ORGANISATION

WHAT IS ‘ORGANISATION’? It’s a vast subject so let’s think about one kind of organisation relevant to anarchists. This is the ‘Revolutionary Organisation’. Each kind of organisation has its own purpose enabling people to accomplish what they cannot individually, harnessing energy and resources in productive ways. However organisations are not pure rational constructs. They have their own culture, often obscured by formal structures. Strip away the theoretical organisation of states, corporations and political parties and you reveal the hierarchy, authority, fear and greed that is true organisation in a capitalist society. Because of this some anarchists reject not only the ‘ordering’ imposed on our minds by capitalist society but all forms of organisation. We in the ACF recognise the problems of organisation but accept that it is necessary both in and in achieving a libertarian society. What is important is to make organisations that reflect the ideas of anarchist communism in their own practice.

Determination and Solidarity

To create effective organisations we must know our own and others’ minds, therefore there must be a high degree of communication, of sharing. We must set about creating aspiration, setting achievable targets, celebrating success, redefining ourselves again and again to the reasons why we have formed or participate in the organisation. And because organisation is a mutual, sharing activity these things cannot be contained within one mind or merely thought but acted out and given a tangible existence through words and actions. At the same time, we must remain individuals, capable of independent and objective appraisal, not cogs in some vast machine.

What then is the purpose of revolutionary organisation? Can it be described? Given that the need for revolution already exists, revolutionary organisation must increase the demand for revolution. It must increase the measurable ‘weight’ or ‘force’ of the resources joined to demand revolution. The structure must increase the ability of the organisation to perpetuate itself while its ends remain unrealised. It must increase the ability of the organisation to resist attack, by increasing the determination and solidarity of members and by pressing itself that damage caused to it (from external attacks, defections, internal conflicts and so on) are minimised. It must be flexible, able to absorb or deflect change or challenges to it, have the ability to change or cease circumstances dictate and the self-knowledge to initiate change when change is required. High levels of positive communication, mutual respect and celebration, shared aspirations and solidarity all describe the revolutionary organisation.

"Anarchism is organisation, organisation and more organisation", Malatesta

Creating a Revolutionary Structure

Anarchists in a free society will be self-ordering and society will be self-regulating. The organisations we construct will arise out of the needs of the moment, filtered by our knowledge and perceptions. Organisations, whether free associations, collectives, federations, communities or families will be fluid and flexible but retain the ability to persist. They will be responsive to individual and social need. They will have a structure and culture matching the needs, beliefs and purpose of members. They will not have the super-ordered, monolithic, or divergent cultures of competition, fragmentation, subordination or conflict that exist within organisations today. Creating organisations that have a revolutionary structure is an act of revolution itself. The more we do it successfully, the better we will be at making the revolution and the closer we will be to achieving revolution. But to be successful we have to learn far more about the nature of organisations, what is effective communication and how we respond to demands for change.

The ACF is one attempt to put these ideas into a practical form. We do not claim to have all the answers, but we are convinced that anarchist communism can only hope to make real progress as the leading idea in a united revolutionary movement. Working as an organisation has made our interventions in the class struggle stronger and our ideas clearer than they could be alone or in local groups, and though we still have a long and hard road to travel, ever increasing co-ordination is unmissably the way forward. A powerful revolutionary organisation will not come about by people simply agreeing with each other. Only through the dynamics of working together can we achieve the unity of activity and theory necessary to bring about a free and equal society.

ASPECTS OF ANARCHISM

28 Organiser!

No 42 Spring 1996

Magazine of the Anarchist Communist Federation
1. The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. The abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a worldwide class society: anarchist communism.

2. Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppress another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity and struggle that benefits the ruling class.

Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action which challenges social and economic power relationships. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as political level.

3. We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other aspects of the class struggle. Communism cannot be achieved while sexism and racism still exist. In order to be effective in their struggle against their oppression both within society and within the working class, women and black people may at times need to organise independently. This should be as working class women and black people as cross-class movements hide real class differences and achieve little for them. Full emancipation cannot be achieved without the abolition of all hierarchy.

4. We are opposed to the ideology of national liberation, pan-national movements which claim that there is some common interest between native nations and the working class in face of foreign domination. We do support movements and struggles against racism, genocides, ethnocides and political and economic domination. We oppose the creation of any new ruling class.

We reject all forms of nationalism, as this only serves to redefine divisions in the international working class. The working class has no country and national boundaries must be eliminated. We seek to build an anarchist international to work with other libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

5. As well as exploiting and oppressing the majority of the world's population, Capitalism destroys the environment of the world through war and the destruction of the environment. It is not enough to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, communism cannot be achieved.

We need a revolution to abolish Capitalism, which will arise out of class struggle. The revolution will be a fairer form of exploitation for the workforce. The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different to ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow.

Our ultimate aim must be the complete abolition of wage slavery. Slaves, race and class unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people in unions to be made irrelevant by the revolutionary event. The union will be a point of organisation for many workers.

Rank and file initiatives may strengthen us in the creation of a future society. What's important is that we organise ourselves collectively, arguing for workers to control struggles themselves.

6. Unions by their very nature cannot become vehicles for the revolutionary transformation of society. They are accepted by capitalism in order to function and so cannot play a part in it. As long as unions divide the working class (between employed and unemployed, trade and craft, skilled and unskilled, etc.)

Even syndicalist unions are constrained by the nature of unionism. The union has to be able to control its membership to make deals with management. Their aim, through negotiation, is to achieve a fairer form of exploitation for the workforce. The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different to ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow.

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8. Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self-activity of the workforce. An anarchist communist society means not only co-operation between workers on the shopfloor but also in the family and in all the different organisations which make up society.

This is a world free from wage slavery, from poverty and from the exploitation of nations. The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of revolutionaries who have joined to fight for this.

We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary movement.
WHATEVER THE LONG-TERM effects of BSE, whether or not it was an epidemic of Creutzfeldt-Jakob disease (CJD) does break out, some things are clear. Regulations for the production of animal feed were changed, with no safety regulations and above all to cut costs.

Professor Richard Lacey—who was ignored and portrayed as warning that between 5,000 and 10,000 people would die in a few months—was castigated by the government as the Conservative Party and the Ulster Democratic Party.

This particular series (presented to us by New World Order plc.) is being returned to the republicanism and non-violence”, that the British state that the “IRA republicans” has not gone away and that it is a political movement whose goal is complete and total independence.

Alternatively, the British state that the ‘IRA republican movement’s rank and file is now asked to move back to the original issue of independence, which is the defence of the right to self-determination. They have taken go at pleasure and power to the working class of Britain and the example the Communist Party of Ireland as having the tactical knowledge that on June 10th last, the British state is not the enemy.

Peace Farce

The response of the British state to the political violence and political violence is not the enemy.

Peace of the Graveyard

A peace in the provision of our own.

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WE HAVE ANALYSED in years in previous issues of "Organise!" the situation in ex-Yugoslavia over the last few months. It's time now to take a look at the "peace" engineered by the West, above all the influence of the various manoeuvres of the different nationalist leaders, whether they be Croat, Serb, Albanian, Pakistani, Bosnian Muslim, as well as the attitude of the left and extreme left in Britain.

The peace agreement has been imposed under great pressure from the US. Three and a half years of civil war in Bosnia have left at least 200,000 dead, many others maimed and mutilated and mentally scarred, while thousands of women and girls, the devastation of many towns and villages, and many thousands of civilians scattered all over ex-Yugoslavia. The region of Bosnia is now divided into three separate Muslim federations and the Republic of Serbia controlled by the Serb nationalists. Depending on what is decided by the West, this may further be carved up with Serb annexation of the West, this may further be carved up with Serbia annexing the regions of Kosovo and North Macedonia, and the occupation in ex-Yugoslavia will give economic concessions and the US army into the Serb-controlled territory.

The United Nations troops are occupation in ex-Yugoslavia ("peace force") in Bosnia and Herzegovina, as a result of which 8,000 Bosnian Muslims were slaughtered and many others forced to flee. In a move backed by both the US and Germany, the Croatian leader Tudjman sent his army into the Serb-controlled areas of Croatia, forcing 20,000 Croatian Serbs to run for their lives. As a result of this bloody month, August 1995, the Clinton administration approved joint UN/NATO interventions to "decommission" and "rebuild" ex-Yugoslavia. NATO/UN forces have been summoned to the US Air Force base in Dayton, Ohio to rubber-stamp the deal. The US will give economic concessions and military bases to the USA to exploit.

Anarchist / Communist - Africa Calling!

"Organise!" is the magazine of the National Anarchist organisation the Anarchist Communist Party. We are a small organisation, but we believe in the ideas of anarchism and communism. We believe that the only way to achieve a truly free and equal society is through the direct action of the people, working together to build a better world. We oppose all forms of oppression and exploitation, including capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, racism, sexism, homophobia, and all forms of state violence.

We believe in the power of the people to change the world, and we are committed to helping to build the world that we want. We support the struggle for freedom and justice, and we are committed to working with others to build a better world. We are a part of the fight against the oppression and exploitation of the world, and we are committed to contributing to the building of a better world.

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MILITANT ECO-ACTION

THE FOLLOWING IS an article sent to us by Andy, an ecological activist involved with the Flat Oak Society, a direct-action orientated environmentalist group based in Kent. We are publishing it as we feel it opens up some interesting debates on the nature of the present activist green movement, particularly those around opposition to road building.

We welcome comment from our readers.

THE DIRECT ACTION environmental movement in the UK has got its act together. Growing numbers of isolated groups protesting against road schemes and mining operations, with their only real being to gain sufficient numbers to be responsible as much as possible, now there is talk of real opportunities for damaging schemes to be halted.

Earth First!’s recent Whately Quarry action was well organised, planned and executed. £250,000 of criminal damage was reported to have been done and twenty metres of railway track ‘disappeared’, the control panel for video monitoring of the plant fell apart and a 2 stone crane pulled itself to bits, 3 control rooms dismantled themselves and seven diggers and conveyors bulldozed out of the ground in one go.

Newbury has been an inspiration with direct action stopping and arrester. However, the collective buzz, on-again and off-again, was reported to have been done and twenty metres of railway track ‘disappeared’, the control panel for video monitoring of the plant fell apart and a 2 stone crane pulled itself to bits, 3 control rooms dismantled themselves and seven diggers and conveyors bulldozed out of the ground in one go.

Claremont Road was a reclaimed, car-free zone, room to show up a radically changed world might be like. Reclaim The Streets have continued this message, with their enormously successful Street Parties. Solar and Brynhella’s success was because of strong local support. They only had this level of support because the open-cast mines were criticised in the context of deep-mine closures as well as environmental destruction.

To a certain extent this shift in attitude is a response to the state’s attacks on the movement. With increasing arrests and threats, sentences since the Criminal Justice Act was passed, eco-activists have been forced to question the whole system. The recent court successes have been growing awareness that it is Capitalism’s nature to pollute and destroy the environment. For a long time the police were seen to be really ‘unpicturesque’ of the ‘peace’. This is being replaced with open hostility and defiance of the law. When people were arrested at Whately Quarry and in Glastonbury at the Newbury protest (2) activists attempted to block the police vans and sabotaged their vehicles.

Single Issue

Environmental concerns is no longer seen as a single issue. To many activists in the eco-action movement ‘the environment’ now means man’s (sic) environment as well as saving the natural world. Earth First! UK have adopted a more social analysis, organising around the Job Seekers Allowance and prisoner support, particularly MOVE prisoners in the USA. The Earth Liberation Front’s annual Earth Nights in October calls for economic sabotage to all environmentally damaging projects, fascists and oppressive employers and institutions. The Earth Liberation Prisoners Support Group is an international network for prisoners of conscience, be they fighting for Earth, Human or Animal Liberation, those basically are attempting to save the planet from self-destruct”. The ELF editorial sets out a very good analysis, “we at ELF believe that we all have a common enemy, i.e. multinationals, big business, state control, fascism, on to what you will.

Each word counts, and perhaps more so than ever. Various sections of the Left are now re-aligning in attempts to fill the political vacuum left to a large extent by the I.W.C.A. The Working Class Class Association (I.W.C.A.) is an alliance of individual activists and sponsor groups (mainly political organisations). It says that it will expose redundant Labourism and workplace based politics, and that it will ‘build a movement, a bottom-up movement, one in which all its members can participate equally. Is this an organisation which we should support? After all, the organisations which founded it, Anti-Fascist Action (AFA), has already shown itself capable and able to do class struggle on the streets - surely an indication that the I.W.C.A. is not all mouth and bureaucracy like most of the Left. The other main founder of the I.W.C.A. is Red Action (RA). They split from the mainstream in the Socialist Workers Party in order to pursue pro-working class politics. However, one of the main problems with the I.W.C.A. is that it is badly dominated politically by any one group. But what good is a political organisation without a basic programme or a set of aims and principles? Without these, it is merely a protest group. In reality, lack of political discussion conceals the fact that the unionaxy
of groups which comprise the IWCA will be incapable of working together on any long term basis. Genuine working class activists who are opposed to party politics, capitalism and the state will grow disillusioned with putting time and energy into working with most of them. Most of the sponsors are Leninist opportunists who will use the IWCA as a recruiting ground. For example, the Communist Party of Great Britain (CPGB), are orthodox Leninists who will not tolerate anything which conflicts with their own party, and will join in any fad under the sun if it means they can recruit. Open Polemic is an internal faction of the CPGB, and Puritans are also ex-Communist Party Leninists. The Revolutionary Communist Group (RCG), will no doubt be arguing that the IWCA support the Cuban 'social revolution'.

Anti-Fascist Action

AFA's declared reason for its involvement is in order to be able to offer a practical alternative to many working class people who may vote for fascist British National Party (BNP) because they feel betrayed by Labour (rather than because they are working class). This is not the case. The AFA, in order to preserve unity and effectiveness, was a single issue anti-fascist association, but its political influence is starting to wane. Talk is still stating its need for a politically Leftist agenda, which it hopes the IWCA will provide. But to sell working class people that voting for some minority Left candidate in opposition to Labour and the BNP will improve the shit in which they live, is only to play the state's game. AFA aren’t doing this for the cynical reasons for which politicians use the BNP, but for ideological reasons which politicians and the rest of the Left do, to build their party’s power base, they are doing it to stop fascist candidates getting in at election time. But it is a diversion from where many in AFA know the real fight lies.

Whatever the working class credentials of Red Action, they represent a vanguardist tendency which is common to most Left factions, and Leninist and Anarchist Communists emphasise the need for working class 'self-organisation'. RA emphasise the need for ‘an organisation’ to represent the working class. They are anti-nationally pro-Republic. On the Irish question, a position anarchists do not consider either anti-capitalist or pro-working class. Yet, in their analysis of these principles they evince the virtues of working class self activity. This position also appeals heavily in IWCA literature, but so does the rather dubious assertion that working class militants, on joining, would form the bridgehead between the IWCA as a political opposition within the Left and the working class proper. RA and the IWCA, it would seem, view the ‘organisation’ as something outside the working class. So is the class to be active on its own behalf? Or is it to be represented by militants acting within already established political boundaries? For both, the IWCA concept of self-activity is in a far cry from the anarchist communist one. Although the IWCA does actually define the sort of society it wishes to create, we can assume that RA will assert their own view of a workers paradise which, they state, is democratic authority, not the abolition of authority. And RA are also correct in saying that this most perfect democracy would be regarded by anarchists as authoritarian. In the absence of a political programme, the IWCA cannot blame us for looking at the agenda of its component parts. This is then a question of what kinds of politics it will eventually adopt, and it looks like this will be a variety of militant, activist, born-again (non-Trotskyst) Leninism.

Political Party

The IWCA’s 'bottom-up' structure is designed, whether cynically or naively, so that once the organisation picks up more individual members than political sponsors, policy will be determined by the democratic process. That is to say, whichever tendency, party or faction in the IWCA can get most members to a meeting will get their way, whether or not its ideas are best. This is what is wrong with democracy. Organisations which have a new structure for working class political organisations, and in pig-headingly ignoring anarchist critiques and models for new structure for working class political organisations, and in pig-headedly ignoring anarchism, and the IWCA, it would seem, view 'the agendas of its component parts for an idea that one time the organisation picks up more individual members than political sponsors, policy will be determined by the democratic process. That is to say, whichever tendency, party or faction in the IWCA can get most members to a meeting will get their way, whether or not its ideas are best. This is what is wrong with democracy. Organisations like the IWCA structure has been adopted with party building in mind. Very possibly on either the IWCA will split or smaller factions and numerous disillusioned individuals will leave. It will then be a political party. It is not at all certain the IWCA structure has been adopted with party building in mind. Very possibly on either the IWCA will split or smaller factions and numerous disillusioned individuals will leave. It will then be a political party. It is not at all certain the IWCA structure has been adopted with party building in mind. Very possibly on either the IWCA will split or smaller factions and numerous disillusioned individuals will leave. It will then be a political party. It is not at all certain the IWCA structure has been adopted with party building in mind. Very possibly on either
Anarchist Communist. The Freedom Group also undertook the organisation of a democratic, militant and open-air public speaking. As a result a number of workers, especially in the Wellington area, and open-air public speaking. As a result a number of workers, especially in the Wellington area, and

regrettable, in every Socialist League and the Freedomites. As was: A L? contained the very best Socialist might say today Kropotkin and William Morris as we say Elisee Reclus and Bakunin, of whom the Third International is but the natural and logical outcome."

Anarchists. The Anarchists insisted too on social practice. Morris wrote: "I am not pleading for any form of parliamentarianism but only partially right. There individual acts of 'propaganda by the State. Some Anarchist Communists, like Tochatti, were just as ferociously opposed to such tactics. The loss of Monis, the same conclusion as he gained more solid information. Most revolutionaries, however, were the slaves of wishful thinking, despite evidence that all was not well in Russia. This attitude, the unity of all costs and the 'loyal to the world revolution' position (Translation-actually carry out whatever Lenin and the Bolsheviks thought) was to have disastrous consequences for the British revolutionary movement. As Bob Jones says in his pamphlet Left-Wing Communism in Britain 1917-21: 'There was, as happened repeatedly in the history of the British revolutionary movement, a complete abdication of critical judgement when basic principles and policies were at issue'.

The Anarchists in London as up to 2,000. The 'bunch' faction had lost out, and the 'revolutionist' tendency was re-affirmed. The Freedom Group, League, David Njoli was to say in the Anarchist which he brought out individually. There were some Communists. We do not seek to establish an improved wages system like the Labour League of redistribution. Our work for the present lies in spreading our ideas among the workers in their clubs and organisations as well as in the open street". The revival was not to last. An attempt to unite the fragmented groups, the Anarchist Communist Alliance - in 1895 was stillborn and the movement in an immediate decline by the following year. The lack of struggle within the working class as well as bitter internal conflicts was supposed to have been ended. There was to be no revival till mid-1903. The growing industrial unrest, the growth of syndicalism and industrial unionism, the infiltration of the movement by police agents, the resulting downfall of the Anarchist Communist organisation, remarked that the 'attitude of many Socialists and Communists was greatly due to our propaganda in the past, and good results would undoubtedly follow if we worked with them. A resulting conference was very friendly in tone, although controversy over the dictatorship of the proletariat was not well in Russia. This attitude, the unity of all costs and the 'loyal to the world revolution' position (Translation-actually carry out whatever Lenin and the Bolsheviks thought) was to have disastrous consequences for the British revolutionary movement. As Bob Jones says in his pamphlet Left-Wing Communism in Britain 1917-21: 'There was, as happened repeatedly in the history of the British revolutionary movement, a complete abdication of critical judgement when basic principles and policies were at issue'.

the movement, who accepted a Marxian position, including Freedom and the Spur, against Germany and Austria-Hungary. To war propaganda took place within the movement. Whilst noting that the League of Liberty and the North London Herald League, where Anarchists worked alongside socialists from different organisations, this joint activity was reflected right across Britain.

Emmeline and sister Christabel she had developed inside the Workers' Socialist Party. Lenin was to insist that "British revolutionaries will in good time see that the Spur, in September 1919 were lambasted by Aldred and SDF to Anarchism, began to attempt to surrender to parliamentary methods. As a result there was a leading trade union official. As Aldred noted: 'I gradually fell out with the Freedom Group and helped set up some new groups. One of these was merely Trade Union activity which they misdirected Action. Their anger knew no bounds when I insisted that Morris was merely a right-wing miners' leader.) The Communist Club in Stockport in the North had become the basis of Labour Parliamentarism. ' Traditionally, this was the natural and logical outcome."

Brussels. Aldred himself was at first a staunch supporter of the Bolsheviks, hardly parliamentary methods. As a result there was a leading trade union official. As Aldred noted: 'I gradually fell out with the Freedom Group and helped set up some new groups. One of these was merely Trade Union activity which they misdirected Action. Their anger knew no bounds when I insisted that Morris was merely a right-wing miners' leader.) The Communist Club in Stockport in the North had become the basis of Labour Parliamentarism. ' Traditionally, this was the natural and logical outcome."

Special Act of Parliament had been coordinated a much stronger and more effective organisation. 'Organise! was a long step in their direction." But this attitude, the unity of all costs and the 'loyal to the world revolution' position (Translation-actually carry out whatever Lenin and the Bolsheviks thought) was to have disastrous consequences for the British revolutionary movement. As Bob Jones says in his pamphlet Left-Wing Communism in Britain 1917-21: 'There was, as happened repeatedly in the history of the British revolutionary movement, a complete abdication of critical judgement when basic principles and policies were at issue'.

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Tell How to Get the Soviets in Britain.

Plenty for all when we Abolish the Capitalists.

class, and for joint action between working-class vanguard and common demands. This gap was widened by the War, which Emmanuele and Christabel fiercely supported, whilst Sylvia came out in opposition. During the war the WSF were very active among the workers and distributing free milk for them. In this period it dawned on Sylvia Pankhurst that capitalism could not be reformed, but must be destroyed and replaced by a free communist society. She saw in the Russian revolution the model for a revolution based on the working class; where committees of recallable and mandated delegates would be elected and answerable to mass assemblages of the working class. She rejected parliamentary action and the domination of leaders, calling for the development of a self-organisation and self-initiative through class struggle. Indeed at the time of the 1923 General Election when it women M.P.s were elected she remarked: “Women can no more put virtue into the decaying parliamentary institution than can men: it is past reform and must disappear...the woman professional politician is neither more nor less desirable than the man professional politician: the lesser the world has of either the better it is for it...To the women, as to men, the hope of the future lies not through Parliamentary reform, but free Communion and soviet.”

Unfortunately, like Aldred, Pankhurst was a headstrong and egotistical individual. Like him, often she put the narrow interests of her own group before that of the revolutionary movement as a whole. So, she and the WSF rejected a merger with the Communist Party, whilst the other socialist organisations were too similar for that to be necessary! The WSF then in June 1919 transferred itself into the Communist Party Lenin put pressure on the Pankhurst group to arrange talks with other groups for a unity conference, at the same time freezing the establishment of a Communist Party that had pronounced anti-parliamentary positions. In his attack on Lenin and council communists Left Communist: An Infantile Disorder he was to express solidarity with the Russian Revolution that had claimed its name to Lenin, an admirer of Bakunin, was now a member of the Scottish Workers Council, which promoted ‘communes’. In his letter Lenin quoted Gallagher: The Council is definitely anti-parliamentarian, and has behind it the support of the French and various political bodies. For his staunch anti-parliamentarism (just so staunch as it turned out) Gallagher was chosen to represent the Scottish Workers Councils at the second congress of the Third International in Moscow. Gallagher pleased with the delegates not to force on the Scottish revolutionaries: “resolutions which they are not in a position to defend, being contradictory to all they have been standing for until now.” Lenin singled Gallagher and his associates out in his Congress, winning him over completely to his positions. From then on Gallagher was a loyal servant to Lenin and later to Stalin working towards the establishment of a Communist Party of Great Britain which was created in January 1921. The manoeuvres of Lenin and Gallagher were sharply attacked by Aldred in his new paper the Spar and by Pankhurst in the paper of the re-established WSF the Workers’ Dreamhouse. Pankhurst continued with her criticisms of Leninism. In 1924 she condemned the new rulers of Russia as: “Prophets of centralised efficiency, militarisation, State control, and the discipline of the various political bodies”. For his staunch anti-parliamentarism (just so staunch as it turned out) Gallagher was chosen to represent the Scottish Workers Councils at the second congress of the Third International in Moscow. Gallagher pleased with the delegates not to force on the Scottish revolutionaries: “resolutions which they are not in a position to defend, being contradictory to all they have been standing for until now.” Lenin singled Gallagher and his associates out in his Congress, winning him over completely to his positions. From then on Gallagher was a loyal servant to Lenin and later to Stalin working towards the establishment of a Communist Party of Great Britain which was created in January 1921. The manoeuvres of Lenin and Gallagher were sharply attacked by Aldred in his new paper the Spar and by Pankhurst in the paper of the re-established WSF the Workers’ Dreamhouse. Pankhurst continued with her criticisms of Leninism. In 1924 she condemned the new rulers of Russia as: “Prophets of centralised efficiency, militarisation, State control, and the discipline of the various political bodies”.

As Nicolas Walter says in his article in the Raven No 1., Aldred was an: “extraordinarily courageous but essentially arrogant man whose vanity and oddness prevented him from taking the part which his ability and energy seemed to create for him in the revolutionary socialist movement”. Like Pankhurst, Aldred’s egoism contributed towards the development of a libertarian communist movement in this country, as did the differences between Anarchist Councils and Council Communists which were at first swept under the carpet and then totally polarised with no attempt to work out a common policy. Despite all this, the contributions of these groups and individuals were important. They courageously pursued revolutionary politics at a time of great isolation. They must be recognised as the forebears of present-day libertarian communists in this country.

PART 3 POST WAR LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM

A specific libertarian communist current did not re-emerge in Britain until the sixties and seventies. Anarcho-syndicalism was to be the dominant current within the anarchist movement, alongside the newly emerging libertarian communism which was developing through the likes of people like George Woodcock. In one part, this was a response to the major defeats of both revolutionary Anarchism and the working class movement for a whole; in another part it was an uncritical adaptation to the rise of the anti-war movement (Committee of 100 and Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament). It was, of course, correct for Anarchists to aim their propaganda at mass movements, particularly at those cases against capitalism and the State as the root causes of war. What was lacking, however, was a political stance that allowed for the recruiting of activists from CND and CND that fought against the illusion of ideas and transformed these activists into fully-fledged revolutionaries. This was not the case, however, and the revolutionary socialist movement was deeply fuelled by the erroneous ideas of the Synthesists as derived by Voline and Farius (which would later involve them individualism, syndicalism and libertarian communism within the same organisation) was a further development. The development of the hippy and alternative culture movements were to further dilute and disperse the movement, as once again the Anarchist movement showed itself wanting in ways of relating to these movements on a revolutionary basis.

Support for Russia... Wildcat also noted that: “The APCF also seemed to suffer from a lack of proper organisation. It appeared to be content to remain a locally based group, with no interest in trying to form a national or international organisation. It is sometimes argued that revolutionaries should only organise informally in local groups, to avoid the dangers of large communist organisations...These dangers have to be faced up to, not run away from.” These comments should be taken seriously by revolutionaries at the present time.

The APCF with Willie McDougal as its leading light, transformed itself into the Workers Revolutionary League in 1942, eventually becoming a Workers Open Forum and continuing into the 50s. As far as Aldred and Patrick, their United Socialist Movement had become a populist organisation, expounding things like World Government and fellow-travelling with Russia after Stalin’s death.

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Henley, this group began to develop libertarian socialist ideas, continuing to base themselves on class struggle and class consciousness. They developed trenchant analyses of the industrial struggle as well as the peace movement, and their analysis of the union-communist movement was a large step forward, as was their rejection of syndicalism. As time progressed Solidarity began to identify itself more and more as a libertarian socialist group. However, they had developed a distrust of organisation as much as a result of their experiences of Henley. Their unflagging publishing programme and their perceptive analyses had gained a great deal of respect among many activists. Their willful failure to translate this into the establishment of a national organisation was a disaster, as International Socialism (the precursor of the Socialist Workers Party) was able to build on this territory abandoned by Solidarity (and by the Anarchist Market Society) and their assertion that the contents of the magazine became less and less distinguishable from the contents of Freedom, with, for example, long factual articles on various struggles. Quite extensive coverage to both industrial liberation. By issue 8 a greater analytical depth was achieved, attacking and defending positions long since overtaken by time. This is our "theory". Usually it totally replaces even the pretence of activity. 

Ginger

Following on from the Liverpool Conference the group in York decided to set up the Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists to act as a ginger group within the AFB, the attention at this time was not to leave the AFB. It wanted the AFB to open its doors to other tendencies ..." The ORA people do not want to form another sect, we see our role as acting within and on the left in general as well as initiating our own work...we hope it can act as a link and a catalyst not only for ORA but also to all libertarians? (ORA Newsletter see above).

ORA’s objections to the traditional anarchist movement were more on the level of organisation than of theory. Their advocacy of collective responsibility, the use of a Chair and voting to take decisions at meetings, formal membership and a paper under the control of the existing Committee was warmly greeted in some quarters for example the May 1971 Scottish Anarchist Conference was viciously attacked by others.

But the ORA itself was a hotch-potch including all sorts of anarchists, including syndicalists and those who argued for a more pacifist strategy. When the ORA decided to bring out a monthly paper, Libertarian Struggle, in February 1973, it proved to be a forcing house for the development of the group, and these elements fell away. Also significant were contacts with the Organisation Revolutionnaire Anarchiste in France which had developed along similar lines to the ORA in Great Britain. Through the French ORA the British discovered the pamphlet the Organisation Platform of the Workers Revolutionary Party which had been written by a group of Russian and Ukrainian anarchists. The Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), whilst others joined IS. Nathan himself, whilst not a supporter of the Left Tendency, also left at this time to join the WRP.

The ORA produced a number of pamphlets and a regular monthly paper. At first this was lacking in theoretical depth. It is worth quoting at least a couple of passages from the ORA’s "criticism raised" from (The newsletter, bulletin of the ORA May 1971).

The Group and a joint statement produced by all the critics was taken from the conference to the AFB conference in Liverpool the same month. It should be pointed out that this critical current was made up of both anarchist communists and anarchist-syndicalists as well as those who had no specific affiliation other than Anarchist.

The Call was a trenchant and deeply honest document. It is worth quoting at length on the state of the Anarchist movement "the omission of the attempt to link present short term action with the totality of capitalist society and with the question of the future alternative social system seems that when the short term issue dies, as it will, then so does the consciousness created by this short term action. If there are personal disputes based upon spuriously advanced positions; battles for the soul of the revolution / movement then socialism is not only a failure / by liberation. By issue 8 a greater analytical and theoretical content emerged. For example in an article on the Spanish Revolution of 1936 in Libertarian Struggle 1973 we can read about: "The failure of the anarchist-syndicalists who managed to retain their ideological unity with the working class as a whole. The way forward in a revolutionary situation is for the.*. councils...union committees are no substitute for direct workers power". The advocacy of collective responsibility and the rejection of anarchism were to be further developed within the new organisation over the next few years.

Similarly, the analysis of Labour was to be a consistent feature of British anarchist-communism over the following years. For example we can read in the Libertarian Struggle November 1973. "Only by carefully explaining and exposing the rule of the Labour Party to the working class can any progress be made to building a revolutionary anarchist alternative. It cannot be done by first insisting we vote Labour". The Labour Party was defined as a bourgeois party.

On the unions, however, the ORA was not so clear. The criticisms of the union bureaucracies were clear enough, and this included the NUN. An ORA Plenum had clearly was the call to create workers action committees leading to the establishment of workers councils. However, the ORA was mixed up with calls to democratis the unions! and to democratis the various Rank and Files (all of which were 18 fronts).

Standstill

The end of 1974, the Miners Strike the 3-Day week, many day to think (falsely) that revolution was just around the corner. This led to the formation of the Left Tendency inside the ORA. They concluded that it was in the nature of organisations that the attempts to form a national organisation were bound to fail, and turned to Trotskyism. Most of this group ended up in the horrific authoritarian Healeyite outfit, the Workers Revolutionary Party (WRP), whilst others joined IS. Nathan himself, whilst not a supporter of the Left Tendency, also left at this time to join the WRP.

The Left Tendency had called for an elected Editorial Board rather than a paper edited in rotation by each group and for a "more coherent position on Ireland" among other things.

The organisation came to a virtual standstill, as these members had been absorbed by the Trotskyist organisations. The TAP maintained that it was only meaningful if they withdrew through united class action. The TAP kept to the classic "Troos Troos" formula as well as the leftist "Self-determination for the Irish people as a whole". The TAP also argued for a "ultra-left" position on membership (the unions that are for "democratisation of the unions", "extend unions" etc.). This tendency included Nathan who had returned to the fold.

The AWA had 50 members, most of them active, with 3 groups in London, groups in the north of England, and groups in Ireland, Wales, and Scotland. The paper called itself Anarchist Worker, which was a regular monthly with sales of 1500-2000, mostly street sales. It was to some extent a "self-serve" operation, "Anarchist Worker" but the coverage was wider, for example covering the various squatters and provocatively questioning the work ethic.

The organisation went through a vicious split between Spring 1976 and Spring 1977. The Towards a Programme (TAP) Tendency was founded primarily to change the 1976 Conference decision on Ireland, where the majority, had argued for an abstentionist, anti-Republican position on Ireland, and the TAP group was only meaningful if they withdrew through united class action. The TAP kept to the classic "Troos Troos" formula as well as the leftist "Self-determination for the Irish people as a whole". The TAP also argued for a "ultra-left" position on membership (the unions that are for "democratisation of the unions", "extend unions" etc.). This tendency included Nathan who had returned to the fold.

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This United Front work which in practice meant collaboration with leftist political formations, led to the LCG committing one of their most serious errors-entering an electoral front set up by IMG called Socialist Unity (SU) and backed by other regional groups like Big Flame. Socialist Unity put up candidates where it felt they had the strength, and advanced the debate "Vote Labour But Build a Socialist Alternative" where it did not. The LCG was supposed to be "critically" supporting SU, but failed to make any serious criticisms of this support for Labour. The SWP for their part, poured by the SU running candidates, and perceiving this as a threat, decided to stand their own candidates.

The LCG endorsed these candidates as well, completely forgetting all the criticisms it had made of electoralism and of the nature of the Leninist groups. Finally, after the IMG, in their usual fashion, got bored with SU as a way of recruiting, it was wound up. The LCG failed to deliver any post-mortem on this.

The end was soon to come. The LCG compounded these errors by supporting a slate run by an anti-cuts group called Resistance (Keith Netham and friends) for council elections in Leeds.

**Relinquished**

The LCG moved for fusion with the "libertarian Marxist" group Big Flame in 1980. This organisation had been previously described in Anarchist Worker in its "Leftist/heterodox libertarian/socialism". "Big Flame leads in uncritical copying of Lotta Continua in Italy, from their spontaneism to softness on Stalinism". For its part Big Flame was unable to withstand the pressures of its politics. The "left" "victory" orchestrated by Tony Benn in the Labour Party resulted in the collapse of Big Flame as most of its members decided to enter the Labour Party, where they eventually wound up as apologists for Kinnock. The LCG had argued that they were "too small to give us an acceptable forum for political discussion" and that there were "no serious political differences between the two organisations". The LCG had relinquished any idea of constructing a specific libertarian communist organisation as well as any serious political analysis. But in any case, the politics of the LCG had transformed so much that really was little difference between their leftism and that of Big Flame.

**TOWARDS LIBERTARIAN COMMUNISM**

This history of the ORA/AWA/LCG with its history of splits, defections and gross political errors is far from inspiring. But these developments, sometimes as unnecessary as they were, signals the first attempts of libertarian communism to re-emerge in the post-War II period. These attempts to re-emerge were as one member of the ACF noted in 1991 bound to be affected by the "present comparatively weak state of anarchist communism". Two "magnetic poles of attraction" would be at work, he went on to say. One would be Leninism, which would exert its influence through comrades moving physically and ideologically over to Leninist outfits, or adopting Leninist style politics whilst still professing to be within the revolutionary anarchist movement as moved with the LCG, and later with the Anarchist Worker Group.

The other pole of attraction would involve comrades committing some of the errors associated with parts of the left communist milenarian-spontaneism, refusal to construct a revolutionary organisation, and where theoretical elaboration was divorced from effective practice and intervention, and seemed to involve finding as many differences as possible between comrade.

The appearance of the Anarchist Communist Federation marked a dramatic move forward, a significant development in both the strengthening and elaboration of Anarchist Communist theory, as well as an ongoing practice. In a separate article on the first ten years of the ACF we will consider these contributions.
ENCOURAGE THE PROLIFICATION OF ALL SORTS OF DISSENT AND UGLY ABUSE WHEREVER AND WHATEVER THE BRITISH WORKING CLASS ARE, WHETHER THEY MIGHT BE BASED ON A TOWN, A DISTRICT, A WORKSHOP, AN ORGANIZATION, OR ANY OTHER GROUP. BUT ALONGSIDE THIS MUST BE A VIGILANCE TO ADDRESS ITSELF AND RESPOND TO THE NEEDS AND PROBLEMS OF THE WORKING CLASS AS A WHOLE, AS A NATION.


ORGANISE! ONWARDS

ORGANISE! HAS OCCUPIED A UNIQUE POSITION AMONGST THE MANY ANARCHIST GROUPS WHICH HAVE BEEN IN THE UK SINCE THE BEGINNING OF THE 1970S, AND THIS IS REFLECTED IN THE NATURE AND LEVEL OF ITS ACTIVITIES. IT HAS ALWAYS BEEN INTENDED TO BE A "COMMUNITY BASED" ORGANIZATION, AND THIS IS REFLECTED IN THE WAY IT HAS DEVELOPED.

INTERNATIONALISM


FAILURE TO FIGHT

**FEATURE**

seen in the rapid rise of national liberation struggles. As the new unified Europe threatens to lose its promised prosperity, we are hearing less and less about Eastern Europe in the capitalist media. The first sign of this by articles on Romania, Hungary, Poland, though we did also print a letter from Czechoslovakia (Issue 27) complaining of our lack of articles on Eastern European anarchists. We are pleased to report a recent contact from anarchists in Lithuania and we hope to build up better links in the future.

When the marching's over... WHEN THE MARCHING'S OVER...

The union question has occupied many column inches in the trade press and rightly so. We have reported on unofficial action and union set-ups over a large number of disputes, covering most recently the dockworkers lockout on Merseyside and wildcat action by postal workers who were subsequently called back to work by the Communication Workers Union. This has been supplemented by back copy on Rank and Filism, Syndicalism, including an open debate with Dave Douglass of the NUM and the then Direct Action Movement. Finally, we have shown that in being a British phenomenon, unions are very much the same the world over and Organise! has printed articles on the rise of Solidarity to government in Poland, the COSATU/ANC collaboration in South Africa, and the antics of French unions in the recent wave of actions against welfare cuts and attacks on wages and working conditions by the Chirac/Faye administration. We should expect similar union activities elsewhere in Europe in the near future, as many states attempt to pave the way for a European Monetary Union in 1997. In a more general sense, Organise! has encouraged a more general view of the class struggle, which is not based solely in the workplace but is increasingly taking place on a wider community level, including the unemployed, by homeworkers and in some aspects of campaigns like the anti-roads movement. Although Organise! has remained in a similar format and style, and is constrained by cost (and number of ACF members) as to its frequency and richness, we are open to suggestions from our readership—watch this space! A recurring questionnaire was sent out to subscribers, the results of which were given in issue 40, which should be read for the content. The back page sections of Anarchism series was started at the end of 1991, covering the fundamental areas of anarchist-communist theory, which is now approaching its 20th article. More recent issues of Organise! have included features on art, culture, including poetry, and special issues have been published on workers, prisons and racism. Details can be found for articles and letters from all previous issues. Finally, thanks to all readers for your support over the years, and everyone who has contributed to the Press Fund. Organise! 23

**I'VE AN IDEA**

HAVE YOU EVER tried to convince someone of the necessity of democracy and replace it with communal goods and being told, "The right to personal property is established when individual combines their labour with natural resources imbusing the product with the inherent capitalist property as themselves as argued in Locke's second treatise on government." If it's not very often and you're used to "It's a nice idea but it'll never work in practice" you may well wonder at the futility of attempting to change people's minds. But there are others who portray it as the abandonment of common sense for abstract doctrine. The view of ideology taken here is that any specific description must be free of a value judgement of ideology itself or it becomes the argument of a particular ideology. This is not to say that you can adopt a superior overview but that different types of analysis must be dealt with on their own level. Consider this as a thesis.

**ANARCHIST BLACK CROSS**

IDEALISM is based on acceptance of truths about the political world (not facts) so that people holding different ideologies can observe the same thing but understand different things by it (the concept of the duck/rabbit where two concepts can be seen but only one from any particular ideological viewpoint, we see an expansive boss but the capitalist sees an entrepreneur). Many factors, material and mental affect this, but the most significant is that since they cannot be proved false, the divine right of kings is still as valid logically now as in the 17th century, in so far as people accept them. You can choose to try and understand the ideology you have but you cannot consciously choose your ideology in a rational way as you can your political actions. Trying to see what is your favourite food, let alone a political ideology is your political belief and your actions derive from it. If that is boring wait for this. We must now ask where ideology fits into the map of human knowledge. Take the lack of successful libertarian revolution. Economics can tell us how far the forces of production have developed, psychology can explain the workings of the mind to a degree. We may yet discover in history can tell us the balance of forces in struggle, even astrology can say the stars were in the wrong place in the west, but can we can do is society is unchanged because it has not adopted a different ideology. It is in fact true that, here we say the level ideology acts on, it takes arguments from analytical methods and gives them a certain logical thrust.

**False Consciousness**

You will have noted by now that this view of ideology is as much a product of ideological as the views rejected earlier for their positive angle towards their own particular ideology. Marxism hasn't been a concept. Fascism is far from being a true ideology and its living in the real world etc. This is in so far as any theory of human activity is influenced by the inquirer's political standpoint and in this case the analysis is forwarded for the particular advantage to one in particular (guess which?). This does not invalidate it, or that for a Marxist analysis of scientific socialism be coincidentally correct but only discovered by people who just happened to be correct. The difference is keenly conscious of the two levels of arguments and avoiding projecting fact onto ideologies by making your concepts fit the facts. The theory of ideology advocated in this article can have benefits for the argument because it does not elevate our ideology to a only possible correct theory. It places responsibility on the movement to achieve anarchism not an ideological theory. It shows that all people are capable of holding complex political theories. It's just a matter of not being so confused and not so purblind expanded and in a future anarchist society we won't need to read Kropotkin and Malatesta before going out of the house in the morning. It also reduces the possibility of scientific changes ridiculing our values based on attacks on our analysis. There is no longer any edge to making a valid rational attack on us because the whole argument we have used is a straightforward argument.
consistent evidence, and it was generally accepted that this was a case of suicide. Seven days later, police informed Kenny that Jason Rochford had changed his story and that he would now be charged with Darren Brook's murder.

The Trial Concluded on 26th November 1990. The prosecution case rested solely on Jason Rochford's story which had now changed several times. The judge, Mr Justice Polles, ordered this evidence to be disregarded. There was no other evidence, the Home Office pathologist had reported after the death that there was no evidence of suicide and it was generally badly needs our support. 

Further Information:

In the short term, before any group is able to get the support of Anarchist and Solidarity Action, the following areas are appealing for donations of money and materials. Send cheques, PO's (payable to R Taylor), or for further information to: Huddersfield ABC 17-21 Chapel Street. Bradford 3rd STF Internationalist Solidarity Mem Demba Drop 60-62 Foss Batment Dakar Senegal

GUILT BY ASSOCIATION - TURMOIL ON THE LEFT continued from page 10

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Solidarity Appeal

Two groups have been set up by revolutionaries in Senegal, who are fighting repression in their country, to support prisoners.

Solidarity Action aim to ensure that Mauritanian refugee children in Senegal and Senegalese children repatriated from Mauritania are healthy and protected and that all the victims are given healthcare and education so that they can look after themselves. They also plan to arrange for released prisoners to talk to children about their experiences to help them avoid falling into the same trap. Internationalist Solidarity aims to provide support for both political and social prisoners, both in Senegal and abroad. They hope to create links between prisoners in Senegal and Britain. These groups are appealing for donations of money and materials. Send cheques, PO's (payable to R Taylor), or for further information to: 

Huddersfield ABC 17-21 Chapel Street. Bradford 3rd STF Internationalist Solidarity Mem Demba Drop 60-62 Foss Batment Dakar Senegal

Writing To Prisoners

If you are unsure about writing to prisoners, the ABC produce a useful leaflet to help you along. You can get this and other practical information by writing to your ABC group, or drop us a line, preferably with an SAE, and we'll pass on to them.

AGC, PO Box 5754, ELGON, IV30 2DD

ANYONE BUT ENGLAND: CRICKET AND THE NATIONAL MALAISE.

Mike Marquese, Verto Books. 279pp, pb £9.99

Marquese is a rarity, describing himself as a denigrated American Jewish Marxist and critic of both the ancient and modern class. He is a socialist and his work is not only valid, but important in the context of this highly publicised and widely read book. The book is divided into three parts: the first part, entitled "The Game of Cricket," is a critical examination of the history of the game, its origins, and its development. The second part, entitled "The Politics of Cricket," is a discussion of the political and social implications of the game, including its role in promoting national identity and social cohesion. The final part, entitled "The Future of Cricket," is a discussion of the challenges facing the game, including issues of race, gender, and class. The book is well-written and well-reasoned, and it makes a strong case for the importance of understanding the game of cricket in a broader social and political context. It is a valuable resource for anyone interested in the game, and it is highly recommended for its comprehensive and critical approach to the subject.
Pakistan in tests/internationals against England they failed. This cultural test is (again) surprisingly not applied to white English settlers in Australia. Meanwhile, the English settlers in West Indies are also experiencing a new wave of racism. The authorities have failed to address this issue seriously. While the English settlers are experiencing this, the media has been silent on the issue. Sections of the English cricket fans have been outwardly racist in their behavior towards Pakistani players.

The games have been marred by racist behavior towards Pakistani players. Some cross-dressers have been targeted by racist chanting and abuse from the crowds. This behavior is particularly disturbing because it is not applied to international matches in England. The authorities have failed to address this issue seriously.

The English fans have been known to hurl abuse at Pakistani players, even when they were playing for the county side. Some players have been subjected to abuse by the crowd. This behavior is particularly disturbing because it is not applied to international matches in England. The authorities have failed to address this issue seriously.

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