Haile Selassie

EMPEROR HAILE SELASSIE I of Ethiopia has almost universally been remembered as a kindly benefactor, yet the evidence suggesting otherwise is overwhelming. It is argued that he implemented many reforms in his country and Rastafarians believe him to be God incarnate (as prophesied by Marcus Garvey, who surely deserves his own Myths and Legends page?) but how justified are these suggestions?

If we take as starting point Fascist Italy's invasion of Ethiopia we find Selassie fleeing to Britain in a brave attempt to rally support for his country. He remained in Bath for the duration of the war, but on returning to take his place on the throne he became paranoid about the partisans who had stayed and fought the Italians, fearing their bravery and preferring obsequiousness. Thus, they were gradually removed from positions of authority and replaced with those who had collaborated with the Italians as he knew they could be easily kept in line and would be open to the methods Selassie used to control his dignitaries.

Selassie's methods of asserting control, punishing those who undermined his authority, and replacing those in his employ to do so, became a bigger and bigger embarrassment to the Emperor, the Police began to kill off the starving en masse.

It is ironic that Selassie liked to project an image of himself to the world of a kind, tolerant and benevolent soul...he mid his Emperor being kept in total ignorance of the situation. A look at the facts shows this to be impossible. Selassie knew what he was doing when he stuffed the money stolen from his subjects under his mattress and encouraged others in his employ to do likewise. Polish journalist Ryszard Kapuscinski wrote of Selassie: "the Emperor himself amassed his great riches. The older he grew, the greater became his greed, his pitiable cupidity...he and his people took millions from the state treasurer and left cemeteries full of people who had died of hunger, cemeteries visible from the windows of the royal palace!" (The Emperor (1984) Picador p.160).

Page dimensions: 2926.0x2088.0
[Image 0x0 to 2926x2088]
The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism.

2 We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other forms of oppression, and that class struggle and anarchist-communism cannot be achieved while either racism or sexism exist. In order to be effective in their struggle against oppression, anarchists must work with other libertarians revolutionary organisations throughout the world.

3 As we go to press, it looks as though a negotiated “peace” has been obtained by the United Nations with Iraq, ruling out the likelihood of a bombing campaign by the US/British alliance. But the sanctions continue, and it is these sanctions which have caused more deaths than the 1991 Gulf War and Operation Desert Storm, through starvation and disease. Many essential infrastructure is still in ruins, medical supplies are scarce, and there are many water-borne diseases circulating. The end of the 1991 Gulf War did not end the Gulf War, which continues. The continuing US and British occupation of Iraq does not mean peace. The suffering continues for the mass of the Iraqi people, whilst the ruling elite continue to lead a life of luxury. The international military presence, and the Anglo-American alliance oppresses and oppresses. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in 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 control over each other on a personal as well as political level.

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The End of the Liverpool Dockers Strike

The dockers had to take on the union as well as the employers and the State. Now that the dockers have accepted the deal the T&G is being invaded back into the docks. This is a sign of gratitude from the employers, and shows that they are confident that the union will police the workforce.

The T&G leadership actively sabotaged solidarity on an international level by sending letters abroad saying that the strike was not official and that any action would threaten the T&G. Because they realised that they were not getting support from the unions, the dockers began to seek the support of social movements outside of traditional trade unions. For example they gained the support of Reclaim The Streets and other ecological groups. This was an important step in breaking with the old ways of carrying on a strike, both paralleling and initiating a new one.

Labour will cut single parent benefits further scaring an already class that had been scapedgated under the T&G. Labour knows that a large part of the social security budget goes on pensions. This is likely to increase with an increasing proportion of elderly in the population. Labour will attempt to close down State, and force people to take out private pensions. Many will find this difficult to pay, already finding it hard to meet ends meet.

The End of the Live

The Millemiun dome project continues to be controversial, arousing much criticism and opposition on a number of fronts. The Millemiun dome project continues to be controversial, arousing much criticism and opposition on a number of fronts. The Millemiun dome project continues to be controversial, arousing much criticism and opposition on a number of fronts. The Millemiun dome project continues to be controversial, arousing much criticism and opposition on a number of fronts.
Three strikes and you’re out!

THE FOLLOWING IS an interview with a member of Edinburgh Claimants, Jim, about attempted police repression of the Three Strikes (Anti-Job Seekers Allowance) campaign, on the 21st of January a claimant was found guilty of breakage of the Pence and sentenced to 150 hours of community service. His offence (sic) had to deliver a 3 strikes warning letter to a Benefits Office Official at High Riggs Unemployment benefit office in Edinburgh. The Sheriff (judge) called it a ‘sinister offence’ and said that he was considering jury bail. In his summing up he called the campaign a “premeditated and illegal attempt to undermine the welfare benefits system”

JIM: There has been a continuous independent claimants presence in Edinburgh since the early to mid 1980’s around the Edinburgh Unemployed Workers Centre and Lothian Claimants Union. The Centre successfully operated by claimants themselves, and claimants established a presence, particularly at unemployed benefits offices (UBO’s).

This phenomenon should be looked at in particular, it is a symbol of social movements, and claimants are the enemy.

Tens of thousands of leaflets were distributed, consisting of practical information for claimants, for example about how to resist police repression and coin some time. The police have been shown an interest in some time, they have contacted people who they think are involved, going to their houses and trying to interview them. In Nottingham of course there have been car parks, in London people’s houses. There have been question raised in the Houses of Parliament about 3 strikes; the answer maintained that Groundswell made anonymous and illegal threats against those carrying out JSA sanctions. Police advice and support has been exemplary it says, and appears to have helped deter Groundswell from implementing their threat to harm staff. The 3 strikes policy was described disparagingly from the platform at the CPSA (Civil and Public Servants Association) trade union conference.

JIM: We have continuously strived to maintain contacts with UBO workers. The best of them seem to have left now, but they both left due to time constraints. Most of them now have little idea about claimants situation or the possible effects of what they are asked to do. They are raised on the idea that claimants are the enemy.

JIM: How do you react to the outcome of the court case this week? (February 11th 1998)

JIM: Four hours after the verdict, 20 claimants and supporters carried out a 3rd strike action against Marianne MacDonald, a Job Officer in Edinburgh. This was the first long forced claimants onto Jobplan and Restart courses, showed political bias towards the benefit office in central Edinburgh. They carried posters of her with the slogan NO ONE LIKES A BULLY.

A MASS WAVE of occupations of unemployment benefit offices swept through France in December 1997 continuing well into the New Year. Organise takes a look at this welcome movement.

This phenomenon should be looked at in detail as it should provide lessons and examples to all unemployed who are looking to defend themselves in Britain and round the rest of the world. As the French magazine Courrier International, the paper of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire, noted in a February editorial: “Once more, libertarians were omnipresent in the action.”

The movement of occupations began in December when some local unemployed groups, as well as the national unemployed co-ordination Agré contre le chomage! (Aid against unemployment) occupied the offices of Unedic/Aocids (the equivalent of supplementary benefit in Arras in northern France and Marseilles in the south). They demanded an immediate payment of 1,500 francs (150) for the long term unemployed.

A new left government under Lionel Jospin came to power in France last year. Apart from his own Socialist Party, the cabinet included 4 ministers who are members of the Communist Party. The new government promised the creation of 700,000 jobs, 350,000 of them in the public sector. The private sector promise of unemployment failed to get off the ground straightaway, as the private sector bosses refused to finance the State and would not subsidize them. Similarly a government promise of a universal 35 hour week has met with fierce resistance from the employers.

The election of the left destroyed any remaining illusions among the unemployed that anything would be done by the State to tackle unemployment. This is why the usual demobilisation in France after elections of left governments, this new movement, starting out with small numbers, quickly increased in size and militancy and continues to be active. This should be compared with the social movement of November-December 1995. This time it is a government of the Left in power, and as a result the usual manoeuvres of the Left to demobilise any social movements have been a little bit more difficult to carry out.

Enough is enough!

The Unedic is a joint government/union body headed up by Nicole Notat, leader of the CFDT union (noted for its “radicality” and talk of “self-management” in the 70’s and for a long while a close accomplice of the Socialists). Notat refused to pay the sum demanded by the unemployed activists. Conditions have deteriorated rapidly for the unemployed in the last 2 years, to the point where many are not far off of almost complete destitution.

The actions were set off by the unemployed committee of the CGT (large union central controlling the government party) in the Marseilles area. This does not imply a manipulation by the Communists. Rather it is a movement from the base that was taken up by multiple unemployed groups and activists, including the CNL (Anarchosyndicalist union) and by libertarian/marxist/libertarian militants, as well as by those in no group or organisation.

Organised everywhere were occupied with large, united demonstrations of the unemployed and employed in many towns. The demands of the protest were raised to 3,000,000 new jobs, and demands were then put forward for a rise in benefits for all of £150, a new benefit for the under-25’s, who receive no benefits at all.

The old carrot and stick tactic that the Left in power/the unions had used to finally demobilise both the lorry drivers strike (late autumn 1997) and the struggle of the sans papiers (immigrants without official stay permit) did not immediately work this time. The movement put at the head of its priorities the human and social factors, returning to be taken in by various communists, and union leaders and the unemployed were taking jobs from the (employed) in certain areas.

Indeed, the frontier of what was “possible” were pushed back considerably, with hundreds of buildings occupied day and night, and groups of unemployed demanding and taking food in the supermarkets and in the most posh restaurants of Paris. This might be seen as symbolic, but demonstrates the determination and willpower of a social movement. Despite its limitations, it is a great novelty in a situation where most workplace struggles are defensive and well controlled by the unions.

If the movement is weak in numbers, this is hardly surprising. Hundreds of thousands are today totally defeated in their daily life, and groups of unemployed are becoming rarer day by day. For those who did engage in struggle, for many there was a massive widening of horizons leading to the questioning of the very existence of the apparatus of unemployment. Yes, if one is out of work, one has time to become totally depressed, but one also has time to think. If waged workers have the “means to potentially back up their struggles, they are also the victims of paralyzing alienation. Hence a paradox in both waged and

6 Organisation

No 48

Organiser 7
The riot cops were sent in, evicting the occupations in a euphemistic "evacuation". The government then decided to give out would get additional transport subsidies of the unemployed whilst supporting the Communist Ministers made sure that they marched in separate demonstrations in Paris—employed, railworkers, road maintenance workers. All demonstrations were concerned with unemployment, but the Communists made sure that they marched in different parts of the capital.

The radicalism of the movement was shown in occupations of Socialist Party offices, in the blocking of railway lines to stop the government at the same time. Once again, as in the last few strikes and social movements the extreme right Front National failed to offer an opinion apart from remarking in their paper that the unemployed were profiteers who lacked decency.

For their part, the Trotskyists put forward the possibility of fulfilling their role— in other words, "riot police, charge!" For them, the Greens also failed to meet the Left government played it both ways, reflecting their minor influence on the government. One Green leader visiting the unemployed and denounced police attacks whilst another said he was in solidarity with the unemployed whilst supporting the government at the same time. Once again, as in the last few strikes and social movements the extreme right Front National failed to offer an opinion apart from remarking in their paper that the unemployed were profiteers who lacked decency.

The Left government has put forward its programme. We have 35 hours work week to stop unemployment. It hopes to introduce this by the year 2000 and to encourage bosses to create "real" jobs. In fact the bill does not mean that pay will not be cut in line with reduction of hours, that 35 hours will be compulsory, that job security will not be paid out of taxes rather than by the bosses. In addition, the 35 hours will be "flexible". It will be calculated annually, so that one week you might work 60 hours, and another 10, which suits the needs of the bosses very well.

The movement is being demobilised on this 35-hour promise. The Communists are busy winding down the movement. All other unemployed organisations feel smug that they have been received by those in power, have begun to integrate into negotiation structures, and will go along with these manoeuvres. At Marseilles where the action first started, this is already under way, but as we write other towns have seen an increase in the strength of the movement. The government will both destroy the movement with the help of its allies in the Communist Party and the unions, and with brute force. Already a member of the Federation Anarchist, militant of the Dielo Truda group of anarchists, has been arrested.

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However, they would argue that, because the anarchosyndicalist union is simultaneously an economic and an 'ideological' organisation it is resistant to co-option and 'selling-out' and the organisation and the union are seen as the anarchists within the non-hierarchical structure safeguards the syndicalist union is otherwise they remain small, essentially into capitalism is indeed usually fought and its delegates, preventing the development of a strata with separate interests from the rest of the membership. Although this idea of the 'conscious' anarchist minority within the union has been common in the syndicalist movement it has also been rejected by many 'pure' syndicalists.

Degeneration

However, we would argue that all unions, regardless of their initial political orientation (and that would include anarcho-communist) have a tendency to become increasingly dragged into a mediating role and to eventually become a break on autonomous class struggle. This integration into capitalism is indeed usual complete and with revolutionary militants, often with temporary success. We believe that the historical experience of the workers movement bears this out.

How does this 'degeneration' happen? For one, anarchosyndicalist unions, like all other unions, have to be able to get 'better deals' for workers in the here and now, otherwise they remain small, essentially political organisations. But the most militant class-conscious syndicalist union remains small and, importantly, unrecognised by the bosses, organising the most militant class-conscious workers it can engage in 'wildcat' actions. It maintains a 'revolutionary spirit' during periods of increased class struggle (which its activities may have contributed to) the union grows. If it can successfully lead strikes, occupations etc. to victory it will attract more members. It is faced with the situation of having forced the bosses/management to recognise it, to mediate with it. If at this point the anarchosyndicalist union doesn't negotiate then it loses the confidence of its broader membership and so is forced to either become a recognised union or body or back out of the situation. Since workers have to, at some point this side of the revolution, negotiate with their bosses, it is not surprising that anarchosyndicalists take the former option. Once the period of intense struggle is over the anarchosyndicalist union is faced with a choice of carrying out all the mundane, but necessary tasks that any other union has to, or of returning to being a marginal force in the workplace, leaving the way open to the reformist unions. If it chooses the latter, no longer in fact a union but a (more or less) revolutionary group within the workplace It can be said that the anarchosyndicalist union remains revolutionary (i.e. a dynamic force in the class struggle) in as much as it doesn't act like a union.

This process is graphically exhibited in the development of the Dockworkers Co-ordination in Spain, the Coordinadora, which emerged in the 1970s. Although this organisation was not specifically anarchosyndicalist (or indeed syndicalist at all), it was based on an anti-bureaucratic, anti-party, political, class based and highly 'democratic' structure which involved members of theCNT. Born in the struggles in the ports and in the wider Spanish working class , the Coordinadora, organising through mass assemblies, appeared to be an example of a permanent 'union' organisation which was able to negotiate, succumb to workplace organisation? In a sense this question is answered by the experiences of the working class in struggle. In times of upheaval, industrial or commercial, the working class has developed organisational forms with which to fight for its interests. The most obvious examples of this are the Soviets of the Russian revolution, the Councils of the German and Italian revolution, the councils of the Hungarian revolution, the action committees in France in 1968, but there are countless others. The co-ordinating committees of French workers during the 1960s and 90s, the CORAS in Italy in the same period, strike committees amongst the Donbas miners in the Ukraine etc. These 'spontaneous' organisations of the working class can also become bureaucratised/degenerate (think of the fate of the Soviets in the 'Soviet' Union!) but, typically, they dissolve when the task they were created for is over.

Spontaneism

Unlike some anarchists and 'councillists', those who tend towards 'spontaneism' and the rejection of any organisation, we do see the need for organised intervention, in the workplace and community, by revolutionaries. In Britain, for example, the tactic by anarchist-syndicalists (Solidarity Federation) to set-up networks of militant cells in various industries is one we would support. Rather than being the foundation for an eventual 'general' union, however, we would see such co-ordinations as a means to building revolutionary workplace groups linking with militants locally and beyond. Such groups would produce propaganda, organise resistance groups, intervene in struggles...

Continues on page 13

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| NO TO PRECARIOUS EMPLOYMENT CONTRACTS |
| NO A LOS CONTRATOS BLINDADOS! |

ARMOUR-PLATED CONTRATOS

0 Organise!

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| ANARCHIST BLACK CAPITAL |
| Abolish crime. Abolish prison. |

Green Anarchist

Following the vicious sentences dished out to 3 editors of Green Anarchist (see last Organiser) the London Gandalf Support Campaign (LOSC) was launched with 85 people from a wide range of groups and organisations attending the first meeting. The 3 year jail sentences for reporting news of environmental and animal rights direct actions has resulted in the creation of the Gandalf Supporters Campaign (nationally) and a number of local support groups. Thousands are being asked to sign a Solidarity Pledge to back the continued reporting of direct actions in defiance of the prison sentences.

The appeal by Noel Molland, Saxon Wood and Steve Booth is liable to be heard in July. The trials of another editor of Green Anarchist, Paul Rogers, and the Animal Liberation Front press officer Robin Webb are due to come up. They would like their trials to take place after the appeal, although obviously the sentencing Judge and the State would like this to happen before the appeal.

The LOSC are organising a Liberation Tour countrywide to raise awareness about the case. Gandalf will hold a major public meeting later in the year with the screening of the Gandalf and McLibel videos.

Both Noel and Saxon have been moved from the Guys Marsh prison as they requested, to prisons nearer relatives.

Write to the Gandalf prisoners at: Steve Booth (CX4321) HMP Lancaster Castle Lancaster LA1 1YL.

Saxon Wood (CX4322) JEMP Send, Ridley Road, Woking Surrey GU23 7LJ Noël Molland (CX4321), HMP Channings Wood,Denbury, Newton Abbot, devon TQ12 8WJ.

*His only crime was to defend himself!* 

Arthur Lee Williams was attacked outside his apartment. In the struggle that ensued the attacker was shot. Arthur Williams later found guilty and sentenced to 4 years in prison (in uniform). This was the beginning of his experience of injustice and corruption. His case was heard by an all white jury in Texas. Texas has a long history of racism and prejudice against blacks. Arthur Williams is black. the judge sentencing him was conscious for police votes at the time of his trial. His lawyer was inexperienced and failed to bring critical evidence to the court's attention.

There is no way that Arthur Williams could have received a fair and unbiased trial with a white jury determining his guilt in a case that involved a policeman from his state, or with a judge who needed police votes. He is appealing and waiting to be heard. Unfortunately, this does not come cheap in the USA. He needs $15000 to cover legal expenses. All hope for paying for this lies in donations. At the moment Arthur Williams is living in terrible conditions. He describes it as "Hell on Earth". Prisoners are only allowed out of their cells for 3 hours a day in the week. They are not allowed out of their cells at the weekend. Every time prisoners need to leave their cells they are stripsearched (often a female guard will be present). Prisoners on Death Row cannot receive packages from the outside world, they must buy everything from the prison commissary. Those without friends and family have to go without as prisoners cannot earn any money. They often do not get any medical treatment as the doctors do not see any point in keeping them alive. There are no real recreational facilities. Therefore, some prisoners commit suicide and others take it out on their fellow crime.

"Organizational responsibility and discipline should not be controversial: they are the travelling companions of the practice of social anarchism."

THESE COLLECTION of articles was mainly published in Dielo Trenda, the excellent libertarian communist review produced in exile in Paris by Makhno, Piotr Arshinov and Ida Mett. Many of the articles address themselves to the problems of the Russian Revolution, and above all the insurrectionary movement in the Ukraine, the Makhnovschina, inspired by Makhno himself. Others address themselves to the false accusation that Makhno and the movement were anti-Semitic and carried out pogroms against Jews. The Dielo Trenda group currently analysed the Makhnovshchina in the Bolshheviks and the nature of Soviet society. As Makhno remarks: "It has come to pass in History that the workers were defeated Capital, but the victory then slipped from their grasp, because some State power emerged, amalgamating the interests of private capital and those of State capitalism for the sake of success over the workers."

Also of great value are Makhno's reflections on the Spanish Revolution of 1931. He notes with uncanny foresight that: "The IAT and the CNT (Reviewers' note: The Iberian Anarchist Federation and the mass anarcho-syndicalist union the General Confederation of Labour) must not be afraid to assume the reins of the strategic, organisational and theoretical revolution in the leading role of the toilers' movement. Obviously they will have to steer clear here of unity with the political parties generally and with the Bolshevik-Communist in particular, for I imagine that their Spanish counterparts will be worthy imitators of their Russian mentors... So they will inevitably betray their allies and the very cause of the revolution."

If only the Spanish libertarian movement had possessed no hard and fast program because the anarchist activities which had been carried out have been, and are still, conducted amidst the most utter dispersion, rather than springing from a tactical unity determined and enlightened by a theoretical unity, by a single shared goal..."

This leads on to Makhno's observations on the great movement of the Makhnovshchina in the Ukraine. In his direct, no-nonsense way, he effectively argues for the need for efficient organisation and saying that: "Anarchism cannot for ever length stay walled up inside the narrow parameters of a marginal thinking to which only a few tiny groups operating in isolation subscribe."

Throughout this collection of articles one is conscious of the intransigent and clear sighted revolutionary spirit of Makhno. It is a pity that this is not adequately served by the book. The original French edition included, in addition to the articles presented in English, Alexander Berkman's account of the Makhnovists, as well as Memories of a Makhnovist Partisan, by Ossip Tsebry. Now admittedly, this last text has been issued as a separate pamphlet by the Kate Sharpe Library, but it would be nice to have had this edition in its entirety, especially given the price! Similarly, the translation work is sometimes sloppy. So we can read that Daniel Guerin was at one time the "Secretary for History of the French Anarchist Federation". This is impossible as the term implies more than one person, and in fact the original reads "the Secretariat for History of the French Anarchist Federation". This is impossible as the term implies more than one person, and in fact the original reads "the Secretariat for History of the French Anarchist Federation". Similarly we see the following nonsensical reference, saying that: "He (Voina) told him that Arshinov, an intellectual and Makhno a peasant" were "two different peoples that they had to remain "insperable". The original reads: "He told him that be, as an intellectual, Arshinov, a Makhno a peasant... After these reservations, the book should be read by all libertarians and those searching for alternatives to Leninism.
Offence is the famous-style magazine of the Liverpool Football Supporters Network which appears to be a campaigning group opposed to the increasing authoritarianism of so called ‘moral policing’ found in professional football. The politics appear libertarian and anti-state, albeit with a nod to new liberalism. It contains several quite interesting articles, not least one which plays down the hard-line Loyalist and disturbed temperament of the so-called ‘Glasgow Rangers fans as ‘... the superficial appearance of religion and Ireland’.

We say appear because a (not too) closer examination reveals that the glossy and expensive (20 pages) ‘zine’ is in fact a product of the terminally dodgy Revolutionary Communist Party and the Football Supporters Movement which is their latest front organisation (like Workers against Racism, Irish Freedom Movement etc.). Why a football zine? Well, having given up on the working class as a bunch of losers the RCP focus on middle class intellectuals (as themselves) as the new vanguard of the revolution. Seeing the influx of middle class types into football it’s an area that they obviously have their eye on. Therefore, despite all the (accurate) criticism of the anti-fan activities of clubs, government and police, you will be hard-pressed to find any mention of class in the middle class for their financial benefit.

The monopoly expression “middle class” means that it is between two other classes - the working class/mass of the population and the ruling class. Working Class Time (WCT) confuses the class structure of this society. As those who own the land and the bosses, royalty, aristocracy, big land lords, big farmers etc. as well as those who politically administer capitalism-the top civil service, the government, the top echelons of the police, military and intelligence, the media barons and controllers, the judiciary etc. are the ruling class. To those could be added those who run the political parties and structures and the union bureaucrats. It is not the middle class as WCT says that “run the press...run the BBC” and all those who own and run the television companies. They are part of the ruling class. There deserves to be a debate on the whole question of class, but it won’t be found here. WCT provides everything to a百花. Of course there are people in between the working class and the middle and the bourgeoisie who can be defined as middle class. There are groups of people like technicians, for example, who are by a long way in a different category than the middle class because they play a different role in society. They are workers rather than a class (depending if they have administrative responsibilities). There is the petty bourgeoisie-small shopkeepers, etc. There is the mass of the police force, below them the arm of the gross officers, etc. However, let’s stick to the point. Middle class is the term for revolutionaries in particular.

(Recollection of George Woodcock, quoted in Read’s book.)

Certainly Read’s early writings collected here are staunchly revolutionary in particular. His The Method of Revolution However by 1947 the groundwork for the first revolution was beginning to wane and he set about diversifying his approach, thus turning increasingly to the quietist, non-violent ideas that were beginning to appeal to him. This was not just a reaction to the growth of the movement, that would saw it (and continue to sap it) of the fruit of years of struggle, but for many a reason. For example an early letter to the London anarchists in 1947, “The word revolution should largely disappear from our propaganda to be replaced by the word education.” He goes on to call the demands of the romanticist Crewe Declaration of the this was not based on the idea of the revolt of the individual. As he himself mistakenly remarked: “The war is not between classes. It is a struggle between individuals and barbarian society.” Thus, his anti-war articles contained in the book under review, whilst they heartily decry the World War and the atrocities of both Axis and Allies, always fall back on a call for individuals to dispossess. His other post-war articles gathered here because it is assumed by the compiler that they contain some libertarian interest, range over topics such as the American novel, George Orwell, Whittier Israel, etc. However these are not a disdain, from Woodcock at least, for working class anarchists? Would it not be the case that the number of liberal ideas produced by the revolutionist, popular resistance and was to remark upon the Allied. slaughter of tens of thousands with its bombings of Dresden and other German towns that: “Not one political leader who has tolerated this filthy thing, or the industry of bombardment which preceded it, should be permitted to escape the consequence of what he has done”.

However, unlike Read’s anarchism, at least in the forties, Comfort’s was not based on some individual at the revolt of the individual. As he himself mistakenly remarked: “The war is not between classes. It is a struggle between individuals and barbarian society.” Thus, his anti-war articles contained in the book under review, whilst they heartily decry the World War and the atrocities of both Axis and Allies, always fall back on a call for individuals to dispossess. His other post-war articles gathered here because it is assumed by the compiler that they contain some libertarian interest, range over topics such as the American novel, George Orwell, Whittier Israel, etc. However these are not a disdain, from Woodcock at least, for working class anarchists? Would it not be the case that the number of liberal ideas produced by the revolutionist, popular resistance and was to remark upon the Allied. slaughter of tens of thousands with its bombings of Dresden and other German towns that: “Not one political leader who has tolerated this filthy thing, or the industry of bombardment which preceded it, should be permitted to escape the consequence of what he has done”.

Organise! No 48

Beyond Resistance

By the time this issue of Organise! appeared a new pamphlet offering the ACF’s in-depth analysis of the capitalist world in crisis suggested that what the alternative Anarchist Communist society could be like, and what the practical, organisational forces which play such a role in a society.

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Making Progress is out of print at the moment.
Cornelius Castoriadis 1922-1997

Cornelius Castoriadis was born Konelios Kastoriades in Istanbul to a Greek family. Growing up in Athens he joined the Young Communist League in 1937 and the Communist Party in 1941. During the war he read "seven books that had miraculously escaped the auto da fes of the dictatorship: Souvarine, Citrus, Serge, Barinme". He joined the Trotskyist group "The Fourth International" and became involved in the resistance to the German occupiers. At the end of the war he was physically threatened by both fascists and Stalinists, forcing him to leave Athens in 1945. He joined the Trotskyist faction of the Trotskyist Fourth International, but broke with it in 1948. Along with Leftort and Lyotard, he helped set up the Socialisme Libertaire newspaper under the pen names of Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan. He broke with ex-Bordigists, often writing in its paper of the same name under the pseudonym of ex-Trotskyists and ex-Blanchardists, often writing in its paper of the same name under the pen names of Pierre Chaulieu or Paul Cardan. He broke with them, thinking that the revolution could be made by the workers themselves, not by the party. Workers' councils would be set up in the early stages of the revolution. He did think that some form of revolutionary organisation would be essential, uniting the revolutionary forces, and that once the revolution began, the revolutionary organisation would have to fight inside the organisation of councils to stop possible capitalist takeovers. Similar ideas are expressed in an ACF pamphlet The Role of the Revolutionary Organisation.

In the first issue of S ou B, the group denominated the Trotskyist characterisation of the Soviet Union as a "degenerate workers state". They developed this in No 2 and 4, applying a Marxist critique to the Soviet Union itself, saying that the bureaucracy had collectively taken over the means of production and surplus of labour. By 1960 they were saying that the bureaucratic contradiction of capitalism defined as the need to reduce workers to simple order-takers opens a crisis which touches every aspect of life. From 1961, in No 36 up to the last issue of the paper No 4, Castoriadis definitely broke with Marxism.

The S ou B group exerted their influence outside France with Correspondence in the USA, Unita Proletaria in Italy, and the Solidarity group in this country. Indeed, Solidarity published many works of Castoriadis under the name of Cardan, and he influenced many libertarian socialists and anarchists. The influence of the group was apparent also in May 1968 in France, even though the S ou B group had dissolved 2 years before. As D Blanchard, a former member wrote in Courant Alternatif, paper of the Organisation Communiste Libertaire "...the activity of the group was not limited either to a critique of Stalinism or the publication of a review. On the theoretical level, the analysis of the bureaucratic phenomenon in Eastern Europe found its echo in that of the bureaucratisation of worker organisations, unions, and in the bureaucratisation of the vital organs of capitalism, the State, business corporations. To this study largely contributed...the daily experience of comrades in the workplaces. Finally, it contributed to the enormous problem of enlarging the field of political analysis in extending it, as had already been done by the workers movement in its most fertile moments, to the situation of women, of youth, the content of work, education, urbanism, leisure, consumerism, cinema etc..."

In his last period, Castoriadis directed himself towards philosophical investigations, to psychoanalysis. In this period, his lack of knowledge of current social events and movements led him towards a tentative defence of the West - because struggle still remained possible within it - against Stalinist imperialism. After the collapse of the Soviet Union he revised his ideas, returning to a critique of market capitalism and globalisation. However, whilst he was full of sarcasm for the bosses and the madness of the system, there was a distinct streak of superficial sociologism in his writings. When asked what the work abandoned by S ou B should be taken up again he replied that, in absence of a social movement that took on the critique of capitalism in its most modern forms, this was not possible!

The best of 'Castoriadis' thought lies in his radical libertarian vision which puts at the centre of a critique of capitalism, not economic laws or a fatal contradiction leading to its collapse, but the action of people attempting to take back their lives at every level.
other areas faced with Project Work. Similarly we fought inside our unions for all the unions to oppose Project Work. Again we were successful. Overall, we policies on the JSA and Workfare.

movement that unites the unemployed and all the unions to oppose Project Work.

Obviously, we have no illusion in Labour’s influence by the Labour Party is important.

Reply: Your bold statement that ‘ultimately claimants and a wide range of left activists.

the aim is a mass movement that unites the unemployed, and Workfare.

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The Anarchist Communist Federation is an organisation of class struggle anarchists. The Left talk of the unemployed as a lesser class of ‘worker’ with no economic clout and no entitlement to organise and therefore answerable in struggle to their own interests. The power given to them, that is the reality of struggle through joining with friends and family. You can send cheques, POs, IMOs (made out to ACF) stamps etc. You can even send us a standing order to our account (write your London address for details). All donations to London address.

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ORGANISE! ORGANISE! IS THE magazine of the Anarchist Communist Federation (ACF). Organise! is a quarterly theoretical journal published in order to develop anarchist communist ideas. It aims to give a clear anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues, and unite the working class movement in the fight against exploitation, to fight against the threat of class violence: intimidation, criminalisation and poverty. The power given to them, that is the reality of struggle through joining with friends and family. You can send cheques, POs, IMOs (made out to ACF) stamps etc. You can even send us a standing order to our account (write your London address for details). All donations to London address.

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