouldn't we steal from the rich? They steal from

us all the time by forcing us into wage-slavery and making huge profits from our work." Anarchists have no moral qualms about trashing the "property of people who own hundreds of times more than what they need and what we have."

These four organisations are, however, only a portion of what is currently a vibrant and diverse movement. Next month's 'Analysis' will highlight some of the other groups and publications and consider some specific areas of anarchist activity and the role of British anarchists in the international movement.

**"We support violence against all animal exploitation... just as we support violence against the industry and development that threatens our survival."
Green Anarchist, 1990.**



Analysis

A REVIEW OF CURRENT ISSUES

No. 7

May 1991

The State of Anarchy: II

Following last month's look at the four leading anarchist groups in Britain, this final part of our survey reviews a range of anarchist activity.

Scores of smaller publications and groups exist. Some, like 'Freedom' and 'Black Flag' are well established and circulate nationally. Others concentrate on local communities or single issues. They draw heavily for support on a young, rebellious underclass in society.

Anarchists were prominent in opposition to the poll tax, support militant animal liberation campaigns, and are building up contacts across Europe, east and west. Increasingly they are targetting companies in selected industries for attack, on environmental and related grounds.

**Economic
League**

'Raising Hell' is the name of an anarchist magazine produced in Leeds. Its most recent edition, number twenty-three, came out in February, with apologies for the delay since its last appearance. Its forty-eight pages included items on squatting in Rome and Turin, an interview with three Polish anarchists, an account by its editor of street demonstrations in Hamburg, articles about punk-anarchist rock bands in Holland and Norway, appeals for money and support for 'poll-tax prisoners' in Britain, an insert of news and information from the Oxford Free Information Network, and reviews of other anarchist publications and pop groups.

It is an amateurish, cheaply-produced publication, similar to numerous other magazines circulating around the country. They have their roots in punk 'fanzines' (magazines for rock fans) and in protest movements such as animal rights and against the poll tax. Their style is irreverent and is freely littered with four letter expletives directed against the rich, the police and politicians. These magazines and the young people who produce them represent a submerged stratum of western society which surfaces only to vent its anger and frustration on occasions such as the Trafalgar Square riot last year. Much of the anarchist movement in Britain and in Europe as a whole rests today on this rebellious underclass.

But generalisation about anarchism and anarchists is difficult. The philosophy has many currents, and the movement as it has developed over the years is diffuse. For every punk-style militant brooding in his (or her) inner city squat there is a pale-faced individual in sandals attempting to find his own quiet way to a more personal revolution.

The four main groups described in last month's 'Analysis' – Class War, Direct Action Movement, Anarchist Communist Federation and Anarchist Workers Group – are the visible, political expression of anarchism. Below them are dozens of independent local groups, collectives and campaigns as well as the magazines and pamphlet publishers. There are also some publications and groups, which, although they do not aspire to the status of national organisations in the style of the leading four, have a more than local interest.

Voices of Anarchy

The longest running anarchist publication in this country is the newspaper, 'Freedom', which

currently appears once a fortnight. Founded in 1886 by an exiled Russian prince, Peter Kropotkin, it has had a chequered history as the leading voice of British anarchism. 'Freedom' is usually identified with the more pacific, reflective stand of the anarchist tradition, and its fortunes have risen and fallen over the years according to social and intellectual fashions. The Freedom Press also currently issues a quarterly journal, 'The Raven', which deals in depth with such subjects as Social Ecology, Computers and Anarchy, and Education.

In a different vein from 'Freedom', but also circulating nationally, is the bi-monthly 'Black Flag' magazine. It is linked with the international Black Cross network, which provides aid for imprisoned anarchists worldwide. Soon after its foundation in 1968, it supported the Angry Brigade, a group of British revolutionaries who set off explosive devices at the homes of leading politicians. 'Black Flag's' militancy remains

undiminished and recent pamphlets under the imprint of the Hurricane and the Hooligan Presses, include a list of the names and addresses of prominent public figures in the industrial and commercial, judicial, military and civil service fields.

Another group which dates from the 1960s is known as Solidarity and publishes a magazine of that name. It was formed in 1961 when anarchism had received a boost from CND, in its first wave of protest, and the more militant

Committee of 100. It stands for what it calls 'libertarian socialism' and has been oriented towards the syndicalist, industry-based, school of anarchism.

All three of the above – Freedom, Black Flag and Solidarity – are based in London. Freedom's address in Whitechapel is used by many other anarchists, including the Anarchist Communist Federation. Among other smaller groups or journals which have a nation-wide distribution are 'Wildcat', which is published about every six months, 'Green Anarchist', a quarterly from Oxford, the Class Struggle Network in Sheffield, and the Welsh-based 'Black Chip' magazine, which covers the alleged threat to workers' rights from computers and new technology.

Anarchists in the Community

Numerous other outlets for anarchist views exist in local groups. Their total number at any one time is impossible to estimate. They rest on uncertain

**"Computers are the electronic nervous system of modern capitalism . . . Everyone, especially kids, knows that computers are extremely vulnerable to subversion."
Black Chip magazine.**

foundations and usually depend on the commitment of a few individuals to produce duplicated bulletins and organise activity. Freedom has listed contacts in over thirty places, often linked to a bookshop or a student group. The better supported ones manage to produce magazines on a more or less regular basis.

'Merseyside Anarchist Newsletter', issued by the Liverpool Anarchist Group, is an example of the more wide ranging efforts. Its March issue contained a thoughtful rather than hysterical analysis of the Gulf War (which it opposed), an article on "community architecture" which criticised the "featureless, inhuman high rises" which Merseyside knows so well, support for continuing non-payment of the poll-tax and provided guides to the Direct Action Movement and the Black Cross.

Equally broad in its range of coverage, but slicker and more abrasive, is the 'Newsletter' of the Hackney Solidarity Group. Formed nearly two years ago, this group tries to "spread the message of struggle and resistance" across Hackney. It circulates 10,000 copies of a free news-sheet 'The Hackney Heckler' every two months as well as its magazine-format 'Newsletter' and involves itself in local issues such as demonstrations against 'police brutality' and anti-poll tax campaigns.

The Hackney Solidarity Group has also helped set up a campaign called "No War But the Class War." This initiative was a response last September to the Gulf crisis and drew in members of Class War, the Anarchist Communist Federation, Direct Action Movement, Wildcat and other groups. It stood for the "destruction of the morale and military capacity of all warring states by the escalation of the war of our class . . . against the enemy class, the rich, the politicians, the generals."

These two cases, Liverpool and London, represent a pattern that is repeated in many towns and cities. Not all these grass-roots publications are as skilfully produced as those of Merseyside or Hackney. 'Raising Hell', from Leeds, quoted above, exemplifies the more chaotic tendency.

But the one issue that has dominated anarchist publications during the past two years, of whatever scope or source, has been the poll tax. It united anarchist squatters and industrial syndicalists, those who wanted a national campaign and those who focus on the local community. Together, their enthusiasm for the violent

demonstrations of spring last year, culminating in the Trafalgar Square riot, was unlimited. It exposed a divide between the more calculated approach of Trotskyists such as Militant and the Socialist Workers Party and the anarchists, who sought an immediate and violent confrontation with the police and the government.

Anarchist involvement in those violent events is now undoubted. But their ambitions did not end there. 'Black Flag' proposed "mass non-payment and industrial action", and declared that "our task is to organise it to make it most effective and destroy the poll tax." Anarchists continue to recommend ways of physically resisting bailiffs, of carrying out mass demonstrations at courts and agitation for workplace action if deductions from non-payers are made from wage packets. Like the Trotskyists, they are claiming credit for their contribution towards undermining the collection and operation of the tax, and are turning their attention to its replacement.

**"Trafalgar Square will go down in history. It was the most politically conscious and effective riot of modern times . . . Everyone who took part feels an immense sense of pride."
Wildcat magazine, 1990.**

Anarchists, Animals and the Environment

By their rejection of large-organisations and institutions, whether they are those of the state or multi-national corporations, anarchists find themselves drawn to the simplicities of the 'green' philosophy. The two doctrines meet — although collide would be a more apt description — in the uncompromising form of 'Green Anarchist', which stands firmly in the home-duplicated school of revolutionary journals. Its goal is

a world of "autonomous self-sufficient villages bringing regression of technology," with "no industry, no pollution, no hunger, no bomb." Its strategy is to "bring about the destruction of the system from outside inwards, starting in the Third World," with tactics which include "actions in the countryside, at military sites, land squats, industrial and development targets."

The 'Green Anarchist' identifies with campaigns such as that of the Greenham Peace women, and reports the activities of the summertime 'travellers' who annually descend on Stonehenge and other sites. It also states that "we support violence against all animal exploitation . . . For the last decade the militant direct action of the animal liberation movement has been a model and inspiration to everyone seeking to fight exploitation."

Another anarchist group which supports animal liberation is London Greenpeace, which operates independently of the main Greenpeace organisation.

It was set up in 1970 and describes itself as an 'open ecological anarchist collective.' It is currently involved in campaigns against McDonalds and other companies in the fast food industry and against the International Monetary Fund over the question of Third World debt.

The main focus for the most extreme animal rights campaigners has been the Animal Liberation Front (ALF), which dates from 1976. As an 'organisation', strictly speaking ALF does not exist but is a focus for operations carried out by autonomous cells. In 1988 some of the ALF's leaders were gaoled and the immediate threat to industry and researchers seemed to have been removed. But last year saw a new escalation in the violence, when bombs were placed under vehicles belonging to research scientists at Porton Down and Bristol, and a thirteen month old baby was injured. Since then further ALF attacks have taken place at research laboratories and industrial premises.

The vast majority of present-day anarchists support militant animal liberation activity. And even if they are sometimes careful in their public utterances not to associate themselves with criminal acts, they are reluctant to condemn such deeds. Although there is an overlap with anarchism, the animal liberation movement has other sources of support and its own identity. It will therefore be covered in detail separately, in next month's edition of 'Analysis'.

On the European Stage

The 'green' anarchists naturally take a global view of the issues which are important to them. Internationalism is at the very heart of all anarchism, with its antipathy to a world of nation states. Anarchists believe that recent events, particularly in Eastern Europe, have given their cause a major boost.

In September, the Class War Federation is playing host to a week long international conference in Hackney (see last month's 'Analysis'). It is optimistic about the future. "The collapse of the regimes of Eastern Europe," it recently declared, "presents Class War with an unparalleled opportunity to move our politics from the fringes to the centre stage of the European political agenda. The brief honeymoon with western capitalism in East Germany and elsewhere is already over . . . The black flags of anarchism are seen again in Russia, Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria . . ." Class War expects several hundred people to attend its

conference, to discuss ways of co-ordinating increased levels of activity. It is not alone however in building up strong international links. Anarchists at all levels are exchanging ideas and meeting together. Last year four members of the Direct Action Movement attended the congress of the Spanish Confederation of Labour, held in Bilbao. Direct Action members also took part in a conference of European postal and telecommunications workers in Paris at the end of last year, at which they agreed to increase joint action.

Other examples include a recent report in the Merseyside Anarchist Newsletter of a conference of European squatters held in Hamburg last December and attended by people from ten countries. The Black Cross now has sections in seven countries in addition to some fifteen branches in this country. And among those to relay messages of support through 'Black Flag' for anti poll tax demonstrators last year was an anarchist group from Germany. More recently, a Dutch group has

begun to produce an international anarchist newsletter in English to try to promote even closer co-operation. It reported anarchist and syndicalist gatherings last year in Stockholm, Berlin, Hungary, the United States, and a major conference in Trieste, and announced the setting up of Hunt Saboteurs International to "encourage cross-border activity amongst anti-hunting groups."

These examples of anarchist activity in Britain and elsewhere illustrate an interna-

tional movement which is encouraged rather than dispirited by the collapse of state socialism. Amorphous and disparate though that movement is, its approach is direct and appealing: to bypass existing parties and institutions and mount attacks, verbal or otherwise, on specific targets. Besides symbols of government and authority, these targets are increasingly the leaders of multi-national capitalism, companies in defence or pharmaceutical industries or high-technology, food and finance, whose research or environmental records, or dealings with the Third World, are deemed to be harmful, or who are accused of riding roughshod over the rights of individuals and communities. It is a recipe for revolutionary agitation that is in tune with many modern concerns which are felt by a far wider audience than committed anarchists. It is perhaps for such reasons that Class War has adopted for its forthcoming international conference the slogan "Our Time Has Come."

**"There is no truce in the class war. The answer to ruling class power is continual and ever-widening struggle — for social revolution and anarchism."
Liverpool Anarchist Group, 1991.**

ORGANISATION, NATIONAL AND LOCAL

It would be convenient if there was one national anarchist group and everyone belonged to it. Then every local group would be the local branch of the national group. Alas, life is not that simple. There are several national groups (all of them tiny) and lots of anarchists who don't belong to any of the national groups but instead belong to an independent local group. How should the different groups, both national and local, relate to each other, at both national and local level? One possible answer is the Class Struggle Anarchist Network which operates in the north of England and is open to all class struggle anarchists, whether or not they are members of national groups. This makes local co-operation possible, thereby increasing our effectiveness. However, a lot more thought is needed. The next Yearbook should contain a more useful article on the subject.

For the time being, here's a brief mention of the national groups and then a few thoughts on the internal structure of local groups. Anarchists usually describe their organisation as being from the bottom up, but there's little talk of what that means in practice. This is a first attempt at filling in the gaps. Constructive criticism, as ever, is invited, and, again, the next Yearbook, should see a longer and better article on the subject.

NATIONAL GROUPS

There are four national groupings of anarchists or libertarians in Britain. They all have slightly different views on things, but, contrary to the confident prediction made in the last Yearbook, there isn't the time (or space) to go into any real detail here. Just a couple of words and the title of the pamphlet each of them do that will tell you about themselves. See also the list of Aims and Principles or similar that each of them has in their paper. The address given is that of the group's national secretary.

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

Publish the quarterly magazine ORGANISE and do a short guide to themselves called MAKING PROGRESS.

ANARCHIST WORKERS' GROUP
PO Box B20
Huddersfield
HD1 1XS

The most recent group. Publish an irregular magazine called SOCIALISM FROM BELOW and introduce themselves in their pamphlet IN PLACE OF COMPROMISE.

CLASS WAR
PO Box 39
SW PDO
Manchester
M15 5HN

The paper is CLASS WAR (every six weeks or so?) and the introduction is THIS IS CLASS WAR. As the Yearbook goes to press they are holding an ambitious international conference in East London.

DIRECT ACTION MOVEMENT

PO Box 29

SW PDO

Manchester

M15 5HN

Their monthly paper is DIRECT ACTION and the pamphlet WINNING THE CLASS WAR - An Anarcho-Syndicalist Strategy sets out their ideas.

Finally there's the CLASS STRUGGLE ANARCHIST NETWORK which, as already said is not a national group but a sort of forum for class struggle anarchists in the north of England. The address is: -

PO Box 446

Sheffield

S1 1NY

Also at this address, and part of the CSAN, is the Anarchist Distribution Service. This sends out free material to class struggle groups around the country once a month or so. Send them a hundred copies of the leaflet you want sent out, plus a fiver for the postage. Class struggle stuff only.

LOCAL GROUPS

The essential point is internal democracy and openness. The agenda for each meeting is set by everyone when a piece of paper is passed round at the beginning of the meeting. Don't interrupt whoever is speaking, it is particularly important that men don't interrupt women. If necessary, appoint a chair, through whom all speakers go. Letters sent to and by the group should be available to everyone, as should be the details of money raised and spent. The important thing is the principle and the attitude it creates within the group. It is unlikely that everyone will want to read every letter, for example, but they must be

able to if they want. (Contrast this with the usual hierarchical group, where information is controlled by the leadership.) Note that some of the above requires basic office skills, which not everyone has. If minutes are taken, or just decisions taken recorded, remember that minutes are usually taken by experienced secretaries with shorthand. Your minutes are likely to be pretty amateurish. Rotate jobs so that everyone can become more skilled and self-confident. (But if you're in a hurry let someone who knows what to do get on with it.) Are you making sure that skills are passed on? Have you got a creche? Should the group have formal membership? Do you have a list of Aims and Principles with which everyone is in general agreement? Things like this help keep out the sort of retarded glue sniffer who calls himself an anarchist (it's usually a him) because he thinks it means he can do whatever he likes, regardless of others. People who've lived in communal houses will know the type. ("You can't tell me to clean up after myself, I'm an anarchist.") Remember too that anarchism is a political philosophy and not a youth cult. Breaking free of your parents and establishing your own identity is an essential part of growing up but so was toilet training. Neither has much to do with anarchism.

GREEN ANARCHISM

The anarchist and libertarian socialist tradition has always contained a significant element of ecological thinking. Unlike the authoritarian and dogmatic creeds of socialism which so glorified industrialism and the expansion of "productive forces" to solve humanity's problems, anarchists have taken a more detached and critical view.

Some of their ideas may have been hopelessly romantic, but the passage of time has lent an urgency to their fears. By the 60s it was unarguable that the ecological relationships we depend on for our survival were being threatened by pesticides, pollution, desertification, etc. At the same time the growth of the new left and the hippy counter-culture questioned traditional assumptions about work, leisure, the individual and the state.

The lifestyle anarchism of the 60s and 70s - which gave birth to the first modern environmental groups such as Friends of the Earth and Greenpeace - was soon assimilated into the system it initially opposed. Nowadays these groups can only suggest palliatives; even the notion of direct action has become little more than a tool with which to lobby those in high places. Those who didn't fit in "dropped out".

The result of this is that anarchists currently take a pretty dim view of green issues which they

see as liberal, wet, middle class, etc. All the major class struggle organisations claim to have an environmental strategy, but it seems to be tagged on to the rest of their thought rather like an afterthought. Class War has its own green section, "Muckspreader", which exposes very well the hypocrisy and mendacity of green consumerism, but occasionally its vitriol goes too far, such as when it repeated the discredited accusations made against the Bristol Cancer Help Centre last year.

Green anarchists or anarcho-greens do themselves little good by being so disorganised. There is no network or federation to draw them together, probably because it would not be easy to find common ground among such disparate people. Some, for instance, despite calling themselves anarchists are active in the Green Party. Others eschew the very idea of political activity in favour of "personal growth" and festivals.

There is the magazine Green Anarchist, which has been going since the early 80s, but for some represents all that is bad about green anarchism. It's so anti-technology that it won't use a decent printer and consequently is too faded in places to read. During the 84-85 strike it refused to support the miners because they were part of the industrial system it deplored. Despite these criticisms, it does contain many good articles.

The green movement is itself splitting apart. The rise of green consumerism and the so-called greening of capitalism have exacerbated its identity crisis, with the reformist wing wanting to jump on the popular bandwagon. Die Grunen in Germany have already split and the same will probably happen at the Green Party conference in September.

It's all too easy for anarchists to ridicule developments such as these, but we can't ignore the dangers of simply dismissing the whole green movement as a middle class fad. Unless we integrate anarchism with ecology TOTALLY, we will never be a coherent revolutionary force. Indeed I would go further and say the two are so inseparable that one is not possible without the other. As Murray Bookchin says in "Post-Scarcity Anarchism": ". . .an anarchist society, far from being a remote ideal, has become a precondition for the practice of ecological conditions."

As the green movement tears itself apart, there will be a lot of radical greens who will be both bewildered and angry at what has happened. The anarchist movement could be their natural home. They could give us an all important ecological awareness and in return we could offer them an understanding of class and social issues. Cross fertilisation between the two movements would be immeasurably beneficial to both and lead to a single dynamic anarchist AND green movement.

Paul Gravett
(London Greenpeace Supporter)

THE NEW WORLD REICH MARCHES ON

In the wake of the Gulf massacre global capitalism continues to build its "New World Order" with the G7 economic summit in London. Our rulers from the 7 most powerful industrial nations (USA, Japan, France, Britain, Germany, Canada, Italy) met to conspire at maintaining and restructuring their obscene empire of profit and privilege. Top of the agenda was how to integrate the Russian economy and state into the "New World Order" of triumphant global capitalism.

In their public pronouncements the bosses and politicians try to make out that this "New World Order" of theirs is all about peace, co-operation and well-being for the people of the world. Nothing could be further from the truth; it is more of the same (except worse) in a new package. Under the "New World Order" we will always suffer the same plague of horrors that capitalism has always signified - war, poverty, famine, alienation, ecological destruction.

The "political communiqué" issued by the G7 summit refers to the "challenges" facing the "international community" and calls for the strengthening of the UN. This is doublespeak with a vengeance - they know nothing of community; the system they stand for, capitalism, destroys it everywhere. The "challenges" that they speak of are nothing to do with our need to halt the collapse into a chaos of war, famine and

ecological catastrophe but their need to continue to impose the system which produces them. They speak of the "promise" and "vision" of the UN (which might be the beginning of the World Government that some of this filth undoubtedly aspire to) while that organisation is still wiping blood and sand from its boots after its display of power and violence in the Gulf.

Part of the dictionary definition of "order" is "the condition in which everything is controlled as it should be, is in its right place, performing its correct function etc". .and what does capitalist "order", new or old, consist of?

The world produces a surplus of grain (360 million metric Tonnes in 1988) yet millions starve.

In this country while rich scum flaunt their wealth in an arrogant display at Ascot people beg in the streets and sleep rough.

Hundreds of oil wells burn out of control in Kuwait and may do so for years to come. The sky is black, black snow has fallen in Nepal. Rivers and lakes of oil from damaged but not ignited wells form in the desert.

In the "prosperous" industrialised nations life for the majority consists of boring, meaningless work, economic insecurity, stress and alienation.

The recent cyclone in Bangladesh killed hundreds of thousands while tornadoes of comparable strength which occurred in the US around the same time killed only a few hundred. This disparity is due entirely to the grinding poverty imposed on the people of this area - next to nothing is spent on sea defences, houses are flimsy, evacuation

plans do not exist and people are already undernourished leaving them vulnerable to epidemics.

There is no point in continuing the list which could go on almost for ever. The point is that clearly what they call order is nothing of the sort, it is the cruel chaos of a system which cares for nothing except its own maintenance and growth.

In a statement issued by the World Wide Fund for Nature, Friends of the Earth and the American Environmental Defense Fund the G7 nations are condemned as being "the main cause of the global environmental crisis" which is quite correct. However the statement goes on to say "The G7 have the power and the responsibility to save the Earth".

This stands all sense and logic on its head. How can you look at a system which dominates the world with such devastating effect and then turn round and say that it is so powerful only it can save the world?!?

The G7, the UN, global capitalism as a whole IS the problem. The only hope of a solution is for us to unite in overthrowing this monstrosity and building a world based on co-operation and sharing, freedom and equality, a world where we have abolished the money economy, wage labour and the State. To this end we should do all we can to disrupt capitalist normality (refusal to pay, strikes, sabotage, riots, etc. etc.) and also try to spread and develop our ideas, build up communication between groups and individuals, create a community of resistance.

year minus one press

AS WE SEE IT

1 Throughout the world the vast majority of people have no control whatsoever over the decisions that most deeply and directly affect their lives. They sell their labour power while others who own or control the means of production accumulate wealth, make the laws and use the whole machinery of the State to perpetuate and reinforce their privileged positions.

2 During the past century the living standards of working people have improved. But neither these improved living standards, nor the nationalisation of the means of production, nor the coming to power of parties claiming to represent the working class have basically altered the status of worker as worker. Nor have they given the bulk of mankind much freedom outside of production. East and West, capitalism remains an inhuman type of society where the vast majority are bossed at work and manipulated in consumption and leisure. Propaganda and policemen, prisons and schools, traditional values and traditional morality all serve to reinforce the power of the few and to convince or coerce the many into acceptance of a brutal, degrading and irrational system. The "Communist" world is not communist and the "Free" world is not free.

3 The trade unions and the traditional parties of the left started in business to change all this. But they have come to terms with the existing patterns of exploitation. In fact they are now

essential if exploiting society is to continue working smoothly. The unions act as middlemen in the labour market. The political parties use the struggles and aspirations of the working class for their own ends. The degeneration of working class organisations, itself the result of the failure of the revolutionary movement, has been a major factor in creating working class apathy, which in turn has led to the further degeneration of both parties and unions.

4 The trade unions and political parties cannot be reformed, "captured", or converted into instruments of working class emancipation. We don't call however for the proclamation of new unions, which in the conditions of today would suffer a similar fate to the old ones. Nor do we call for militants simply to tear up their union cards. Our aims are simply that the workers themselves should decide on the objectives of their struggles and that the control and organisation of these struggles should remain firmly in their own hands. The FORMS which this self-activity of the working class may take will vary considerably from country to country and from industry to industry. Its basic CONTENT will not.

5 Socialism is not just the common ownership and control of the means of production and distribution. It means equality, real freedom, reciprocal recognition and a radical transformation in all human relations. It is "man's positive self-consciousness". It is man's understanding of his environment and of himself, his domination over his work and over such social institutions as he may need to create. These are not secondary aspects, which will automatically follow the expropriation of the old ruling class. On the contrary they are essential parts of the whole process of social transformation, for without them

no genuine social transformation will have taken place.

6 A socialist society can therefore only be built from below. Decisions concerning production and work will be taken by workers' councils composed of elected and revocable delegates. Decisions in other areas will be taken on the basis of the widest possible discussion and consultation among the people as a whole. This democratisation of society down to its very roots is what we mean by "workers' power".

7 MEANINGFUL ACTION, for revolutionaries, is whatever increases the confidence, the autonomy, the initiative, the participation, the solidarity, the equalitarian tendencies and the self-activity of the masses and whatever assists in their demystification. STERILE AND HARMFUL ACTION is whatever reinforces the passivity of the masses, their apathy, their cynicism, their differentiation through hierarchy, their alienation, their reliance on others to do things for them and the degree to which they can therefore be manipulated by others - even by those allegedly acting on their behalf.

8 No ruling class in history has ever relinquished its power without a struggle and our present rulers are unlikely to be an exception. Power will only be taken from them through the conscious, autonomous action of the vast majority of the people themselves. The building of socialism will require mass understanding and mass participation. By their rigid hierarchical structure, by their ideas and by their activities, both social-democratic and bolshevik types of organisation discourage this kind of understanding and prevent this kind of participation. The idea that socialism can somehow be achieved by an elite

party (however "revolutionary") acting "on behalf of" the working class is both absurd and reactionary.

9 We do not accept the view that by itself the working class can only achieve a trade union consciousness. On the contrary we believe that its conditions of life and its experiences in production constantly drive the working class to adopt priorities and values and to find methods of organisation which challenge the established social order and established pattern of thought. These responses are implicitly socialist. On the other hand, the working class is fragmented, dispossessed of the means of communication, and its various sections are at different levels of awareness and consciousness. The task of the revolutionary organisation is to help give proletarian consciousness an explicit socialist content, to give practical assistance to workers in struggle, and to help those in different areas to exchange experiences and link up with one another.

10 We do not see ourselves as yet another leadership, but merely as an instrument of working class action. The function of SOLIDARITY is to help all those who are in conflict with the present authoritarian social structure, both in industry and in society at large, to generalise their experience, to make a total critique of their condition and of its causes, and to develop the mass revolutionary consciousness necessary if society is to be totally transformed.

NEW BOOKS

The following titles have all been published since the 1991 Yearbook. Many bookshops are unwilling to carry such material (for political and/or economic reasons), or are oblivious to their existence. If you're not blessed with a suitably enlightened local bookshop, these titles are all available mailorder from AK Distribution, 3 Balmoral Place, Stirling, Scotland, FK8 2RD

To order:

1. List each title together with author and price.
2. Total and then add postage: 10% for the UK, and 20% overseas.
3. Make cheque/postal order or International Money Order payable to: R KANAAN. (Overseas customers please note payment must be in Sterling). Alternatively money can be transferred direct to the Girobank account no: 18 469 6100 (R Kanaan).
4. Finally, send to:
AK Distribution
3 Balmoral Place
Stirling
Scotland
FK8 2RD

An apology. The original idea was to list every new title since the last yearbook and so provide a comprehensive guide to one aspect of what libertarians in Britain have been up to in the

last year. In the event there's been neither enough time to write it all up, not space to put it in if there had been time.

SCUM MANIFESTO

Valerie Solanas

Phoenix Press

£1.50

"Life in this society being, at best, an utter bore and no aspect of society being at all relevant to women, there remains to civic-minded, responsible, thrill-seeking females only to overthrow the government, eliminate the money system, institute complete automation and destroy the male sex."

OUT OF THE GHETTO

Joe Jacobs

Phoenix Press

£9

320 page autobiography of the East End, Jewish working class militant who was kicked out of the Communist Party in 1938 for his uncompromising opposition to Fascism. Fascinating inside story.

anti:car

Phoenix Press

90p

Attacking the motor car on ecological and (anti) political grounds. Starting an anti-car campaign.

THE MINERS' NEXT STEP

Germinal and Phoenix Press

£1.50

Important British syndicalist document from 1912. With a new introduction by militant miner David Douglass.

WINNING THE CLASS WAR
Direct Action Movement
£1.00

An anarcho-syndicalist strategy for Britain in the 1990s. A guide to what the Direct Action Movement are thinking and doing these days.

TERRORIZING THE NEIGHBORHOOD
American Foreign Policy in the Post-Cold War Era
Noam Chomsky
AK Press
£3.50

Important new book by the veteran critic of US imperialism. A good introduction to the political ideas of the best libertarian thinker alive.

A STRUCTURED ANARCHISM
John Griffin
Freedom Press
£1

Trying to give anarchism some intellectual coherence.

BIGGER CAGES, LONGER CHAINS
Larry Law
Spectacular Times
£1.20

The last, and best, of the anarcho-situationist pocket pamphlets written by the late Larry Law. Just reprinted.

PIRATES
Larry Law
Spectacular Times
75p

The amazing story of the pirate Captain Misson. Long unavailable.

WILDCAT ABC OF BOSSES

Donald Room
Freedom Press
£1.95

New (mostly) cartoons often featuring the anarchist Wildcat whose enthusiasm usually gets the better of her. I particularly like the anti-voting one on pages 8 and 9.

WORK LANGUAGE & EDUCATION IN THE INDUSTRIAL STATE

Michael Duane
Freedom Press
£1

Not really a structured argument but a thoughtful, off-beat ramble through class society.

VOTE: WHAT FOR?

Robert Lynn
Clydeside Press
£?

"I try to show the futility of organising in political parties. I advise industrial and social organisation. A do-it-yourself movement and make the politicians redundant."

THIS IS CLASS WAR

Class War
£1

Revised and updated edition of their introduction to themselves. A full length book on the politics of Class War is promised soon.

LIST OF MAGAZINES

The number of magazines and range of areas covered shows that a lot of energy is being expended, but the same amount of energy could produce much greater results. Almost all of the magazines have tiny circulations, yet we know there's a massive audience for our ideas. Why aren't we finding it? Could there be more co-operation between magazines? How open to new writers are magazines? If you've something to say and think one of the magazines might print it, then write an article and send it in. All they can do is say no.

The following descriptions are written by the magazines 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.

BLACK CHIP

C. G. H. Services

Cwm Gwen Hall

Pencader, Dyfed

Cymru, SA39 9HA

Tel 0559 384574 (1-9pm)

Very irregular journal on new technology. Welcomes informed articles on this important subject area. Need not be academic/practical/poliemical but must be interesting and well written. Text files welcome on 5¼"/3½" disks, Amiga DOS, ST DOS, QDOS, MS-DOS, CP/M. [360k/720k/880k format disks only].

BLACK FLAG
BM Hurricane
London
WC1N 3XX
No information received.

BULLETIN OF ANARCHIST RESEARCH

John Moore
PO Box 556
London
SE5 0RL

£1.50 Subscribers may subscribe for as many copies as they want at the cover price. Quarterly. Reviews, articles and information about anarchism, both historical and contemporary. Published by Anarchist Research Group which meets 5 times a year. Open to all those who do research on anarchism, virtually all articles are by subscribers.

CLASS WAR
PO Box 39
SW PDO
Manchester
M15 5HN

Class War - the paper. Sex, crime, sport, scandal, all this and more in Britain's best/most unruly popular tabloid. 40p every six weeks, soon to go monthly!!

Class War - The Heavy Stuff, the magazine that gives the theoretical backup to the anger!

Class War - the federation. Britain's most dynamic, ambitious, go-ahead revolutionary working class group, flushed with the success of its international conference, now even more determined to smash the power of the bosses and their shitty capitalist system. Watch out also for Unfinished Business, a 200 page paperback that explores the ideas of Class War in awe-inspiring detail!!

COUNTER-INFORMATION

Pigeon Hole CI
c/o 11 Forth Street
Edinburgh EH1
No information received.

DIRECT ACTION

PO Box 574
Brockley
London
SE4 1DL
Tel 081 469 0303

Paper of the national organisation the Direct Action Movement, British section of the International Workers Association (established 1922). A 12 page monthly devoted to debating and promoting struggles in the workplace and locality, and generating anarcho-syndicalist ideas to a wider audience. Recently re-launched, new style and layout. 40p.

ECHANGES ET MOUVEMENT

BM Box 91
London
WC1N 3XX

A network of comrades and groups exchanging informations 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.

FLUX

Box A, The Rainbow Centre
180 Mansfield Road
Nottingham
No information received.

FREEDOM

(in Angel Alley)

84b Whitechapel High Street

London E1 7QX

Tel 071 247 9249

Fortnightly, 8 pages A3, 50p. For subscription rates, send for a free specimen copy. Comments on world news from an anarchist viewpoint. Anarchist movement news. Expositions and discussions of anarchist ideas. Reviews.

GREEN ANARCHIST

Box H

34 Cowley Road

Oxford

OX4 1HZ

GA wants a society of small-scale, self-sufficient, self-governing communities. As power can't be delegated beyond small communities without being abused, mass society is intrinsically hierarchical, alienated and exploitative. Anarchists should destroy any mode of production dependent on mass society rather than seek to control it - before it destroys the earth!

HACKNEY HECKLER

PO Box 824

London

N1 9DL

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 think how many people we get through to!

THE HEAVY STUFF

PO Box 1QF

Newcastle
NE99 1QF
See entry under CLASS WAR.

HERE AND NOW
PO Box 109
Leeds
LS5 3AA
No information received.

INSIDE INFORMATION
Pigeon Hole CI
11 Forth Street
Edinburgh EH1
No information received.

INSURRECTION
BM Elephant
London
WC1N 3XX
No information received.

Lib ED
Phoenix House
170 Wells Road
Bristol BS4 2AG
Tel 0272 778453

Lib ED, for the liberation of learning, is a termly magazine which examines radical ideas and practice in education. It holds readers meetings and organises a conference every year. It has close contacts with libertarian educational groups and schools around the world.

MERSEYSIDE ANARCHIST NEWSLETTER
PO Box 110
Liverpool
L69 6AU

25p cover price, £3.50 a year's subscription, made out to Mutual Aid Centre. 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
London
E1 7QX

Review of anarchist titles currently available in the UK. Available free from alternative bookshops or by subscription (£2 UK, £3.50 overseas). Three or four issues a year. The publishers also organise the Anarchist Bookfair every year in London. Details to be found in issues of the NAR.

ORGANISE!

Anarchist Communist Federation
c/o 84b Whitechapel High Street
London
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 anarchist-communist ideas. As well as discussing contemporary issues, it initiates debate on areas not normally covered by agitational journals.

PINK BRICK

121 Railton Road
London SE24
No information received.

POISON PEN/year minus one press
PO Box 71

Hastings

E Sussex

We are a small, ramshakle affair who produce (occasionally) Poison Pen and also leaflets and pamphlets which are distributed free. PP is primarily a paper with a local circulation although we are in contact with a range of groups, individuals and publications worldwide. Our print run is between 250 - 500. Revolution against capitalism is the only solution. We welcome correspondence, please send stamps, SAEs.

THE RAVEN

(in Angel Alley)

84b Whitechapel High Street

London

E1 7QX

Tel 071 247 9249

Quarterly, 96 pages, A5, £2.50, post free. Discursive and factual articles 2,000 to 12,000 words. Issues are assembled on particular topics (Revolution; Education; Communication; Voting; Health; Anarchism in Eastern Europe). Contributions invited.

SHOCKING PINK

121 Railton Road

London SE24

Tel 071 274 3150

Shocking Pink is the world's most fantastic magazine ever, totally radical and well wicked, produced by wonderful young women in their spare time for superb wild women types. Also it's pink and glossy, with lots of jokes and pictures. Get one for £1 or subscribe for £3.50 (Boys £7). Trimenstrual.

SOCIALISM FROM BELOW

PO Box B20

Huddersfield

HD1 1XS

Irregular magazine (at present) of the Anarchist Workers. A serious journal of libertarian political comment, analysis and theory which aims to build a strong movement of anarchist workers, on a sound political and organisational footing, by addressing the issues of importance for revolutionaries and the working class today.

SOLIDARITY

c/o 123 Lathom Road
London
E6 2EA

Quarterly, subscriptions £6.00. Since 1961 the leading UK forum for libertarian ideas. Lucidly written, crisply presented and 100% ideology-free, Solidarity stands for the kind of questioning thinking encountered in the ideas of such writers as Noam Chomsky, Murray Bookchin and Cornelius Castoriadis. Required reading for anarchists and libertarians alike. (See also listing under publishers.)

TAKING LIBERTIES

PO Box 446
Sheffield
S1 1NY

Bi-monthly newsletter of the Northern Anarchist Black Cross. Written by prisoners and supporters, it aims to report on and reflect the struggles going on in British (and international) prisons. Supports around 50 prisoners, and supports many on-going campaigns, eg Strangeways Trial, Martin Foran, Robert Taylor, Poll Tax prisoners, AFA etc. "Until all are free, we are all imprisoned."

VAGUE

BCM Box 7207
London
WC1N 3XX

"Began as a fanzine but has moved away from music to delve into political, social and cultural realms. With its post-situationist stance and blunt-instrument satire, it remains fashionable with an ever-expanding audience. Conspiracy, cartoons, critiques, dense graphics and investigative-journalist reports on the myths of the past."

WORKERS SOLIDARITY

Workers Solidarity Movement

PO Box 1528

Dublin 8

Ireland

75p, £5 subscription. Quarterly A4 20 page magazine packed with anarchist news, views, analysis and reviews from Ireland. The WSM have recently published "Ireland and British Imperialism", a pamphlet dealing with the partition of Ireland, sectarianism, the civil rights movement and republicanism (£1.50 inc postage).

LIST OF PUBLISHERS

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 in the section on NEW BOOKS and also below.

ACE EDITIONS

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 anarchist-communist ideas which will help bring about the anarchist revolution.

AK PRESS

3 Balmoral Place

STIRLING

FK8 2RD

Tel 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 Distribution (to the trade) and AK Press mail order for individuals, with over

1,000 titles. Please do send for the latest catalogues.

APRORIA PRESS

308 Camberwell New Road

London

SE5 0RW

Tel 071 274 9009

Aproria publishes the series of 17th century "Tracts & Rants", the bedrock of most libertarian and progressive political thought. Works by Winstanley, Coppe, the Diggers and more extreme sectarians are complemented by contemporary anarchic essays by John Moore and others. All titles distributed by Counter-Productions, PO Box 556, London SE5 0RL (send SAE for free descriptive mail-order catalogue of home-grown and imported publications).

ASP

BCM 3714

LONDON

WC1N 3XX

Anarcho-syndicalist, Bakuninist propoganda, revolutionary history, anti-Marxist. About 12 titles. "Anarchy in the USSR" is a new title.

ATTACK INTERNATIONAL

BM 6577

LONDON

WC1N 3XX

A small revolutionary propoganda 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.

B. M. CLAUDIA

LONDON

WC1N 3XX

No information received.

CLYDESIDE PRESS LTD.

37 High Street

Glasgow Cross

GLASGOW

G1 1LX

No information received but I happen to know that they've recently published "Vote: What For?" by Robert Lynn, so I'll give that a plug.

DERRICK A. PIKE

1 Market Place

GLASTONBURY

BA6 9HD

Self publisher. Subjects anarchism and pacifism. 2 titles in print.

ELEPHANT EDITIONS

BM Elephant

LONDON

WC1N 3XX

No information received.

EXITSTENCIL PRESS

PO Box 279

LONDON N22

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.

FREEDOM PRESS

84b Whitechapel High Street

LONDON

E1 7QX

Tel 071 247 9249

Founded 1886. Anarchist classics and new anarchist works at affordable prices. Distributor for other anarchist publishers in the English language. Bookshop open 10 till 6 Monday to Friday, 10 till 5 Saturday. Write or call for list of over 400 anarchist books and pamphlets, mostly post-free in UK.

LIBERTARIAN EDUCATION

Phoenix House

170 Wells Road

Bristol

BS4 2AG

Tel 0272 778453

Libertarian Education publishes books and pamphlets on radical ideas and practice as well as the magazine Lib ED. Currently in print:

"Free School, the White Lion Experience" by Nigel Wright. "Freedom in Education, a DIY guide to the liberation of learning." "No Master, High or Low - Libertarian Education and Schooling 1890-1990" by John Shotten.

BM MAKHNO

London

WC1N 3XX

No information received.

NEWS FROM EVERYWHERE

Box 14

136 Kingsland High Street

LONDON E8

No information received.

PHOENIX PRESS

PO Box 824

LONDON

N1 9DL

Bored with unrealistic talk about the revolution happening next week? Phoenix is. So, reprinting the old texts but also trying to develop new ideas. Titles include the Anarchist Yearbook and Valerie Solanas' "Scum Manifesto". You can help Phoenix through a loan system, write and ask for details.

PIRATE PRESS

PO Box 446

SHEFFIELD

S1 1NY

Produces anarchist pamphlets cheaply. Recently published the centenary celebration of the "Sheffield Anarchist". Now publishing about 3 new titles a year, mixture of class struggle serious stuff and more situationist, but we print whatever takes our fancy.

REBEL PRESS

Box R

84b Whitechapel High Street

LONDON

E1 7QX

Anarchism, situationism. 9 titles in print.

SOLIDARITY

c/o 123 Lathom Road

LONDON

E6 2EA

The most important libertarian publisher of the 60s and 70s, Solidarity Publications is the imprint of a series of pamphlets and books on diverse political issues which now numbers more than sixty titles (and which have been variously translated into over fifteen foreign languages). Many titles remain in print. (See also listing under magazines).

SPECTACULAR TIMES

Box 99

84b Whitechapel High Street

LONDON

E1 7QX

Pocketbooks of populist situationism. Small, cheap and very popular. All 14 will eventually be brought back into print.

UNPOPULAR BOOKS

Box 15

136 Kingsland High Street

LONDON E8

No information received.

year minus one press

see the magazine entry for POISON PEN.

(and also the article THE NEW WORLD REICH MARCHES ON which is on page 23.)

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