GUEORGUI CHEITANOV

We continue our series Revolutionary Portraits, devoted to revolutionaries, some well known, some obscure, who have contributed so much to our movement over the last 120 years. Organise! salutes these Bulgarian anarchists who gave their lives for anarchist communism.

Born at Yambar in Bulgaria in 1896, Gueorgui Cheitanov was to prove to be one of the most outstanding figures (and there were many) of Bulgarian anarchism, and of its specific organisation, the Anarchist Communist Federation. A brilliant pupil at high school, from an early age he possessed a rebellious nature. He gravitated very early on in life towards the anarchist movement. At the age of 17 he burnt the archives of the local court and was forced to flee into exile, after escaping from prison, arriving in Paris at the age of 18. Here he met up with many other Bulgarian anarchists like Varban Kiharski, who taught at La Ruche, the free school and cultural centre set up by the French anarchist Sebastien Faure.

Return to Bulgaria

He returned secretly to Bulgaria in 1914, continuing his revolutionary propaganda. Arrested and tortured by the police, he escaped again and between 1917 and 1918 was the only Bulgarian revolutionary to go to Moscow at the start of the Russian revolution, crossing the Danube, Romania, the Russian trenches, Ukraine and Russia disguised as a soldier. In Moscow he made the acquaintance of the old Marxist Plekhanov and many other well known Marxists and Bolsheviks, who asked him to take charge of a Bulgarian language edition of a revolutionary journal. He became friends with many Russian anarchists and soon realised the real counter-revolutionary role of the Bolsheviks. He decided to return to Bulgaria with the favourable revolutionary circumstances after the collapse of the

Bulgarian front and the soldiers’ revolt. Crossing the Ukraine, he fell into the hands of the white Army of reactionary Russians, but managed to escape from the firing squad! Arriving back in Bulgaria, he contacted the anarchist movement, most of whom were forced to operate underground. He issued his famous open letter Appeal to the Anarchists as well as a Manifesto to Revolutionaries where he developed a clear anarchist position in favour of the Russian Revolution.

He participated in many armed actions against the State, escaping from prison twice in spectacular circumstances. At the age of 26 he took a look at the guerrilla tactics of the movement and offered a self-criticism in describing them as inadequate to the social struggles developing in Bulgaria. What was needed, he felt, was mass organisation and action, not just in the workplace but in all areas of life.

A very talented propagandist, orator and poet, he exercised a great and charismatic influence over many. As an orator he avoided the usual tricks, communicating in a clear and concise way.

Liberating Prisoners

He participated in the liberation of the notable anarchist Peter Maznev from prison, and lectured the policemen captured in this incident, on anarchism and the social situation. These cops were freed after promising that they would resign from the force—they kept their promise. Maznev subsequently died of TB due to his imprisonment and underground existence. Buried at his native village, his funeral was the occasion for a massive demonstration in which the anarchists of the region participated. Cheitanov delivered a passionate speech which was much remarked upon and helped in the rapid development of the anarchist movement in the area.

Cheitanov contributed to Free Society, the theoretical review of the Anarchist Communist Federation, as well as to the literary review Plamak (Flame) which influenced many intellectuals. He also edited the underground newspaper Acratia between 1924-1925 which came out 3 times.

Military Coup

In 1923 a military coup led to the butchery of 35,000 workers and peasants. The armed resistance that followed ended with the bomb attack by the Communist Party on Sofia cathedral which was aimed at the country’s elite. A massive campaign of repression was then unleashed by the fascists and military against the revolutionary movement. Special police detachments were set up to hunt Cheitanov down. All the guerrillas united into a single detachment, being forced to disperse towards the end of May. Cheitanov and his companion in love and struggle, Mariola Sirakova, were caught in an ambush and arrested. They were taken to Belovo railway station and shot with 12 other prisoners on 2nd June 1925.

Cheitanov was officially recognised by the post-war Communist regime which named streets after him and erected a statue in his continued on page 6

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magazine of the anarchist federation

Organise! 52
Organise! is a twice yearly theoretical journal published in order to develop anarchist communist ideas. It aims to give a clear anarchist viewpoint on contemporary issues, and initiate debates on areas not normally covered by agitational journals. All articles in the magazine are by AF members unless signed. Some reflect AF policy and others open up debate in undiscussed areas, helping us to develop our ideas further.

Please feel welcome to contribute articles to Organise! as long as they don’t conflict with our Aims and Principles we will publish them. (Letters, of course, need not agree with our A&Ps at all.). Deadline for articles: February 14th 2000, letters: March 14th 2000.

All contributions for the next issue should be sent to:
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The Anarchist Federation is an organisation of class struggle anarchists. For contacts:
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deal with Habibie to defuse the movement. The students, who had been heavily involved in the move to overthrow Suharto, again mobilised in November last year. Again the opposition groups headed off this movement.

This opposition is made up of ruling class forces who want a share of the action in the regime, some of the power and wealth. They are organised in Islamist and secular nationalist groupings, sometimes in alliance. They have no intention of making any real change and will continue to back the military.

The mobilisations in recent weeks have shown that opposition on the streets is stronger than the regime expected. They can still go for a complete military take-over, but would probably prefer to head the party of Megawati Sukarnoputri, the Indonesian Democratic Party of Struggle (PDI-P) come to power, in alliance with elements of the old regime. This, it is hoped, will finally defuse the resistance of both students and workers of town and countryside. Megawati has no intention of making any radical change and is already making soothing noises to the IMF, supporting its suggested restructuring package and the by now usual round of further privatisations that we have seen around the world.

Either the military will maintain power, except Habibie as a puppet, or Megawati will take over. Either way, the masses of the population will well come out on the streets in increasing numbers. The possibility of revolution hangs in the air. Equally so does the chance of a complete military clampdown and massacres to rival those in 1965.

RESISTANCE GOES MONTHLY!
The AF HAS now produced 7 issues of our agitational RESISTANCE, moving from a bimonthly schedule to a regular monthly appearance.

RESISTANCE has appeared at an important time. Our widespread distribution of our agitational bulletin means more and more people are coming in contact with revolutionary anarchist ideas. This is at a time when there is growing disgust at the Labour Party, and the Stalinist and Trotskyite left are spiralling rapidly downwards into decline. There is a real chance of building a credible anarchist movement in the country - with consistent and dogged work.

If you would like the next 12 issues of RESISTANCE send POS, cheques for £4 payable to "AF" to: AF, PO Box 375, Knaphill, Woking.

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Aftermath in Yugoslavia

The bombing has stopped, but the fighting in Kosovo is far from over. The whole region is under the military control of NATO-dominated K-For troops whilst the United Nations Interim Administration in Kosovo (UNMIK) takes over in the civil area. Kosovar Liberation Army forces are terrifying the 20% non-Albanian minority as UNMIK struggles to set up a new police force and impose their version of so-called multi-ethnic democracy. 90% of the 850,000 refugees and 'internally displaced persons' have now been returned but this is an uncertain future in an occupied area ravaged by the war - burning-out houses, mines and unexploded bombs, and uranium shells which could cause death from cancers and birth defects over years to come.

Serbs and gypsies have left the region in fear of further KLA killings, including those who are refugees from the Krajina in B&H. In August UN 11H Commission for Refugees estimated that 170,000 Serbs out of around 200,000 had left Kosovo since K-For arrived and said that only 2,000 of the 40,000 Serbs in the capital Pristina remained, those people being subject to a kind of "three strikes" activity - first a letter telling them to leave, then a visit, then a visit. Meanwhile, the European Commission, together with the World Bank and IMF are working on their economic rebuilding program, with $2b promised for this purpose at a donor's conference which took place at the end of July in Brussels, to be finalised in October. Free market principles are enshrined in these agreements.

Confusion

So what does all this say for anarchist politics and our response to the war, Anarchist Federation in France and Italy took an encouraging 'no war but the class struggle' position. Anarchist community groupsAlternative Liberties, which found itself split over the war and the intervention of NATO. Initially the group issued a statement opposing Milosevic, ethnic cleansing, Serbian expansionism and supporting the refugees, but then went on to support self-determination for Kosovo and for the intervention of United Nations armed forces! Worse still it developed a schism with one faction calling for the arming of the Kosovars and some even going as far as critical support for the NATO intervention - no to aerial bombardment but in favour of ground intervention.

In Britain, whilst Solidarity Federation and ourselves have maintained class based principles (and Class War have remained silent, at least in their Summer edition), other anarchists seem to have fallen into the same trap as Alternative Libertaire.

Taking sides

In issue 217 of Black Flag a section entitled "No Easy Answers - Looking at the Balkans War" had as its core article a piece by a member of Workers Aid which stated that "The Kosova Albanians have the right to call for NATO action". What sort of message can this give to our comrades in Yugoslavia反对 the war?

Workers Aid, in both their Workers Aid for Bosnia and subsequent Workers Aid for Kosovo guises have always been clear about "taking sides", with a twisted notion of class solidarity which in practice only means calling for workers in Britain to support the Kosova Albanians, whilst Serbian workers for the most part are lumped in with their "fascist" government.
course, support the weakest, support the Kosovan Albanians against the imperialism of both, for the self-determination of the Kosovars. Then we blame NATO for denying determination, even though the reality is now, and always looked like it would be, a true, armed struggle by the proponents of a ‘greater Albania’. Class analysis is thrown out the window.

The demonstrations in Britain were important and necessary, but we were prevented by the confusions of the proponents of self-determination. Had we been larger we could have completely drowned out the reactionary voice of pro-Serbian fanatics, creating doubt in the minds of the ‘must do something’ public in Britain who supported NATO, creating a climate where soldiers will refuse to fight for their governments now and in the future. Perhaps even convince them what we are fighting for, and the comrades still alive, sending many to prisons and concentration camps!

Mariola Sirakova

Born in Kiliievee in 1984, the student-actress Mariola Sirakova belonged to a well-off family. She revolted from an early age against her social background and joined the anarchist movement at a young age. After her martyr’s death, her younger brother Georgu carried on the struggle for anarchism and was imprisoned by the Communists in the concentration camp of Belene.

Ivan Nicolov

One of the most popular speakers and polemists of the Anarchist Communist Federation, Ivan Nicolov was born in 1900 in Radenci. He worked as a teacher, and as an orator took part in many public meetings organised by the anarchists throughout Bulgaria. Poor and modest, he always wore an old soldier’s cap. He had the endearing habit of keeping newspaper cuttings up his sleeves, which he used to back up his polemics with political opponents, in particular the Communist Party. He was very popular among the workers of Sofia. Although arrested by the Sofia cathedral bombing, he was arrested and burnt alive in the furnace of the Sofia National Security (equivalent of CID) in April 1925.

Mexico is a society of intense class conflict. Partly this is the result of historical factors and partly this is because of the country’s vulnerability to the forces of world capitalism. The contradictions in Mexican society are highly visible even to the most casual observer.

A part from class exploitation and oppression which will be discussed later, Mexico is a country of long established racism, reflecting the consequences of the Spanish conquest of the sixteenth century. The ruling class, television personalities, political bosses and anyone who wields any real power is almost by definition white. The great mass of the population of the working class, middle class business people and functionaries are of mixed racial descent and are obvious by their dark skins. At the very bottom of society are the indigenous people, mainly peasants, who generally speaking are living at just subsistence level. The descendents of the Aztecs, Mayas, Zapotecos etc. are paying the enduring price of their historic defeat.

Sexual oppression in all its forms is rife and manifests itself in countless ways. Mexican machismo is not funny. An everyday level event means women receive a disproportionate amount of harassment and are engaged in violent attacks. There is a clique of ultra-right-wing groups which is called the “ultras” in Mexico. This clique became the dominant issue in Mexican political life. Incidentally class struggle anarchism seems to be very influential in a society with a long anarchist tradition.

The level of class war in Mexico is probably unparalleled anywhere else in the world. There are many revolutionary groups who have been struggling for years in the country and an as yet unbroken labour movement. However, the revolutionary groups are not united and there is no national organisation which commands support across the divergent ethnic and regional populations.

Against this there is an obvious tension within Mexican society and it is a potential powder keg. Perhaps all that is needed is a spark and a widespread popular uprising is definitely not an impossibility.

The above was written by an AF member who recently visited Mexico, travelling down to Chiapas and Oaxaca and participating in a demonstration in Mexico city in which thousands of anarchists waving red and black flags took part.
LAND REFORM IN SCOTLAND?
Don't Hold Your Breath!

We continue our series on the land.

The new Scottish Parliament is full of rhetoric about how it’s going to make substantial changes to the landowning system in Scotland. Land reform is one of the main pieces of legislation which is to be put to Parliament in the coming session. However, despite the fighting talk, it is not that often that a suitable local community decides to rent land for a nuclear power plant or to ban black people from walking on the land.

What he fails to realise is that the root of the issue is not who owns the land but the fact that it is owned at all! In addition, he seems naive about the term ‘community’, which masks class divisions and reinforces the idea of ‘ownership’ of the land. In any community there will be some with more power than others and any community take-over, therefore, will not mean that everyone has an equal say in how the estate would be run. Also, local communities should not be able to harm the environment or to do anything they want with the land anymore than a private landowner.

What happens if the local community decides to rent land for a nuclear power plant or to ban black people from walking on the land?

The illustrations for the Land article are taken from the book Land and Power by Andy Wightman. Other Illustrations in this issue are from various sources. Many are by Hema, a comrade from Quebec: Page 8

then even the most modest proposals will be watered down so that the power of the landowners remains.

It is not surprising that land reform is on the agenda. The facts speak for themselves. Scotland has the most unequal distribution of land in western Europe and it is even more unequal than Brazil which is well-known for its land injustices. In a country of over 19 million acres, over 16 million acres is privately owned rural land. Two-thirds of this land is owned by 1252 landowners, (0.025% of the population). And these estates are extremely large. One quarter of the privately owned rural land is in estates of 30,700 acres and larger, owned by just 66 landowners (Williamson and Drummond). One reason for the large size of estates is the law of primogeniture where it is the eldest son who inherits the whole estate. Not only is the distribution unequal, land ownership is still based on feudal laws, a system that dates back to the 11th century. This means that the land still officially belongs to the ‘Crown’ and the landowner is a vassal. However, this vassal can become a ‘superior’ by feuing land to someone else who then becomes his vassal. Even though the land has sold the land, feuing means that the superior still has a say in how that land is developed.

The other part of the proposals is to give communities the “right to buy”. However, they will only be able to do so when the land comes on the market. There is no provision for compulsory purchase and it is not that often that a suitable property comes on the market. Many of the landowners have no idea how much they could get on the market and are putting the land up for sale in an attempt to make a profit. He claims the landowners will act as a state no matter what nationality it calls itself and the Scottish Parliament will do what all parliaments do best: manage the country in the interests of the ruling class.

This can be seen already by examining the proposals of the Land Reform Policy group which was set up to make recommendations on land reform. Their proposals were published in January 1999 and are to be the basis for new legislation. When they were first published there was the usual media scare of revolution around the corner, but landowners can rest easy. Andy Wightman in his just published book, Land and Power, has exposed the reforms for what they are.

The main plank of the recommendations is the abolition of feudalism. Now this is positive in that there will no longer be Organisef! 52

Come to do what they can’t do in their own country. More income and more jobs come from other forms of tourism that are often in direct conflict with the closed nature of the sporting estate.

Environmentalists and conservationists have also attacked the problems caused by too many red deer for the regeneration of natural woodland and the eyesore caused by all the bull-dozed tracks that carry landowners full of gun-toting tourists to within a few steps of their target. There have also been cases where gamekeepers are known to have deliberately shot birds of prey because they do not want young people to see their profession. A gamekeeper in the central Highlands killed a nest of golden eagles as a result of leaving out a poisoned carcass. He claimed he did not intend to do this, but such stories only add to anti-tar feeling.

But basically there is just general discontent and hostility from the urban and rural working class for a situation where a few own so much and have so much power - a discontent that has been brewing for centuries, remembered vividly in the Highland Clearances. The wealth of the landowners is contrasted with the low wages of their employees. Two-thirds of households in rural Scotland have income below the Low Pay Unit Poverty Threshold.

Illusions

Unfortunately, like the illusions in a Labour government, the Scottish Parliament is seen as the means to achieve the long-awaited goal of land reform. Lack of progress before was blamed on the ‘English’ Parliament with its landowners-dominated government. Now that the obstacle is removed, land reform is thought to be possible. However, these illusions are based on a falsehood. It claims the landowners are just a state no matter what nationality it calls itself and the Scottish Parliament will do what all parliaments do best: manage the country in the interests of the ruling class.

The illustrations for this page are from various sources. Many are by Hema, a comrade from Quebec.
Water is essential for all life on Earth, for the production of food, for people to eat, drink and use, for washing and sanitation. A third of the world's population do not have access to a supply of safe drinking water (a situation that is worsening); a third of all deaths in the world are the result of water-borne diseases. Water is a limited but endlessly renewable resource; its pollution, mismanagement and overuse by corporations, governments, and ordinary people (functioning as 'consumers' in a field that is not of their making) threatens to turn a global crisis into a long-term planetary disaster. The Vice-President of the World Bank, Ismael Serjejedin, stated in 1995 that 'the wars of the next century will be over water... by the year 2025, the amount of water available to each person in the Middle East and North Africa will have dropped 80% in a single lifetime'. Because it is fixed and stable, land can be divided by hedges, walls etc so it has the potential to be held in common, or to be the foundation of private property, personal wealth and inheritance. Logically it should be a communal asset, because it will not stay still. For thousands of years legal and informal systems have accepted and insisted that there can be no ownership of running water.

British Privatisation

There is a direct relationship between the size of human settlements and the need for safe water and sewage disposal. The huge expansion of the urban population in 19th century Britain was accompanied by dysentery, typhoid and cholera. The prevailing political orthodoxy was that laissez-faire capitalism would solve all problems; public (state) interference was wasteful and wicked; a new crime of water stealing was created. The poor were blamed for cholera outbreaks - the result of their ignorance, lack of hygiene and general depravity. Eventually it was recognised that easy access to a clean water supply was a basic human need, via the Public Health Acts.

In 1971, 14, 100 million litres of water left treatment works in England and Wales: 35% more than 1961, 133% more than in 1940. The Water Resources Board predicted that this would double by the year 2000, with agriculture and domestic consumption being primarily responsible. The 1974 local government reorganisation created 10 regional water authorities. They neglected the repair of crumbling Victorian pipes, sewers, pumping stations and processing plants.

In Britain, the reforms of 1974 brought the supply and disposal of water under the direct control of central government; as a consequence the treasury (under both Labour and the Tories) steadily reduced water authorities spending between 1974-1986. By 1982, the government was only allowing the water industry to spend half of the sum on capital investment.

Britain is water rich, with adequate rainfall and occasional water shortages. In May 1975-August 1976. At this time water was generally seen as a common good, and water planners saw any form of supply restriction, even a hosepipe ban, as an admission of failure. Regional water authorities pooled their access to water resources, and were making long-term plans for a London ring main, and to recharge aquifers from winter river water. The 'Save-it!' publicity campaign during the drought cut water demand by 30% in the worst affected areas. Even then, the emergency leak detection and mains pressure reductions resulted in a further 10% saving. 80% of population reduced their bath, and basin and sink water. As a result of intense co-operation between the water authorities in the worst drought for 250 years, and 'consumer' response, engineers managed to keep the water flowing.

By contrast, in the water drought of 1995, John Gummer repeated the 1976 advice such as recycling washing up water, putting brick in cisterns. However, the public had now been re-educated to view water as a capitalist product rather than a natural resource.

Water was privatised by the Tories in 1989; despite defeat in House of Lords, the threat of prosecution by Brussels on water quality standards, attacks by environmental groups over standards and the fate of water authorities huge land holdings. The shares were 5.7% times over-subscribed, the sale raised £5.3 billion; the government wrote off £5 billion in debt, and injected £1.6 billion to the authorities with £100 million flotation expenses: a £1.4 billion government (or, more accurately, taxpayer) loss.

The average household experienced an increase in water bills of 67% between 1989-90 & 1994-95; company profits rose by an average of 20% a year between 1988-90 & 1992-93, profit margins rose from 27.8% to 35.6%. Water charges for most British households are still a third of their income, rather than consumption; UK trials from the early 1990s show that metering can cut household use by 10.5%. 1995 water industry figures show that 826 million gallons of water were lost through leaks. The government figures show that it costs up to £200 per household to install meters i.e. £4.5 billion cost for consumers; the annual running cost would be £500 million. The highest charging area of South West water, took 4.9% of income for a household of 2 adults and 2 children, 7.6% for a lone parent & child, 9.1% for a single pensioner in 1994. After 1988, Supplementary benefit claimants had to pay their water bills.

There are a long history of water thefts and oversold, with the formation of the National Water and Sewerage Organisation. This later led to the Sanwahe Health Authority (in the West Midlands), over 1,400 households have had their water cut off, and cases of hepatitis and dysentery rose tenfold. The British Medical Association found that vulnerable groups had water cut off, the supply which was not restored until their debt is paid off. These cut-offs are not classified as disconnections, so they do not appear in the official statistics. 10,000 meters have been installed in Birmingham since 1992: there have been over 2000 disconnections, 147 of them went to court. The water companies have responded to increasing criticism of their disconnection policies by developing a variety of options of selling water at no cost to charitable trusts, which help the poorest indebted customers. This is PR; it helps to hide the facts that the poor and the elderly will not stay still. For thousands of years legal and informal systems have accepted and insisted that there can be no ownership of running water.

 opting for irrigation. In small-scale irrigation systems of eastern Spain under the Moors, water belonged to the community and was sold with the land. Continual disputes about its use in times of scarcity regulated by a communal organisation, the huerta or water rights. Organised groups can buy water at a highly subsidised price and sell it at a price up to 400 higher than that paid by the low volume consumers serviced by the public water utility. The city has an appallingly high water price, which is part of a larger water scarcity: the average production and supply capacity would allow each person in Britain to drink 220 litres a day; current consumption is an average of 307 litres in affluent areas, and less than 25 litres for the poorest (the internationally accepted standard is 150 litres). Contemporary water imperialism is the result of the requirements of international water agencies that insist on international tender. Bilateral loans are usually subject to buying equipment and servicing from the lending country. These have privileged the infrastructure investment over institutional organisational improvements and maintenance projects.

There is a long history of such societies that have developed elaborate systems to ensure fair access for all. In the Islamic world, the water communities on the bases of Oasi, the Phoenicians, the Roman Empire, and Muslims. The modern technology of pipes, pumps and motive power makes such schemes easier.

In the small-scale irrigation systems of eastern Spain under the Moors, water belonged to the community and was sold with the land. Continual disputes about its use in times of scarcity regulated by a communal organisation, the huerta or water rights. Organised groups can buy water at a highly subsidised price and sell it at a price up to 400 higher than that paid by the low volume consumers serviced by the public water utility. The city has an appallingly high water price, which is part of a larger water scarcity: the average production and supply capacity would allow each person in Britain to drink 220 litres a day; current consumption is an average of 307 litres in affluent areas, and less than 25 litres for the poorest (the internationally accepted standard is 150 litres). Contemporary water imperialism is the result of the requirements of international water agencies that insist on international tender. Bilateral loans are usually subject to buying equipment and servicing from the lending country. These have privileged the infrastructure investment over institutional organisational improvements and maintenance projects.
much prone to periodic, lengthy droughts. Coastal & mountainous areas are well suited for tourists, swimming pools for themselves, and there are many gardens and lawns requiring daily watering. Farmers have diversified from their traditional drought resistant produce such as figs and olives, into water hungry crops like rice and strawberries.

The result is that Spain is now the World's 4th highest per capita consumer of water after the US, Canada and Russia. Other factors involved (which apply elsewhere) are the assumption of a global market among producers, of the right to squander resources amongst consumers; and that the centralised State with its control of revenue, command of resources and expertise, and power to enforce policy on citizens, should be the arbiter of the management of resources.

**Megachem Schemes**

Huge hydraulic schemes are made possible by advanced modern Civil engineering techniques, they result from vast international contracts which are only possible at the level of central governments, international free floating capital & supranational government organisations. The financiers borrow money and lend it at commercial rates, so they favour large scale water engineering projects, which promise increasing production for export markets at the expense of local subsistence economies, with disastrous social and environmental effects. Cash crops are grown for export in Africa and Asia at a huge social and environmental cost to local communities, yet the project itself is extremely complex.

Large scale hydraulic schemes can be used to irrigate large areas of land, and increase the efficiency of agricultural production, but they also have environmental impacts, such as the displacement of local communities, the destruction of wildlife habitats, and the contamination of water sources.

**Women**

Everywhere in the world the women are the water managers, and usually carriers, for every household purpose; they are also responsible for animal management. They are frequently excluded from decision making about water management; however, most societies also have a tradition that the technology of water supply is too complex for them to control.

Women are often responsible for fetching water at great distances from home, and for carrying heavy loads of water on their heads.

Women are particularly vulnerable to the effects of drought and water scarcity, and their role in water management is often undervalued.

Large scale hydraulic schemes are often designed to benefit men, and ignore the needs of women, who are the main source of water for domestic use.

**Disputes and Wars**

Large-scale water engineering projects often create disputes and conflicts in areas with competing water demands. Water is often a scarce resource, and projects for irrigation, hydroelectric power, and other uses can lead to conflicts over water rights.

For example, the construction of the Aswan High Dam in Egypt led to the displacement of over 100,000 people, and caused significant environmental damage to the Nile Valley.

**Dirty Water**

Britain pumps over 300 million gallons of sewage into sea every day, and water companies spend millions of pounds on purifying water, 32% of which is then used to flush toilets. Inland cities, due to their elaborate systems of sewage processing plants, frequently discharge untreated sewage into coastal water as the cheapest solution, and some areas processed sewage sludge would be too contaminated by toxic metals to be used as agricultural fertiliser.

500 bathrooms were in the water at one any time (or over 1500 per linear beach mile); this definition excluded all Welsh beaches, as well as Blackpool. The EU standard for discharge of urban waste into rivers contained a loophole for slacker standards in 'high natural dispersion areas' where the sea would quickly carry waste away. This led the 1994 Secretary of State for the Environment, John Gummer, to state that 30 million to 30 million to 30 million people could continue to receive raw sewage from the seawould quickly carry waste away. This led the 1994 Secretary of State for the Environment, John Gummer, to state that 30 million to 30 million to 30 million people could continue to receive raw sewage from the sea.

In Sri Lanka (1992 the disruption caused by the Mahaweli dam and plantation projects resulted in the forcible eviction of 1 million people, the prime cause of Tamil rebel violence, which resulted in an estimated 1 million deaths as they fought government forces in the eastern jungles from the late 1980's onwards. The 1990 floods of Ganga-Brahmaputra-Barak system killed 10,000 people, and displaced 25,000; the Akashambam dam (Ghana) 80,000 people; Caborra Bassa (South Africa) 25,000; together with many other projects. The project resulted in the forcible eviction of 140,000 people.

The proposed Xiao Langdi dam in China would displace 400,000 people. The major flood in 1998 in the river Jordan in South Lebanon & the Gaza Strip, the worst in Israel since the war of 1967. There is still no agreement over access to water for the West Bank Palestinians, who are digging new wells or renovating old ones since the 1967 occupation. Annually, Israel pump 600 million cubic metres of water (over 30% of its supply) from aquifers that lie wholly or partly underground. The cubic metres is allocated to the 1.4 million West Bank Palestinians, and 30 million to the 120 million Palestinians that go to Israel. Modern wars depend on the destruction of the civilian populations means of life and livelihood for example as a result of the Gulf War: black rain fell for months on Kuwait, Iran and Iraq, and there were devastating effects on Iraq's agriculture and water. The breakdown of educational, political and social structures, the cycle of contamination: over 90% of sewage treatment plants were disabled, resulting in huge food losses, and high levels of domestic and industrial sewage being pumped into rivers, creating an increase in water borne diseases. Agricultural production was slashed by the breakdown of the support networks before the war produced 30% of its needs, now the figure is 10-15%.

There is a continuous threat of water wars in South Asia between India, Bangladesh, Nepal and Bhutan; big dams as a source of hydro electric power, and large scale deforestation. The 1992 floods of Ganga-Brahmaputra-Barak system killed 10,000 people, and displaced 25,000; the Akashambam dam (Ghana) 80,000 people; Caborra Bassa (South Africa) 25,000; together with many other projects. The project resulted in the forcible eviction of 140,000 people.

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40% of the world's population depend on water from a neighbouring country, and over 200 large rivers are shared by 2 or more countries. In modern times, the existence of a scheme is seen as a contributory factor to the 1965 Indo-Pakistan war was the important cause of India and Pakistan were, the Indian storming of the Sikh Golden Temple in Amritsar in 1984 etc. The Punjab presently gets approximately 40% of India's agreed share of the water, the Sikh's main political weapon in a dispute over water for irrigation. The 1992 floods of Ganga-Brahmaputra-Barak system killed 10,000 people, and displaced 25,000; the Akashambam dam (Ghana) 80,000 people; Caborra Bassa (South Africa) 25,000; together with many other projects. The project resulted in the forcible eviction of 140,000 people.

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Global Warming

Since the 1970's there has been a steady increase in global temperatures as a result of the build-up of heat-trapping pollutant gases in the atmosphere, causing an increase in the expansion of ocean water which could raise sea levels by 2 feet by the year 2010. The likely climatic effects would be increased rainfall in monsoon areas, and more severe droughts in areas prone to water shortage. Low-lying regions such as the delta portions of Bangladesh, Egypt and Southern China, and low-lying islands in the Indian and Pacific oceans may be flooded or even submerged. These changes will have major consequences for food production, and create many more refugees, with the poorest being most affected, as ever. WAR

The cutting up of river systems by state boundaries has aggravated the problems of responding ecologically to floods; water conflicts become interstate ones. On the banks of the Ganges, for example, fisherfolk and peasants in India, and the poor peasants living in Bangladesh are connected through the life of the river; the political and engineering structures that threaten their lives and livelihoods, simultaneously bring conscious political control to national and international elite's. All over the world, irigration (especially for cash crops) has reached the point of diminishing returns where marginal fields increase the salinity of water and decrease the output: 1990, 30-40% of the world's irrigated cropland is estimated to be waterlogged or suffering from excessive salinisation; the 63% of water used in 1991 is projected to decline to 57% by 2000.

It is now generally recognised that irrigation projects are most likely to succeed when faw periods are observed, and they are managed by local communities. The reliance on large-scale irrigation has spread from luxury crops in dry climates to production of ordinary crops for supermarkeths that account for most of British retail trade. Big farmers are encouraged by the National Rivers Authority (NRA) and the Ministry of Agriculture to build reservoirs to store water and abstract water from rivers; with a 90% reduction they do it in winter. Supermarket lettuce has an 18 week life which involves drenching them in % of an inch/cm) of water every week, baking potatoes drink 10inches. A 1995 NRA report on what were you doing on Friday June 18th 1999? If you were protesting in the City of London then you took part in one of the most important global actions against capitalism that has ever been seen.

Events got off to an early start. At 7 a.m. G-protocols hung a huge banner off Tower bridge and were chased off by police. From then until midday autonomous groups from all over the country roamed the City causing trouble wherever they went... Five hundred more cyclists in a 'Critical Mass' caused disruption to trading etc. Right, everything that the police are trained to be violent. They are violent and are trained to be violent. They are 'fluffies' can also be a problem. Lessons

Temporary difficulties like these will be solved however. If you decide to defend yourself against police attacks, remember that the odds are in your favour. They are extremely violent and are trained to be violent. They also have the law on their side, as are not drunk or under the influence of other drugs, and are extremely well protected and armed. No surprise then that out of the filthy needing hospital treatment only four were police...

The totally violent and the totally non-violent both cause problems. Some idiots just attacked anyone/thing in the City, regardless. People that get a kick out of the violence for itself have problems. 'Fluffies' can also be a problem. Some were at the Futures Exchange trying to stop people from putting metal bars through the windows. One even got between a protester with a fence and the Riot police...

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of thing happened for example at Newcastle where some 'protesters' tried to unmask others. These people are a fucking menace and are no better than the cops (in some ways they are even worse...) if they didn't like what was happening, then they should have left. (And those masked up don't force masks on others.)

On the up side, the media reporting was pretty good, considering. The fact that all the mainstream papers would go with the 'peaceful demo against capitalism, saying it is destroying the environment and forcing millions into poverty'. The Sunday Times almost got it right: the protest was 'against corporate greed'... whilst the Guardian was way off. The demonstration began peacefully in the morning - largely with the aim of promoting the cause of cyclists... (???)

Anarchists as well as it being fairly clear what the demo was for, many reports either explicitly or implicitly admitted that the whole thing had been very well organised by anarchists. The FT lead on the day with the headline 'Anarchists Attempt to Paralyse City' and gave some interesting detail on how anarchists in J18 organised in 'small cells of perhaps a dozen members' which are 'united by their hatred of corporations and financial institutions whose "profit chasing" they say, is destroying the environment and forcing millions into poverty'. Even the police themselves were probably prepared, admitting that anarchists can be organised. Hart, Assistant Commissioner of the City of London police said that at Liverpool Street 'a very carefully organised crowd split into four parts...' (Independent on Sunday, 20/6/99) Bit of a change from the old 'anarchy = chaos and/or disorganisation' crap. Hart also complained that the organisers had conducted a 'cynical and deceitful' attempt to hide information about their true intentions from the police and that 'information on the Internet is sometimes put out as a distraction'. Another useful tactic. The 'Nearly-failed' Association of Autonomous Astronauts' got a couple of mentions as did the 'Biotic Baking Brigade'.

Of course, you got the stupid stories about the police and do go with the 'peaceful demo force mask'. The Sunday Times claimed that students from Nottingham University told traders at the Liffe building (it's not clear if this was meant to have happened before, or after the place was trashed...) that they had been given £30, free transport and a packed lunch (???) to attend the Carnival. Of course, the desire was to discredit the event. The report ended with an attempt to disguise the 'middle England' roots of the event, noting that the City would have to be disinfected as 'protesters urinated and defeated in doorways' (Sunday Times, 20/6/99).

Another very positive aspect was that the demo was hijacked by violent extremists' line. The Sun, for example, shrilled: 'mob of hate-filled anarchists' protested at "morally incorrect" money-makers'. Yet the report did quote the J18 website about the need to stop "the globalisation of misery under capitalism". The bit about women taking their tops off in Trafalgar Square was probably for the benefit of their target readership. The fact that there were also actions in the USA and elsewhere was mentioned. (Sun 19/6/99) The Evening Standard was a little premature in its headline 'A Ragbag of Causes but no Real Anarchy', but it too quoted RTS saying that the demo was being held "in recognition that the global capitalist system ... is at the very root of our social and ecological troubles". (Evening Standard 18/6/99)

The Independent on Sunday gave the same story of the demo being hijacked by anarchists who attacked 'unprotected police' but still it was clear that they were "protesting against capitalism, saying it is destroying the environment and forcing millions into poverty". The Sunday Times almost got it right: the protest was 'against corporate greed'... whilst the Guardian was way off. The demonstration began peacefully in the morning - largely with the aim of promoting the cause of cyclists... (???)

A long and lengthy process the Anarchist Communist Federation has decided to rename itself 'the Anarchist Federation'. This does not reflect a change in political direction but rather reflects the ongoing debate within the organisation. It should not be noted that the decision is unanimous and some ACF members argued against the name change because of fears of dilution of our politics, of an interruption in continuity etc. Nevertheless the name change has taken place without acrimony and with none leaving the organisation.

People have a lot of preconceived ideas about Anarchism (chaos, punk, terrorism) and communism (Soviet Union, dictatorship, lack of freedom). Being associated with both labels, members of the ACF found that they were more time convincing people that Anarchist Communism wasn't a contradiction than they were discussing the real issues. Many thought that this was a waste of our energies and holding back the potential growth of Anarchist ideas here in Britain. Whilst we still hold on to our Anarchist Communist principles we do acknowledge that first impressions count. With the name change we hope to create dialogue with those new to revolutionary ideas but who have contributed to our political understanding. An authentic revolutionary theory is always a state of development, often learning from others mistakes. The idea of the ACF fighting for a classless, stateless and moneyless society - Anarchist Communism! - isn't evolved in a straight line, but has built upon what has gone before it and trying to make a contribution to a core of ideas and practice which remains at the very centre of any revolutionary project.

The object of the following article is to summarise the various political movements, events and current ideas and individuals which have in one way or another, served as influences upon the development of the Anarchist Communist Federation and subsequently the Anarchist Federation.

Theoretical understanding

This article is neither a family tree nor a systematic overview of revolutionary politics over the last 150 years, but rather an attempt to give recognition to those who have contributed to our political understanding. An authentic revolutionary theory is always a state of development, often learning from others mistakes. The idea of the ACF fighting for a classless, stateless and moneyless society - Anarchist Communism! - isn't evolved in a straight line, but has built upon what has gone before it and trying to make a contribution to a core of ideas and practice which remains at the very centre of any revolutionary project.

The ACF emerged in 1985/86 (as the Libertarian Communist Discussion Group) as an attempt to remedy the lack of coherent class politics and organisation amongst British anarchists. Beyond that objective the ACF had to defend an undogmatic approach, whilst rejecting a
The First International

"The emancipation of the working class is the task of the working class itself"

This motto of the IWA, probably penned by Karl Marx, defined the difference between the revolutionaries who viewed the working class to be the agent of revolutionary change (Marx, Bakunin) and those who saw the liberation of the working class as the task of other forces (The Utopian Socialists, Proudhonists and the Blanquists). The division in the International between the communists' (the Marxists) and the revolutionary socialists (anarchists) created two 'kings' of socialism. The vast majority of Marxists (social democrats, Leninists) have paid lip service to the theory, rejecting equally the policy of "socialism and the socialist organisation of work" as "socialism" and the socialist organisation of work will either be built by the proletariat itself, or it will not be built at all; but then something else will be erected, namely state capitalism." Kommunist No.2, April 1918.

The Russian Revolution

The Russian Revolutions, February and October 1917, produced some devastating conflicts over the continuation of wage labour, under state control, was considered a central feature of 'socialism', the anarchist communists argued for a society based upon the idea of 'workers control' against the state and the imposition of one-man management as advocated by Lenin. The Platform

There is no single humanity, there is a humanity, of classes, slaves and masters'

The 1926 Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communist was without doubt the most radical contribution to anarchism politics and practice for perhaps a quarter of a century. Written by Piotr Arshinov, Nestor Makhno, Ida Mett and other revolutionary refugees from the Bolshevik regime, the Platform was
uncompromising, coherent and tightly argued. It constituted a turning point in anarchism, a break with the anti-vanguard. It had plunged the movement like a "yellow fever". The Platform argued that the anarchists were left behind in order to carry out their task as the "organised vanguard of the working class". Whilst the FA’ists had been reorganised as a Platformist organisation, the Platform has served to stimulate us to escape the "yellow fever" and we endorse its call for theoretical and tactical unity.

Spanish Revolution

"There can be absolutely no common ground between exploiters and exploiters which shall prevail, only battle can decide. Bourgeoisie or workers. Certainly not that anti-fascism is used by part of the Bourgeoisie or workers. Certainly not. Durruti, Barcelona, 1938. - there was a precursor of the Disneyland ethos, shows a gross misunderstanding (ignorance?) of Seton and what he stood for. Seton was a libertarian socialist, a friend of Kropotkin, a statistician. Defender of native culture, and one of the founders of both ethology and radical ecology. He knew a lot more about wildlife than Barragán, who hardly left his log cabin on "shabihides". I enclose some little articles on Seton. The real Seton as opposed to the caricature - cartoon figure! - depicted in your article. Apart the paragraph on Seton I thought that the article was excellent, all best wishes,

Brian M. Lewes, Sussex.

Dear Brian,

Thanks for your letter, and the supporting articles from The Ecologist and New Humanist. I was wrong to group Seton in with the "naturists". My mistake was a result of an article in the Internationalist (no. 308) by Chris Clarke, entitled 'Nature by Design'.

Yours for Anarchism, A, author of "Disneyfication..." article.

Wrong again!

Dear Organise!

I am writing about a few different things, but the main one is your coverage of the Genetix Snowball affair. It is good news that the company is to be liquidated. The dissident CNT-FAI militants, the Friends of Durruti, summed it up saying that 'democracy defeated the Spanish people, not fascists'. Anarchist Spain had destroyed the Spanish revolution and paved the way for World War II.

Next Organise: Socialism on the Barribar, Hungary in '56, Solidarity, Noir et Rouge, May '68. . . .

Dear Friends,

I don't know who wrote the little piece on Disneyland, but to label Seton "nature faker" and to turn him as a precursor of the Disneyland ethos, shows a gross misunderstanding (ignorance?) of Seton and what he stood for. Seton was a libertarian socialist, a friend of Kropotkin, a statistician. Defender of native culture, and one of the founders of both ethology and radical ecology. He knew a lot more about wildlife than Barragán, who hardly left his log cabin on "shabihides". I enclose some little articles on Seton. The real Seton as opposed to the caricature - cartoon figure! - depicted in your article. Apart the paragraph on Seton I thought that the article was excellent, all best wishes,

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in Zurich occupied a construction site being gentrified and held 'one of the best parties for years' whilst in Geneva anarchists 'washed' major banks. The stock exchange in Montevideo, Uruguay was also hit. In the bastion of global capitalism, Wall Street in New York, there was another RTS and 37 were shot. There were other actions and police violence throughout the world, but the San Francisco stock exchange was also hit.

So why was the 'Carnival Against Capitalism' so important? Firstly, because it was the biggest riot in Britain in decades. Israeli government's decision to go to war with the Palestinians was greeted with a wave of demonstrations and attacks on the Israeli Embassy. The fact that no one was injured is significant because it was the biggest riot in Britain in decades. The riot was a response to the Israeli government's decision to go to war with the Palestinians.

Delights of Water
In many of the world's cities the riverside is a favourite place for families, lovers and contemplative walkers. Children of all ages love water play. It is clear how much the so-called Left has shifted to the right when even they do not call for the 'nationalisation of the land'. Now as anarchists we would also not be in favour of this, but for different reasons having to do with our analysis of the state. But the fact that no one is even getting this forward as an idea is indicative of the niftiness of the Socialist Parliament and the political scene. However, amongst the urban and rural working class, there are examples of how the landowners will not be satisfied with the pachydermic efforts of their new Parliament. Perhaps then, they will realise that if they want to achieve anything they have to get to the bottom of the problem and target the system of wealth and power that dominates and fucks people all over the globe. Actions happened all over the world. This, too, is a promising development. It shows that people globally are starting to wake up and link up. The more capitalism globalises, the more opposition to it globalises. The whole event was an excellent example of how decentralised, anarchist organising methods can totally fox the police. The use of the Internet in organising, communicating and publicising the event was also very encouraging. The potential of the Internet seems almost unbounded. And where were the other so-called revolutionaries, the Trotskyists et al? Nowadays in sight: June 18th people were there protesting against capitalism, against the war, against the bosses. The police were there, but the crowd was larger.

The building of the Embankment along the river Thames in London was a major engineering project that took up decades of the mid-19th century; it was virtually a deliberate attempt to isolate the river from the social life of the city. Jean French had a vision of how it could be: 'one day it will be different. The luxury homes will be demolished, the Embankment ploughed into the soil. The banks of the Thames will be a series of pleasure gardens, boathouses, jetties and beaches. There will be markets and bandstands, landscaped orchards...Children will swim in the shallows and play in the sand...'

Conclusion
The price mechanism determines the allocation of water, the poor will die of thirst; if it decides which crops are irrigated for market – starvation; if it determines the availability of water for personal hygiene, vast numbers of children will die before the age of 5 from prosaic illnesses such as diarrhoea. The contrasting examples of the British publics' differing responses to the drought in their own backyards and the one in Portugal that of 1995; and the numerous examples of solidarity amongst farmers show that people can act responsibly, and that this is intrinsically linked to common ownership and control of water.

As you can read elsewhere, along with changes to our name we've decided to bring out our agitational bulletin Resistance on our pamphlet on Japanese anarchism. We've produced a fantastic new poster and we've produced a run of six new AF stickers. Alongside this we've been continuing to publish Organise! and have a whole of wonderful series and one-off articles in store for you. We think you, dear reader, share our belief that the organisation of revolutionary class struggle has assisted in the development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in this country, and that's reflected around the world with much enthusiasm and determination. The liberation of the world's cities is now a reality, and we must fight for better conditions from within. We have to make it so that next issue we can announce that we've reached our target! £1000 press and sound equipment within the unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people to leave unions until they are made irrelevant by the revolutionary events of the day. We do not call for the destruction of the union movement as a whole. We call for more active and effective involvement in the shaping and creating of that society during and after the revolution. In times of upheaval and struggle, people will need to create their own revolutionary organisations controlled by everyone in them. These autonomous organisations will be outside the control of political parties, and within them we will learn many important lessons of self-activity.

As anarchists we organise in all areas of life to try to advance the revolutionary process. We believe a strong anarchist organisation is necessary to help us to this end. Unlike other so-called socialists or communists we do not want power or control for our organisation. We recognise that the revolution can only be carried out directly by the working class. However, the revolution must be preceded by organisations able to convince people that there is a revolutionary alternative.

We participate in struggles as anarchist communists, and organise a federative basis. We reject sectarianism and work for united revolutionary movement.

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If you have any questions please contact us at London address. The same for people who would like to start standing orders.

£1000 press and sound equipment

£18 the politics of Water

continued from Page 9
land? In Kneydart, the community is continuing with bloodsports so much has changed there in terms of how the land is being used.

continued from Page 16
 organised as the movement. The workers and the world

1. The Anarchist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchies and the development of a world-wide classless 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 race, gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppresses another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in struggle that benefits the ruling class.

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

4. We believe that fighting racism and sexism is as important as other aspects of the class struggle. Anarchist-communism cannot be achieved while sexism and racism exist. In order to be effective in their struggle against their oppression both within society and within the working class, oppressed class groups, like women, lesbians and gays, and black people at times need to organise independently.

5. However, this should be as working class women, men and women of all races as a whole - not just as women. We believe the oppression of all women is seen as a class issue and that the struggle for women's liberation is a part of the struggle for the liberation of the working class as a whole. Women's liberation is a part of the struggle for the liberation of the working class as a whole.

6. Full emancipation cannot be achieved without the abolition of capitalism.

7. Anarchist-communism has techniques of factory occupation, de-industrialisation and a rejection of the market economy. These are techniques which are suitable for the needs of the movement and are not determined by the requirements of capital.

8. With the abolition of the state, the working class will have the power and the will to govern the country in the interests of the working class and will have the power to govern the country in the interests of the working class. Anarchists believe that the state is the instrument of the ruling class and that it has no right to exist.

9. Unions by their very nature cannot actively destroy as many GM crops as possible.

10. If unions are to be effective in the struggle against capitalists and other forms of oppression, they must be able to organise independently.

11. The potential of the Internet in organising, communicating and publicising the event was also very encouraging. The potential of the Internet seems almost unbounded.

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