Black Flag

For Anarchist Resistance

From Riot to Revolution?

Anti-Capitalism: Genoa, Brussels, New York, Argentina...
editorial

Welcome to issue 221 of Black Flag!

It has been a long time since the last one and a lot of exciting events have happened.

In Argentina, the protests in New York and Brussels, a strike in Georgia which the Left seems endless. This is why this issue is a bit cramped.

A recurring theme in this issue is the importance of applying anarchist ideas in working class situations. As Alexander Berkman once observed: “There is a continuous war between capital and labour.” For the last 20 years the victories in that war have been mostly one way. Are things changing? The number of workers who lose their jobs during austerity have risen from 20% in 2004 to 25% in 2016. The number of people on welfare has risen from 15% to 20% of the population. The CBI warned earlier this year of “austerity”. The Left is failed in industrial action at MG Rover. The CWU has voted for strike action over the postal workers’ pay dispute.

The current wave of strikes is the best possible way to fight for class struggle as the fundamental of an anti-capitalist project. Only when the “anti-globalisation” movement links with working class people in struggle can real capitalism become possible. The direct action scene is doing this. It is the only way forward – an effective anti-capitalist politics has to root itself within the class struggle.

Black Flag aims to aid the development of such a politics and its practice. We need to strengthen the politics of class. Anarchists must argue that direct action (strikes, occupations, etc.) should be employed over pay and, for instance, health and safety, and as a weapon of solidarity. Those of us taking direct action should seek to argue for support demands and rallies, not only to draw other working class people into action alongside us but also to re-establish a militant presence in the public space.

Events in Argentina are a striking confirmation of this, as well as anarchist theory and practice. The “principles of anarchism” (to use Kropotkin’s words) have been reinvigorated yet again in working class struggle. The basic principle of anarchism and socialism, the mass assembly of strikers, neighbours, is being successfully applied. Hopefully anarchists across the world will help these needs of anarchy created in struggle to grow and boom. Together we can make the ruling class cower “we would have got away with it, too, if it wasn’t for those pesky kids”

Black Flag’s New Year resolution is to appear regularly, if at the start somewhat infrequently. Practically, this means that we aim to get Black Flag out twice a year, as quickly as possible. This means that the deadline for the issue is the 15th of August, so the issue will be available at the anarchist book fair.

As always, any help with writing, production and distribution will be well received!

For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary cooperation, both at the individual and all forms of government and economic repression. To establish a share in the general prosperity for all – the basis for the struggle of racial, sexual, religious, and sex barriers – and to fight for the life of the world.

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Argentina Embassy occupied by Anarchists

On the 15th of January, a group of protesters successfully occupied the Argentinean Embassy in London and raised an anarchist flag on the building. The event ended with eight of the group being arrested, three of which were held in custody.

In early February two "Those Pesky Kids" were arraigned at Bow Street Magistrate to answer for their role in the occupation at the Argentinean Embassy. At the previous hearing, the CPS had asked for 4 weeks in which to obtain the Attorney-General's permission to proceed with the prosecution. At this hearing they admitted that they had not yet got the paper work ready to send to the Attorney General. The defence lawyers asked for the case to be finalised and pointed out that "Those Pesky Kids" had already been liberté curfied for 4 weeks, with 3 of them already having been arrested, three of which were held in custody.

PRESS RELEASE
by Those Pesky Kids
A group of Anarchists are occupying the Argentinean Embassy in support of the peoples rejection of their leaders. The occupation of the embassy is in solidarity with the insurrectionary events instigated by the majority of the Argentinian population. We have mobilised support of the dreams and desires of the people as they reject the right of governments and corporations to rule them.

Once heralded as the golden child of economic liberalisation, the country has now plummeted into a state of poverty and chaos, saddled with US$150 Billion debt and unemployment levels at 15%. The economic collapse in Argentina is due to the expansion of free-market policies and the imposition of IMF enforced Structural Adjustment Programmes including the ruthless privatisation of public services. These very same policies have caused ruin across the globe, from the privatisation of water in Bolivia to the chaos of oil in Britain.

Instead of merely accepting the ruin wreaked by over a decade of IMF austerity measures and structural adjustment policies - policies that continue a centuries old system of profiteering and exploitation - people across Argentina have autonomously organised accountable and democratic self-governing assemblies to transform the country.

We have occupied this embassy to highlight the illegitimacy not just of the Argentinian government, but all governments. The situation in Argentina shows both the failure of capitalism as a global system and the requirement of what has been called "the new world society". The new world society requires people's empowerment. We endorse the peoples' cry of no leaders - no governments!
We endorse peoples' liberation!
We endorse the creation of a new society, free from oppression and exploitation! We endorse the continued destruction of capitalism!

La lucha sigue

Argentinean Embassy occupied by Anarchists

With the Argentinean strike, we see the potential for the working class to take control of their lives. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is obvious. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is clear. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is evident. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is palpable. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is tangible. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is real. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is immediate. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is now. The potential for the working class to take control of their lives is here.

Rebel workers at home!

Railway workers from Arriva, South-West Trains and ScotRail have staged a series of 24 and 48 hours strikes in support of pay claims and to defend fellow workers who they felt were being harshly discriminated.

South-West trains were hit hardest with barely 10% of trains running in the South - most of the lucrative commuter services into London, where nearly all of Arriva's northern trains were halted for 48 hours, and are likely to be cancelled again as the dispute (which has already cost £14 million) spreads. In Scotland, drivers are operating an overtime ban which has cut services by 25%.

For the first time in 26 years, staff at the British Film Institute have gone on strike. Intransigent management has forced staff from the MSF union to take industrial action over pay.

It began with the workers walking out for a half-day every Thursday the 26th of January until their demands are met. On the first day of the action, the vast majority of staff at the main BFI office in London took part leaving several floors deserted. Three weeks into the dispute, over 100 MSF staff at the British Film Institute walked out Staff "have had enough" and refused to bow to pressure from the MSF bureaucracy to compromise - the office union reps, on the other hand, were commended for their more militant stance. After the boss sent a to our members, threatening a grant freeze if strike action continued, staff responded by promising to have more people out next week - one union member claimed she was "prepared to walk out and stand to death rather than cave in.

Other disputes in the UK include the usual Post Office/Consignia rumbles with threats of walkouts in the South-West over disciplinary measures, and the very real possibility of a national strike to stop the plans to open the service up to competition, balloting is already underway.

Industrial action has also been taking place elsewhere. When Airport workers have voted to strike at Manchester and Derby, Portsmouth dockers are on the verge of striking and possible lockout, actions have on strikers’ terms; Belfast aerospace workers are currently being balloted on strike action, radiographers are currently out, and a whole host of localised disputes are continuing.

Freudian slips...

From The Weakest Link:

Anne Robinson: What French word did Karl Marx use to describe those who oppressed the working class?
Contestant: Trotskyists

The contestant got the question wrong because, free from oppression and exploitation! We endorse the continued destruction of capitalism!

Ronnie

03 Black Flag 221 - National News
editorial

Welcome to issue 221 of Black Flag!

It has been a long time since the last one and a lot of exciting events have happened.

Global anarchists, the protests in New York and Brussels, an actual strike in the US seems endless. This is why this issue is a bit cramped.

A recurring theme in this issue is the importance of applying anarchist ideas in working class struggle. As Alexander Berkman once observed: "there is a continuous warfare between capital and labour."

For the last 20 years victories in this war have been mostly one way. Are things changing?

The number of work days lost to strike action have risen from 69.7 million in 1998 to 154.0 million in 2001. Union membership is up 6.7 million.

Two-day strikes on the rail network have already led New Labour ministers to talk of "wranglers" and the CBI to warn of "Seventies-style industrial strike."

On the 15th of January, a group of protesters occupied the Argentinean embassy and raised an anarchist flag on the building. The police ended with eight of the group being arrested; three of which were held in custody.

In early February the "These Pesky Kids" were arrested in Bow Streets Magistrates to answer for their role in the occupation of the Argentinean Embassy. At the previous hearing the CPS had asked for a week in which to obtain the Attorney-General's permission to proceed with the prosecution. At this hearing they admitted that they had not yet got the paper work ready to find the Attorney General.

The defence lawyers asked for an adjournment to be held and pointed out that "These Pesky Kids" had already been publicly quoted for 4 weeks, with no charge. They do not go wrong. 2000 metres of any diplomatic premises. The judge agreed to adjourn for a week the application to close the court. The CPS in an attempt to close the case.

PRESS RELEASE

by These Pesky Kids

A group of anarchists are occupying the Argentinean Embassy in support of the peoples' rejection of their leaders.

The occupation of the Embassy is solidarity with the suppression of all the struggles inspired by the majority of the Argentinean people. We wholeheartedly support the dreams and desires of the people as they reject the right of governments and corporations to rule them.

Once heralded as the golden child of economic liberalisation, the country has now plummeted into state poverty and chaos. Saddled with US$15.3 billion debt and unemployment levels of 13%, the economic collapse in Argentina is due to the expansion of free-market policies. The imposition of IMF enforced Structural Adjustment

Programmes including the relentless privatisation of public services. These very same policies have caused ruin across the globe, from the privatisation of water in Bolivia to the chaos of slums in Britain.

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La lucha sigue

Rebel workers at home!

Railway workers from Arriva, South-West Trains and ScotRail have staged a series of 24 and 48 hours strikes in support of the railway workers who they feel were being harshly disciplined.

South-West trains were hit hardest with barely 10% of trains running in the South - most of the locomotive, communication and control staff on strike - while nearly all of Arriva's northern trains were halted for 48 hours, and are likely to be cancelled again as the dispute (which has already cost £14 million) spreads.

In Scotland, drivers are operating an overtime ban which has cut services by 25%.

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It began with the workers walking out for a half-day every Thursday the 26th of January until their demands are met. On the first day of the action, the vast majority of staff at the main BFI office in London took part leaving several floors deserted. Three weeks into the dispute, over 100 MSF staff at the British Film Institute walked out Staff "have had enough" and refused to bow to pressure from the MSF bureaucracy to compromise - the office union reps, on the other hand, were commended for their more militant stance. After the boss sent a statement to all staff threatening an immediate freeze if strike action continued, staff responded by promising to have more people out next week - one union member claimed she was "prepared to walk out and stars to deaths" rather than cave in.

Other disputes in the UK include the usual Post Office/Consiglina rumblings with threats of walkouts in the South-West over disciplinary measures, and the very real possibility of a national rail strike to stoppage over the plans to open the service up to competition, balloting is already underway.

Industrial action has also been taken places where Airport workers have voted to strike at Manchester and Derby. Portsmouth dockers are on the verge of striking and possible lockout; actors have been on strike for two months; Belfast aerospace workers are currently being balloted on strike action, radiographers are currently out, and a whole host of localised disputes are continuing.

Freudian slips...

From The Weakest Link:

Anne Robinson: What French word did Karl Marx use to describe those who oppressed the working class?

Contestant: Trotskyists

The contestant got the question wrong because, free from oppression and exploitation!

Ronnie
MMR

A Vaccine Too Far

As a parent of a 9 month old baby, sometimes soon we’re going to be asked to get her vaccinated. Before the latest scandal, we’d already decided that we didn’t trust the MMR vaccine. There are some who don’t trust any vaccine, but this is always a difficult call for a parent and I wouldn’t criticise anyone’s personal decision. However, what really gets my goat is the approach of the government. They lean heavily on GPs to force their patients to take it, up to the point of being chucked off GP lists, while babbbling on about patient choice. Yet the only patient choice available to us is to fork out hundreds of pounds and possibly travel hundreds of miles to get a single vaccine privately. So, the utterly of Labour’s mismanagement of the NHS is that there is now a growing number of measles cases in my area. The professionals on the TV and radio are all very reassuring, but people don’t believe them any more, not since they’ve had any other dealings with the government. And of course the real killer is not just measles, it’s the hypocrisy of Blair releasing patients into an entirely parliamentary spat while keeping mum about how his own children have passed this particular vaccination hurdle.

FREED TRADE HALL

Saturday 2nd of February, Manchester’s Free Trade Hall was taken back into public use, albeit briefly. Furore at the council’s decision to sell this historic public space (it is on the site of the infamous Peterloo Massacre), protesters occupied for three hours and a number of those were unafraid protesting at the sale of the building to a private developer to be made into a £5 million luxury hotel.

The occupation of the Free Trade Hall was timed to tie in with opposition to capitalism around the world. The same weekend saw huge demonstrations in Munich, New York and Haksar Aries. In Munich nearby 900 people were arrested for protesting as more than 7000 people looked to the streets to disrupt NATO’s annual meeting. In New York almost 20,000 demonstrated against the World Economic Forum, with 40 arrests. In Argentina there was a huge “cacerolazo”, demonstration, with thousands of demonstrators beating pots and pans in a noisy demo in the Buenos Aires main square.

Housing Office Occupied

Around 30 disabled people from the Disabled Access Network (DAN) occupied Burnage housing office on Western Road for 55 hours in protest against the lack of suitable housing for disabled people. They left only once the council had an agreement against them.

DAN occupied the ground floor housing office after the City Council informed a wheelchair user (who has been on the waiting list for a ground floor flat for five years) that there was no ground floor property for him (not missing an opportunity, DAN activists took advantage of this newly vacated ground floor building, occupying it.}

Protestors 6

Glasgow Council 0

In March 2001, Glasgow City Council’s plan to close the Govanhill complex, was thwarted when members of local community occupied the building, blocked roads and engaged in a number of civil disobedience acts. The anti-nuclear activists ended on August 7th 2001, when Sheriff Officers supported by over 250 police, horses, dogs and a helicopter confronted hundreds of local people who had spontaneously come out onto the streets to fight for a facility at the heart of their community. Next day, the spirits of even the most ardent car hater would have been lifted by the sound of drivers screeching horns as they crawled past the pool. Local people who had not previously been involved in the Campaign, stopped to chat to those of us who were sweeping up the debris, before going to shout “You should be ashamed of yourselves” at the Police on duty. A concerted attempt to crush the spirit of resistance in a Glasgow community has become an overall goal for those in remote areas who have been beamed to TV screens around the world.

Alka-Belter

German company Bayer have bought the German company which failed Dr Frankfurt, a movement that threatens, make the MMR research company in the UK. As Bayer launched itself on the New York stock exchange activists from the country blocked their Newbury HQ.

The roads leading to the staff car park were blocked, as were the main entrance and the rear doors. Banners were hung and leaflets were handed out to Bayer employees and to passers by. The blockade ended as planned. There were no arrests.

From the Manchester Loombrecker
http://www.loombrecker.org.uk/

The Games People Play

The morning I had been booked for at an uneventful anti-fascist march. The annual ritual in Glasgow on 24 November, coincides with St Andrews Day, as a day to get out their fascist friends to emerge from the censess. That over I jumped on a train to Drumgelloch, hoping to see my team - the non-sectionalist good guys (Partick Thistle) put one over the rough Diamonds of Airdrie. As soon I sat down I realised my journey was going to be eventful. Sitting very close to a bunch of casualls swinging lager, in a ‘hushed’ carriage. The only casualls were an honest hotel, and a bunch of ‘innocent bystander’ tales of how ICF types, had jumped Motherwell fans, caused trouble at Kilmarnock, spread reports of Rangers fans. Today Rangers weren’t playing. After surasing over, overhearing our mobile phone calls that trouble was to be switched to the store near the ground because the police were mobilised. I got off at a Gougher. I hadn’t been roughed up for.

This ICF team while not obviously fascist, were at the invitation of Section B, a nazi salute wing of Airdrie football supporters, and at the previous meeting of the Section B, the ‘North West Glasgow Express’ had appeared at the end of the game having taken a train ride up to Maryhill with the intention of causing trouble between all ultra supporters of both teams. A few weeks later there was the controversy at the Airdrie v Rangers game, and the next Glasgow PTFC V AFC game on 2nd February, was heavily policed with the Section B, in the line up along with Section A fans.

As an anarchist who is ‘fiba crazy’ side with the actual football lovers who detect such ‘strategy of tension’ crap from these sad macho books of McFarlane.
Protestors 6
Glasgow Council 0

In March 2001, Glasgow City Council’s plans to close the Govanhill pool complex was thwarted when members of local community occupied the building for 13 days. The occupation ended on August 7th, 2001, when Sheriff Officers, supported by over 250 police, horses, dogs and a helicopter confronted hundreds of local people who had spontaneously come out onto the streets to fight for a facility at the heart of their community. Next day, the spirits of even the most ardent car hater would have been lifted by the sound of drivers sounding their horns as they crawled past the pool. Local people who had not previously been involved in the campaign, stopped to chat to those of us who were sweeping up the debris, before going on shout “You should be ashamed of yourselves” at the pool on duty. A concerted attempt to crush the spirit of resistance in a Glasgow community has become an own goal for those in remote office towers beamond to TV screens around the world.

This campaign, the most diverse and imaginative that many people have experienced, has been a permanent threat to the government. Legal action is being considered against the police.

Alka-Belter

German company Bayer have bought the German company who make the herbicide Roundup from their UK company. Merck Sharp & Dohme, one of the world’s largest pharmaceutical companies, have bought the company for $11.6 billion. The sale of Roundup to Bayer is part of Merck Sharp & Dohme’s strategy to expand its business into new areas. The acquisition of Roundup will enable Bayer to extend its presence in the highly competitive global market for herbicides and agrochemicals. Bayer will use Roundup technology to develop new products that can help farmers increase yields and protect their crops against pests and diseases.

Housing Office Occupied

Around 30 disabled people from the Disabled Access Network (DAN) occupied Burghhead housing office on Western Road for 55 hours in protest at the lack of suitable housing for disabled people. They left only once the council had an agreement against them.

DAN occupied the ground floor housing office after the City Council informed a wheelchair user (who has been on the waiting list for a ground floor flat for five years) that there was not a suitable ground floor property to be offered. DAN activists took advantage of this newly vacated ground floor building, occupying it.

They demanded a meeting with the housing director, which they got within three days of the demo. DAN are waiting to see if the council will agree to a plan and necessary tools to re-house all the disabled people waiting. DAN won’t back down on their demands. A few tweaks won’t do. It needs a real plan looking at the problems and planning a building to be made into a £4.5 million luxury hotel.

The occupation of the Free Trade Hall was timed to tie in with opposition to capitalism around the world. The same weekend saw huge demonstrations in Munich, New York and Brussels. At the weekend, nearly 900 people were arrested for protesting against more than 7000 people who looked to the streets to disrupt NAFTA’s annual meeting. In New York almost 20,000 demonstrated against the World Economic Forum, with 40 arrests. In Argentina there was a huge “casasense” demonstration, with thousands of demonstrators beating pots and pans in a noise demo in the Buenos Aires’ main square.

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Saturday 2nd of February, Manchester’s Free Trade Hall was taken back into public use, albeit briefly. Furfur at the council’s decision to sell this historic public space (it is on the site of the infamous Peterloo Massacre), protesters were allowed to use the former home of their group to demonstrate. The free trade hall was originally scheduled to be demolished as part of the development of the city’s central area. As a result of the occupation, the hall has been turned into a temporary art gallery.

Police Brutality at Sellafield

Following on from recent peaceful anti-nuclear protests in Plymouth and at the Fastlane submarine base, around 200 anti-nuclear protesters were threatened by police at the site of Sellafield. It is one of the main gates at Sellafield nuclear power plant on Thursday 14th February. Despite informing the authorities of their plan to protest, and three previously peaceful demonstrations at the plant, people were threatened to be removed. Police caused injuries as they tried to pull obviously chained together activists apart, while arresting those trying to intervene. The gate was blocked by three bands. Legal action is being considered against the police.

MMR

A Vaccine Too Far

As a parent of a 9 month old baby, sometime soon we’re going to be asked to get her vaccinated. Before the latest scandal, we’d already decided that we didn’t trust the MMR vaccine. There are some who don’t trust any vaccine, but this is always a difficult call for a parent and I would not criticise anyone’s decision. However, what really gets my goat is the approach of the government. They lean heavily on GPs to force their patients to take it. Up to the point of being chucked off GP lists, while babbling on about patient choice. Yet the only patient choice available to us is to fork out hundreds of pounds and possibly travel hundreds of miles to get a single vaccine privately.

So, the upshot of Labour’s mismanagement of the NHS is that there is now a growing number of measles cases in my area. The professionals on the TV and radio are all very reassuring, but people don’t believe them any more, not since they’ve been told so many other things are working in the service of government. And of course the real killer is not just measles, it’s the hypocrisy of Blair releasing patients into a uncontrolled parliamentary spat while keeping mum about how his own children have passed this particular vaccination hurdle.

The GAMES PEOPLE PLAY

The morning I had been bored stiff at an unwonted anti-fascist march. The annual ritual in Glasgow on 24th November, coincides with St. Andrew’s Day, as a symbolic gesture for fascists to emerge from the coppers. That over I jumped on a train to Drumgelloch, hoping to see my team — the non-representative local group (Partick Thistle) put one over the rough Diamonds of Airdrie. As soon as I sat down I realised my journey was going to be eventful. Sitting very close to a bunch of usual swilling lager, in a ‘fushed carriage. Only the casuals were worn, and the ‘innocent bystanders’ tales of how ICF types, had jumped Motherwell fans, caused trouble at Kilmarnock, and got away with it. Today Rangers weren’t playing. After surgerying, over hearing our mobile phone calls that trouble was to be switched to the station near the ground because the fans were mobbed, I got off in shiny Easboex. Fibin I’m not worth being roughed up for. This ICF team while not obviously fascist, were at the invitation of Section B, a nazi salute wing of Airdrie football supporters, and at the previous meeting of the other Dumbarton contingent, the ‘North Glasgow Express’ had appeared at the end of the game having taken a train ride up to Maryhill with the intention of causing trouble between all actual supporters at the end of the game. A few weeks later there was the controversy at the Rangers v Airdrie game, and the next Glasgow PTC V UK games on 2nd February, was heavily policed with the Section B souvenir ring along with ‘Anti-Apartheid fans. As an anarchist who is ‘fibin crazy’ side with the actual football layers who detect such ‘strategy of tension’ crap from these sad macho booted scum. 

IWW ACTION IN SWANSEA

On 14th and 15th January 2002, GAP, third world labour, exploited/delivered world consumer rip-off, used the Swansea Job Centre to recruit staff to open a new store. Below is a report by an IWW member who went along as part of a planned anti-GAP protest by a number of groups.

"There is need for jobs applicants. Union. Some who turned up at quarter to interview were long after people who turned up an hour later.

People who said there would be details information about the bad points of GAP did not provide it, so that side of the plan fell down.

The IWW provided copies of their recruiting literature, "Every Worker Needs A Union" and some for shop employees called "Shopfloor" which were given coming out of the hotel after being interviewed. Only two refused to take a copy, most were definitively pro-Union.

The interviews were held in a Hotel, and some people who were not there for interviews also took part. Everyone who was about the will always find a section, and Open Forum. Most said they would have a look. More photocopies to be made for the second day.

Tax breaks were taken at the newly opened Community Resource Centre at 217 High Street in Swansea. The British IWW magazine Bread and Roses can now be read there, and they are starting a cybercafe. Perhaps some of those leafleted will take up IWW activity in Swansea." 

IWW, PO Box 4414, Poole, Dorset, BH15 3YL www.iww.org.uk

N.S. More information on www.saveourpool.co.uk
Dead Dogma Sketch (apologies to Monty Python)

A revolutionary goes into Marxism 2001

Revolutionary: ‘Ello, I wish to register a complaint (the SWP doesn’t respond).
R: ‘Ello, Stalinist?
SWP: What do you mean ‘Stalinist’?
R: I’m sorry, I have a cold. I wish to make a complaint.
SWP: We don’t have time for your contributions.
R: Never mind that, my lad. I wish to complain about this ideology which I thought not half an hour ago at this conference.
SWP: Oh yes, the, ah, the Russian Bolshevik... What’s wrong with it?
R: I’ll tell you what’s wrong with it, my lad. Its dead, that’s what’s wrong with it.
SWP: No no. its not dead. its resting! Remarkable ideology the Russian Bolshevik. 1917 y? Beautiful revolution.
R: The recognise don’t enter into it. Its stone dead.
SWP: Nononono, no no, its resting!!
R: All right then, if its resting, I’ll wake it up!!!
(abruptly at the meeting)

‘Ello Mister Bolshevik! Do you know that Lenin and Trotsky advocated party dictatorship... (SWP ignores point).
R: There, we replied to you.
R: No, you didn’t, that was you ignoring what I said.
SWP: We never!.
R: Yes, you did.
SWP: We never, ever ignore anything...
R: (making the point repeatedly)
Lenin and Trotsky eliminated workers democracy in the army and in the workplace. The Bolsheviks dethroned soviets with non-Bolshevik majorities. All before the start of the Civil War. Lenin and Trotsky both advocated party dictatorship. Moreover, they explicitly argued for and against the idea of class dictatorship. This is your notion of a ‘Clock alarm call’.

R: That’s what I call a dead ideology.
SWP: No, no, no, no, it was studied by the counter-revolution!
R: STUNETT?
SWP: Yeah, counter-revolution stunned it, just as it was about to implement socialism, workers’ power and democracy! The Russian Bolsheviks stink, easily counterable.
R: Um... now look... now look mate, I’ve definitely had enough of this. This ideology is definitely deceased and when I embraced it off an hour ago, you assured me that in total lack of freedom and democracy in 1923, due to it being tired and shuffled out following a prolonged civil war, yet these events occurred before it started. SWP: Well ill... Ill probably pinning for 1917.
R: PINN’ for 1917????? What kind of talk is that? Look, why did it overthrow soviet democracy the moment it got rejected in the soviet elections in spring 1918? Why did it abolish by decree elected soviet committee in March 1918.

Who are the men who really run this land...what are their names...and on what streets do they live.

If I’m being honest, Trotsky was seriously pondering this subject at the time. It would be the Sunday Times rather than Class War which he would turn to as the source of power in the street.

Such is the confidence and bullshitz of British bourgeois that concerns as to whether such information should be disclosed is expressed in terms of respecting the privacy of “those in the white eye”. So when Norman Lamont [2] is exposed as the wealthiest bourgeois enclave in Scotland, we are asked to sympathise with respecting the private space of lazy, arrogant, fat-cat, sectarian bigoted and lazy Cambridge and Chelsea elitists.

Such is the confidence of the ‘dictatorship of the proletariat’ by the class? (Lenin) The “dictatorship of the proletariat is at the same time the dictatorship of the Communist Party”. 11

They are given away from the socialist movement, imposed party dictatorship, and justified it time and time again! This is an ‘ex-socialist theory’.

SWP: Well, I didn’t quite know that you were saying and I seem dumb in the dogma.

R: (in a quick spate to the Central Committee)
SWP: Sorry comrades, I’ve checked and your three minutes time and we’re out of time.
R: Fine, I’ll try again.
SWP: Focus a step on Socialist Worker? (pause)
R: Pray, does it talk about anarchism, the real socialism, the real dictatorship, the real democracy.

WELL IT’S HARDLY A BLOODY REPLACEMENT, IS IT????????

[1] Dave Cosby: “I could only remember my Name’1991”.
[2] nor in list of postal voters with 15% concentration of mailbox letter boxes, and 2nd inside the home counties. North-West readers should note that Bulian at 16% and Wakeley Hill at 15% are similarly leafy northern outputs in Cheshire. Loundswat in Hertford at 20% topped a survey exclusively for the foreign wealth occasionally domiciled in Kensington, Mayfair and parts of Edinburgh.
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A revolutionary goes into Marxism 2001

Revolutionary: ‘Ello, I wish to register a complaint (the SWP doesn’t respond).

R: ‘Ello, Stalinist?

SWP: What do you mean ‘Stalinist’?

R: I’m sorry, I have a cold. I wish to make a complaint.

SWP: We don’t have time for your contributions.

R: Never mind that, my lad. I wish to complain about this ideology which I thought not half an hour ago at this conference.

SWP: Oh yes, the, ah, the Russian Bolshevik... What’s wrong with it?

R: I’ll tell you what’s wrong with it, my lad. Its dead, that’s what’s wrong with it.

SWP: No no. its not dead. its resting! Remarkable ideology the Russian Bolshevik. 1917 y? Beautiful revolution.

R: The recognize don’t enter into it. Its stone dead.

SWP: Nononono, no no, its resting!!

R: All right then, if its resting, I’ll wake it up!!!

(abruptly at the meeting)

‘Ello Mister Bolshevik! Do you know that Lenin and Trotsky advocated party dictatorship... (SWP ignores point).

R: There, we replied to you.

R: No, you didn’t, that was you ignoring what I said.

SWP: We never!.

R: Yes, you did.

SWP: We never, ever ignore anything...

R: (making the point repeatedly)

Lenin and Trotsky eliminated workers democracy in the army and in the workplace. The Bolsheviks dethroned soviets with non-Bolshevik majorities. All before the start of the Civil War. Lenin and Trotsky both advocated party dictatorship. Moreover, they explicitly argued for and against the idea of class dictatorship. This is your notion of a ‘Clock alarm call’.

R: That’s what I call a dead ideology.

SWP: No, no, no, no, it was studied by the counter-revolution!

R: STUNETT?

SWP: Yeah, counter-revolution stunned it, just as it was about to implement socialism, workers’ power and democracy! The Russian Bolsheviks stink, easily counterable.

R: Um... now look... now look mate, I’ve definitely had enough of this. This ideology is definitely deceased and when I embraced it off an hour ago, you assured me that in total lack of freedom and democracy in 1923, due to it being tired and shuffled out following a prolonged civil war, yet these events occurred before it started.

SWP: Well ill... Ill probably pinning for 1917.

R: PINN’ for 1917????? What kind of talk is that? Look, why did it overthrow soviet democracy the moment it got rejected in the soviet elections in spring 1918? Why did it abolish by decree elected soviet committee in March 1918.

Who are the men who really run this land...what are their names...and on what streets do they live.

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They are given away from the socialist movement, imposed party dictatorship, and justified it time and time again! This is an ‘ex-socialist theory’.

SWP: Well, I didn’t quite know that you were saying and I seem dumb in the dogma.

R: (in a quick spate to the Central Committee)
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Dead Dogma Sketch
(apologies to Monty Python)

A revolutionary goes into Marxism 2001

Revolutionary: "Elio, I wish to register a complaint (the SWP does not respond).

Elio: Stalini!

Revolutionary: "What do you mean 'Stalini'?"

Elio: "I'm sorry, I have a cold. I wish to make a complaint."

Revolutionary: "We don't have time for false complaints!"

Elio: "Never mind that, my lad. I wish to complain about this ideology which I heard not half an hour ago at this very conference.

Revolutionary: "Oh yes, the, the, the Russian Bolshevik... is there anything wrong with it?"

Elio: "I'll tell you what's wrong with it, my lad. Its dead. That's what's wrong with it."

Revolutionary: "No, no, no, no, no, no, nothing is wrong with it."

Elio: "Look, matey, I know a dead ideology when I see one. I'm looking at one right now.

Revolutionary: "No no, no, no, it's not dead. It's not dead! Remember ideology the Russian Bolshevik "Life"? Beautiful rhythm."

Elio: "The rhetoric don't enter it into it. It's stone dead."

Revolutionary: "Nonononono, no, nothing is wrong with it."

Elio: "All right then, if its not dead, I'll make it up! (abruptly at the meeting)"

'Ello Mister Bolshevik! Do you know that Lenin and Trotsky advocated party dictatorship? (SWP ignores point)

Revolutionary: "Yes, we replied to you."

Elio: "No you didn't, that was you ignoring what I said."

Revolutionary: "We never!"

Elio: "Yes you did."

Revolutionary: "We never, never, ever ignore anything..." (making the point repeatedly)

Lenin and Trotsky eliminated workers democracy in the army and in the workplace. The Bolsheviks dismantled such practices with non-Russian minorities. All before the start of the Civil War. Lenin and Trotsky both advocated party dictatorship. Moreover, they explicitly argued for it and against the idea of class dictatorship. This is your "alarm clock alarm!"

(raising points at me and watching them get ignored)

Revolutionary: "Now that's what I call a dead ideology.

Elio: "No, no, no, it was smashed by the counter-revolution!"

Revolutionary: "STUMUNED!!"

Elio: "Yeah, counter-revolution stunned it, just as it was about to implement socialism, workers' power and democracy! The Russian Bolsheviks easily came, didn't they.

Revolutionary: "Um... new look... now look mate, I've definitely said enough of this. This ideology is definitely deceased and when I entered not off an hour ago, you assured me that in total lack of freedom and democracy in 1921, we due to it being tired and shagged out following a prolonged civil war, yet these events occurred before it started. SWP: Well, yes... probably pinning for 1917.

Elio: 'PINF' for 1917?!?!?! What kind of talk is that? Look, why did it overthrow soviet democracy the moment it got rejected in the soviet elections in spring 1917? Why did it abolish by decree elected soldier committees in March 1919. Why did it reject workers' self-management by factory committees and advocate one man management with dictatorial powers in the spring of 1918?"

Revolutionary: "The Russian Bolsheviks believed in centralised power! Queues for free-ways, diesel-electric trains, and factory committees don't matter when you have a central government elected by the soviet. Remarkable ideology, is it not? Lovely theory."

Elio: "Look! I've discovered that the theory that they got home, and I discovered that the one reason that it was still in power in 1921 was that it has imposed a one party dictatorship, repressed all worker dissent, crushed waves of strikes and protest and, finally, suppressed the Kronstadt revolt (which was demanding free soviet elections). Moreover, it justified party dictatorship and claimed it had to be used in every revolution."

Revolutionary: "Well, ok, it had to do that. If it hadn't crushed these popular movements then the Whites would have won and it was more Soviet power. Give it another chance and WHAP Socialism!"

Revolutionary: "VOOM?! Mate, this ideology wouldn't go "voom" if you put four million votes through it! Soviet Power without soviet elections. Socialism without workers management of productive units. Authority is "absolute monocracy" to draw a distinction between dictatorship by the party and by the class? (Lenin) The "dictatorship of the proletariat" is at the same time the dictatorship of the Communist Party?"

Revolutionary: "The "revolutionary dictatorship of the proletariat" is an "objective necessity"? (Trotsky) Its bleeding deranged!

Revolutionary: "No no, no, no, no, nothing is wrong with it."

Elio: "Surely the growing inequality of wealth distribution, unchecked under Labour Government, that Britain boasts the biggest concentration of millionaires in Europe, as the paper writes "no other European Union states come close". Only the tax haven of Monaco has a higher density of millionaires. Most are content to be domiciled in Britain with its 40% top tax bracket. These millionaires, even the Liberal Democrats and S N.P. seem radical with their 50% demand. There care of course, even "greedy Brits", officially based in Monaco, Grand Cayman, Switzerland and the Cayman Islands. 74,000 people classified as British are millionaires amongst the top 1% of "economic citizens". This is the same number as Germany, with 20 billion more million of a population. When you identify the numbers of the rich in these countries plus France, Italy, and Spain and Scandinavia 235,000 'precious souls' meet this description.

Such has been the exploitation of the rich in many countries: the top echelons - the people who give the lowest proportion of their income to charitable causes & who always merit 'philanthropic' donations is, "to get on Britain's 1,000 richest people list have to be worth £3 million in personal wealth."

No less than 50% of these richest 1,000 stay in London & the 'home counties' with only 20 in Wales & 17 up in Geordeland. Of Scotland's top 100, 68 live part of the time in their country of origin, while another 32 only visit to gouse shopping!

Very few of the 68 Scots are household names, outside the home counties, they have to be worth £3 million in personal wealth."

Despite their concern, lack of knowledge about such wealth, and the power that is associated, is a bit of a step to the world of the fat-cat. Anarchists revolutionary should seek to expose, in factual as well as theoretical clarity, in every region of Britain and wider just whom these people are, and what they do. With television, radio, soap opera, and books, with camera monitored security etc, do they really believe in this? It is part of their capitalistic project to make our lives easier in a rate that they are beholdning and in awe of their position. As anarchists, we must challenge the capitalist class society, our propaganda of words and deeds (pieing etc) contribute to such inequality far from 'trickling down', to gushing in their faces!

Jim McFarlane
(from a down trodden district of Glasgow)

What are their Names? [1]

[1] Dave Casey "I couldn only remember my Name’ 1971.
[2] in the list of postal dictums with 1% concentration of millionaire letter boxes, and 2nd outside the home county. North-East & North-West readers should note that Britain at 16% and Wales Hill at 15% are similarly leafy northern outputs in Chesterfield. Loudwater in Hertford with 7% topped a survey establishing the foreign wealth occasionally domiciled in Kensington, Mayfair and parts of Edinburgh.
[3] the other top 5 areas of Scotland are Stirling, Aberdeen, and Kilmarnock & Queen Road in Aberdeen; West Pollokshields Dumbraek in Glasgow; Killiecrankie, Coatbridge & Mannofield in Glasgow, plus Maryfield and Blackburn in Edinburgh.

A copy of the above is available on request from: 06

[1] Various report of Marxism 2001 reply to Marxist distortions of anarchism can be found at: www.iskarchy.org/texts/rich.html
Germany, Essen, i2002:

An international solidarity call for solidarity with unionists from all over the world.

2002 conference will be held in the city of Essen (Germany) from August 29 to September 1, 2002. The aim of the conference is to exchange experience of workers' struggles and improve global communication and solidarity with those struggles. It is a follow-up to the International Solidarity Conference held in San Francisco in 1999. The conference is being organised by the German FAU-IWA and is also attended by representatives from Austria, Belgium, France, Germany, Italy, Netherlands, Poland, Spain and Switzerland.

The following four principles are agreed:

1. The class of those who are forced to sell their labour power for the profit of a capitalist class and the class of exploiters have nothing in common.
2. The working class must organise independently in order to fight the class of exploiters.
3. In this struggle the working class's most important weapon is direct action.
4. Only the workers themselves can do away with the global system of capitalist exploitation.

The conference aims to discuss how to improve the coordination of union struggles worldwide, share experiences of anti-racist struggle and reinterpret the concept of capitalist exploitation and state control and make experience available to workers' struggles throughout the world.

If you are interested in taking part in the conference, please contact:

FAU-IWA
Wolfgangstr. 101 (10)
D-10117 Berlin Germany
email: i2002@wifo.de

Workers resisting McMerde!

The workers of the Strasbourg-Saint-Denis McDonald's restaurant in Paris had been on strike since October 17th against job insecurity, working conditions and repression against trade unionists. This longest strike ever taken against McDonald's (and in the fast food industry generally), ended on November 11th with a victory for the strikers.

Thanks to their determination and unity, the strikers were able to defeat the management. The whole society was in solidarity, the strikers brought the management and McDonald's to their knees. The strike will have repercussions on the world, particularly in the fast-food industry worldwide, where anti-union repression is the norm. It is possible to struggle, it is possible to win.

White Supremacists Chased Out of York, Pennsylvania

In January, the World Church of the Creator, National Alliance, Eastern HammerSkis, Aryan Nations and National Socialist Movement were chased out of York by the spontaneous organisation of collective action of York working class residents (Black, Latino, White, Asian, Jewish, Women, Men, Young and Old) with the assistance of anti-racist and Anti-Racist organisations. There was also a well-attended multi-racial unity rally by the NAACP and York City Human Relations Commission.

The White Supremacists were attempting to capitalise on racial tensions which have been brought about recently by the prosecution of York's mayor for his role in the 1989 race riots in that town.

Rather than a show of force, their attempt to mobilise on the streets of York was confronted by a large crowd of local residents, who were determined to defend their community from such a challenge. The white supremacists were met with a strong sense of solidarity from the local community, who refused to allow them to exploit the tensions and divisions.

Italian ANarchists protest against Militarism!

After their criminalisation during the G8 protests in Genoa, the Italian anarchists' return: Over 500 people gathered in Livorno (Livorno, Italy, on February 2nd for a national Anarchist Demonstration against the militarism of all States.

The anti-militarist demo, called by AntiMilitarist Organisations of the FAS (Italian Anarchist Federation), was relaxed and without incidents. Several anarchist organisations and local social forum took part in the demonstration. The march showed solidarity with the Argentinean struggle against neo-liberalism by making an Italian march show solidarity with the Argentinean struggle against neo-liberalism.
**Resistance sprints in Brussels**

A huge (50,000 plus) demonstration took place at the EU summit in Laeken, held near Brussels, on December 14, 2001. It was initiated by a large (and militant) anarchist block. There was also an anarchist 'manifesto' the next day, with around 5,000 anarchists from across Europe present.

Anarchists from various European groups produced an 'International Anarchist Statement' which read:

"All of this resistance, all of the demands that the libertarian movement supports and promotes, through direct action and self-management, are part of a long-term fight to radically change society, to share wealth, establish justice and to build a libertarian self-managed democracy..."

"We will go to Brussels to show our rejection of the capitalist Europe that the EU leaders are imposing on us. Brussels will be2ed by us and all the others who are against the capitalist logic of market forces and the destruction of the environment."

The protests are "advancing, creating a new world with each step" and "building an alternative together with others." Moreover, the protests are "all about facing the extinction of our civil and social rights, the dismantling of all arms and support for all who are facing hostility everywhere..."

In the weekend the Centre Liberte was at the heart of the demonstrations. The people connected to it - mainly, but not exclusively, Brussels Alternative Liberte group - were the organisers of the demonstrations on the 15th. They wanted to demonstrate in a way that was not negative (anti-this or anti-that) but a positive manifestation of anarchist ideas and strength. They did not want to be targeted by the politicians, but rather to be heard by them. The protesters planned a route through the city's working-class areas. This was a success and the demo joined up with a street party at about 10 pm to begin the procession through a different part of the city, with music blaring. This ended at the park that the anarchists had started in.

An inspirational positive expression of anarchist ideas and one to be applied everywhere.

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**White Supremacists Chased Out Of York, Pennsylvania**

In January, the World Church of the Creator, National Alliance, Eastern Hammer Skins, Aryan Nations and National Socialist Movement were chased out of York by the spontaneous and organised collective action of York working-class residents (Black, Latino, White, Asian, Jewish, Women, Men, Young and Old) with the assistance of Anti-Racist and Anti-Fascist Action. There was also a well-attended multi-racial unity rally by the NAACP and York City Human Relations Commission.

The White Supremacists were attempting to capitalise on racial tensions which have been brought about recently by the prosecution of York's mayor for his role in the 1989 race riots in that town.

Thus, on the 2nd of February, a joint raid by the York City police forces was forced to resign as Mayor, is accused of encouraging white kids to "kill as many people as you can" during the riots, and anti-riot units were asked toownload a homeowner driving through a white neighbourhood.

The following is a report from Baltimore IndyMedia:

Anti-Racists show up early morning in York, scouting locations and smashing all the white supremacist vehicles they could find with small sacrifices with all white supremacists they could find.

The black bloc marched around for awhile, found some hammerskins in a parking lot and scuffled before the police divided the two groups. Everyone went around the corner and there the Nazis were held for 3 hours during Hale's speeches (which opposed to Hale form York took up much of the space and so nazis couldn't attend, rumoured that it felt so crowded the cops shut up the meeting and pushed everyone back to the street).

People chanted and yelled, and a few people were arrested after some scuffles were broken.

When the library emptied out, that's when we saw more National Alliance people like Bill Roper and Erica Hardwick. All this time the anti-racists continue to swell as it is joined by the working class in all the diversity that is in York: black, white, Puerto Rican, Jewish, women, young and old.

When the white supremacists tried to leave as the police protected their exit, local kids led folks through an alley (York is a maze of alleys, they are everywhere), to confront the nazis. The Nazis got beat on for awhile before the cops were able to come to their defence. They push everyone back (the bloc is now dissolved throughout the community), and police attacks and arrests for disorderly conduct are being brought.

At this point everyone in the parking lot was the bloodshed originally posed, and the police had abandoned in the movement to protect the Nazis. Many of the vehicles are adorned with confederate and other white power stickers in their windows, those windows don't last much longer as the black bloc begins to demolish them. The cops make several charges to clear the lot to allow Nazis to get to their vandalised trucks. The cops continue to attack and harass the protesters, which really turn the crowds against them. Most of the easy exits from the parking lot are blocked by clumps of protesters. Repeated efforts by the cops to clear the street has failed.

Eventually, the police have the Nazis trying to escape down a street. Local crowds lead the black bloc the way through alleys to escape. At the end of the alleys one of the Nazis tried to run down the crowd with his white pickup truck. At the least three people (black, blue eyes, shoulder, his skin is very white) are being carried by young local girls. The Nazis flees back down the alley toward the parking lot, where the cops seize their truck.

What ever Nazis could escape, try to go along different routes and protesters attack them everywhere they find them, alley to alley, street to street. Lots of busted windows and bloody Nazi faces. In one confrontation with another black pickup truck with white supremacist stickers, busted out windows and packed with Nazis... after being attacked by a crowd, one of the Nazis waves a gun and the crowd backs down.

Elsewhere nazis are harassed and chased out of the city. Generally, they were run out of town.

There were 23 arrests, mostly for disorderly conduct who were all released by the evening. Two people had their homes at $500, which were paid, and another has a bail of $25,000 and been charged with "assaulting a police officer".

The best part of all is that they are run out of town by multi-racial working class crews spontaneously organised using the organised anarchist/multi-racial action as a seed to grow kicked the Nazis out of town.
We lead by obeying

A LETTER FROM CHIAPAS

ON THE FIRST DAY OF 1971 Emiliano Zapata's war began. The Zapatista army marched triumphantly through captured towns. On New Year's day 1994 the wind from below swept through Chiapas as the EZLN, the new Zapatista army, took five towns and announced to the world that Revolución still lives. (It was also the first day of NAFTA.) Hundreds of estate owners fled and local people took back the land. Maize fields, coffee and banana plantations are now owned and worked communally and local people run autonomous schools and hospitals by grassroots democracy. The Zapatistas slogan mandar obedecere, 'to lead by obeying', reflects the communities' system of bottom-up decision making. 'Our goal is to govern ourselves,' people from the Zapatista community of Muxte explain, 'to be independent and autonomous of state and federal government.' All decisions here are made at the General Assembly where every man and woman over 16 votes. We make all decisions together.

In Zapatista Chiapas, where I've come as an international observer, 30 or 40 neighbouring autonomous communities, forming 'communities in resistance', will join together freely to form an Autonomous Municipality. There are now 38 such Municipalities throughout eastern Chiapas comprised of over 100 autonomous communities in resistance, the cells of the living revolution. In those I've visited the Zapatistas are so strong no government official on earth or private business can set foot. Many set up autonomous schools where children, no longer punished, are encouraged to learn. Indigenous culture and languages are promoted. Local youth are picked by their community to learn to be teachers.

Healthy Autonomy

Health promotion is equally vital in the Zapatistas' fledgling health service. After studying courses like herbal medicine they return to the communities and share their knowledge freely, the idea being to promote long-term good health rather than cure ill people fall ill and fill them with drugs. The autonomous clinic-hospitals I've visited were built by the communities.

We need a world without exploitation, she insists, and I find myself weeping at the end of her speech.

People came from far and near to donate their labour. Vital facilities like the kitchen are staffed on a rota basis by unpaid volunteers from different communities. The caring dedication of these health workers is striking, though they stress how lack of resources, medicines and even basics like available electricity supply are hindering efforts to improve general health. Some Zapatista communities are improving life quality by installing water and electricity supplies, often with help from groups from Mexico and abroad. Control of these projects stays with the community and the aim is for local people to learn the skills needed to maintain the systems. I've also visited a co-operative shoe making workshop, small village shops run on an unpaid shift basis, and a co-op craft shop run by the Women in Resistance Collective.

This is the Zapatista movement: women have organised to greatly improve their situation. 'When it started everybody, men and women, began to organise,' say the people of Muxte. 'Women left their homes to go to meetings. There was no time for housework. Men used to tell women they had no rights. Now we know that we all have rights. We are happier now. We have all the rights: get out of the house; to work in the projects, to participate in the life of our town,' say the Muxtean women.

Local, Global

Today we celebrate. New Year 2002 saw Zapatistas from surrounding communities hold a mass gathering in San Andres Sacamch'en in the Chiapas Autonomous Municipality. The communities of the Zapatistas commemorated the Zapatistas uprising and reaffirm their determination to defend their Autonomous Municipality. I spend the festival in a village here, beneath a huge banner of balacavas Zapatista fighters swooping from the mountains to take their lands. I've visited, unless I'm mistaken, thousands of indigenous people in Chiapas are refugees, driven off their lands by the military and the military presence on our lands. The situation has worsened since the start of the 2002 conflict with the government. There is no hope for peace.

24 Jan Autonomous Municipality of San Cristobal de Las Casas announces harassment by federal army and police. The security forces are stationed beside highways and railways are being driven in to open these natural resource-rich remote areas to exploitation -- including tourism. With their control of land and territory the Zapatistas communities are a major obstacle to this major capital projects. The federal army has been unable to destroy the Zapatistas militarily due to their massive national and international support. Hence the low-intensity war. But the courage and determination of the Zapatistas in struggle is an inspiration. The grassroots Revolution continues. And news comes from Guatemala.

Land and Liberty

In Chiapas the presence of Guatemala is tangible. The border appears particularly artificial. The territories of the ancient Maya stretched from Mexico into Guatemala, and their descendants still live in these lands, suffering state and army repression and resisting it. The background to today's struggles in Guatemala is the murderous war of extermination waged against the indigenous peoples in the 1980s and early 90s. In our Zapatista community I met a European guy who'd spent months helping to exhume bodies from Guatemalan mass graves. The state and paramilitary forces there, he said, killed 200,000 people. Now an urgent appeal is circulating in Chiapas' San Cristobal. It's from the Guatemalan United Peasants Committee -- landless peasants have taken over and occupied five [fakers] big estates -- in the Morales Izabal area. 'There are constant human rights violations against the people who live in the communities in the occupied estates,' they say. Their appeal: 'Paramilitary groups armed by the region's estate owners are mainly responsible, with the complicity of the government army. There have been two murders on one estate and at Christmas three people including a member of our association were shot dead in Lianquic, another of
‘We lead by obeying’

A LETTER FROM CHIAPAS

ON THE FIRST DAY OF 1997 Emiliano Zapata’s war for indigenous autonomy by army marched triumphantly through captured towns. On New Year’s Day (1994 the ‘wind from below’ swept through Chiapas as the EZLN, the new Zapatista army, took five towns and announced to the world that Revolución de los Vivos still lives. (It was also the first day of NAFTA.) Hundreds of estate owners fled and local people took back the land. maize fields, coffee and banana plantations are now owned and worked communally and local people run autonomous schools and hospitals by grassroots democracy. The Zapatistas slogan mandar obediencia, ‘to lead by obeying’, reflects the communities’ system of bottom-up decision making. ‘Our goal is to govern ourselves,’ people from the Zapatista community of Morelia explain, ‘to be independent and autonomous of state and federal government and all decisions here are made at the General Assembly where every man and woman over 16 votes. We make all decisions together.’

In Zapata Chiapas, where I’ve come as an international observer, 30 or 40 neighbouring autonomous communities, for example, ‘communities in resistance’, will join together freely to form an Autonomous Municipality. There are now 38 such Municipalities throughout eastern Chiapas comprised of over 1,000 autonomous communities in resistance, the cells of the living revolution. In those I’ve visited the Zapatistas are so strong no government official or private business can set foot. Many set up autonomous schools where children, no longer punished, are encouraged to learn. Indigenous culture and languages are promoted. Local youths are picked by their community to learn to be teachers.

Healthy Autonomy

Healthy autonomous communities are equally vital in the Zapatistas’ fledging health service. After studying courses like herbal medicine they treat the communities and share knowledge freely, the idea being to promote life-long good health rather than to see people fall ill and fill them with drugs. The autonomous clinic-hospitals I’ve visited were built by the communities organise,’ say the people of Morelia. ‘Women left their homes to go to meetings. There was no time for homework. Men used to tell women they had no rights. Now we know they all have rights. We are happier now because we all have the right to get out of the house; to work in the projects, to participate in the life of our town,’ say the Morelian women.

Local, Global

Today we celebrate. New Year 2002 saw Zapatistas from surrounding communities hold a mass gathering in San Andres Sachequen in the Chiapas highlands of the Zapatista heartland. The people of the 2nd uprising and reaffirm their determination to defend their Autonomous Municipality. I spend the fiesta in a village of Barrios Mayas, one of the most autonomous. Once a major producer of cocoa, the village was taken by the Zapatistas in 1994 and now produces Tefus, a newly developed coffee plant.

Under Attack

Police, army and paramilitary harassment and attacks have been the constant selective bribery, arrests, building new military/commercial roads - all these are part of an attempt to destroy them. Thousands of indigenous people in Chiapas are refugees, driven off their land and by repeated military raids. Reading Zapatista press communiqués and talking to people in the region it is clear the Zapatistas are in a severe struggle. Their fight’s international aspect means a lot to these insurgents. A woman tells me how they need an end to malaria, an end to the many curable diseases that along with poverty plague the indigenous communities. She also talks of all the animals, wild and domestic, that live in that area. To protect them, ‘We need a world free of animals they are hungry’, she insists, and I find myself weeping at the end of her speech.

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Anarchists in New York

January 31st to February 3rd saw anti-WEF protests in New York. The World Economic Forum (WEF) is, essentially, a golf club for the world’s ruling class. It held its annual meeting in New York rather than in the resort town of Davos, Switzerland due to, they claimed, a climate of public fear and official hostility that’s hard to imagine unless you experienced it.

The protests were organised, in the main, by anarchists. David Graeber of the Zapatista-Capitalist Convergence (ACC) said, “this was perhaps the first action [in North America] that was entirely put together by the ‘bad protesters.’”

Some quotes taken from the excellent book *Never Again A World Without Us* (Foucs Of Myanmare Women In Chiangai) by Teresa Ortiz, URPAC 2001.

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The protests disproved the claims of some in the media that the anti-capitalist-anti-globalisation movement had collapsed post-911. Clearly, it had not. The anti-WEF protests showed that activists in the US are defying the state's authoritarian agenda at home. "I think it's inappropriate to keep your mouth shut," stated Payal Parekh. "These protests show that people in New York and around the country are not going to be repressed into accepting a police state."

Anarcho-pagan and leading activist Starhawk commented, "It was an indication in which the police are widely seen as heroes and the very thought of the whole spectacle, getting people that international solidarity can help prevent more murders and massacres and help the courageous directly and show the peasans to win back the land for the peasans who write letters or e-mail of support can greatly help."

Zapatista Vive! Only saw it on video in a Zapatista community but as the anxious peasans raised machetes and crashed them onto police riot shields. The people of Nahuatl in Texcoco are determined to stop their land being turned into a tourist airport and local communities are reserving local councils to protect the area. I saw paramilitaries openly patrolling with weapons and a local 'concechista' (a revolutionary lay priest) has received death threats for speaking out against the Plan Puebla PanaMa. In the face of such adversity the Zapatistas continue to find their own way of meeting their needs and of communally inventing their own solutions.

One of the key of the New Year speeches of these people with a new world in their hearts, the woman whose words made the building burn, and the man who proclaimed "We are constructing our own independence, our own way of governing ourselves. We don't need the government." No. But they do need our help and support.

The machetes are sharp. No pasaran!

Some quotes taken from the excellent book Never Again A World Without (Froces Of Mayan Women In Chiapas) by Teresa Ortiz, UPC (2001). CONTACTS:

Zapatistas: contact CHIAPIASK at www.chiapalpinak.gov.org OR chiapalpinak@yahoo.com

Donations for autonomous schools & hospitals to:

Chiapalpinak, Box 79, 62 Coniston Street, BRISTOL BS1 5BB.

Guatemalan land seizures, support & solidarity

COMITE DE UNIDAD CAMPESINA (UNITED PEASANTS' CTTEE)

14-46 Zona 6, Ciudad de Guatemala, Guatemala.

Website: www.comitecampesino.com

Fax: (502) 594-9574

President of Guatemala

Q: Let's leave the WEF. Why do we need it? A: Without the WEF we will need going back on centralisation." They argue that "our growth will be retarded until the success we successfully transcend Seattle-style tactical centralisation based in spokes councils, rigid overarching plans and leader types. As the anti-WEF convergence in NYC has shown us, we can successfully organise the infrastructure of a mass demo along the lines of decentralisation. Tactics must now follow.

However, they do not explain how to co-ordinate the autonomous actions they see as essential. Other activists see this problem. One, Chuck, argues that "the spokescouncils, as used in the anti-globnalisation movement, is a democratic anarchistic way of making decisions that we support . . . in this way we can make a bundle of anti-WEF and more things.

The protests have provoked a healthy discussion around the world on the future of American movement in the lessons to be gained from the WEF. One key area of discussion is on the possibilities for collaboration and the new ways of working against the WEF. The New Yorkers of the movement were mostly anarchists who would be as likely to organise a Republican fundraiser as a legal, permitted march. I believe they made the right political decision. However, they ignored the fact that in Mexico the march was deemed legal by the state, they were able to use the state's machinery of power to stop the march. The Vizardan protesters argue that their tactics were successful and that the march was a success. No, some claim that only because violence is inevitable in the event - even after police preemptively swept up 159 activists the night before the march - it is not possible to learn from the successes and failures of our comrades across the world.

John Mckie

www.infoshop.org

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Revolt in Italy

Huge strikes and demonstrations have taken place in Italy. The spark for this wave of militancy has been the Prime Minister's attempts to stem through changes to the law which would reduce pensions and make workers easier to sack. About 150,000 workers have taken to the streets - including 60,000 in Milan and 50,000 in Bologna. Workers in the metal, construction and public sectors have been out on strike - tram, bus, metro workers, national railway, ferry, port and airline.

200,000 march in Rome against racist law Rome, Saturday 19th January. Approximately 200,000 marchers, many of them young, thronged through the streets of central Rome from Piazza Esedra to Piazza Navona to protest the proposed Rovas/Fini Law, a law which is clearly racist, and which could signal the start of an attack on general labour rights and conditions with possible future ramifications for ALL workers in Italy.

The march was entirely peaceful and was composed of scores of different organizations and individuals, including a sizeable anarchist section which included representation from the Federation of Anarchist Co-operators (FCBA), Italian Anarchist Federation (FAI) and US/AIT/Italian Syndicalist Union.

Also present were members of the various grassroots labour unions, such as UNICOBAS, COBAS, CUB and large numbers of immigrants from all over the world many of whom spoke "No Borders, No Nukes, No Racism, Anti-Authoritarian unions strike in Italy Over 150,000 workers on strike came from all over Italy - and in the historic city of Rome on 15th February against the Berlusconi government's attempts to workers out of the country. Since the workers' strike in Italy.

The demonstration was organised by all the Italian base-unions. This was a very important day for the base-unions as a common platform was created of the parties and the government. In addition, many of the traditional unions joined a new platform, the "workers' strike in Italy.

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200,000 march in Rome against racist law

Rome, Saturday 19th January. Approximately 200,000 people, together with a thousand marchers through the streets of central Rome from Piazza Esedra to Piazza Navona to protest the proposed Rova/Fini Law which is a clearly racist law and which could signal the start of an attack on general labour rights and conditions with possible future ramifications for ALL workers in Italy.

The march was one of the largest in recent years and was composed of scores of different organisations and bodies including a sizeable anarchist section which included representation from the Federation of Anarchist Groups (FCA), Italian Anarchist Federation (FAI) and US/AIT (Italian Syndicalist Union). Also present were members of the various grass-roots labour unions, such as UNICOBAS, COBAS, STL, INFSU 2 and large numbers of immigrants from all over the world many of whom sported "No Borders - No Racism" banniers.

Anti-Authoritarian unions strike in Italy

Over 150,000 workers on strike came from all over Italy for the strike on Rome on 15th February against the Berlusconi government's attempts to work towards the creation of "Euro-workers" rights. Workers from all sectors participated and there is a growing demand for a further strike to be declared by all the Italian unions.

The demonstration was organised by all the Italian base-unions. This was a very important day for the base-unions as a common platform was created for the first time of the theory of the "its-all-the-same" distinction between the unions: UNICOBAS, COBAS, STL, INFSU 2 and AIT and others have organised together and called out all workers in the struggle against the government. Equally, it is a great success for all those libertarian activists inside the unions who have constantly tried to build a platform for class-struggle syndicalism.

Workers fight privatisation with solidarity in South Korea

February 26 saw tens of thousands of auto and heavy industry workers joining in a strike by others in the rail and power industry, spreading labour unrest intended to halt South Korea's privatisation program.

Ignoring government warnings, workers at South Korea's biggest auto company, Hyundai Motor Co., and other firms, downed tools in support of a state sector union campaign against the government sell-off.

The strike forced the cancellation of an estimated 60 percent of rail services, but the government has mobilised non-union workers to keep power stations open.

Unsurprisingly, the media and employers are going on the offensive. The government has declared a two-day old strike illegal and ordered the arrest of 36 union leaders. Dozens of union activists have been taken to Myongdong Cathedral in Seoul or gone into hiding. The newspapers urged the government to take action. Five employers associations issued a joint statement urging "firm action including arrest of police against illegal strikes.

Around 8,000 state employees are blocked by riot police in two Seoul university campuses with hundreds of anti-unions with steel pipes on guard against planned rallies. The school authorities at the universities asked police to drive the striking workers out of the campuses. Police helicopters dropped leaflets on the campuses urging the unionists to go back to work.

The union federation are divided with the KFTU holding talks with the government, while the KCTU warning it would call out more workers if the government rejected demands to stop privatisation, cut working hours and increase pay.

In addition, many members of the traditional unions joined in the strike, disappointed by CIGL-CISU-CIL decision to cancel a similar strike. The Blair-Bercow's criticism about more flexibility in the European working market has been received with surprise and rage by the traditional unions. Opposition is growing. Workers' struggles are struggles for everybody's rights.

Nigeria paralysed by general strike

A general strike in Nigeria paralysed the country and brought commercial life to a standstill in January this year.

Offices and banks shut down, petrol stations closed and streets were empty as workers protested at a rise in fuel prices. In the district of Borno, youths burned tyres and tried to block roads. In Lagos, usually one of Africa's most congested cities, the streets were deserted and shops were closed. There were clashes between police and protesters. The stoppage also shut down most provincial cities.

The price of petrol and diesel has long been one of Nigeria's hottest political issues. The country has large oil reserves and its production costs are low, so Nigerians have come to see cheap petrol as their right. The strike was called by the Nigerian Labour Congress, Nigeria's collective trade union body, after it failed to reach a compromise in a dispute with the government over a recent 18% rise in the price of fuel.

The government threatened the government's declaration that the protest was illegal. Earlier, Nigeria's president had denounced the country's main union leader in the capital and used tear gas to break up a demonstration outside government offices. The union leader Adams Oshiomhole and about a dozen of his followers had been arrested at their "unlawful assembly and inciting the general public against the government.

The government is taking at hard line due to the success of the last general strikes in March 2000 which forced the government to back down over fuel prices. This time the government has decided that the country will not face another country strike. The government has decided that the country will not face another country strike. The government has decided that the country will not face another country strike.

The unions are divided with the KFTRU holding talks with the government, while the KCTU warning it would call out more workers if the government rejected demands to stop privatisation, cut working hours and increase pay.

The main difference between the unions is that the government has decided that the country will not face another country strike.

Pentagon and the World Trade Centre are symbols of US imperialism - at its most flagrant in the case of the Trade Centre Centres. Nor can it be the case that condemnation from the likes of George Bush and Colin Powell - staunch advocates of the pursuit of "counter-terrorism" and "war on terror" - can be accepted as anything other than self-serving moral judgements from a pack of bloodstained amorality. It is difficult to know what to call such a unilateral attack on a country. The main difference between the unions is that the government has decided that the country will not face another country strike.

In all the liberal hand-wringing after the attacks on Washington and New York on September 11th there is much that was clearly claimed for the purposes of creating the US the state's image. This is one that must now be denied. The war on Afghanistan was, we were told, to be a war against terror. The war against tax has cost 3,700 civilian lives - the war on Afghanistan has cost 5,000 US military lives - 2,000 of them have been killed in Iraq. The war on Afghanistan has cost 5,000 US military lives - 2,000 of them have been killed in Iraq.

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though, the most clear and the most damning of all—and it is wit large in the spectacle of September 11th—the left has forgotten that to bring about a desired end, a desired goal, it is necessary not solely to dream but also to take action. This Gramsciian delusion that social change requires above all else a battle at the level of ideas is erroneous. We must bear in mind that for all its capturing of much of the space of academia, its social impact is almost nonexistent. The left might well characterise suicide bombings as the politics of despair, we might want to decency in the concept of the revolution. But our criticism would only deepen if we had at any stage in the last 20 years displayed a capability that matched our capacity for endless rounds of invariable uncontradictable propaganda. Jean Paul Sartre once noted how the whole philosophy of violence deployed by anti-colonial militants in the Algerian struggle for independence, recognised as "We find our humanity on this side of death and despair, they find it beyond actual and death. We have won, and they are the whirlwind. Son of violence, at every moment we are making a break from our own its upper-class, and we believe it is possible to pursue methods of collective struggle for emancipation. The outside the realm of bourgeois in the same sense as the movements of the 1960s is less the case of the struggles of the left. Our situation is not one of the "sons of violence" of the Middle East through September 11th's. And our willingness to act in pursuit of its ends was undeniable. Perhaps also we need to bear in mind that the forms of collective struggle we seek to pursue are even more effective in this moment as they are in the past. The use of European forces in the Italian alliance of those of us who live and work in the city of the "exterminator" of the horizon and the refusal of "this world" to those on the other side of that line is not a matter of political will but appear as the only option left. What we use the traditional models of secular resistance if they end in the massacrer inflicted on militant populations in Indonesia, Chile, Argentina, Chechnya etc.

In his 1955 work 'The Myth of Sisyphus, Albert Camus explored the question of life and death, and later in his book 'The Myth of the Others'. The question of self-sacrifice is more elusive because it involves a moral and ethical decision. It is a question of whether the end justifies the means. In his book, Camus argues that the idea of "Sisyphus" is a metaphor for the human condition, where the struggle is never-ending and the goal is unattainable. Camus concludes that life is not worth living and that the struggle is a waste of time.

In the text, the author refers to the concept of anarchy, which is defined as the absence of government or authority. The text discusses the idea that anarchy cannot win an audience by abstract propaganda, being based on self-emancipation it has to demonstrate its relevance through practice.

Outside the real struggle between classes the demands for equality and freedom are meaningless.

Palestinian leaders continue, unemployment stands at about 40 percent and all this while General Xazzar Zimmi demands on, about Panisian "violence" to the wreckage. Arafat, who can't even leave his office in Ramallah because he is imprisoned by the Israeli army, has remained silent about the political situation in the region. The PA's refusal to form a collective government of the Egyptian people has been rejected by the dominant political forces in the region. The PA's refusal to form a collective government of the Egyptian people has been rejected by the dominant political forces in the region.

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though, the most clear and the most damming of all - and it is writ large in the spectacle of September 11 - the left has forgotten that to bring about a desirable social order, our goal is not necessarily to dream but also to act. The Gramscian delusion that social change requires only the alliance of all those above all else at the level of the state and the subversion of the state, for that all its capturing of much of the space of academia, its social impact is almost non-existent. It might well go under the guise of suicide bombings as the new effective strategy of the Palestinian people. The left in Europe and the US has been a disgrace for idealists and comrades who had already left the way to supposed solidarity with the secular war which initially led to the fall of the Palestinian Wall in the 1990s. In an effort to mobilise the mass of ordinary people, the Popular Front for the Liberation of Palestine (PFLP) was issued in late 2002. This is not because their arguments for a right to suicide bombings are more than those of others working to break the state and to construct a new society. The left has, however, demonstrated that this is the way to ensure the survival of the state and to prevent its destruction. It is in this context that we write.

Addressing the issue of suicide bombings raises the question of the relationship between suicide and freedom. Should we view it as a political act of those who have no other way of achieving their goals? Or is it a form of resistance against the state and its power? The question of suicide is one that has been debated in various contexts, from the Middle East to the West. It is a question that has been raised by political and social movements, as well as by individuals and groups.

The movement that has come to be known as the Palestinian National Movement has been a leader in the struggle against Israeli occupation. It has been a movement that has been defined by its use of suicide bombings as a form of political action. This has been a controversial issue, with some arguing that it is a form of violence that is not acceptable, while others have argued that it is a form of resistance that is necessary for the survival of the Palestinian people.

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The Eurostate

The moves towards European political integration and the introduction of the Euro have caused some excitement on the liberal left. For the likes of Will Hutton and Hugo Young, political commentators at The Observer and The Guardian respectively, European monetary unity is unequivocally "a good thing" both in practice and symbolically. The revolutionary left are less enthusiastic - and occasionally trot out rhetoric, or the politically neutralisable and meaningless in part of politics of a Europe. Regarding these groups in relation to the report argued also at "left wing and anarchist terrorism" could be seen as "terrorist". In June 1999, after the Maastricht operation of joint investigation teams, custodial sentences and fines. The EU member states have also agreed on the creation of a European Police College. Directed by a European: FBI its realisation is almost complete and it is beyond doubt that effective anti-terrorist measures are needed to be in its sights. This being the case, we have to operate with the knowledge that we are being policed on a European-wide basis and raise our game accordingly. We are far from being able to withdraw from public political life. Policing and surveillance are intended to enforce the law in the neutral lubricant space where the terrorist activity is taking place. A report says that "anarchist terrorism" could be seen as "terrorist". In fact, all the incidents listed are from Italy. However, the report argues that "left wing and anarchist websites in northern European countries cover this [Italian] situation in depth" and so "the case of the left wing and anarchist terrorist groups is EU-wide as the "southern terror" activity might function as an example." Blast from the past Looking at these "examples", the legacy of the terrorist groups is re-emerging in Europe, without whose political support and influence our politics of a Europe from below are meaningless in an event. Nick S.

The Criminalisation of dissent:

Anarchists to be targeted as "terrorists" alongside Al Qaeda by Europol

Europol has produced a Situation and Trends report on terrorist activity in the European Union. As well as the usual groups (ETA, the Real IRA and Al Qaeda) two categories point to an attempt to marginalise and demonise radical dissent. One section covered in 2001 was "eco-terrorism." Significant, the report gives no examples, but blaming the economic and economic activity might be termed a criminal offence and a "terrorist" offence. It simply states that "radical environmentalists and animal rights movements have maintained a militant campaign. Never before have material damage they caused been so extensive." No definition is given nor is one planned. The absence of detail ensures that, if the state can label any action as terrorism in order to demonise green activists.

"Anarchist terrorism" is the second new category. In February 2001 an Europol seminar on counter-terrorism held in Madrid agreed on a proposal by Spain's state minister of interior to set up a joint investigation team on this issue. After decade Europol has released an "analysis file" on "anarchist terrorism" which in turn fed through into this situation report. In a G8 media reaction, the Ecologist said that "Black Block" could be seen as "terrorist". The report says that the criminalisation of any "anarchist terrorism" could be a symptom of the possible "resurrection of left-wing terrorism" and criminalise those involved in terrorist attacks "in the southern part of the Union." In fact, all the incidents listed are from Italy. However, the report argues that "left wing and anarchist websites in northern European countries cover this [Italian] situation in depth" and so "the case of the left wing and anarchist terrorist groups is EU-wide as the "southern terror" activity might function as an example."
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Within the anarchist movement generally and the autonomists left there has been a recognition also that what is really at issue in any process of "integration" is who is excluded from the European community which results. The encouragement of autonomous Organisation involves the creation of a Fortress Europe predicated on the exclusion the permanent illegality of non-European labour refugees, "economic migrants," reduced to begging to provide a permanent source of cheap, casual "illegal" labour in which is partly the case for the Black Block. The "right of European labour" are guaranteed by the EU to ensure the smooth exploitation of the "excluded." Any "unity from below" must therefore address the need for solidarity and support for these "excluded."

Inherent in the creation of a new market is the need for a "new" form of state to oversee it. Money, as Doug Kenwood has remarked is "far from being a form of mechanical technical theory, or the politically neutralisable one of Keynesianism, at least fundamentally about compulsion and command." (Wall Street, Vess 1997)

The prelude to European monetary union has been a decade of cuts and austerity measures imposed on the European working man and woman. The imposition of "flexibility of labour" through jobless and poverty has led to a loss of all left wing autonomy and "working reform." Crucially, but unsurprisingly by the liberal left, with the Euro comes the Euro state. In June 1998 the European Drug Intelligence Unit was set up under the intergovernmental TREVI framework. It was formed originally as EU Crime Drugs Unit by TREVI ministers in 1991.

and subsequently the European Council accepted the EU's governments agreed that, as part of the implementation of the Maastricht treaty, it was essential to create a European police network - with cross-border operational powers: Europol. The EU governments signed the Europol convention in July 1995 and it came into force finally in January 1999, with Europol officially operational in June 1999. Europol combines intelligence and operational functions. (for a detailed examination of these Ben Hayes' The Activities and Development of Europol - available from Statewatch at P.O Box 1516, London N16 9WV (for E10, is essential.) Europol has two key missions: firstly to facilitate bilateral and multilateral exchanges of data and to create a central EU intelligence database. Europol's structure resembles that of the UK National Criminal Intelligence Service. It relies on the NCIS - equivalents in member states to supply it with intelligence information. Europol works to specific themes or analysis work. - as of 2001 this concerned - illegal immigration from Iraq, illegal immigration from a "specific province" in China, Islamic terrorism in the E. outlaw motorcycle gangs, Latin American smuggling groups counterfeiting, eco-terrorism and so on.

Commitment by Western African national in the "Analysis file" can contain information on actual and potential suspects, witnesses, victims, contacts, associates, informants, membership details etc. Convention regulations allow Europol to hold 53 specific types of personal data including data on sexual, political opinions and beliefs, racial origin, religious beliefs. This information is stored on the Europol computer system (which has a high cost of over £25 million per year). Operational activities in relation to cross-border activities have been primarily by way of ongoing surveillance and operational support. The EU Mutual Legal Assistance Convention, signed in June 2000, provides a framework, for police and judicial co-operation, including the interception of telecommunications, joint investigation teams, custodial transfers etc. By November 2000, Europol was able to coordinate the operation of joint investigation teams and will be empowered to "ask" the Member States to initiate, conduct or co-ordinate investigations in specific cases.

Europol's mandate initially concerned only international drugs trafficking. It has been extended to cover trafficking in nuclear and radioactive substances, illegal immigrant smuggling, trafficking in human beings and the catch-all "terrorism." At a special "summit-security" meeting of EU justice and home affairs ministers after the Gothenburg demonstrations it was proposed that "Europol be tasked with producing analyses of violent disturbances, offences and groups." Europol officials have argued for the fullest extension of their mandate, away from dealing with certain named forms of criminality towards an acceptance of its mission as an "analysis centre," where criminal activities it encounters in the course of its activities. In short, Europol is being geared towards a proactive policing role, and included in its sights is the "terrorism" of keyserian theorists and supporters of national liberation struggles. After September 11 EU justice ministers agreed to the creation of a team of counter-terrorism specialists in Europe to which member states are already committed. Europol member states are to agree a list of "proscribed" organisations. In February 2001 a Europol seminar on counter-terrorism held in Madrid lauded already agreed a proposal from Spain, Portugal, Greece and Italy to set up a joint investigation scheme on "anarchist terrorism" and proposed a common EU strategy on paying informers in third countries. The General Secretariat of the Council has already agreed to organise any documents relating to this seminar under EU regulations. On September 11th the EU Commission brought forward a proposal for a new EU public prosecutions office - Europol - is about to become operationally effective. The EU public will comprise of - a "prosecutor, magistrate or police officer" from each member state, "knowledgeable" appointed by each member state and supported by a permanent team of Europol officers in joint teams building prosecutions and assisting in Europol's own surveillance investigations. Since 1999, this work has also been supported by the creation of a European Police Chief's Operational Task Force, covering all areas of police policy, but geared essentially to "operational aspects." The German interior ministry recently proposed that Europol should be allowed to store the "Euromac" data base, which is intended to contain the fingerprints of every asylum seeker, illegal immigrant and over the age of 14 who enters the EU. Europol is also to be linked to 24 data bases, including Europol's own database under ministerial agreement at the G8 summit. The EU member states have also agreed on the creation of a European Police College.

Garritt's strategy envisaged a European FBI - its realisation is almost complete and it is beyond doubt that effective anti-terrorist measures are necessary to be in its sights. This being the case, we have to operate with the knowledge that we are being policed on a European-wide basis and raise our game accordingly. We are making it easier to get away with such a retreat from public political life. Policing and surveillance are intended to enforce the political integration of the country into a transnational sphere so that dissent becomes covert - and police a political activity at all - a matter of private life where idealism is never consumed but engaged as political activity. The only effective answer to the European wide policing of protest is to seek to widen the space of protest. The police inability to accept the logic of the Euro, of internationalisation, of "national" game in town - to spread resistance, so that our Europe from below links the banknotes of Paris and London. To be unemployed in Lisbon with the dockers of Marseille. We should not seek to go "underground" but have to organise against the Eurostate, but to come into the space of life, cut of Europe without, whose political support and militancy our politics of a Europe from below are meaningless in the event.  

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The Criminalisation of dissent:

Anarchists to be targeted as "terrorists" alongside Al Qaeda by Europol

Europol has produced a Situation and Trends report on terrorist activity in the European Union. As well as the usual groups (LTA, the Real IRA and Al Qaeda), the EU categories point to an attempt to marginalise and demonise terrorist activity.

One category added in 2001 was "eco-terrorism." Significantly, the report gives no examples, so blurring the distinction between activity that might be termed a criminal offence and a "terrorist" offence. It simply states that "Radical environmentalists and animal rights movements have maintained a liminary campaign. Nevertheless, material damage they caused was extensive." No definition is given nor is one planned. The absence of detail ensures that, if the state can label any action as terrorism in order to demonise green activists.

"Anarchist terrorism" is the second new category. In February 2001 an Europol seminar on counter-terrorism held in Madrid agreed on a proposal by Portugal to bring in Europol into forming a joint investigation team on this issue. After agreeing Europol's role in an "analysis file" on "anarchist terrorism" which in turn fed through into this "situation report."

In a G4 newspaper in August Europe's interior minister said "Black Bloc" could be seen as "terrorists and anarchists."

The report says that creation of any new category could give a symptom of the possible "resurrection of left-wing terrorism" and refer to "terrorist attacks in "southern part of the Union."

In fact, all the incidents listed are from Italy. However, the report argues that "left wing and anarchist websites in northern European countries cover this [Italian] situation in depth" and so "the potential for a "terrorist" label to be applied is limited to the left wing and anarchist terrorist groups." EU-wide as the "southern terrorism activity might function as an example."

Blast from the past

Looking at these "examples," the legacy of the 1990s is evident. The term "terrorist" was part of the "strategy of tension" is repeated, with anarchists or "left-wingers" listed as suspects for terrorist acts committed by right-wingers with the support of EU states. For example, a bomb explosion in July 2001 outside the Palazzo di giustizia in Venice after the G8 summit is included under "anarchist terrorism." Although anarchists or left-wingers were originally blamed, the investigating magistrate ordered the arrest of a right-winger, in January 2001 (a second suspect is also a right-winger).

In 2000 and 2001 two trials concerning explosions during the so-called "years of lead" based on anarchists were convicted for right-wing bombings. Nevertheless, the similarities are obvious.

Criminalising the protest?

This demonisation of anarchists is a clear strategy. Anarchists in Italy have been blamed for a spate of minor bomb attacks over the last few years, with links to groups in Spain, Portugal and Greece alleged by the Italian state. After the Genoa protests, anarchists were blamed for "terrorist" actions, which led to joint investigations with the police and intelligence agencies.

State repression followed against anarchist movements which led to street clashes involving anarchists, searches and a number of people being placed under investigation. In the UK, the police have been conducting an ongoing campaign to criminalise Basque political organisations advocating autonomy (including youth organisations and prisoner support groups) by charging that they are part of ETA. Such groups were included in the EU list of terrorist organisations which the "Common position on the application of specific measures to combat terrorism" on the basis of information indicating that a decision by a competent authority regarding these groups in relation to terrorist offences has been taken.

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From Riot to Revolution

"We have seen how the Revolution began with popular risings ever since the first months of 1789. To make a revolution it is not, however, enough that there should be such risings — more or less successful. It is necessary that after the risings there should be left something new in the institutions, would permit new forms of life to be elaborated and established." Kropotkin, The Great French Revolution

Anarchism is often portrayed by historians and others as some sort of utopian, having no real idea of how to get from capitalism to a free society. Lenin, for instance, among the anarchists "while advocating the destruction of the state machine, have absolutely no idea of what the proletariat will put in its place." The truth is, of course, different. Anarchists see the initial framework of an anarchist society as being created under statism and capitalism when working class people organise themselves to resist oppression and exploitation. In summary, the very process of collective class struggle would create the basis of anarchy.

Therefore, anarchists do not abstractly compare a free society with the current one. Rather, we see an organisational connection between what is and what could be. An anarchistic society would be based on the working class's own combat organisations as a starting point in their struggle within, but against, capitalism and the state.

In this sense, anarchy is not some distant goal but rather an aspect of present day struggles against domination, oppression and exploitation (i.e. the class struggle). Anarchists draw on the autonomous self-activity and spontaneity of working class people in struggle to inform both its political theory and its vision of a free society. Means and ends are linked, with direct action being the means of generating combative working class organisations and preparing people to directly manage their own personal and collective interests. The struggle against hierarchy is the school of anarchy. It teaches us not only how to be anarchists but also gives us a glimpse of what an anarchist society would be like.

Anarchism is not some distant goal but rather an aspect of present day struggles against domination, oppression and exploitation (i.e. the class struggle). Anarchists draw on the autonomous self-activity and spontaneity of working class people in struggle to inform both its political theory and its vision of a free society. Means and ends are linked, with direct action being the means of generating combative working class organisations and preparing people to directly manage their own personal and collective interests. The struggle against hierarchy is the school of anarchy. It teaches us not only how to be anarchists but also gives us a glimpse of what an anarchist society would be like.

Anarchists in Action

The strength of the organisation Socialistas Libertarios (OSL), the strongest current of organised anarchism in Argentina, is playing an important role in the streets, applying the lessons of their recent experience. "Anarchist militants have been battling the police in the streets for four months," said a spokesperson for the OSL. The OSL have joined in marches to Plaza de Mayo together with other social organisations.

The OSL are encouraging the process of working class community self-organisation, with "each militant discussing in his or her neighbourhood the best way to establish a minimal territorial organisation with the goal of defeating the state of siege." While "governmental and representatives are trying to spread fear, paranoia and battles between one neighbourhood and another," the OSL have "decided to start an ideological debate with others in those neighbourhoods where self-managed peoples' organisations are present. It is in these areas where we will be able to test the situation on the ground and develop a way of acting which will allow us to develop a genuine alternative society."

Battle for Buenos Aires:

First hand account from the Plaza de Mayo Andreas Rostock

Comrades, I have made it back from the battle. I was trying to write a complete report... I will however say that this was far beyond anything I have seen before (way beyond Quebec, Gothenburg, Genoa, etc.). We tried to fight our way to the Plaza de Mayo (before the presentation I've ever seen). As the OS said, it was step by step, meter by meter. Rocks against an unhealthy amount of gas, rubber bullets, tanks, water hoses, you name it. The cops on occasion ran mad. We carried forward our barricades all we could, we got to the corner of the Plaza. I only thought we would take the presidential palace, and thus fought like it was truly the last battle. Unfortunately, we did not make it. But we fought for 7 hours straight, back and forth. I thought we'd be able to take the government building, but I was wrong.

The OSL are trying to spread fear, paranoia and battles between one neighbourhood and another. They have decided to start an ideological debate with others in those neighbourhoods where self-managed peoples' organisations are present. It is in these areas where we will be able to test the situation on the ground and develop a way of acting which will allow us to develop a genuine alternative society.
Anarchism is often portrayed by historians and others as some sort of utopian, having no real idea of how to get from capitalism to a free society. Lenin, for example, among the anarchists "while advocating the destruction of the state machine, have absolutely no idea of what the proletariat will put in its place." The truth is, of course, different. Anarchists see the initial framework of an anarchist society as being created under statist and capitalism when working class people organise themselves to resist oppression and exploitation. In summary, the very process of collective class struggle would create the basis of anarchy.

Therefore, anarchists do not abstractly compare a free society with the present one. Rather, we see an organic connection between what is and what could be. An anarchy society would be based on the working class's own combat organisations, as created in their struggles within, but against, capitalism and the state.

In this sense, anarchy is not some distant goal but rather an aspect of the current struggles against domination, oppression and exploitation (i.e. the class struggle). Anarchists draw from the autonomous self-activity and spontaneous action of working people in struggle to inform both its political theory and its vision of a free society. Means and ends are linked, with direct action being the means of generating competent worker-class organisations and preparing people to directly manage their own personal and collective interests. The struggle against hierarchy is the school of anarchy. It teaches us not only how to be anarchists but also gives us a glimpse of what an anarchist society would be like.

From Riot to Revolution

"We have seen how the Revolution began with popular risings ever since the first months of 1789. To make a revolution it is not, however, enough that there should be such risings — more or less successful. It is necessary that after the risings there should be left something new in the institutions, would permit new forms of life to be established and established." Kroppokin, The Great French Revolution

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There are currently 30 assemblies in Buenos Aires and many more all over the country. According to the anarchists of the Argentine Libertarian Federation, there are open and anyone who wishes can participate and the "assembly is the "non-delegation of power, self-management, [and] horizontal structure." In the French Revolution, the people of Paris formed the directly democratic community assemblies called "sections." Kropotkin pointed to these as examples of both the popular institutions required to make a revolution ("the districts of Paris laid the foundations of a new organisation") and the principles of anarchism. "It is by no means of those popular assemblies that we mean in this context, assemblages, accustomed themselves to act without receiving orders from the national representatives. The ideal of anarchy was to be something like a Direct Self-Government. "A similar process is at work in Argentina. As one assembly after another is formed, people's indignation is mounting, and the government to issue policies to aid the unemployed. Its tactics are to make up for the lack of legislation by blocking off streets and occupying buildings for five years and in the last year it has had to force the government to introduce policies to aid the unemployed. Its tactics are to move demonstrations on the streets and occupy buildings in order to make their demands. They are called "piqueiros" (the picketers). Any demands made are discussed by the participants directly. They do not delegate leaders to negotiate with the government. They make it clear to the blockades and the people they occupy what they could demand and what they should accept. They have the same healthy "disturbances of all executive power" which Kropotkin praised the Parisian Sections for!

There are attempts by workers to organise themselves. Throughout Argentina strikes have occurred. Committees of struggle and to coordinate the protests have been formed. The occupation of factories has started. In Rio Turbio, the mine workers have occupied the mines. In Neuquen, the workers occupied ceramics factory of Zanon, where a worker's congress was held in December. This congress saw almost 400 ceramic workers, teachers, workers, students and others to discuss the current events. The main organisers were the ceramic workers union (SOEIC), the teachers union (UNIVE), a militant unemployed workers' organisation (MTD) and the teachers of ATEN Cerebro. Members and delegations from several organisations of the region also participated. After intense discussion on a multitude of issues, including the fact that measures to be taken in their struggle and the need for coordination of current struggles, a declaration was agreed. This stated that the ceramic workers seized "struggles for the re-occupation and the occupation of the plant under worker control" and "are mobilising together with the unemployed workers of Neuquen..., and with the teachers and workers government employees." They aim to intensify "the co-ordination and unity between struggles with the aim of setting up a Regional Co-ordination" as a step towards the "unification of the struggles on a national level."

They called made "an urgent call for an immediate congregational of the National Assembly of Employed and Unemployed Workers on a 1 in 20 representation, just as was voted in the last Picketers' Assembly in La Matanza." This would seek to unite all those that are struggling through democratic election of representatives voted in Assemblies within the society of the working class.

On Saturday, February 16, such an assembly was created when thousands of unemployed and members of the popular assemblies, met in the Plaza de Mayo square in Buenos Aires.

Clearly, Bakunin's prediction that "the future social organisation will be directly from the bottom-up, by the free association or federation of workers, firstly in their unions, then in the communities, regions, nations and finally in a great federation, international and universal" is taking shape. The idea of anarchy are being applied by those in struggle. This is to be expected, as these ideas are just generalisations derived from past working class struggles.

"Anarchists in Action"

The Organización Socialista Libertaria (OSL), the strongest current of organised anarchism in Argentina, is playing an important role in the struggles. As part of their role as "anarchist militants have been fighting the police and the army on numerous occasions." The OSL have joined in marches to Plaza de Mayo together with other social organisations.

"The OSL are encouraging the process of working class community self-organisation, with "each militant discussing in his or her kerknerhood the best way to establish an minimal territorial organisation with the goal of defeating the state of siege. " While "governmental and state forces are trying to spread fear, paranoia and battles between one neighbour and another." the OSL have "decided to start on ideological debates with others to those organisations where self-managed peoples organisations are present." It is in these areas we will look to our situation to study and work and searching to develop a way of acting which will
allow us to recognize against the terror of subversion and to organize self-management, or at least, the needs towards it.

They are also involved in the unions, attending meetings called by the CTA trade union federation decides on its actions. They are aware that the Trade Union leadership "did not want to go out and negotiate so they were afraid the situation could get out of their hands." The key will be to encourage workers to organize independently of their leaders.

The importance of anarchists getting involved in the struggle is clear. As they put it: "We must throw ourselves fully towards building people's organization, because if we the people are not capable of giving ourselves the society which we want and need, the President's government will be there to fill in as a replacement part to that fundamental change." The need for anarchists to argue for their ideas is important. A process of revolutionary self-education is occurring in Argentina, as in any revolution (as Kropotkin stressed, "by degrees, the revolution is accomplished by the people who were being accomplished by the revolution itself"). For example, one neighbourhood called "Libertaria" noted that she was "very surprised because there are people participating who otherwise never left their homes. My 70-year-old neighbour had never taken part in a demonstration, but this has such an extremity that it is truly impressive.

However, self-education and self-liberation through struggle is a process that anarchists can aid. As can be seen from many demonstrations, the protests have a nationalist tinge to them. This may be, as expected, as the current crisis is the result of foreign domination and subversion (and as the local ruling class[1][2]). It may well be a tragedy is this working class revolt is sidetracked or controlled by Argentinean capitalism within the national market. Equally, many of the protesters will be demonstrated controlled and used by the local ruling class[3][4]. It is possible that the crisis is underwritten by the system and, equally as important, that local ruling elites as just as bad as foreign ones and nationalism is one solution.

Anarchists must do all they can to argue that other solution is possible and that self-management can create a decent society and encourage the struggle towards that end.

This struggle gives those involved a sense of themselves as individuals as well as a class. It also gives them experience of managing their own lives and their work (whether in small businesses or large enterprises). This is a good foundation for building a strong anarchist movement in Argentina. In case we forget, one hundred years ago, anarchism played the leading role in the labour movement there. The current events are producing organisations with a libertarian nature.

Could these be the basis of a regenerated working class anarchism movement like the old FORA anarchist-syndicalist union federation? If so, it will not happen automatically, it will require the anarchists to take an active part in working class struggle and organisation.

The process is at work in Argentina. How can the transformation of the working class into revolution be helped? While this task can only be the work of those who take part in it, a few words of general advice can be drawn from history — the first steps have already been taken.

The practical bases of an alternative are already the thing in place. The embryo of popular power, of a free society, is being created in the community and workplace assemblies. Self-management must be encouraged within them and any attempts to delegate power resisted. These organs must be strengthened and federated. As in every struggle, co-ordination and solidarity must be ensured.

Many neighbourhoods are organizing popular general assemblies to decide how to carry the struggle forward. Their federation is essential. As Kropotkin argued, the French popular assemblies "sought for unity of action, not in submission to a Central Committee, but in a federative union." This was "made from below upward, by the federation of the district popular assemblies, springing up in a revolutionary way; from popular initiative." The first few months of the movement have started to do the same, with some assemblies already choosing delegates who will participate in weekly inter-neighbourhood coordination meetings (some of which draw some 4,000 people). Only by federating together the various organs of self-management can the state be abolished.

The hypocrisy of democratic capitalism...

With popular self-management spreading across Argentina, the ruling class is becoming like the old FORA anarchist-syndicalist union federation? If so, it will not happen automatically, it will require the anarchists to take an active part in working class struggle and organisation. As can be seen, the OSL is doing precisely that.

Towards revolution?

As anarchists have long argued, the class struggle creates the framework of a free society. This process is at work in Argentina. How can the transformation of the working class into revolution be helped? While this task can only be the work of those who take part in it, a few words of general advice can be drawn from history — the first steps have already been taken.

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Argentina first hand

I had a wonderful time hitchhiking through a 1000km section of northern Argentina which was marked by the presence of anarchists activists who had kicked the police and army out. The protesters are argumentative but unable to take direct action to liberate a town of 30,000. However, they have managed to force the factories themselves without losses or the army. Also they have all those direct democratic assemblies which are co-ordinating all the actions against the economic system. Just as they want to stop representative democracy... there are some amazing things happening here.

Who knows if it will become a revolution? It's not the closest thing I've ever seen to one. From a friend with protest.net

Consumer goods have been expropriated by the people. The next stage is the expropriation of the means of production — the fields, factories and workshops — by workplace assemblies. This is the logical next step in workers' self-management and federalism. These federations of workplace assemblies (to co-ordinate struggle and self-managed production) must be encouraged and supported. This can be done by the community and workplace assemblies setting up consumer cooperatives to facilitate the distribution of goods and their encouragement and the current system by combining economic and social self-organisation.

The embryo of popular power, of a free society, is being created in the community and workplace assemblies.

workers' self-management will see capitalism end.

An awareness of this need is developing. At the Zanón congress, a 22 year-old worker from the plant stated that the each constituent of the plant, each tier that was pulled within the long corridors stood for "the millions of us who are struggling to bring the province gave to Zanón, and now that Zanón is a "People's Assembly" there must be responsibility for it, it's going to be ours." That perspective has to be generalised and turned into effective strategy to an offensive one.

The building of federations between the community and workplace assemblies is essential. This is for three reasons: firstly, it builds working class power to resist and finally overthrow support of workers expropriating their workplaces. Thirdly, to create a possible framework in which to socialise the means of life and place them under true common ownership and control. In a nutshell: All power to the community and workplace assemblies!

Argentina in Action:

Anarchist Action in Argentina: a popular assembly in Argentina.

Workers have seized control over their workplaces, but this must be based on bottom-up, federal, organisations. A call for a "People's Assembly", based on the mandated delegates from the community and workplace assemblies is
Argentina: first hand

I just had a wonderful time hitching through a 150km section of northern Argentina which was full of typical anarchistic activities who have kicked the police and army out. The province is a great place to practice direct action to liberate a town of 300000 inhabitants. They are building factories themselves without bosses or the company. Also they seem to have the same direct democratic assemblies which are co-ordinating all the protests against the economic system, just as they want to scrap representative democracy... there are some amazing things happening. Who knows if it will become a revolution? It's the closest thing I've ever seen to one.

from a friend with protest.net

Argentina.

The hypocrisy of democratic capitalism...

With popular self-management spreading across Argentina, the ruling class is becoming conscious of the reality. This movement is modern in that the different working class anarchists are the leading role in the labour movement there. The current events are producing organisations with a strong anti-capitalist and libertarian nature. Could these be the basis of a re-generated working class anarchist movement like the old FORA anarcho-syndicalist union federation? If so, it will not happen automatically, it will require the anarchists to take an active part in working class struggle and organisation. As can be seen, the OSL is doing precisely that.

Towards revolution?

As anarchists have long argued, the class struggle creates the framework, of a free society. This process is at work in Argentina. How can the transformation of one into revolution be helped? While this task can only be the work of those who take part in, a few words of general advice can be drawn from history — the first steps have already been taken.

The practical bases of an alternative are already forming into place. The embryo of popular power, of a free society, is being created in the community and workplace assemblies. Self-management must be encouraged within them and any attempts to delegate power resisted. These organs must be strengthened and fed. As in every struggle, co-ordination and solidarity must be ensured.

Many neighbourhoods are organising popular general assemblies to decide how to carry the struggle forward. Their federation is essential. As Kropotkin argued, the French popular assemblies "sought for unity of action, not in submission to a Central Committee, but in a federative union." This was "made from above downward, by the federation of the district committees; it sprang up in a revolutionary way; from popular initiative." The federation of the district committees must clearly mean that a meeting must be automatic, linked with the right to ask questions, to demand the release of those arrested, and to demand the right to be represented by a lawyer. The process must mean, in fact, that the people, in electing representatives, do not appoint mandarins but officers who share their grievances; that it is not only not socialist, it is not even democratic. Some things never change!

La Nación exposes the reality of capitalist democracy. "Participation" by the public in public affairs is limited to voting once a year. Many workers have started to take affairs into their own hands when this is the end of democracy — it is a crime! The situation of the worker is clear: he is seen as the means of working class people have said enough is enough and take matters into their own hands through assemblies and mandated and accountable committees.

The embryo of popular power, of a free society, is being created in the community and workplace assemblies.

Anarchy in Action:

A popular assembly in Argentina

Consumer goods have been expropriated by the people. The next stage is the expropriation of the means of production — the fields, factories and workshops — by workplace assemblies. How can this be done? One answer is for workers' self-management and federal organisations to be created (to co-ordinate struggle and self-management). Any attempt to get this off the ground (as the ministers propose) must be opposed in favour of self-management. Expropriation of the means of production cannot be left to the hands of state capitalism with state capitalism is no solution. Only socialism under the current system by combining economic and social self-organisation. The assemblies and their federations must have the real power to ensure they become expressions of the will of the working class and to provide a framework by which collective decisions, direct action, solidarity and self-defence can be organised. Secondly, to aid the creation and distribution of goods. A step in this direction would be the community assemblies setting up consumer cooperatives to facilitate the distribution of goods and their encouragement and this would simply be a top-down joining of various bureaucratic committees and not a real expression of popular self-rule. Any National Assembly must be an organ for working class struggle, simply co-ordinating and executing the decisions of the base assemblies. Only this can make the popular slogan "all the politicians out" a reality. Any body of central power must be resisted as it will disempower the grass-roots assemblies and kill the revolt. The seemingly widespread call for a "Constituent Assembly" is basically a call for a left wing bourgeoisie government and for the popular assemblies to be put under its control. It must be resisted as it is the destruction of grassroots self-management. The ruling class may try to recuperate the current struggle by means of elections to such a body, side-tracking the revolt into parliamentary channels. The left, by standing "revolutionary" candidates, will aid this process of transferring the struggle away from mass self-activity and self-organisation onto "leaders" working within capitalist organisations. This will undermine the autonomy and power of the grassroots organisations. Equally, the left's call for a "workers' government" must also be opposed as this will simply replace the popular self-management with party power. To delegitimate power into the hands of a few and let them impose policies cannot solve the current crisis or create socialism, which can be created only from below by the people themselves.

There is a need to co-ordinate struggles, but this must be based on bottom-up, federal, organisations. A call for a "People's Assembly", based on the mandated delegates from the community and workplace assemblies is...
Of all the anti-summit demonstrations, Genoa was by far the largest and the most rooted in the host country. Unlike many other Italians the nationalists outnumbered all other political contingents, and there was a presence of striking metalworkers, who, we hope, will continue their strike rallies around Italy had been shouting "everyone to Genoa!" The Genovese faces had been replaced by those after being told to participate in the security arrangements and they had refused participation. There was a lot of resentment at the presence of the G8 summit in the town, which had to be seen to be believed. The eight foot metal fences closing off the centre from those having to show their passes to enter or leave, and the military occupation of the city must have been a factor in the frustration of the residents towards the demonstrators, among our water directions, and waving communist flags and their knickers at us. (Although the press said the people who were against the demonstration were more likely to leave town for the weekend.)

Looking back at Genova...

The solidarity with immigrants demonstration on the Thursday was an important political event attended by sixty thousand people attending. It had been strongly requested that the demonstration was safe for the safety of the immigrants on the march, and it was so effective by the moment after the massive police car, which was an argument seemed to obscure everything else. There has probably been far too much time wasted on the top but having been cleared and accused of causing the demonstration and the murder of a young man some accusations have been responded to. Firstly, destroying the city without rhyme or reason. There was random and senseless trash, so boxes on boxes, which was bad for police, but was (unfortunately) probably caused by genuine demonstrators with no sense of discrimination. However the issue of senseless trash seems a bit too far. It was normal to see a street of untouched shops and then a bank completely burned. Personally if a major not happened in my area and burned all the banks I would be very happy, and not resent at all getting to have a bus to a ghastly. The revolution will cause a lot of disruption in banking systems, hopefully permanently. I think that pushing a bank as a main target, having aoll your alienation is a million times better than shooting up in front of the TV, beating people up outside pubs and similar more normal ways of expressing it. It will not make the revolution. Despite striking you do on a demonstration will make this criticism is a bit of a red herring. Secondly, people on the demo did not stick to the order. A lot of burning of cars, fighting hard to hand with the police etc. was done by non-Black Bloc people, especially on the section of the Totti Bianche demonstration which actively broke through the police lines. With people moving around all day, a lot of people started to get out of control and then joined up with another. The Black Bloc in Prague seems to have been more effective because they had their own route, something which was denied them in Genova. They were also able to push the police back and get within sight of the conference. This success kept everybody focused, with no energy dissipated on smashing up traffic lights or whatever. In Genova, with the police much better armed and more offensive, it was near impossible to get this momentum, never mind push forward. The Black Bloc was broken up and dispersed very early on and this probably contributed to people doing stupid things out of panic and without any focus. It is worth pointing out that, despite what is now widely viewed as the successful action by the Black Bloc in Prague, there was a heavy, but unfortunately, non-existent, umbrella group fighting with the police to attack on foreigner's newspapers in Genova, including the lefties, seen as arbitrary assign the recognition of the Black Bloc themselves did not like. Germans. Basques, whatever. The tactic of dressing in black was originally developed to prevent people being identified breaking things, picked up earlier and been noticed by police. However, there was nothing but the political idea and wasn't using this kind of strategy and the dressing in black was unnecessary and may counter productive as it helped identify the Black Bloc to the police and, more importantly, it made more separate from other demonstrators. A lot of people would respond to this point by saying something like 'Not dressed in black?' But we're the Black Bloc! That's what we do! This kind of reply means that the Black Bloc in some ways isn't a tactic, it is something else, an identity, a uniform, a pose.

It should not be said again and again that the police went out to attack the demonstration, to stop it interfering with the summit, that they succeeded and that this was the cause of the death(s) and injuries, not the actions of the Black Bloc. It was never going to be the result of any action, either political or tactical, made by the police. To draw the police action and the defeat of the demonstration would have been about the same whatever we did because the state has the power at its disposal to kill if it really wants to and it used it. The demonstration in Genova was a huge and heterogeneous collection of people with sometimes completely conflicting aims, all together with a city of 25,000 psychoptic police and an unknown number of undercover. Genoa wasn't a safe place for people with kids, old people, or whoever couldn't run. In fact, there were no kids, old people, or whoever couldn't run.

A big percentage of the demonstrators in Genova were straight forward social democrats, going to the protests because they are increasingly idealized in the political system. Others were nationalists of various persuasions. It was shocking to see the grip that institutionalized leftist still has. It was good to see young people in Italy, with Refundazione Communisti playing their allotted divide and conquer. The use of the word "solidarity" is meant to suggest that it was given totally to everyone with a lot of people here. Genoa wasn't a safe place for anyone, except the ones who were behind the fence. So yes, smashing a bank next to peaceful protesters might make them more likely to be beaten up by the police, and this is selfish. But the police could just as easily beat up those peaceful protesters when there was no bank smashing going on for miles and they did, many, many times. So yes, there needs to be discussion about the wishes and protecting the safety of other demonstrators, but that if no one had been "violent" there would have been no problems. The police were under orders to kick the shit out of everyone and they did.

Yes the demonstration in Genova was detached from a wider working class struggle but so is everything at the moment - a strike to a prison in Genoa etc. are pretty isolated. In the dirty political climate we are in we need first of all to find ways to come together. Genoa for all its faults was three hundred thousand people saying they did not support things as they are and were prepared to go up against tear gas and tanks to say so.
self-managed self-organisation within everyday life and struggles. While mass demonstrations like those of Genoa are essential, they cannot replace the need to build solidarity in communities and workplaces. Without the power of everyday life activity, the anti-globalisation movement will wither, just as a flower cut off from its roots. Demonstrations by themselves will not end capitalism or its imposed, top-down, predatory solutions. Only if the bulk of the population take direct action, organise themselves and fight for a much wider set of social change will real change occur.

As Argentina shows.

The power of the working class in revolt is a fact demonstrated again. It has managed to bring down numerous politicians. The question is whether the people who have taken to the streets will drop them from power.

The mode of a mass society is it. Will the Argentinean anarchists be able to encourage these first steps and help them become organs of working class power? Hopefully. As the OSL say: "we will be there with our conviction that a different way of living is possible and that this is what we are fighting for!"

Looking back at Genoa...

Of all the anti-summit demonstrations, Genoa was by far the most violent and the most rooted in the host country.

Unlike many of the Italians outnumbered all the police and there was a presence of striking metalworkers, people who have to work for a living, many anti-racists around Italy had been shot "everyone to Genoa!" The Genovese frames had been pierced by the windows of those passing by. There was a huge protest after being told to participate in the security arrangements and they had refused passage. There was a feeling of resentment at the invisibility of the G8 in the city.

The solidarity with immigrants demonstration on the Thursday was an important political development involving sixty thousand people attending. It had been strongly requested that there be a peaceful demonstration in the streets on the day before the summit and this was struck to be a victory.

After the massive police gargle. The Friday night argument seemed to be about nothing. There has probably been far too much wasted on the top but having been vilified and accused of causing the destruction of the demonstration and the murder of a young man some accusations have to be responded to. Firstly, destroying the city without rhyme or reason. There was random and senseless burning of trash boxes and places which it would be nice to come on police provocateurs but was (unfortunately) probably caused by genuine demonstrators with no sense of discrimination. However the issue of senseless burning seems a bit top the lot. It was normal to see a street of untouched shops and then a bank completely burned. Even if a major riot happened in my area and burned all the banks I would be very happy, and not resent at all having to get a bus to a checkpoint. The revolution will cause a lot of disruption including banks, hopefully peacefully, I think that sticking a bank as a mark of your alienation is a million times better than shooting up in front of the TV, beating people up outside banks and similar more normal ways of expressing it. It will not make the revolution. The thing you do on a demonstration will make this criticism a bit of a red herring. Secondly, people on the demo did not stick to their plan. A lot of burning of cars, fighting hard to hand back to the police etc. were done by non-Black Bloc people, especially on the section of the Tutt Bianche demonstration which actively shaped the breaking of the police lines. While people moving around all day, a lot of people started burning cars and then joined up with another group. The Black Bloc in Genoa is not the most effective because they had their own route, something which was denied them in Genoa. They were also able to push the police back and get within sight of the conference. This success kept everybody focussed, with no energy dissipated on smashing up traffic lights or whatever. In Genoa, with the police much better armed and more offensive, it was near impossible to keep them in check, never mind push forward. The Black Bloc was broken up and dispersed very early on and this probably contributed to people doing stupid things outside of their capacity.

Personally if a lot of people were destroyed by that strategy of action in Genoa, there was a huge amount of decentralised organising. It was important to fight with the police and to attack foreigners. Interestingly the newspapers in Genoa, including the leftie ones, regarded this as completely irrelevant to the anti-capitalist struggle. The real fight is against the police and not against the government.

The tactic of dressing in black was originally developed to prevent people being identified as trouble makers, picked up later and beaten up. It was not designed to be a good look. However, the safety wasn’t using this kind of strategy and no dressing in black was unnecessary and may even be counter productive as it helped identify the Black Bloc to the police and, more importantly, made it more separate from other demonstrators. A lot of people would respond to this point by saying something like 'Not dress in black? But we’re the Black Bloc!' That’s what we do! This kind of reply means that the Black Bloc in some ways isn’t a tactic, it is something else, an identity, a uniform, a pose.

It shouldn’t be said again and again that the police went out to attack the demonstration, to stop it interfering with the summit, that they succeeded and that this was the cause of the death’s and injuries. The actions of the Black Bloc and police are different and must be evaluated separately. The police’s stated reason was to prevent the violence. It seemed to them that the police acted only on the basis that they were acting as a whole.

The demonstration in Genoa was a huge and heterogeneous collection of people with sometimes completely conflicting aims, all together in a city with 25,000 psychopathic police and an unknown number of undercover. Genoa wasn’t a safe place for people with kids, old people, or whoever couldn’t run. In fact many people thought it was too safe, and everyone was behind the fence. So yes, smashing a bank next to peaceful protestors might make them more likely to be beaten up by the police, and this is selfish. But the police could just as easily beat up those peaceful protesters when there was no bank smashing going on for miles and they did, many, many times. So yes, there needs to be a discussion about the wishes and protecting the safety of other demonstrators, but I think that if one had been more violent there would have been no problems is moronic. The police were under orders to kick the shit out of everyone and they did.

A big percentage of the demonstrators in Genoa were straightforward social democrats, going to the protests because they are increasingly sidelined in the political system. Others were nationalists of various persuasions. It was shocking to see the grip of institutionalised leftist still has over young people in Italy, with Refundazione Communisti playing their alloted divisive and pitiful role. This lets no one off the hook. But it seemed that many Refundazione footsoldiers got seriously beaten by the police, and some joined in the fighting, but their leadership and strategies do not hold the violent in the demonstrative process.

Yes the demonstration in Genoa was detached from a wider working class struggle but so was everything at the moment - another strike to a prison cell, all struggles are pretty isolated. In the dire political climate we are in we need first of all to find ways to come together. Genoa for all its faults was three hundred thousand people saying they did not support things as they are and were prepared to go up against tear gas and tanks to say so.
Black it's accruements a intent, and later imported to opportunity energies putting we Should do that to exist. Certainly it means the lack.

The State in Genoa successfully adapted to all direct action tactics. A blockade was useless against the fortress-city. Ya Basta! found the police violence too much for their non-violent self defence. While the Black Bloc was broken up both by being surrounded in their sleeping areas in some cases and in others by surprise attack. Others opted for symbolic tokenistic protest or for marching as a rally part of another direct action altogether (1). Of course rioters have no answer to the ammunition once that particular Rubicon is crossed. Furthermore the State violence, in particular the raid on Ora school, had the effect of intimidating people away from similar summit protest actions.

On the plus side there was a massive reaction from many Italians, with large protests in most cities and seemingly many more people arriving for Saturday's march. The police violence appears to have undermined the legitimacy of the Italian government. Reports suggest that a similar situation is to be found in Sweden in regard to the State violence at the Gothenburg demonstrations.

SLightly more cynically it was certainly an education for many people in the reality of State power (State violence, State control is the sort of thing that they say"democracy" and "rule of law" is worth. Today the capitalist complacency, the P.R. exercise surrounding summit meetings has well and truly been disrupted.

However we need to recognise the immobility of closing down, conferences of this nature in the future when the full forces of the State are deployed to protect them, as is the case in Genoa. Certainly these major mobilisations need new tactics, or modification of existing ones. But should we not be putting these energies in to somewhere else where we might now achieve more. Such as local action against specific things effecting the community and also international mobilisations but perhaps more directed at other targets (i.e. in support of a particular local action), or a move back to the 1-8 tactic of simultaneous actions across the world. In any case I think such protests will probably continue thus so does the question of how we as anarchists respond to them. Certainly I think one thing surely lacking in Genoa was any attempt to popularise the multitude of activists there - this despite the provision of space for info-shops in the G.S.F. convergence centre. Don't get angry at the anarchists and lefties, organised and convince. The only way to defeat these essentially pro-capitalist elements is to wage a battle of ideas in favour of libertarian ideals.

Clearly the answer to the question "where do we go from here?" is to put down roots into the wider non-active community and turn what has been a protest movement into a social movement. Summit protests have probably had their day, given that there will be no more G8 summits. It is impossible to stop conferences. Nonetheless while they exist we should be there using the opportunity tospread anarchist ideas, the Beheieved far more easily than a total revolutionary change. Actually this is often not the case. for example, the Green Party's idea of having a group of candidates as an enlarged parliamentary group, could be supplied by the state to every citizen, with this income to be set above poverty levels. Of course if this was introduced the Reform or Revolution, to Protest or to take Action? There is of course a major political division within the "Seattle", "anti-globalisation", "anti-capitalist", "Summit-protest", as to what you will, movement.

On the one hand you have N.G.O's, leftist parties, and Trade Union bureaucracies, aiming to, through "peaceful protest" (2) put pressure on governments to introduce reforms, or to give a place at the negotiating table/in the management of capitalism to the reformist leaders so they can introduce reforms. To do this you have to appear "reasonable", i.e. "reasonable" within a Statist and Capitalist paradigm. In other words what "peaceful protest" translates as is ineffective marching, essentially lobbying en masse.

On the other hand you have people, anarchists and radical environmentalists, who see each protest as a step towards the transformation of society, through raising awareness and empowering people through direct action. Obviously the radicals pose a threat to the reformists. Both because they can gain influence at the reformists expense and because they refuse to play by Capitalism's rules. Not helping are fairly blatant attempts to divide the movement into anarchists and corporatists.

I'm now going to look at where we do go from here, but first I want to go down roots into the wider non-active community.

The strength of reformism is that it seems likely that a few changes could amount of taxation necessary to pay for it would be such that it would produce massive capital flight, there would be no incentive for businesses to invest or operate at all in the country and it is highly likely that a lot less people would work also. So some reforms are unworkable cause they go against the logic of capitalism.

Others actually make little difference, take for example Vote for Women. Which incidentally only became, at least in Britain, through a massive campaign of illegal direct action and property damage. This legislative change changed the law, lives and the status of women very little. Likewise ignoring to see an end to the debts ignores that the money this would live into the hands of "Third World" elites which would most probably be spent on the same things the loans were spent on in the first place, i.e. ostentations consumption, arms, and industrial and infrastructural projects benefiting a tiny minority of the population. Indeed members of some of these dynasties have personal fortunes which could pay off their state debts.

One aspect of the reformist approach is getting their people in there to manage Capitalism (e.g. in government, in a consultative role at World Bank meetings). The recent German experience gives us a perfect illustration of the futility of this. The German Green party in government is managing capitalism, German industry needs nuclear power, German business needs war (the German Green party, if it is going in government must accept nuclear power and N.A.T.O. The very thing the removal of which was central to it's agenda of reforms. (3) A government of a capitalist society cannot go against the logic of capitalism. Thus what appears a lot easier to achieve than a total social revolution is often actually unattainable.

Why then is the existence of pseudo-protesters dominating post-G90's commentary? This is for a number of reasons.

Firstly recent Italian history. (4) Secondly, genuine confusion.

For example, I have been one report questioning how can we believe that the Black Bloc were anarchists "cause they had a marching song". I happen to like marching bands, but it is an example of something else in different cultures, and it is certainly a product of the self imposed isolation of radical elements in Genoa.

Certainly it does seem that Black Bloc property destruction did get out of hand, whether this was the product of State aggression or it was youth's is anyone's guess. But the presence or non-presence of State agents is a very different thing than the portrayal of the Black Bloc as an instrument of the State.

Fourthly the politically motivated disinformation put out by various Leninist parties such as the "Socialist Worker's Party" and Italy's Communist Refoundation Party. I'm going to deal with issues internal to the Black Bloc first.

It is important to note that any tactic apart from it's intrinsic value or lack of value is only as good as how it is put into effect, who puts it into effect and where it is put into effect. The Black Bloc originated in Germany in the 1980's as a bloc with the intent of overcoming petty and liberal dominance of protest movements and the like, and which the political effectiveness that comes with it and taking direct action against neo-fascist and neo-nazis rather than accepting their violence or perverting asking the State to do something. The Bloc was pioneered in Germany by Marxist Autonomen (5). It was later imported to the United States with a slightly different intent,
In General:
I think the success of the direct action blockade in Seattle and the success of J-18 in London, and the success of the rioting in Prague was down to the fact that the police mob held the element of surprise, of initiative.

The State in Genoa successfully adapted to all direct action tactics. A blockade was useless against the fortress-city. Yalta found the police violence too much for their non-violent self defence. While the Black Bloc was broken up both by being surrounded in their sleeping areas in some cases and in others by surprise attack. Others opted for symbolic totemistic protest or for marching as a rally part of another direct action altogether (1). Of course rioters have no answer to the ammunition once that particular Rubicon is crossed. Furthermore the State violence, in particular the raid on Oda school, has had the effect of intimidating people away from similar summit protest actions.

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Slightly more cynically it was certainly an education for many people in the reality of State power (State violence/State control as the so-called "police state") and just how much the paper that says "democracy" and "rule of law" is worth. Today the capitalist complacency, the P.R. exercise surrounding summit meetings has well and truly been disrupted.

However we need to recognise the incompleteness of closing down the conferences of this nature in the future when the full forces of the State are deployed to protect them, as was the case in Genoa. Certainly these major mobilisations need new tactics, or modification of existing tactics, but should we not be putting these energies in to somewhere else where we might now achieve more. Such as local action against specific things effecting the community and also international mobilisations but perhaps more direct at other targets (i.e. in support of a particular local action), or a move back to the J-18 tactic of simultaneous actions across the world. In any case I think some protests will probably continue thus so does the question of how we as anarchists respond to them. Certainly I think one thing surely lacking in Genoa was any attempt to propagandise the multitude of activists there - this despite the provision of space for info-shops in the G.S.F. convergence centre. Don't get angry at the "shoddy" or "inefficient" mobilisation and convince. The only way to defeat these essentially pro-capitalist elements is to wage a "battle of ideas" in favour of libertarian ideals.

Clearly the answer to the question "where are we from here?" is to put down roots into the wider non-capitalist community and turn what has been a protest movement into a social movement. Protests have probably had their day, given that there will be no more flake street! It is too early to talk of conferences. Nonetheless while they exist we should be there using the opportunity to spread anarchist ideas, be achieved far more easily than a total revolutionary change. Actually this is often not the case, for example, the Green Party's idea of having a "grassroots" or mass movement is completely supplied by the state to every citizen, with this income to be set above poverty levels. Of course if this was introduced the amount of taxation necessary to pay for it would be such that it would produce massive capital flight, there would be no incentive for businesses to invest or operate all in the country and it is highly likely that a lot less people would work also. So some reforms are unworkable cause they go against the logic of capitalism.

Others actually make little difference, take for example Vote for Women. Which incidentally only came about, at least in Britain, through a massive campaign of illegal direct action and property damage. This legislative change changed women's lives and the status of women very little. Likewise ignoring to see an end to the debt. My belief is that the money this would live into the hands of "Third World" elites would most probably be spent on the same things the loans were spent on in the first place, i.e. ostentations consumption, arms, and industrial and infrastructural projects benefitting a tiny minority of the population. Indeed members of some of these dynasties have personal fortunes which could pay off their states debts.

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A government of a capitalistic society cannot go against the logic of capitalism: Thus what appears a lot easier to achieve than a total social revolution is often actually unattainable.
...that of overcoming the situation where anarchists had little public face at demonstrations as left/liberal groups had a tendency to ban them from speaking platforms consequently the appearance of a bloc of people all dressed in black marching together was a sort of advertisement for those people's ideas.

In the United States the Black Bloc then has met a range of tactics depending on whatever event, for instance, I think it was primarily in North America where the property destruction tactic was added on (but not exclusively so).

For the benefit of the confused I should stress that a bloc simply means a gathering of people at a demonstration with similar intent, the black bloc is not an organisation, and the black bloc at one event may mean something different from another event (generally speaking though it tends to be the most militant section of the crowd).

The black bloc in general is not exclusively anarchist, it was not an anarchist idea and anarchists do not have a monopoly on militant direct action therefore the presence of Maoists, Basque Nationalists or whatever does not represent some sort of corruption of the Black Bloc.

Furthermore it appears most anarchists in Genoa were with syndicalist rank, and file unions and not with the Black Bloc.

It is preferred to think that some of the stupid actions were carried out by police agents but we actually do not know that (I will address this issue later).

As I understand it, the idea behind property destruction is twofold: Firstly some people see this as a way to court publicity, which it certainly does incident free demonstrations are rarely covered. I do not think we should be trying to get the corporate media to do our job for us as it will only be hostile. That said anarchism has a far higher public profile now, than before the likes of Seattle, and J-18, largely down to property destruction which is far enough, but if this continues it will be a public profile of anarchism equals property destruction and nothing more. Secondly, it is seen as an empowering direct action (the same as shutting down a conference), using physical force against symbols of capitalism.

Personally I think if ever had a use, its use value is over. This is certainly true if we are in a situation where the property destruction is at an event which had a clear target of far greater symbolic importance, where the area is residential rather than a central business district and in a situation where something starts with banks and so on being trashed but ends up with traffic lights being trashed. This being the case in Genoa.

The most important thing to remember is that a good deal of the property destruction in Genoa happened not in an area like the City of London, where the banks or whoever have as their customers other businesses but in a working class residential area where I think for a few days people had a very hard time trying to find a working ATM (plus cars burn etc.).

This is just counter-productive, about as counter-productive as I can imagine, the amenities of a community being smashed up. If we cannot be sure that property destruction (which I'm not much in favour of in the first place) will be properly targeted and not degenerate completely into rioting and vandalism it needs to be knocked on the head completely.

Most of the out-citizenship is clearly from events in Genoa that being the "most militant section of the crowd" (or the Black Bloc as it is), there is no enough, the lack of a greater unifying element coupled with the lack of prior organisation enabled States to splinter the Black Bloc in the long march to the Red Zone. As well as creating a situation where people pissed off at the actions of others in the Black Bloc fucked off and it also allowed stupid fascists a place.

This I feel was a problem which primarily occurred 'cause of the long distance involved, the lack of decent maps and the complete isolation of the Black Bloc from the Genoa Social Forum. Whereas in Prague there appears to have been no more organisation but a lot less isolation and a lot less city to cross, so the Bloc had it's own path and a more or less immediate target for it's energies.

A stewarding section to direct the path of the Bloc and prevent stupidities would have helped a lot, as would have the local movement providing an organisational focus (6), and a 'spokesperson' in effect weeks prior to the days of the events itself e.g. discussion between delegates of groups and organisations sending people to the protest. In other words a lot more co-ordination.

The Lefty Lie Machine -

The first thing it is important to remember is that of all the factions at Genoa only the White Overalls and the Black Bloc attempted to address the problem of police violence, others seemed content to assume that peaceful protestors meant criminal police, or seemed content to marshal their followers into a situation where there would inevitably be the victims of state repression and then content to blame another section of protestors for the inevitable. The second thing it is important to remember is that authoritarian left wing groups have a long track record of crying "provocation", "state agent" at people whose actions or ideas are a threat to their beds for power. The Irish Socialist Worker no. 156 boldly asserted "There is no overwhelming evidence that the Black Bloc was given free rein to do anything it wanted in Genoa." This is so obviously absurd it amounts to me to think that anyone who could think the reading public (albeit the Socialist Worker reading public) so unformed and gullible. Needless to say that it done and it is done, and it is being believed. So let's examine the claims.

"The police to do anything they wanted" remarkably the state and media have managed to keep silent the story of how the Black Bloc fought their way into the Red Zone, hospitalised half of Italy's police force (and I think half of Italy's police force were there) and gutted or several world leaders. "Free rein" I think the S.W.P. imagining that a free rein for protestors includes the use of live ammunition gives us the clearest indication yet that the policing policy of a S.W.P. run workers rights was greatly resemble that pioneered by their ideol.

The only "overwhelming evidence" I have seen is "overwhelming evidence" of the death of a man who was most likely a Black Blocker, given his actions, politics, lifestyle and clothing. Looking back at history I come to the conclusion that: "Small anarchist groups were occasionally infiltrated by neo-fascists and the secret of the race was to persuade, bribe or black mail them into carrying out their own acts of low-level terrorism."

This manages to ignore that the "left-wing terrorism" in this period was overwhelmingly Marxist-Leninist in political content, e.g. the Red Brigades. Furthermore far from low-level this included the kidnapping and murder of Aldo Moro, the Prime Minister, and "terrorism" is completely rejected by most anarchists. (7).

Furthermore the Black Bloc tactic has nothing to do with "terrorism", as the S.W.P. well know, it is, like all good Trotskyists, know the difference between individualist terrorism and mass action.

The British Socialist Worker criticizes the police for releasing potential Black Bloc people prior to Friday's action and basically give the impression that it is entirely composed of police agents, or infiltrated to the extent that it might as well have been. This rag goes on to deliver a stunningly brilliant criticism of masking up, it apparently makes you an easy target for infiltrators, such as the massive amount of police and fascists within the Black Bloc (again no evidence is produced), of course not masking up makes you an easy target for gas and cameras, but this simple fact seems to have eluded the vanguard.

Ironically another group of Marxists has claimed on Indymedia that part of the Russian-Ukrainian delegation invited over, and funded by ATTAC, who the International Socialist Tendency (i.e. the S.W.P. abroad) marched with, included leaders from the 'Red-Brown' movement which is basically the Russian version of the International Third Position/National Bolshevik/National Socialist Nazis, these were not infiltrators but were perfectly open, above ground, and prominent in the delegate. Indeed only two were without nails on this post on Indymedia, just responses from people supportive of the 'Red-Brown' movement. It is one of the "Red-Brown's" in question apparently included Putin supporters, invited by ATTAC to see the "violence of the Black Bloc!"

Actually other Socialist Worker reports would seem to contradict this within the Black Bloc (again no evidence is produced), of course not masking up makes you an easy target for gas and cameras, but this simple fact seems to have eluded the vanguard.

The Fake Black Bloc -

Three observations: One there may be genuine confusion and disagreement, for example (and all of the following happened) Creditito Italia, a credit union, actually it's a bank. An independent cinema, actually it's a porn cinema. A multinational oil company, actually it's a small shop. Smashing traffic lights, a police agent? Or someone who thinks if you smash traffic lights tomorrow there will be traffic jams thereby taking up resources which could be used. Smashing bus shelters, a police agent? Or someone trying to spread glass across the road so as to hinder the movement of rubber tyred police vehicles. Moving bums into the middle of the road, senseless destruction or barricade making?

"Black Bloc"-"agents of the state acting with impunity"' analysis'.

"We learned that the streets around it had been absolutely devastated, with hand to hand fighting between the Black and Blue Blocs." (Blue Bloc blocking police.)

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This is what democracy looks like?

that of overcoming the situation where anarchists had little public face at demonstrations as left/liberal groups had a tendency to ban them from speaking platforms consequently the appearance of a bloc of people all dressed in black marching together was a sort of advertisement for those people's ideas.

In the United States the Black Bloc then has meant a range of tactics depending on whatever event, for instance, I think it was primarily in North America where the property destruction tactic was added on (not exclusively so).

For the benefit of the confused I should stress that a bloc simply means a gathering of people at a demonstration with similar intent, the black bloc is not an organisation, and the black bloc at one event may mean something different from another event (generally speaking though it tends to be the most militant section of the crowd).

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Furthermore it appears most anarchists in Genoa were with syndicalist rank, and file unions and not with the Black Bloc.

Obviously it is preferable to think that some of the stupid actions were carried out by police agents but we actually do not know that (I will address this issue later).

As I understand it, the idea behind property destruction is twofold: Firstly some people see this as a way to court publicity, which it certainly does incident free demonstrations are rarely covered. I do not think we should be trying to get the corporate media to do our job for us as it will only be hostile. That said anarchism has a far higher public profile now, than before the likes of Seattle, and J-18, largely down to property destruction, which is far enough enough, but if this continues it will be a public profile of anarchism equals property destruction and nothing more. Secondly, it is seen as an empowering direct action (the same as shutting down a conference), using physical force against symbols of capitalism.

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The most important thing to remember is a good deal of the property destruction in Genoa happened not in an area like the City of London, where the banks or whatever have as their customers other businesses but in a working class residential area where I think for a few days people had a very hard time trying to find a working A.T.M. (plus cars burn etc.).

This is just counter-productive, about as counter-productive as I can imagine, the amenities of a community being smashed up. If we cannot be sure that property destruction (which I'm not much in favour of the first place) will be properly targeted and not degenerate completely into rioting vandalism it needs to be knocked on the head completely.

Moreover co-ordination is it clear from events in Genoa that being the "most militant section of the crowd" (or the Black Bloc) is no enough, the lack of a greater unifying element coupled with the lack of prior organisation enabled the State to splinter the Bloc in the long march to the Red Zone. As well as being a situation where people pissed off at the actions of others in the Block fucked off and it also allowed stupid faces to place.

This I feel was a problem which primarily occurred 'cause of the long distances, the lack of decent maps and the complete isolation of the Black Bloc from the Genoa Social Forum. Whereas in Paris there appears to have been no more organisation but a lot less isolation and a lot less city to cross, so the Block had it's own path and a more or less immediate target for it's energies.

A stewarding section to direct the path of the Bloc and prevent stupidities would have helped a lot, as would have the local movement providing an organisational focus (6), and a "spokesperson" in effect weeks prior to the days of the events itself e.g. discussion between delegates of groups and organisations sending people to the protest. In other words a lot more co-ordination.

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The first thing it is important to remember is that of all the factions at Genoa only the White Overalls and the Black Bloc attempted to address the problem of police violence, others seemed content to assume that peaceful protestors meant plain-clothed police, or seemed content to marshal their followers into a situation where they would inevitably be the victims of state repression and then content to blame another section of protestors for the inevitable.

The second thing, it is important to remember is that authoritarian left wing groups have a long track record of "provocation", "state agent" at people whose actions or beliefs are a threat to their bids for power. The (Irish) Socialist Worker no.156 baldly asserted: "there is no overwhelming evidence: That the Black Block was given free rein to do anything it wanted in Genoa." This is so obviously absurd it amounts to me to think that anyone could think the reading public (albeit the Socialist Worker reading public) so uninformed and stupid. spreadsheet say's that it's none, zero, zilch, sweet fuck all of this "overwhelming evidence" actually produced for inspection by Socialist Worker.

Given that this crap is actually being regurgitated by the so-called alternative press and not just the corporate media, perhaps scary though dangerous, it is being believed. So let's examine the claim.

"There's no doing anything they wanted" remarkably the state and media have managed to keep silent the story of how the Black Bloc bought their way into the Red Zone, hospitalised half of Italy's police force and (I think half of Italy's police force were there) and golliwoged several world leaders. "Free rein" I think the S.W.P. imagining, that a free rein for protestors includes the use of live ammunition gives us the clearest indication yet that the policing policy of a failure, S.W.P. run police force would be greatly resemble that pioneered by their idol.

The only "overwhelming evidence" I have seen is "overwhelming evidence" of leaflets dropped by a person who was most likely a Black Blocker, given his actions, politics, lifestyle and clothing. According to the history book that: "Small anarchist groups were occasionally infiltrated by neo-fascists and the so-called police" that persuadable, bribe or black mail them into carrying out their own acts of low-level terrorism.

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"We learned that the streets around it had been absolutely devastated, with hand to hand fighting between the Black and Blue Blocs." (Blue Bloc running police)

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Three observations: One there may be genuine confusion and disagreement, for example (and all of the following happened) Credito Italiano, a credit union, actually it's a bank, an independent cinema, actually it's a porn cinema, a multinational oil company, actually it's a small shop. Smashing traffic lights, a police agent? Or someone who thinks if you smash traffic lights tomorrow there will be traffic jams thereby taking up resources which could be used better. Smashing bus shelters, a police agent? Or someone trying to spread glass across the road so as to hinder the movement of rubber tyred police vehicles. Moving bricks into the middle of the road, senseless destruction or barricade making?
Just a little illustration of the fact that two eyewitnesses may be looking at the same thing but seeing something very different.

Again the main problem was where the property destruction was happening and the fact that there was a far more important target, i.e. the Red Zone.

The second observation, there have been reports of absence of anarchist graffiti where some of the decidedly uncivil property damage had taken place, whereas elsewhere there was anarchist graffiti. Does this suggest - Police agents? Fascists? Or idiotic just attacking random rioters?! Yes they do exist. Where was the heaviest fighting and most of this property damage such as cheap cars being used for barricades - the White Overall march! Where was there consistent activity? Black Bloc, banks adorned with anarchist graffiti. This does suggest - Police agents? Fascists? Or idiotic just attacking random rioters?!

The Criminalisation of Dissent (continued)

Conclusion

The exaltation of right-wing bombing attacks in Italy, violent and murderous attacks on migrants in several EU countries by racists - suggests that the incursion of ‘anarchist terrorism’ and ‘eco-terrorism’ in this EU Situation report is aimed at least at the reality being manipulated and extending the concept of terrorism.

In the inclusion of ‘anarchist terrorism’, solely on the basis of evidence from Italy, raises important questions both for civil liberty and the anarchist movement. The similarities the 1970s are clear and we learn the agencies of law.

The conversion of public order offences/violence into terrorist crimes if they have political consequences for all protests and social movements if this was adopted EU-wide, and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The people fighting are not necessarily in black, some are masked. Some have helmets. It is not the Black Bloc, there are no agent provocateurs. This is a violent energy driven by people who have said - ‘Ya Basta! To the police, rage, energy, resolve’. (9)

The assurance that there are no agent provocateurs involved in this situation is interesting isn’t it?

The third observation, a comment on the June 18th disturbances in London, from the pages of Organiser! The magazine of the Anarchist Federation, London (from whence it was that I went). The most interesting thing about the disturbances was that the government has been forced into the government’s own hands. (3)

4. Which I will not be addressing in this essay as I have dealt with it previously, see ‘Italy Strategy of Emotions’ available at hip strugglingw/freeculture.it.html on far right hormone and state — and in Italy in the 1970s and 70s to promote a law and order agenda and promote a sense of clampdown on disorder and struggle. (10)

5. Who do you sympathise with? Anarchists but contrary to what you have in the London and composite press are not anarchists. They have never done the planning in the way that anarchists do. (9)

6. To do this we can counterbalance these against aspects which, to some extent favour our politics.

7. The birth of the ‘cool’ was a co-founder, and contributor to both Counter-Information [1] breast magazine and Counter-Information [2] magazine, party of a period of over 15 years [3], and well into middle-age myself. There is no rebirth, we are all aware that for the vast majority of young people who come into contact with the anarchists part of a rites of passage before accepting the limitations of existence of ‘life’ under capitalism. Can this be a part of lifestyle of rebellion against conventional family, obedience, and is interfaced with the idea of the ‘cool’.

For those with some perception - often intuitively - that what passes for normal everyday existence in is reality, alienation, commodity fetishism is a sense of alienation and natural insularity necessary to live differently. What is ‘cool’ under capitalism is revolutionised as a generalised brand loyalty to products: pop and technology, which channel aspirations in as well. That is, each step outside this consciousness is creating a new identity. For some, being ‘radical’ or ‘eco-political’ is to enter a new journey of consciousness, in that, they become part of secular hierarchical cultures as and assist those who have made national or international brand of secularism.

The age of environmental crisis, and post-Soviet globalisation, it has become more possible to bypass such dead-ends and struggles and other environmental disorganisation. Amongst English-speakers at least, ideologies of somehow ‘revitalised’ capitalism like Monbiot [4] and elements in Globalise Resistance manipulated by the S.W.P. [5] have been adopted and learned by many.

...and yet, as was it so vibrant would this result? As in 1966-8, existing conventions, counter-conventions, or symbolic celebratory ceremonies (Mayday) thus mirroring the spectre of the secular cults have. ‘Stale our clothing’ they may have done again, but they are building anti-capitalist so engulfible!

Let’s cut ourselves free from AUTORITY

There are four reasons which spring to mind. Firstly, with full-time ‘professional’ cadres, the capacity to conceal, be decisive etc., and link with existing institutional formations (most notably it is difficult to compete on a level playing field. To some extent it is a contradiction to imagine ‘competition’ as far as identifying the potential in terms of applying anarchist ideas in everyday life, now, in 2002, we need to first of all recognise the movement. As well as recognising the movement, we need to recognise the need for the movement to grow and develop.

Secondly, the anti-establishment movement is best associated with the anti-capitalist movement. Anarchists, locally based anarchist groups were active periodically around environmental anti-capitalist struggles. (By association) any activist in the EU. Thus the anarchists cannot be seen as ‘innocent until proven guilty’ is only an anarchism rooted in working class life and struggle can survive state repression.
Just a little illustration of the fact that two eyewitnesses may be looking at the same thing but seeing something very different.

Again the main problem was where the property destruction was happening and the fact that there was a far more important target, i.e., the Red Zone.

The second observation, there have been reports of absence of anarchic graffiti where some of the decidedly un-cool property damage had taken place, whereas elsewhere there was anarchist graffiti. Does this suggest - Police agents? Fascists? Or just attacked by anarchists terrible rioters?? Yes they do exist. Where was the heaviest fighting and most of this property damage such as shops being used for barricades - the White Owl market. Where was there a small number of Black Bloc, the main body being elsewhere. Allow me to quote from someone who was on that march "Then barricades would be built with dumpsters, cars, anything at hand" (my emphasis). The front lines would retreat nursing wounds and poisoned eyes. The more seriously injured would be carried to ambulances. One man was carried by with blood splashing from his eye where a canister had hit him. Many people rushed to the front, while others tore up the pavement for ammunition. A tall Irish man fell back saying "They got me again" but, as usual, he did it, we just need a few more people.

Another surge, everybody rushed forward on 2 or 3 different streets. Some riot cops got stranded in their retreat and hand-to-hand fighting ensued. The people fighting are not necessarily in black, some are masked. Some have helmets. It is not the Black Block, there are no agent provocateurs. This is a militant energy driven by people who have said - "Ya Va Baz" back the police, rage, energy, resolve." (9)

The assurance that there are no agent provocateurs involved in this situation is interesting isn't it?

The third observation, a comment on the June 18th disturbances in London, from the pages of Organisers! The magazine of the Anarchist Federation, "... anarchists in the city, regardless". (10)

Finally if you are saying that little evidence to justify the hallucinations about police agents, then can this be seen as a stubborn defence of the Black Bloc? Hardly, for that means the extremely stupid damage which took place and furthermore the disorganisation which meant that Black Bloc was divided and parts ended up mixed in with other blocs and so on was the responsibility of the Black Bloc and not the police.

Then we cannot expect what a mob riot to be "picture perfect" and if we want more than a mob riot we need to organise accordingly. (20) A day after the event I cannot expect the State to be peaceful.

But most importantly we cannot expect people to agree with us and not try to convince them, and I saw little of that attempt in Genoa.

The Criminalisation of Dissent (continued)

Conclusion

As Tony Bunyan, Statewatch editor, comments, "The exclusion of right-wing bombing attacks in Italy - yet alone the violent and murderous attacks on migrants in several EU countries by racists - suggests that the inclusion of 'anarchist terrorism' and 'eco-terrorism' in this EU Situation report is aimed at making the radical left appear to be a threat in order to be combated and expanded the concept of terrorism."

In 2002, "anarchist terrorism" - soley on the basis of evidence from Italy, raises important questions both for civil liberties and the anarchist movement. The similarities the 1970s are clear and we learn to the ancient [sic] history.

The conversion of public order offenses/Violence into terrorist crimes if they have any political has clear implications for all protests and social movements if this was adopted EU-wide.

Footnotes

1. I.e., the base unions and much of the Italian Anarchist movement whose anarchy was toward a march in support of the strike wave. The attacks were condemned because they precipitate any direct action, non-violent or otherwise and also because I think you will find that most people regard the bombing as part of this division.

2. It has not yet reached public power but is committed to its growth withdrawal over 25 years. The right will use the increasing alliance of sources of energy. Should these alternatives reduces the Dell's "alternative" of Geman business we should expect public power to become more common in the next decade. Green party hope is the only defence against a German "alternative" to which Germany, twenty years for you have set the police on anti-nuclear direct action. The use of power is a new kind of expenditure produced by the policing of public power. The government has been forced to forgo the government's advertised "economic" result. In any case, this means promoting our selves, the means of mass media to engage in limited dialogue with activists. This new movement has led to a gross disempowerment.

3. It is the state that links any form of mass protest with "terrorism" and to do so. (By association) any activist in the EU. Thus the concept of "anarchist terrorism" is useful for the state.

4. These developments suggest that anarchists must be open about what we do. This means promoting ourselves, our ideas and work clearly, so pre-empt the largely supposed to be spread. The movement that the state has decided to involve a network of crime suggests that the anarchistic influence in the anti-capitalist movement seems to be a threat - as I have elsewhere. Before it sinks roots within wider community and workplace struggles and organisation for the state. The attempt to criminalise anarchism will be seen as a new tactic in a broader perspective of the state. That history shows that only an anarchism rooted in working class life and struggle can survive state repression.

John McKay

Based on a report by Statewatch, PO Box 154, London, N16 OEW

www.statewatch.org

On the face of it - at least pre "9/11" as Americans call it - the wave of anti-capitalist sit-ins has been projected as a new era for anarchy in action.

However, the appearance can be deceptive. For anarchism, as compared to a manifestation which has anarchistic roots, there is little similarity to the "anarchist" world of the early 20th century. To a large extent, the potential in terms of applying anarchist ideas in everyday life, now, in 2002, we need to first of all recognise the obstacles: economic and cultural. After this we can deal with counterbalance these against aspects which, to some extent, favour our politics.

The birth of the 'cool'

I am a co-founder, and contributor to both Counter-Information [1] broadsheet and Statewatch [2] magazine, during a period of years [3], and well into middle-age myself. There is no need for me to be well aware that for the vast majority of young people who come into contact with the anarchists, it is more a part of a rites of passage before accepting the limitations of existence of "life" under capitalism. Anarchists, as part of a lifestyle of rebellion against "convention: family, obligations, and is interfered with the idea of the "cool".

For those with some perception - often intuitively - that what passes for normal everyday existence is in reality, alienation, commodity fetishism: a sense of life that is reduced to cultural insufficiency for the individual. What is "cool" under capitalism is revealed as an idea, as a brand loyalty to products: pop and technology, which channel aspirations in a way that has been done nothing different. For some, being "radical" or "eco-friendly" is a particular journey of consciousness, in that, they become prey to secular hierarchical cults and as a result, become both made national or international brand of socialism.

As the age of environmental consciousness, and post-Soviet global politics, it has become more possible to bypass such dead-ends and begin to see andperimental and social movements.

Distortion. Among English-speakers at least, ideological of somehow "radical" capitalism like Mondie [4] and elements in Globalise Resistance manipulated by the S.W.P. [5] have emended the word to "cool". There are many.

But what may have, if it was so vibrant this would result? As in 1966-7 existing anti-globalist acts - in the short and long term, the confrontations, or symbolic celebrity celebrations (Mayday) thus mirroring the specter of the global anti-war/animal rights movements. The wealth of potential networks and imprecise networks have been unable to respond or set the agenda to the extent that the secular cults have. 'Steal our clothing' they may have done again, but the budding anti-capitalist so called "guilible"

There are four reasons which spring to mind.

Firstly, with full-time "professional" curators, the capacity to conceal, be devisory and, link with existing institutions - and of course those that most notably is it difficult to compete on a level plane. To some extent this is a contradiction to imagine "competition as far identifying the potential in terms of applying anarchist ideas in everyday life, now, in 2002, we need to first of all recognise the obstacles: economic and cultural. After this we can deal with counterbalance these against aspects which, to some extent, favour our politics.

Let's cut ourselves free from AAUTHORITY

There are two amongst authoritarian mask various groups and libertarian organisations - without the latter becoming "horizontal parties".

Secondly, while the anarchists have been a key element of anti-globalism, anarchism has either diluted or rather is subsumed, appearing in English-speaking protests. By adopting a "light" approach in keeping with the times, anarchists have given up on anti-war/animal rights protest to theory etc. the anarchists and anarchists at the heart of anti- globalism. This is not to say that we have bedrock of insurrection against the pervasive threat of cults and liberal popular culture.

Thirdly, the anti-globalism movement is beset by association with the death of culture. Anarchists traditionally based anarchist groups who are active periodically around environmental anti-festivals (by seeking to make an impact in a city or a large gathering) and as counter-culture networks repelled "hosting" situations, so too did the orientation to local impact. Exceptions remain such as Brighton and Haringay, and to some extent Edinburgh but, in most urban areas, anarchist groups have largely been co-opted by occasional networks of "cool" club-goers who congeal together before and after "globalisation" protests, confrontations, or symbolic celebrity celebrations (Mayday) thus mirroring the specter of the global anti-war/animal rights movements. The wealth of potential networks and imprecise networks have been unable to respond or set the agenda to the extent that the secular cults have. 'Steal our clothing' they may have done again, but the budding anti-capitalist so called "guilible"

between authoritarian mask various groups and libertarian organisations - without the latter becoming "horizontal parties".

Footnotes
Anarchist Political Prisoner could be facing 25 years to life

We received word from Rob 'Rucker' Middaugh, an Anarchist Political Prisoner in the United States informing us that additional charges are going to be placed against him. These charges are in addition to the previous charges relating from the Long Beach attack by the police on March 20, 2001, where he was arrested and convicted to 3 years for assault on a police officer. Apparently the FBI had an arrest warrant issued against Rob for an incident in Sacramento. He did not mention what that action was but what we do know is that the charges are the following: Forcibly assaulting a police officer (felon charge), wearing a mask with intent to commit a crime, and weapons related charge (both state charges).

With these new charges, Middaugh could be facing 25 years to life due to what is known as the 3-strikes law in the state of California. Under this law, certain crimes are considered strikeable offenses. If seven or more of these crimes are committed by an individual that person can be sent to prison for 25 years to life.

All charges that Robert Middaugh has received and has been during political action. The first action was during the protest against the Democratic National Convention where he was accused of being the leader of the Black Block. The second strike was during the Long Beach incident where he and 100 other anarchists were arrested during an attack by police on May Day. These charges should add his third strike. No new news has received as to when his trial will happen but we will keep everyone informed as soon as we hear.

We encourage everyone to write to Rob and let him know you are supported!!!

ML

Evgeni Novozhilov

In Soviet times, mental hospitals were one of the main institutions used to crack down on dissidence. Now anarchist-sympathizer and human rights activist Evgeni Novozhilov has been sent to a mental hospital in Krasnodar, on the false charge of practising a "hobby about an act of terror".

What he actually did was to say during a telephone conversation to an acquaintance that "I feel so bad that I would hijack a plane and crash it to a skyscraper." This was when he was suffering a serious phrase of the chronic skin disease pododermia, which had made it impossible to him to leave home for more than two years since March 1999.

In 20th March 1999 Evgeni managed to get some facts about the reality of the Chechen war published in the regional press. This was both the first and last time this occurred. A statement from Arnold Beverley, the editor of the Convention on Human Rights.

In an archaic organisation like the Prison Service however, such an admission and repenting is not necessarily set a precedent. At HMP Whitemoor Mark Barsmy was recently allowed a copy of issue 02 of Class War sent by a friend, yet two weeks later when sent the same newspaper by the publisher, it was refused! Mark's legal team is currently appealing this decision.

As long as individual officers and some prisons believe no one is watching, they will continue to do whatever they want however they can get away with. Prisoners, and their supporters therefore have to constantly prepared to fight their corner.

If Article 10 can be used as a tool in this fight, we would be churlish to turn down the opportunity.

Paul Marsh

Evgeni Novozhilov

Haven Distribution is a free service providing educational publications to prisoners. They can be contacted at Haven Distribution, 27 Old Gloucester Street, London WC1N 3XZ.

Other groups supporting prisoners include:

Class War Prisoners, PO Box 467, London E8 3QX

Brighton ABC, PO Box 74, Brighton, BN1 4ZQ

Prisoners Advice Service, 16 Baldwin Gardens, London E1C.
**MUMIA ABU-JAMAL UPDATE**

On December 18, 2001, federal district court judge William Yohn reversed the death sentence that placed Mumia Abu Jamal on death row since his frame up in 1982. Yohn rejected a mountain of evidence proving Mumia’s innocence—including a statement from Arnold Bevery confessing to the killing of Philadelphia cop Daniel Faulkner. Democratic Party DA Lynne Abraham immediately announced an appeal. Yohn ordered a new sentencing hearing within 180 days. As the DA’s office fears, this could allow Mumia to place before a jury the evidence of concocted ballistics, coerced “eyewitness testimony” and a manufactured confession that led to the original conviction.

There is a real danger that with the threat of execution lifted, the campaign around Mumia will begin to demobilize. Mumia has always refused to allow threats of execution to silence him. He has been the “voice of the voiceless” always ready to speak out on behalf of the oppressed. As the US state steps up its war on “terror” both Mumia and the hundreds of other political prisoners buried in America’s jails face the threat of isolation and increased victimisation by the prison system. It is vital now to step up the campaign on behalf of Mumia and his comrades behind bars. The battle is not over until Mumia walks free. Substituting the “slow death” of imprisonment for the imposition of the death penalty cannot be claimed as a victory. We need to keep active, take the campaign out into the trade union movement and into those working class communities Mumia has sought always to defend.

**RAY GILBERT**

In December 1981 Ray Gilbert was found guilty of murder and sentenced to 15 years in prison. Twenty one years have elapsed since his first inside-outside militancy in the Close Supervision Centre at Woodhill. Ray refuses to admit his guilt and has consistently opposed his conviction, and, for the purposes of the prison system itself, since the day he was sent down.

Alongside John Kamarra, Ray Gilbert was convicted of murder of Liverpool bookie John Suffolk. Ray was a mixed race kid from Toxteth, 22 years old, with a speech impediment, and a history of involvement in petty crime. There was no evidence against him at the time of his arrest. He wasn’t picked out on an ID parade, there was no fingerprint evidence, no blood samples connected him to the crime. Until she was threatened with prosecution, Ray’s girlfriend gave him the alibi. Ray was held for two days and two nights in custody without representation. Under pressure, she signed a confession. A renowned psychologist, Olive Tusnail, reviewing the confession, has stated that the confession should be treated as unadvisable on the basis of Mr Gilbert’s personal vulnerability at the time, and his youth, limited education, abnormal personality, stammer, and a profound fear of being physically assaulted emanating from early childhood experiences. In her statement, Ray also implicated John Kamarra. John was one of the first to be released when the Court of Appeal overturned his conviction. In setting the conviction aside, the Court of Appeal said that at least part of Ray’s confession must be untrue. Yet Ray Gilbert remains locked away.

There is other evidence, ignored at the time, which points to his innocence. John Suffolk had bought a pint of milk and a newspaper and placed it on a shelf within the shop. This suggests that the prosecution claim that Ray and an accomplice waited outside for Suffolk and then bundled him into the shop is wide of the mark, and that the factoid that for killers might have been in the shop when Suffolk arrived to open evidence. That a customer had threatened to return to sort Suffolk out the day before the murder was also not properly pursued. It didn’t help that Ray pleaded guilty, or that he made a similar confessions to the police after his conviction, admitting guilt, but not for the murder. Tusnail explains that he was under pressure while on remand and while held since the incident. He had, she said, been influenced by the associates of the real murderer to sign the confession and made it up himself and his family at risk. From the moment he was able to escape the influence of those associates, Ray denied his guilt, and has done ever since, even though his refusal to admit guilt has meant that he’s remained in jail for five years over his taint.

Ray Gilbert has refused the easy option—he’s fought for his innocence and refused to concede and rot to the prison system. He deserves our support. Write to Ray Gilbert (H0111) at HM Prison Woodhill, Tallitence Road, Milton Keynes MK4 4DA.

Write to Home Secretary David Blunkett raising your concern that the Parole Board refuses to release Ray Gilbert. The fight to get Ray out of prison and his fight to admit his guilt at Home Office 50 Queen Annies Gate London SW1.

**Anarchist Political Prisoner could be facing 25 years to life**

We received word from Rob ‘Racks’ Middaugh, an Anarchist Political Prisoner in the United States informing us that additional charges are going to be placed against him. These charges are in addition to the previous charges relating from the Long Beach attacks by the police in March 2001, where he was arrested and convicted to 2 years for assault on a police officer. Apparently the FBI had an arrest warrant issued against Rob for an incident in Sacramento. He did not mention what that action was but what we do know is that the charges are the following: Forcibly assaulting a police officer (felon charge), wearing a mask with intent to commit a crime, and weapons related charge (both state charge).

With these new charges, Middaugh could be facing 25 years to life due to his known past actions and the 3-strikes law in the state of California. Under this law, certain crimes are considered strikeable offenses. If three or more of these crimes are committed by an individual that person can be sent to prison for 25 years to life.

All charges that Robert Middaugh has received have been during political action. The first strike was during the protest against the Democratic National Convention where he was accused of being the leader of the Black Block. The second strike was during the Long Beach incident where he and 100 anarchist were arrested during an attack by police on May Day. If these new charges could add his third strike. No news has been released as to where his trial will happen but we will keep everyone informed as soon as we hear.

We encourage everyone to write to Rob and let him know that we are supported!!!

If you would like to write to Robert Middaugh: at Robert Middaugh T44137, PO Box 5000, Delano, CA 93216

For more information relating to Rob please contact the Party for Political Prisoners (PP), Please write to:

LA-ABC
P.O. BOX 3871
Anaheim, CA 92803

LA_blackcross@yahoo.com

**Evgeni Novozhilov**

In Soviet times, mental hospitals were one of the main institutions used to crack down on dissidence. Now anarchist sympathiser and human rights activist Evgeni Novozhilov has been sent to a mental hospital in Krasnodar, on the false charge of practising a “hoax about an act of terror”.

What he actually did was to say during a telephone conversation to an acquaintance that “I feel so bad that I would hijack a plane and crash it to a skyscraper.” This was when he was suffering a serious phrase of the chronic skin disease pemionia, which had made it impossible to him to leave home for more than two years since March 1999.

In 20th March 1999 Evgeni managed to get some facts about the reality of the Chechen war published in the regional press. This was both the first and last time this occurred in Krasnodar region is amongst the most repressive and chauvinist areas of Russia. Since then he was a marked man, with the FSBI (formerly the KGB) tapping all of his telephone communications.

He has been imprisoned since 16th of November, under charges which would have threatened like, with the local anti-terrorist hysteria initiated after September 11th. When being diagnosed as required force treatment in psychiatric hospital under charges which count but what kind of “care” doctors see as necessary so there is no idea when he could be released.

Upper-class careerists on Soros’s payroll, in other words the regional human rights organisations, have refused to give any support to Evgeni. Thus the task to organise defence and support has been left solely to relatives and local anarchists from Autonomous Action.

Read more about the case on the website of the support campaign: http://evgeni.anarchists.by

You may send letters to Evgeni through his mother, by writing to:

Evgeni Novozhilov
16, Balalaikin st, kv. 167
350061 Krasnodar Russia
Evgeni speaks English, German and Swedish.

**Setting A Precedent?**

Last year saw an interesting legal case which could have a significant impact on individuals and organised corresponding with prisoners in the UK.

Following a legal challenge by prisoners advice service HMP Full Sutton withdrew its blanket ban on prisoners receiving publications from HMP Distribution. They conceded that such a ban would infringe prisoners rights to freedom of expression, which are protected by Article 10 of the Convention of Human Rights.

In an archaic organisation like the Prison Service however, such an admission was not necessarily set a precedent. At HMP Whitemoor Mark Ramsay was recently allowed a copy of issue 02 of Class War: Sent for War sent by a friend, yet two weeks later when sent the same newspaper by the publisher, it was refused! Mark’s legal team is currently appealing this decision.

As long as individual officers and some prisoners believe no one is watching, they will continue to whatever they can get away with. Prisoners, and their supporters therefore have to constantly prepared to fight their corner.

If Article 10 can be used as a tool in this fight, we would be churlish to turn down the opportunity.

Paul Marsh
Revolt of the ‘beautiful people’?

Tony Blair shirks and whines when people complain about the treatment of prisoners from the ‘Glorious Afghan Policing Operation’. Unlike some, he doesn’t come out and say ‘they’re getting what they deserve’, typically he hides behind the isms, what goes on in the centres, it’s being done humane, the Americans say so, and the sun shines out of their arse, so it must be true. No logic or meaning seems to intrude between Tony’s ears. He believes in freedom, so these people are being treated fairly. At least the Americans have the nerve to be openly hypocritical, changing their terms to justify what they want to do next: to kill people, then it’s a crime so the people you capture have no rights. It’s a new world, and all those old-fashioned ideas about prisoners-of-war, refugees etc just don’t hold water (that is, they’re an inconvenience). Maintaining an empire needs a few tricky side-steps to hide the reality of human beings doing unpleasant things. It needs enough servants to dress things up nicely; the velvet glove, indeed.

Our rulers may be able to delude themselves that they care about our rights, they may ‘call all the means necessary’ to hold onto their power. We have to point out that power is the name of the game, even if it’s being described as justice. We must reserve our rights to call things by their true names.

Under the x-ray

Brian Higgins’ history of the BWG is an inspiring and passionate account of militant trade unions working in the construction industry. More than simply a straightforward history, it forms a hied and persuasive argument in favour of general Rank and File workplace organisation and agitation. The BWG, formed in 1974, has maintained a consistently confrontational and activist stance against the sustained capitalist attack on trade union activity. organisation then taken place over the last twenty years. Against this backdrop of union marginalisation and the entrenched authoritarian and reformist nature of the orthodox union leadership, structure and the essential question posed in this pamphlet is: is it possible to build and maintain a genuinely Rank and File revolutionary union movement that is entirely independent of official bureaucratic leadership, Ranks/WSPU manipulation and the usual broad left traits of corruption and capitulation?

And although we read of many battles (and setbacks and ups/downs) in the course of the BWG’s history, the answer must be a resounding ‘yes!’ and this pamphlet is regarded as a kind of ‘call-to-arms’ to encourage and foster truly democratic Rank and File organisation in all areas of modern industry. To any readers still uncertain about the extent of broad left union cynicism and corruption, Higgins’ account of UCATT/TGWU ‘s activities, reformist and authoritarian character, as (they gradually lurched to the right), will surely leave them in no doubt about the fundamental redundancy of standard left unionism. In fact, UCATT and TGWU remain steadfastly decadent, and we encounter all of the depressing and familiar old features, including Ranks/WSPUs gross financial corruption, cynical cover-ups and a basic failure of workplace union democracy. Among the many struggles instigated and supported by the BWG over the years, the conflict with Laing Hrones was one of the most significant. Blacklisted because of their basic militancy, BWG bricklayers and supporters occupied a site in Sturton in October 1985 on the instructions of Laing Hrones. There followed several years of legal and radical struggle by the ‘Laing’s Lock Out Committee’, including the use of fly-pinging to disrupt their offices, and the occupation of several sites, that resulted in a Feb 1986 High Court injunction. Although eventually forced off the site by the threat of death threats and the TGWU’s predictable refusal to give the struggle ‘official’ recognition, the BWG’s actions served to inspire many individuals with their own defiance of authority/Rank and File intimidation. Symbolic of this feeling of solidarity was the pledge by bilingual DO workers to blockade Pentonville prison with their bin lories if Higgins and comrades were imprisoned. More than simply a series of struggles to improve pay and conditions (crucial of course), the BWG have maintained a revolutionary working class movement, always opposing to full-time union leaders and the trade union structure, and this is perhaps the crucial point to take from a libertarian socialist/ anarchist perspective. If anarchism strives to become a revolutionary working class movement, as it seeks to transform middle class fantasy into a disarray for workplace agitation and a denial of the class struggle, then anarchosyndicalism is the most effective, this one that is the case. The ‘self-management within a stateless society’. However, industrial agitation should not mean the sole concern of the libertarian struggle, as the anarchist agenda must be applied to all areas of our lives and individuals valid to the socialist communities. That said, Rank and File organisation remains a crucially important aspect of class struggle and is central to the machinations of the parliamentary left and the ruling class. Higgins’ work, Rank and File struggles should not aim at merely gaining short-term concessions, but also seek to address a host of diverse issues and injustices from a libertarian socialist perspective.

Towards the end of the pamphlet we see a specific example of how the BWG attempted to place their struggle within the context of the wider socialist agenda for a free society. During UCATT’s National Delegate Conference in Kilbarry last summer, (staged there as it was far from the mainland ‘hotbed’ arterial union politics), the Northampton UCATT branch put forward a resolution in favour of a 32 Count Council, a fact of British state and division and oppression. The resolution received a respectable 29% vote at the last, but as Higgins points out, the important thing was trying to establish the basic democratic right in political debate such issues without fear of intimidation from the current unions bureaucrat and hierarchal Executive Committees. Therefore, this is a very interesting and highly readable pamphlet that should be seen by all anarchists/ libertarian socialists who are interested in Rank and File workplace agitation and industrial organisation. At a time when New Labour’s contempt for working class union activity is becoming ever more apparent (with Blair recently admitting that British Law is the most representative on trade unions in the Western world) the relevance of RPM no 50 in offering a glimpse of what a general revolution can be like is obvious. This pamphlet hopefully shows that Rank and File action and agitation will continue to be a thorn in the side of both New Labour and broad left union bureaucrats.
Revolt of the ‘beautiful people’?

(continued)

where a momentary shift of perception threatens post-modern inertia. It ‘pays to be cynical’

The modern secular era has given way to post-modern consciousness: the ballmarks of which are individual selfishness and lack of solidarity. While libertarian struggle provides an antide to this in so far as it allows us to think and act about the world in a manner which does not much whilst attempting to combat recuperation, incorporation and distortion against the forces of capitalism and false enemies of the capitalist nation state. The domination of the mass urban and suburban environment, the change in patterns of work and other social changes in the last 30 years in particular have created a world where consumption is paramount. Rebellion gives people greater control, albeit amongst the vast majority to cynical ambivalence. Get out of the system as much for yourself, and as you acquire ‘responsibility’ for your ‘loved ones’.

You become complicit in the media parlor games of consumption being built and then eroded, in exhibiting selfish endear to TV ratings or any other type of ‘influence’ by outrageous events in everyday life usually associated with unfolding consumer lifestyle and the comforts of new-style religion or become trapped in a quagmire of intelectual superiority and detachment.

Trumpeting direct action isn’t enough. More than that, it just doesn’t cut it! Propaganda aimed at the mass of people will ‘wash over’ any consciousness unless it engages on issues that concern those with any lingering ability to be appalled at the ‘standards’ which people accept. Not to have an abstract sense; but expressed through undermining what passes as the ‘normal’ in an alienated, largely urban and suburban environment. Of course doing voluntary good deeds such as youth work could follow from such concerns, and as anarchists, indicative of a tiny minority, propaganda which communicates an anti-selfish outlook has the problem of linking such insight to action that doesn’t confine itself to the palliative.

Engagement in the modern era has to be built around such a concern in everyday life, for anarchist growth to be truly effective. It has to have a local dimension and organised alternatives in different aspects of life [6], exposing through propaganda the highstreet exploitation/brand-name monopoly basis of capitalist. And lastly as well, arriving at coherent strategies and libertarian directions for the global which provides a basis to react to the systemic and authoritarian distortions which are omnipresent. Forums to engage in theory and discussion - beyond the level of watching direct action video footage - are also a necessity to be featured at a level (as well as the internet) if a renewal of anarchism is to take place relevant and able to resist the lure of modern capitalism.

Under the x-ray

Tony Blair shrieks and whines when people complain about the treatment of prisoners from the ‘Glorious Afghan Policing Operation’. ‘Unlike some, he doesn’t come out and say ‘they’re getting what they deserve’, typically he hides behind his tortured (and tortured looking) maniacal grin. ‘It’s being done humane’, the Americans say so, and the sun shines out of their arse, so it must be true. No logic or meaning seems to intrude between Tony’s ears. He believes ‘in freedom’, so these people are being treated freely.

At least the Americans have the nerve to be openly hypocritical, changing their terms to justify what they want to do next: if it can kill people then it’s a crime so the people you capture have no rights. It’s a new world, and all those old-fashioned ideas about prisoners-of-war, refugees etc just don’t hold water (that is, they’re an incoherence). Maintaining an empire needs a few tricky side-steps to hide the reality of what’s going on, although enough servants to dress things up nicely; the velvet glove, indeed.

Our rulers may be able to delude themselves that they care about our rights because they still ‘have many means necessary’ to hold onto their power. We have to point out that power is the name of the game, even if it’s being described as justice. We must reserve our rights to call things by their true names.

Well, in 1987, we set up a UK based housing collective to help get the message across: ‘Homes and File are not at war with you: they just want to be part of our society.’

so...所做的就之一。正是这个原因，我们才将这个团体称为“反战社团”。

Ranil And File Or Broad Left?: A Short History Of The Building Workers Group

Brian Higgins’ history of the BWG is an inspiring and passionate account of militant trade unionists working in the construction industry. More than simply a straight forward history, it forms a lucid and persuasive argument in favour of general Rank and File workplace organisation and agitation.

The BWG, formed in 1974, have maintained a consistently confrontational and assertive stance against the supported capitalist attack on trade union activity. Organisation that been taken place over the last twenty years. Against this backdrop of outlawed marginalisation and the entrenched authoritarian and reformist nature of the orthodox union leadership and structure, the essential question posed in this pamphlet is: Is it possible to build and maintain a genuinely Rank and File revolutionary union movement that is entirely independent of official bureaucratic leadership, and free from Test/WP manipulation and the usual broad left traits of opportunism and capitulation?.

"We read of many bust-ups and setbacks (and stich ups!) in the course of the BWG’s history, the answer must be a resounding yes! and the pamphlet should be regarded as a kind of ‘call-to-arms’ to encourage and foster truly democratic Rank and File organisation in all areas of modern industry.

To the reader still uncertain about the extent of broad left union cynicism and corruption, Higgins’ account of UCATT/TGWU’s generalised reformist, and authoritarian character, (as they gradually lurched to the right), will surely leave them in no doubt about the fundamental redundancy of standard broad left unionism. In fact, UCATT and TGWU are exposed shamefully, and we encounter all of the depressing and familiar old features, including TGWU’s gargantuan financial corruption, cynical covers-ups and a basic lack of workplace union democracy.

Among the many struggles instigated and supported by the BWG over the years, the conflict with Laing Homes was one of the most significant. Blacklisted because of their basic militancy, BWG bricklayers and supporters managed to gain a site in Sturton in October 1985 on the instructions of Laing Homes. There followed a number of struggles by the ‘Laing’s Lock Out Committee’, including the use of the flying pigeons to disrupt睡觉 existing jobs (in different sites, that resulted in a Feb 1986 High Court injunction. Although eventually forced to take the ground on a series of death threats and the TGWU/ UCATT’s predictable refusal to give the struggle ‘official’ recognition, the BWG’s actions served to inspire many individuals with their own defiance of arbitrators/Rank and File intimidation. Symbolic of this feeling of solidarity was the pledge by bilingual DLO workers to blockade Penlington prison with their bin lorries if Higgins and comrades were imprisoned. More than simply a series of struggles to improve pay and conditions (crucial to the BWG, this answer must be a resounding yes! and the pamphlet should be regarded as a kind of ‘call-to-arms’ to encourage and foster truly democratic Rank and File organisation in all areas of modern industry.

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Towards the end of the pamphlet we see a specific example of how the BWG attempted to place their struggles within the context of the wider socialist agenda for a free society. During UCATT’s National Delegate Conference in KirkKarse last summer, (staged there as it was far from the mainland ‘hotbed’ areas of industrial activity) the Birmingham Northcapp UCATT branch put forward a resolution in favour of a 32% vote at the same time as the British State partition, division and oppression. The resolution received a respectable 28% vote at the time, but as Higgins points out, the important thing was trying to establish the basic democratic right in political debate such issues without fear of intimidation from the same union bureaucrats and hierarchical Executive Committees.

Therefore, this is a very interesting and highly readable pamphlet that should be seen by all anarchists/ libertarian socialists who are interested in Rank and File workplace- agitation and industrial organisation. At a time when New Labour’s contempt for working class union activity is becoming ever more apparent (with Blair recently admitting that British Law is ‘the most repressive in trade unions in the western world’) the reliance of RPM no 50 in offering a glimmer of light on their own ‘progressive’ past is obviously false. This pamphlet hopefully shows that Rank and FIE will continue to be a thorn in the side of both New Labour and broad left union bureaucrats.

Chris
"The ecstasy of resistance"

On Fire: The Battle of Genoa and the anti-capitalist movement

One-Off Press ISBN 1 902599 25 4 Distributed through AK Press and Active Distribution

This is an excellent book. It contains sixteen eye-witness accounts and analyses of the protests at Genoa earlier this year. All shades of opinion within the libertarian wing of anti-capitalists are contained in it and so it is diverse but always interesting (and at times, moving) account of ordinary people doing extra-ordinary things in difficult circumstances. That is in itself enough to recommend it. These are the accounts of the people who want to make history rather than the interpretations of journalists (mainstream or so-called "radical" or "revolutionary") and the specialists in ideology (again, mainstream or "revolutionary"). As such, the accounts of those involved in the Black Block should be read by all. Carlito. Only the personal accounts is some excellent political analysis. All in all, a wonderful account and analysis of what contributor calls "the ecstasy of resistance."

Needless to say, it will be impossible to cover all the issues raised, never mind all the lessons that can be gained from these accounts. I would suggest that the following conclusions considered among the most important.

Firstly, the need to (to use Jez's words) get "out into workplaces and communities, getting beyond the narrow activist base and its marginalised peripheral..." Politics has to be made real to everyday life... and not just dependent on six monthly spectacles for a permalink. Only once the movement has strengthened the links it has been building with working class struggle and actually start to transform society for the better. Until then, events like Genoa may inspire by they will never transform (as participants are aware, of course). As once the socialists, we were not in Genoa to destroy capitalism, so that kind of criticism misses the point. What happened in Genoa was a generalised riot, not an anti-capitalist "insurrection"). In Genoa, many of the Italian anarchists (including the two comrades who together worked with the base union (PIHS) and striking workers and marched with them. The way RTS and other groups here are linking up with workers in struggle is the way forward. Secondly, organisation is important. This need for organisation comes through clearly from the accounts. While, of course, organisation is generated spontaneously through struggle, it means reinvigorating the wheel every time there is a demo (and, of course, it does not address what we do between demos). As such, Massimo de Angelis makes a valid (and extremely old anarchist point) when he argues that "not even the slogan de T-shirts in Genoa was entirely correct: another world is not only possible. Rather, we are already patiently and with another world with all its limitations and ambiguities through the form of our networks."

This clearly ties in the first point. We do have to build the new world in the shell of the old is we want to end capitalism. Thirdly, communication between activists is essential. As numerous contributors argue, by (for example) Black Blockers and pacifists talking to each other then there will be less likelihood that the cops and media can use splitting tactics. As Starhawk put it, "we have to communicate. We can no longer afford to wage parallel but disconnected struggles at the demonstrations. We need to clearly state our intentions and goals for each action, and ask others to support them."

But, as she stresses, "agreements are only agreements when everyone participates in making them."

As such equality, solidarity and respect are essential and that, of course, naturally from point two (the need to build the new world, as far as possible, today in our struggles). It means an attitude, it's essential. It means, to the question of police violence in Genoa. As two contributors argue, the "police could carry out such a brutal act openly... means that they do not expect to be held accountable for their actions."

Which means that they had support from higher up, more powerful politicians... That those politicians also condoned the action means that they too have support from the public. But the "police failed, they did it by mass." That Berlusconi could support such acts means that he must be certain of support from other international powers." (Brian S.) As Starhawk rightly puts it, blaming the Black Block misses the point (as the State wants). The Black Block was "not the source of the problem in Genoa. The problem was state, Fascist violence and finance.

In Genoa "we encountered a carefully orchestrated political campaign of state terrorism. The police were successful in attacking the march and blaming the Black Block (to liberals and trots have done) effectively let the state off." Finally, the book helps others to understand those who take part in the Black Block tactic. It clearly shows that the Black Block in Genoa was not exclusively anarchist and that its roots lie in the Genoa Autonomists and not anarchism. It also allows its participants to refuse any charge of the crime (such as being "elitist", being "responsible for the police violence, being police agents and so on). It helps to push the debate on tactics forward by allowing people to understand where other groups are coming from.

Lastly, the importance of (in Starhawk's words) "staying on the streets." The very fact the state went to such lengths to attack the anti-globalisation demonstrations (and to split the movement) shows that we are a threat to the status quo. While the leaders of the world may like to dismiss it as "an anarchist travelling circus" the fact is that these demos, regardless of their limitations, do show that people are resisting and that there is an alternative to capitalism. Particularly in that the war, we must stay on the streets and show that there is only one war worth fighting — the class war. This book is, it is to be hoped, the start of a process in which we can discuss our ideas, our tactics, our movement and actions. We are clearly considered as a threat, the attacks merely to stop the movement along the lines of "violence" and "protest violence" by the state (although, as Starhawk says, "if breaking windows and fighting back when the cops attack is violence," then give me a new word, a word a thousand times stronger, to use when the cops are beating non-resisting people into comics.)."

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All of these are well covered, though Guerin does not mention the Platform and the polemics between that group and other anarchists, nor do they much more than touch upon the synthesis ideas developed by Voline as his response to the Russian civil war and the reformation of the Russian revolutionary spirit. But the most annoying point is Guerin's attempt to portray the Russian Bolshevik leaders as geniuses who, despite the evidence he himself presents, Trotsky in particular is damn as a ruthless butcher, in terms of his exchange with Voline, his attitude towards insurgent Ukraine, his manipulation of the revolutionary struggles at Krostdat. Guerin may well have been taking a softer line on them because of the unremarkable strength of French Marxism at the time he wrote it, but it's a bit too much really. For example, Lenin were sincere, and Lenin at least believed in the revolution, but almost all the political actors were sincere. Heil and Franco were sincere. It doesn't make them right. Anarchists were, on the whole, spouting on how the Bolshevik experiment would fail, and in what large, long before it did. As early as 1921,

Berkman was referring to it as state capitalism, while it took opportunistic Leninist decades longer to come up with this concept, and even then it was selectively applied.

Most people likely to read this book will be those with a long commitment to the Russian civil war, but perhaps background could have been given on the famous events, and then the alliance perhaps in 1909, and how this led to the activities of the employers and the anarchists, which in a slightly different world, Guerin played his part.

Both sides are given, if the controversial role the CNT-FAI members who joined the government. This is particularly useful as it nails the lie that the anti-Germanism of the anarchists has not been a partisan issue, but had lessons from this episode, and the need for a real organisation of the anarchist movement, and the collaborationist line. The inclusion of the IWA revolutionaries criticising the CNT for their betrayal of the anarchists, Guerin inspired many of the anarchist communist organisations which repeat this lie, it seems that some of them do not go so far as to read his books!

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We have just (late January) mailed out the latest issue of our bulletin. This one contains pieces on Pana '68 Anarchist in London and the strategy of tension in Italy as well as the usual news, requests and announcements.

Speaking of announcements, our energetic publishing programme, unperturbed by the hidden areas of anarchist history, strides on. Want to do some grubbing among the archives? That will be the Asnelmer Beleجار's World's First Anarchist Manifesto (first English translation of a text of 1890). 87306052 X.

Wonder what our comrades had to say about nineteenth-century colonialism (the capitalist globalization of its day)? Try Nicoll's Stanley's Exploits, or, Civilising Africa. 1873605795 (or E25 or 2 individuals). McWitty, we come to that? We have the latest £19.75 Hurricane, London, WC1N 3XK, KSS, PMB 820, 2425 Channing Way, Berkeley CA 94704, USA.
The ecstasy of resistance

On Fire: The Battle of Genoa and the anti-capitalist movement

One-Off Press ISBN 1902593-54-7 Distributed through AK Press and Active Distribution

This is an excellent book. It contains sixteen eye-witness accounts and analyses of the protests in Genoa earlier this year. All shades of opinion within the libertarian wing of anti-capitalists are contained in it and so it is a diverse but always interesting (and at times, moving) account of ordinary people doing extra-ordinary things in difficult circumstances. That is in itself enough to recommend it. These are accounts of the people who want to make history rather than the interpretations of journalists (mainstream or so-called "radical" or "revolutionary") and the specialists in ideology (again, mainstream or "revolutionary"). As such, the accounts of those involved in the Black Block should be read by all. Certainly, most of the personal accounts is some excellent political analysis. All in all, a wonderful account and analysis of what contributor calls "the ecstasy of resistance".

Needless to say, it will be impossible to cover all the issues raised, never mind all the lessons that can be gained from these accounts. I would suggest that the following conclusions are considered among the most important.

Firstly, the need to (use jazz's words) "get out into workplaces and communities, getting beyond the narrow activist base and its marginalised peripheral..." Politics has to be made real to everyday life... and not just dependent on six monthly spectacles for a party. Only when the movement has strengthened the links it has been building with working class struggles and actually start to transform society for the better. Until then, events like Genoa may inspire by they will never transform (as participants are aware, of course). As someone put it, "we were not in Genoa to destroy capitalism, so that kind of criticism misses the point. What happened in Genoa was a generalised riot, not an anti-capitalist insurrection"). In Genoa, many of the over 2000 anarchists (including the two leaders) who had worked with the base unionists (PASAS) and striking workers and marched with them. The way RTS and other groups here are linking up with workers in struggle is the way forward.

Secondly, organisation is important. The need for organisation comes through clearly from the accounts. While, of course, organisation is generated spontaneously through struggle, it means reinforcing the wheel every time there is a demo (and, of course, it does not address what we do between demos). As such, Massimo de Angelis makes a valid (and extremely old anarchist point) when he argues that "not even the slogan de T-shirts in Genoa was entirely correct: another world is not only possible. Rather, we are already patiently and with another world with all its intersections, limitations and ambiguities through the form of our networks."

This clearly ties in the first point. We do have to build the new world in the shell of the old is what we want to end capitalism. Finally, communication between activists is essential. As numerous contributors argue, by (for example) breaking blocks and pacifying tactics to each other then there will be less likely that the cops and media can use splitting tactics. As Starhawk put it "we have to communicate. We can no longer afford to wage parallel but disconnected struggles at the demonstrations. We need to clearly state our intentions and goals for each action, and ask others to support them."

But, as she stresses, "agreements are only agreements when everyone participates in making them." As such equality, solidarity and respect are essential and that, of course, naturally from point two (the need to build a new world, as far as possible, today in our struggles). It means, difficult, but its essential. To clarify the question of police violence in Genoa. As two contributors argue, the "police could carry out such a brutal act completely... means that they do not expect to be held accountable for their actions. Which means that they had support from higher up, more powerful politicians. That those politicians also condoned the act means that they too have support from the upper echelons, from Berlusconi. That Berlusconi could support such acts means that he must be certain of support from other international powers" (Brian S). As Starhawk rightly puts it, blaming the Black Block misses the point (as the State wants). The Black Block was "not the source of the problem in Genoa. The problem was state, Fascism and Han Chinese manipulation. In Genoa "we encountered a carefully orchestrated political campaign of state terrorism. The police did not just attack the march and blaming the Black Block (to liberals and trots have done) has effectively led the state off the hook.

Fifthly, the book helps others to understand those who take part in the Black Block tactic. It clearly shows that the Block in Genoa was not exclusively anarchist and that its roots lie in the Genoa Autonomists and not anarchism. It also allows its participants to refute some of the charges against them (such as being "clannish", being "responsible" for the police violence, being "police agents" and so on). It helps to push the debate on tactics forward by allowing people to understand where others are coming from.

Lastly, the importance of (in Starhawk's words) "staying on the streets. The very fact the state went to such lengths to attack the anti-capitalist demonstrations (and to split the movement) shows that we are a threat to the status quo. While the leadership of the world may like to dismiss it as "an anarchist travelling circus" the fact is that these demos, despite of their limitations, do show that people are resisting and that there is an alternative to capitalism. Particularly in that the war, we must stay on the streets and show that there is only one war worth fighting — the class war. This book is, it is to be hoped, the start of a process in which we can discuss our ideas, our tactics, our movement and actions. We are clearly considered as a threat, hence the attempts to split the movement along the lines of "violence" and "non-violence" by the state (although, as Starhawk says, "if breaking windows and fighting back when the cops attack is violence", then give me a new word, a word a thousand times stronger, to use when the cops are beating non-resisting people into coma)."

No Gods No Masters

Books

David Graeber

AK Press

Some time ago, I reviewed Book One of this collection, Book Two redefines some of the criteria I made of Book One, in that it covers different areas of analysis. I will talk about the end of the Spanish revolution, once again, the comparative wealth of material available in this collection is staggering. For example, Emile Henry is placed into context as a social anarchist driven to desperation some 60 years after the beginning of the Paris Commune.

Briefly, the book covers the ideas and life of Malatesta, the French syndicalists, Voline, Malahno and the Russian Revolution and the Spanish revolution with a particular emphasis on Domut.

All of these are well covered, though Graeber does not mention the Platypus and the polemics between that group and other anarchists, nor do they mention much more than touch upon the synthesis ideas developed by Voline as his response to the Russian civil war. The most annoying part is Graeber's attempt to portray the Russian Bolshevik leaders as getting drawn into the civil war despite the evidence he himself presents. Trotsky in particular is dummed as a ruthless butcher, in terms of his exchanges with Voline, his attitude towards insurgent Ukraine, and his manipulation of the revolutionary strength of French Marxism as he wrote it, but it's a bit too much really. Graeber and Trotsky were sincere, and Lenin at least believed in the revolution, but almost all political actors were sincere. It doesn't make them right. Anarchists were, on the whole, spelling out how the Bolshevik experience would fail, and in what, long before it did. As early as 1921, Berkman was referring to it as state capitalism, while it took opportunistic Leninists decades longer to come up with this conclusion and even then it was selectively applied. Most people likely to read this book will be already familiar with this history. It is a great selection, well-researched, but I'm not sure Graeber intended it as a popular history. This is just as well, as I'm not sure there are any lessons from this episode, and it doesn't really add to the collaborationist line. The inclusion of the IWA resolution criticising the CNT for this series of activity, however, is interesting, as it shows how many of the anarchist communist organisations which repeat this lie, it seems that some of them do not go so far as to read his books!

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Monopolise Resistance? How Globalise Resistance would hijack revolt

A pamphlet by Schness and others. Available from www.schness.who.ok or PO Box 2600, Brighton BN2 0EF

This pamphlet is aimed at those people attracted to what is loosely called the "anti-capitalist movement," but who have either specifically at warning them off the politics and tactics of the left generally, and particularly the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP). It is in this succeeds admirably, including reasoned arguments about why the successes of the ill-defined "anti-capitalist movement" are based on the exact opposite of the SWP's politics. The tone is open, presumably so as to not put people off, and the movement's (and by implication the groups who produced the pamphlet) failings are admitted.

For most of Black Flag's readers, the arguments will all sound familiar. For many of the younger generation, who perhaps have been involved in some sort of action that the left steers clear of, or haven't been to University, these experiences are probably becoming well-rehearsed as the SWP latch on to whatever will get them in the paper that week. The left always present issues and arguments that they want you to engage with, thus making them aware of the all focus of attention. Even if you go into the arguments and win it with respect to their intended audience, they still gain, because their importance is overstated, and the real issue is lost sight of.

There are the obvious failings in a short pamphlet that some arguments do need more elaboration. I have been an anarchist for nearly 20 years, I know why generally don't talk to the bourgeois press (and what goes wrong when anarchists do) - someone who's new won't. But that's inevitable in such a short work.

A more niggling gripe is the one about unions being only for the middle classes and graduates, it's not true, though the more general points about how the unions have become business-like themselves and failed their members remain valid. Unlike the SWP, I don't see union membership as a potential allies. Union members, on the other hand, usually are. However, tactically, active rank and file members still going to get into partnership with a movement that states it is anti-union.

My major gripe, though, is that the pamphlet implicitly poses a question, one that has yet to be faced up to by organisation. That's the SWP's front (and to a lesser extent Workers Power) have muscled in is that they are organised. Anarchists / anti-capitalists / etc. are not, nor are they likely to be as one organisation as there are too many differences to make organisation possible.

There is also an implicit criticism of the existing British anarchist organisations, which the authors do not mention, and who have all failed to attract interest from the new wave of direct action after the poll tax. An article in the last Do Or Die complained that the "anarch-punk generation" had not told them that the underlying problem was capitalism, and they'd had to work it out for themselves. I would hate that the lessons learned about organisation during the 80s would have to be rediscovered, too.

So, what do we do about it? I personally don't think there can be one organisation for all, but I do think there is a need for a culture of organisation. Yes, doing those dull admin tasks is boring, but nowhere near as boring as SWP biography sessions masquerading as public meetings. So, the SWP organised a train to Gerona and public meetings afterwards - why didn't anyone else? Did one think of it, or did they expect someone else to do it? What about organising speaking tours of people from struggles both here and abroad? Co-ordinated actions seem to happen easily enough (no disrespect to all the work that goes into them), why not theSWP?

So, in summary, a good read to reconfirm your prejudices about Britain's biggest reformist group, but a big question hanging, L.H.

Anarchism and the Black Revolution

Lorenzo Komboa Erin has made an appeal for help in publishing the third edition of his classic book 'Anarchism and the Black Revolution.' Originally written in and smuggled out of the federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois (USA), it quickly became influential with many young people, prisoners, and activists.

But in the past few years, organisations for the help of Anarchists who were influenced by the book, and would like to see a new edition. He needs to raise around several thousands of dollars to self-print it after the manuscript is completed this Spring or early Summer. He asks favours to:

1. Hold benefit concerts, t-shirt sales, and other events. Bag friends and others for money.
2. Publicise his request in newspapers, newsletters or online.
3. Pre-order the book, it will have a list price of $12.95, and will be $10.00 for volume sales of 10 copies or more. If you or your collective sell in hundreds or thousands of dollars, he will consider it a volume sale and in hundreds of copies, a book of off you to when printed.
4. Write letters to anarchist publishing houses that you know of to buy copies. Your letters might even convince one of them to print the book, so all help is welcome.
5. Invite Lorenzo to bookfairs all over the world to sell books and publicise the printing. This is very important to let people know about the new publishing of the book, as well as let them know for his need of money now and pre-order deal.

Please contact Lorenzo at: Lorenzo Komboa Erin The Rest of the News P.O. Box 19962 Kalama, MI 49019-0962 komba@yahoo.com (or Lorenzo@hotmail.com), if that mailbox is full.

North & East London Solidarity Group PO Box 1081, London N8 7LE email: londonsolidar@groupmail.org

Love & Rage Info Project PO Box 21 Little Preston Street Brighton BN1 2HJ

SIEP Tramp PO Box 4144 Worthing BN14 7NZ

EAST ANGLIA

Anarchist Group PO Box 2474 London n0 08w

Huckley Solidarity Group 156 King's High Street Hucknall. London 08 25s

Mas Infobooth 56 Clunton Street London n0 17

Oxford Anarchist Action

London BCN 1715

London WCX 3XK

Brissle

West London Anarchist c/o Box 92, 80 Clifton St London BR5 1BB

Crisis

Any person in the West Country

If you want your group listed in the Black Flag contacts page, please send us your details.

contacts

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(Anarch-Syndicalists)

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Manchester M15 9WH

phone: 0161 231 8177

Anarchist Federation

84b Whitechapel High St Manchester E1 7QX

Class War Federation

PO Box 467 London E8 3XQ

END STREETS

Education Workers'/
Communications Workers' Network (SF)

PO Box 29, SW5D0

Manchester M15 9WH

Public Service Workers' Network (SF)

PO Box 1681

London N7 8LE

Industrial Workers of the World (Britain)

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Dorset, BH16 5Y4

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SCOTLAND

Autonomous Centre of Edinburgh

17 West Montgomery Place, Edinburgh EH3 1HA

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Monopolie Resistance? How Globalise Resistance would hijack revolt

A pamphlet by Schnew and others. Available from www.schnew.org.uk or PO Box 2600, Brighton BN2 0EF

This pamphlet is aimed at those people attracted to what is loosely called the "anti-capitalist movement" and specifically at warning them off the politics and tactics of the left generally, and particularly the Socialist Workers' Party (SWP). In this it succeeds admirably, including reasoned arguments about why the successes of the ill-defined "anti-capitalist movement" are based on the exact opposite of the SWP's politics. The tone is open, presumably so as not to put people off, and the movement's (and by implication the groups who produced the pamphlet) failings are admitted.

For most of Black Flag's readers, the arguments will all sound familiar. For many of the younger generation, who perhaps have not been involved in action, it is a warning that the left steers clear of, or hasn't been active in. These experiences are probably becoming well-rehearsed as the SWP latch on to whatever will get them in the right sort of work. The left always present issues and arguments that they want you to engage with, thus making it easier for them to pass the focus of attention. Even if you go into the arguments and win it with respect to their intended audience, they still gain, because their importance is overstated, and the real issue is lost to sight.

There are the obvious failings in a short pamphlet that some arguments do become slightly narrower. It is noted that an anarchist for nearly 20 years, I know why we generally don't talk to the bourgeoisie press (and what goes wrong when anarchists do) - someone who's new won't. But that's inevitable in such a short work.

A more niggling gripe is the one about unions being only for the middle classes and graduates, it's not true, though the more general points about how the unions have become businessisations and failed their members remain valid. Unlike the SWP, I don't see union membership as a potential ally. Union members, on the other hand, usually are. However, tactically, active rank and file members of any kind are going to go into partnership with a movement that states it is anti-union.

My major gripe, though, is that the pamphlet implicitly poses a question, one that has yet to be faced up to: organisation. This is the SWP's front (and to a lesser extent Workers Power) have muscled in is that they are organised. Anarchists / anti-capitalists etc. are not, nor are they likely to be as one organisation as there are too many differences to make organisation possible.

There is also an implicit criticism of the existing British anarchist organisations, which the authors do not mention, and who have all failed to attract interest from the new wave of direct action after the poll tax. An article in the last Do Or Die complained that the "anarch-punk generation" had not told them that the underlying problem was capitalism, and they'd had to work it out for themselves. I would hate that the lessons learned about organisation during the 80s would have to be rediscovered, too.

So, what do we do about it? I personally don't think there can be one organisation for all, but I do think there is a need for a culture of organisation. Yes, doing those doll admin tasks is boring, but nowhere near as boring as SWP biography sessions masquerading as public meetings. So, the SWP organised a train to Genoa and public meetings afterwards - why didn't anyone else? Did no one think of it, or did they expect someone else to do it? What about organising speaking tours of people from struggles both here and abroad? Co-ordinated actions seem to happen easily enough (no disrespect to all the work that goes into them), why not with us?

So, in summary, a good read to reconfirm your prejudices about Britain's biggest reformist group, but a big question hanging. M.H.

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Anarchism and the Black Revolution

Lorenzo Komboa Evon has made an appeal for help in publishing the third edition of his classic book "Anarchism and the Black Revolution" originally written in and smuggled out of the federal penitentiary in Marion, Illinois (USA) which was instrumental in many young people prisoners, and activists.

The book is a call for help of the Anarchists who were influenced by the book, and would like to see a new edition. He needs to raise around $2000 to get the thousands of dollars to self-print it after the manuscript is completed this Spring or early Summer. He asks co-ordinates to:

1. Hold benefit concerts, t-shirt sales, and other events. Bag friends and others for money.
2. Publicise his request in newspapers, newsletters or online.
3. Pre-order the book, it will have a list price of $12.95, and will be $10.00 for volume sales of 10 copies or more. If you or your collective send in hundreds or thousands of dollars, he will consider it a volume sale and in a lump sum of book off to you when printed.
4. Write letters to anarchist publishing houses that you know to of buying copies. Your letters might even encourage one of them to print the book, so all help is appreciated."

Let's write to Lorenzo:

Lorenzo Komboa Evon
The Rest of the News
P.O.Box 19982
Kalamazoo, MI 49019-0982
or komboa@yahoo.com
If his mailbox is full...
WHY WE ARE NOT MAKING DEMANDS OF THE WORLD ECONOMIC FORUM

Anti-Capitalist Convergence - New York City

The ACC is not making any demands of the politicians, bankers and CEOs gathering for the World Economic Forum in New York... we not "protesting" ...

The Anti-Capitalist Convergence is a gathering of collectives, affinity groups, and individuals inspired by the principle of direct action. Direct action means that if there are problems in the world, one does not go appealing to the authorities to solve them for us, one does not go begging - or even demanding - that those in power stop doing things that create those problems. Because those who believe in direct action do not recognise that authority, and wish to put an end to that power. Direct action means taking action for ourselves, either to create our own solutions ... or, if we must confront our rulers, by putting our bodies on the line to stop them from doing what they're doing. It is, at the same time, a form of action and a form of education, because we are acting in the world, but by doing so, we are also showing people everywhere that there is an alternative to passive acquiescence - that it is possible for communities to take power over their own lives, to intervene in history, and to do it in a form which itself provides a vision of the kind of world in which we would really like to live.

Therefore we are not even saying "we demand the right to live in freedom and dignity", because freedom and dignity is not something our rulers can ever grant us. It is their very existence, as rulers, that makes freedom and dignity impossible.

All this is only possible if we refuse to live in fear. As anarchists, we recognise that the power of our rulers can only be maintained by terror; both governments and terrorists are ultimately playing the same game: the manipulation of ordinary people's sense of fear and insecurity for political gain. We, on the other hand, stand in absolute rejection of any politics of terror. That is why we are taking action now, in New York City, despite the obvious risks ... By standing up and taking action anyway, despite all the police and military force and manipulation of the press and public opinion we know are being marshalled against us, we are sending a message to the world that it is not necessary to be ruled by fear: we refuse to bow down to terror, just as we refuse to terrorise anyone else.

What, then, do we want? We are anarchists because we believe it would be possible to have a society without rulers; one based on principles of self-organisation, voluntary association, and mutual aid.

We believe that capitalism cannot be reformed, and no system built on marshalling the powers of greed and fear to drive people to organise their lives around the endless production and accumulation of commodities, no society which measures its success by the total amount of merchandise it manages produce, could ever lead to human happiness - in fact, could ever lead to anything other than a world in which even the most successful are mired in loneliness and alienation ... We believe it is possible, instead, for communities and individuals to take control over their own lives, and create a new world in which the desire for the endless maximisation of profit could be replaced by a desire for the full self-realisation of human beings: a world in which everyone can have the security of knowing their basic needs will be met, and therefore will be free to contribute to society as they see fit, in sustainable harmony with the earth and natural world; a world which would involve pleasures, challenges, and forms of joy and fulfilment that at present we could hardly imagine.

And if that is possible - (and can anyone say with certainty that it is not? ...) - could there be anything more important than working to bring that world into being?

... http://www.accenyc.org/issues_wefdemands.html

We have reprinted this press release as it is an excellent introduction to anarchist ideas and practice. More analysis of anti-capitalist protests from Genoa to Brussels to New York is contained within...