RESISTING THE WAR EFFORT hitting the warmongers where it hurts
For a social system based on mutual aid and voluntary cooperation; against state control and all forms of government; for a democracy where all have a say in the decisions that affect their lives. Establish a relationship with those groups working towards a common goal.

The deadline for the next issue is 30th of January, 2004.

**Editorial**

So, once again a year has passed and we’re only managed to produce one this year. Black Flag, as usual, is not an ideal solution for people who decide to get involved, but now look at all the other events. Any attempt to see ‘peace’ is pointless. If you mentioned the word terrorism to someone who lives in a war zone, they would probably say ‘yes’. Black Flag can still be a forum for those who wish to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives.

Talking of Black Flag and FoCA campaigns, the news of the year 2004 suggests that the Black Flag is a well-developed and international network. We believe in a forum for a wide range of groups and individuals to share their ideas and develop our ideas. The following pieces to be published: We hope that Black Flag is not only a forum for those who wish to have a say in the decisions that affect their lives, but also for those who wish to use it as a means of better understanding the world and its problems.

We also believe that we can learn from one another, especially those who are working in areas where we are weak. In the past we have covered the work of anti-racist and women’s groups working with issues where our movement barely touches the surface. In this issue we look at the work of the FoCA, with communities trying to take back some control in the face of crime, poverty, and gentrification.

The deadline for the next issue is 30th of January, 2004.

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**Disarming DSEI**

Trafalgar Square became the site of a massive protest against the arms fair, drawing thousands of people to the streets. The protesters marched from Trafalgar Square to the site of the arms fair, where they were met by police and security forces.

The protesters were calling for an end to the arms trade and for a change in government policy on arms exports. They were also protesting against the involvement of governments in the arms trade.

The protesters were met with a heavy police presence, including riot police and dogs. Despite this, the protesters were able to march to the site of the arms fair and hold a demonstration.

The demonstration was peaceful, with no violence reported.

The arms fair was held in London and was attended by governments and companies from around the world. The protesters were calling for an end to the arms trade and for a change in government policy on arms exports.

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The arms fair was held in London and was attended by governments and companies from around the world. The protesters were calling for an end to the arms trade and for a change in government policy on arms exports.
So, once again a year has passed and we're only managed to produce one issue. Black Flag, unless something truly wonderful happens (like a couple of people decide to get involved), now looks set to be an annual event. Any attempt for us to cover 'news' is pointless. This is not a disaster, however; we are producing a relevant and worldwide fortnightly paper (see 'Thoughts on Freedom' on page 9). Librarians with access to this can keep up to date with news and events using sites such as 'anarchyinfo' and 'urban'. We hope that any political claims that are substantiated in this issue can be sustained by the 'seeds' of information passed on to Freedom. In return, we're probably picking up some of the longer, more articulate articles submitted to Freedom when space is tight.

We hope that Black Flag is still a worthwhile project. There are few other non-aligned anarchist magazines being published in the UK and Black Flag has a wide national and international readership. We believe there is a need for a forum for anarchist and libertarian practice and theory to be developed and for ideas and the way we put these into practice to be analysed. We hope that Black Flag can be such a forum for ideas (if anyone has ideas for a better way of achieving this, which would make Black Flag redundant, then go for it - the magazine is in need and should not be an end in itself).

We also believe we have time to learn from non-anarchists, especially where they are working in areas where we are weak. In the past we have covered the work of anti-racist and women's groups working with issues where our movement barely touches the surface. In this issue we look at the work of the IRC in the UK with communities trying to take back control in the face of crime, poverty and gentrification.

Talking of communities taking control, the new London bus for the 2002 Olympics prompted us to look back at successful campaigns by citizens of other cities across Europe to block their Olympic bids. The autonomous Berlin campaign in the early nineties, which contributed to the success of those three cities, was in addition to be spectacularly successful, a lot of fun too. Get inspired.

The deadline for the next issue is 26th of January, 2004.

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After the fall of Saddam’s dictatorship, a wave of looting erupted in towns and cities across Iraq. The media was unforgiving, often more concerned with stolen property than the civilians wounded and murdered by the US invasion. It was proclaimed that Iraq was falling into anarchy.

This is surprising, if alarming, for nationalists. It is worth considering why the chaos in post-Saddam Iraq is not as bad as it was in the era of Saddam. Kropotkin once said that "without disorder, the revolution is impossible" and he was right. Every revolution has been marked by disorder: by strikes, riots, looting and so on. However, in social revolutions such periods are short lived. Inspired by ideas and hopes for the future, the mass of people quickly go beyond the destructive phase of popular revolt and start the construction of a new world.

So Kropotkin argued against the idea of "one-day revolutions" and the idea that a revolution will "organize itself" independently of popular struggle and mass movements. A structure based on centuries of history cannot be destroyed by a few kicks of the heels; it has to be a product of collective struggle at the head of society, not just acts of violence and destruction.

Now the people have three choices. They can accept the rule of the US, either freely or forced. This seems the most likely, although it is not impossible for force to be used. This is the only way to get rid of Saddam, to end the occupation and to establish a new Iraq. The people have to choose between staying in the old regime or creating a new one.

Unfortunately the odds are stacked against this. The Iraqi people have had their state destroyed for them and are now subject to an occupying power. The Iraqi people would have to defend every move that a foreign power undertakes, just as they did in the past.

"It is doubtful that the US and UK government's tolerance for 'public disorder' in Iraq will be applied to those seeking meaningful regime change at home."
ANARCHY IN IRAQ?

This has not happened in Iraq. Rather, the government has been destroyed by kilos of explosives. Unplanned, therefore, chaos rather than anarchy resulted: it cannot be denied that the looting is, in part, a reaction to inequality - and class society is a form of wealth redistribution. Nor can it be denied that some of the looters see their actions as a form of justice. Every single item that we take is the blandishment of the people," said one.

But this is not the end of the story of the ancient freedom for the workers. The struggle for freedom which created people capable of taking the responsibility for their own lives, communities and planet. People capable of looking at the world of a few people society, making anarchy possible.

What happened in Iraq is not an example of anarchy. As George Barret put it, the strength of the state is "the superstructure of the people who think that it is right to obey. So long as that superstructure exists it is useless for any liberator to cut off the head of tyranny: the people will create another, for they have grown accustomed to rely on something outside themselves." This means that "if, then, by some external means the state is destroyed then people would "rebelliate" the society. However, if "the people develop their ideas of freedom, and then themselves get rid of the last stronghold of tyranny - the government - then indeed the revolution would be permanently accomplished." Like Kopitoki, he saw a revolutionary in terms of working class self-organisation and direct action, with the capitalist class "excluded by the people so organising themselves that they will run the factories and work for the benefit of their free communities, i.e. for their own benefit."

"The only thing that will be put in the place of government will be the free organisations of the workers."

This is anarchism, not a start of the power of organised groups seeking political power over the masses.

During these events the US occupying power has made its priorities clear. While letting essential services to run from the top, they took away the cure of the sick. This is what happened in Iraq. The Iraqis are led to despair by the US attitude towards them. They are so afraid of the US army that they do not dare to go out to work.

The new government has made its priorities clear. While letting essential services to run from the top, they took away the cure of the sick. This is what happened in Iraq. The Iraqis are led to despair by the US attitude towards them. They are so afraid of the US army that they do not dare to go out to work.
Direct Action against War - The Battle for Shannon Airbase

All over the world millions of people have mobilised against the war in Iraq. These mobilisations were biggest in the countries like Britain, Italy and Spain where the government supported the war but the population was against it. Southern Ireland also saw a massive demonstration on February 15th when around 100,000 of the population marched through the city of Dublin.

The turnout on these demonstrations has been great but in reality they have had little effect on the war. The governments concerned have simply ignored them. In Ireland however a small group organised direct action against the war machine. Specifically actions were directed at blocking the commercial airliners which had been flying tens of thousands of Golf bound US troops through Shannon airport in the west of the country. Three of the four companies involved pulled out before the war began as a result. World Airlines, which had brought in over 8,000 US soldiers, pulled out January 29th. American Airlines and Miami Airline announced they were launching Shannon because of concerns about security at the airport at the time of the demonstration. The Irish government has been a target of Irish anti-war movements for it has been used to refuel US military planes as far back as the Vietnam war. During the Gulf War, Shannon was used as a refuelling point for US military planes and Shannon demanded ‘no refuelling at Shannon’ - to no effect. In the years since many things have changed. Since at least the growth of the nationalist movement and the direct action culture. "Reclaim the Streets" events have been the most visible manifestation of this, growing in a couple of years from one hundred participants to over a thousand.

As elsewhere the questions around the new was what to do to help organise that new movement into forms that could take effective action. A couple of years back the New Labour Government in London initiated the "Wounded Soldiers Movement" (WSM) which started the first of a series of conferences, the Grassroots Gathering. These were bringing together the new groups of activists who could be described as libertarian in the broadest sense of the word. With the build-up to war in Afghanistan it seemed obvious that this was the time to move from the traditionalDirect Action and the refuelling of war planes at Shannon to taking direct action. At the first Grassroots Gathering it was decided to call a protest for December 17th.

About 30 people took part, far less than the 5,000 at the Dublin anti-war parade around the same time. There were no passionate speeches from politicians and only one paper seller. This was a direct action anti-war gathering of a different sort. Some people sat at the terminal but a solid phalanx of airport police and Garda meant that any mass entrance was impossible. It turned out that as the protest was in progress a jet loaded with US marines had landed.

A protest took place outside the terminal with the outlines of bodies being drawn on the ground, elegantly stated. A minute’s silence was observed for the dead of the war and then word filtered through that US marines were re-boarding their planes. This protest proceeded to the fence near the place to let the US marines know what we thought of them and noisy airport police and Garda became more aggressive. Some of the barred wire atop the fence was pulled down. One Courageous activist went up the fence, the barrier to the plane but was tackled to the ground and arrested. There was a stand off that continued for an hour as the police and Garda worked to get the fence back in order and the activist pulled down. A report written by a witness observed: "We have what we have done with 5,000 people will remain in the realm of speculation until these opposed to them. It is clear that direct action is the way forward."

This was a challenge to the anti-war activists in Ireland and we as well as ourselves, that we have yet to meet.

Demonstrations started to become regular and decided forerunners to the further demos at the terminal building and incursions onto the runway.

Pressuring the IAWM

These protests were still small, again around 50 people. The SWP controlled Irish Anti War Movement (IAWM) continued to prepare marching around Dublin to take action on the war. The new IAWM state was directly sided with the US war effort. Pressure was put on the IAWM to help organise major protests at Shannon that could shut the airport for a period of time. In October the pressure paid off when the IAWM finally organised a demonstration there. A small group of protestors (over 300 people) attended. However problems arose almost immediately.

Many of us thought we had agreed to hold a mass meeting at the gate to discuss tactics for the day, but when activists arrived were being intimidated and accused of "If we do anything it will mean killing people." We were called in to try to sort things out and to protect it from a large demonstration. Tactical Questions

Three of the four companies involved pulled out before the war began as a result. The acting head of the US Embassy in Dublin, Jane Fort, blamed the "threatening" behaviour of protesters for their decision to leave. "The combination of two back-to-back incidents of real destruction would prompt any company to ask if it would put people in harm’s way, who might be working on planes or planning on..."

The question of tactics was a real question of how best to stop refuelling at Shannon. Some, including many of the left parties, seem to think it is just a matter of harassing as many people as possible to make sure they stop coming down the road. Others believe that the key to stopping the war is to organise the mass of workers up against the authorities of the war. This is the way to stop the war, to organise the masses up against the authorities of the war.
Direct Action against War - the Battle for Shannon Airbase

All over the world millions of people have mobilized against the war in Iraq. These mobilizations were biggest in the countries like Britain, Italy and Spain where the government supported the war but the population was against it. Southeast Ireland also saw a massive demonstration on February 17th when around 18% of the population marched through the city of Dublin.

The turnout on these demonstrations has been great but in reality they have had little effect on the war. The governments concerned have simply ignored them. In Ireland however another organization-direct action against the war machine. Specifically action was directed at closing down the Shannon airport.

In the opening weeks of the war, the theater of war was Shannon. 

Ireland might be expected to be something of a sideshow with regard to the war. Yet because of our dependence on US capital and our geographic location on the edge of Europe we have been an important player. The ‘Shannon Solidarity Movement’ (SSM) has in fact been organizing anti-war actions at Shannon for most of the war. SSM is essentially a loose coalition of groups who take a variety of approaches to anti-war action. While it is not the only organization working against Shannon, it does have a unique role in the anti-war movement.

SSM has been targeting Shannon as a symbolic act of resistance against US involvement in the war. The airport is seen as a symbol of American military power and a gateway to the Middle East. SSM sees Shannon as a site of resistance to US military aggression.

SSM’s actions have taken several forms. They have organized protests at the airport, occupied buildings, and blocked roads leading to the airport. They have also used direct action tactics such as sabotage, vandalism, and other forms of disruption. These actions have targeted security and military installations, as well as the airport itself.

SSM has been involved in direct action against the war for several years. They have targeted not only Shannon but also other US military bases in Ireland. SSM’s actions have been both symbolic and tactical, aiming to draw attention to the war and its impact.

SSM’s actions have attracted media attention and have been met with some violence and harassment. The group has faced legal challenges and some of its members have been arrested. Despite this, SSM continues to organize and act against Shannon.

SSM is not alone in its opposition to the war. There are many other organizations and individuals around the world who are working to stop the war and its effects. While the actions of SSM may seem small in the grand scheme of things, they are an important part of a larger movement against the war.
As it was increasingly clear that the IAWM intended to talk tough about Shannon, but do nothing beyond the usual protests, those involved in the Grassroots Gathering realized there was a need to seriously organize to get more people to Shannon protests. A Grassroots Gathering meeting in Belfast resulted in the formation of the Grassroots Network Against the Runway—which called a demonstration for December 31.

This was successful in that it got thousands of people to work. But beyond this nothing much happened: the Gathering had decided to leave it up to affinity groups to organize their own thing on the day but with a couple of exceptions these were never formed. This and a substantial police presence meant that people ended up standing around watching something would happen but without the organizational structures needed to get things going.

Saturday 5th of January saw a second IAWM demonstration at the airport at which around 5,000 people took part. These numbers represented the first real possibility of a successful mass action but the IAWM took a position of not taking part in direct action and no real organizational efforts had been made by the Grassroots Network Against the Runway (GNAW). We had hoped to meet up on the day but even this didn’t work out and we proved unable to even match a clock up to the terminal.

Spontaneous Direct Action

The day was somewhat salvaged when the direct action aspect of the demonstration developed spontaneously. AER Bé cute have reacted to the presence of anti-war plane spotters at Shannon through various methods including shutting down the public viewing gallery at the Airport. At the side of the demonstration a few people used the steps onto the roof of the two-storey building to get a view of the crowd. The Gardaí ordered them down at which point they realized that they had accidentally breached (ie viewing space. Then some bright spark noticed that the adjoining one story building had a flat roof. A group went around the side, climbed a crashing and went up the building facing the front. Others went out to join them. At this point four Gardaí with dogs stormed into the crowd, who were trying to scale the pipes, the dogs bit a couple of people as they were driven back. Those on the roof responding by dousing the cops below with milk and throwing down a fire brick. The cops went ape shit. The crowd cleared and knocked back off. many people finding their ways up to climb onto the roof. The roof top protest came to a voluntary end after 30 minutes or so.

The protest was a bit scrappy but showed that many people were willing to engage in direct action to shut down Shannon. What was very much missing on the day was any real attempt to organize this sentiment and create an action in which a large number could participate.

As the crowd drifted back to the base a second action was organized. A poorly guarded gate appeared to offer a way through onto the tarmac, near two military planes. A group of about 50 people tried to charge through the five cops at this gate. Some eight or nine cops but found themselves charging into a dead end. When they kept going into a warehouse, they were then trapped by the police. Thinking they might be arrested, they then at the gate attempted to block a Gardaí van gaining access by sitting in front of it. But as it turned out they were allowed to leave without arrest after 20 minutes or so.

As well as the large scale protests, both individuals and small groups were planning their own actions. There were to have a very direct effect on the issue. On January 29th Mary Kelly, who had been arrested on the December 30th demonstration at the airport, arrived at the airport. She found a US Navy Boeing 737 on the runway and whales the nose with a hatchet, putting the radar out of action (and according to the state, causing 500,000 Euros worth of damage).

In the early hours of February 1st five activists from the Catholic Worker Organization entered the airfield and began to tear up the runway. They then discovered the US military jet damaged by Mary Kelly in a bang and smashed up the more sensitive external equipment with a hammer. Some time later the WSM received a angry email from Fort Worth in Texas which claimed to be from one of the US repair crew who had worked on the plane. It turned out they had just finished fixing up the plane the evening before the new attack took it out of commission again.

The direct action before March 1st had been fairly minor, involving no more than 300 people. They had been organized either in secret or by small groups of friends at the protest's (dubious?)

The moment to act (or at least to get in the way).

As that is how things seemed to be. The so called revolutionary organizations told us that the action would be "premature". But with war expected to continue for months after March 1st, the question was "if not now, when?" There was a further range of implications for actions like these. Two actions like these could have had a lot of potential. With three troops carrying air-traffic already gone from Shannon they asserted, no action, no facts. With three troops carrying air-traffic already gone from Shannon they asserted, no action, no facts.

Worst of all perhaps was the argument that direct action will alienate people from the anti-war movement. This ignores the fact that a good part of the movement of the anti-war movement has happened through the publicity following direct actions, in particular the physical attacks on planes at Shannon.

As one police officer admitted this was the main reason for the government focusing on Shannon workers asking them to take some sort of action and repressing our support if they did. Ironically this was the first such attempt to forcibly engage with Shannon workers despite all the previous talk from the Taoist..

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As it was increasingly clear that the IAWM intended to talk tough about Shannon but do nothing beyond the usual protests, those involved in the Grassroots Gathering realized there was a need to seriously organize to get more people to Shannon. A Grassroots Gathering meeting in Belfast resulted in the formation of the Grassroots Network Against the War (GNAW) which called a demonstration for December 8th.

This was successful in that it led to an all-out strategy - the Gathering had decided to leave it up to affinity groups to organize their own thing on the day but with a couple of exceptions these were never formed. This and a substantial police presence meant that people ended up standing around watching something would happen but without the organizational structures needed to get things going.

Saturday 6th of January saw a second IAWM demonstration at the airport at which around 5,000 people took part.

These numbers represented the first real possibility of a successful mass action but the IAWM took a position of not taking part in direct action and no real organizational efforts were made by the Grassroots Network Against the War (GNAW). We had hoped to meet up on the day but even this didn't work out and we proved unable to even march as a block up to the terminal.

Spontaneous Direct Action

The day was somewhat salvaged when the "direct action" aspect of the demonstration developed spontaneously. Airtanks had reacted to the presence of anti-war plane spotters at Shannon through various methods including shutting down the public viewing gallery at the Airport. At the edge of the demonstration a few people used the stairs up to the roof of the two-storey building to get a view of the crowd. The GNAW ordered them down at which point they realized they had accidently occupied the viewing space. Some then took up a street corner and began shouting. Others went around the side of the building and blocked off the police, running for cover. At this point four Gardaí with dogs charged into the crowd who were trying to scale the pipes, the dogs bit a couple of people as they were driven back.

Striking a blow for peace

As well as the large scale protests, both individuals and small groups were planning their own actions. These were to have a very direct effect on the issue. On January 29th Mary Kelly, who had been arrested on the December 2001 demonstration at the airport, entered the airport. She found a US Navy Boeing 737 on the runway and wheeled the nose with a hatchet, putting the radar out of action. (and according to the state, causing $500,000 worth of damage.)

In the early hours of February 1st five activists from the Catholic Worker organisation entered the airfield and began to tear up the runway. They then discovered the US military jet damaged by Mary Kelly in a hangar and smashed up the more sensitive external equipment with a hammer. Some time later the WSM received a anguished call from Fort Worth in Texas who claimed to be from one of the US repair crews who had worked on the plane. It turned out they had just finished flying in the plane the evening before the new attack took it out of commision again.

The direct action before March 1st had been fairly minor, involving no more than 150 people. They had been organised either in secret or by small groups of friends at the protest itself. The not surprising many people felt that this was less than ideal. Some party political hacks took the opportunity to demand a "clean" or liearly to claim that while they would support mass direct action that they wouldn't support those smaller actions.

Mass Direct Action

The two consecutive failures to organize ourselves seriously - and the two missed opportunities that we represented - did however give us the kick up the arse we needed. Proper planning was getting under way for the next demonstrations and we became obvious not only that was was imminent but that opposition was over what a debate began in the GNAW about acceptable actions along with the later details would be publicly announced in advance. It was reckoned that it would now be possible for thousands of people to take part.

However disagreements within GNAW began to surface. The need to agree to a single plan sat uneasily with some of the groups which meant that commitment to any decision was either half-hearted or in one case withheld.

But on the morning of February 15th a meeting in advance of the 20,000 strong march that day, started in the pub. And these were small actions. We concluded from this that we should avoid effective opposition in a case centred around black striking back.

Worse of all perhaps was the argument that direct action would alienate people from the anti-war movement. This ignores the fact that a good part of the movement building in this country happened through the popular following direct actions, in particular the physical attacks on planes at Shannon.

A once pacifist aspect to this argument was that the direct actions would somehow stop workers in Shannon striking against the war. The truth is that while all of us would welcome such action as the most effective in stopping aircraft, the movement was the moment to act (or at least not to get in the way).

As well as the large scale protests, both individuals and small groups were planning their own actions. These were to have a very direct effect on the issue. On January 29th Mary Kelly, who had been arrested on the December 2001 demonstration at the airport, entered the airport. She found a US Navy Boeing 737 on the runway and wheeled the nose with a hatchet, putting the radar out of action...
Partly released press statements implying they were staying away from the protest for fear of violence. Sinn Fein’s new sound bite of violence would normally have us splitting our sides. But unfortunately there was little room for humour as we knew that many people thinking of voting would perceive Sinn Fein as not being something and wonder what possible level of violence we could be planning that would frighten Sinn Fein.

The sheer level of hysteria seems a little unbelievable now after the event, but it is a game that our opponents can only play with a limited number of stones. The credibility of those who added fuel to that fire is now pretty damaged - not just for a few years people are likely to be scared off.

Despite all this and the searches of coaches travelling to the protest, over 200 people decided to take part in the GAWA action. The IAWM had also decided to hold their own march in the same time and, as agreed, we explained what we intended to do to all those at the meeting point and then left for the airport building ahead of their march.

We had expected most people with us would be joining the pink observer line rather than the white direct action line but this turned out not to be the case. At least two thirds chose to march up to the fence with the white flags.

Taking Action

At the fence were a couple of hundred Gardai waiting for us, including the riot squad. The decision to publicly display the riot squad in the first line in this manner is very unusual in southern Ireland. Normally at demonstrations they are sitting in vans, out of sight, on stand by.

Arriving at the fence the agreed plan was put into action where the people carrying the white flags spaced themselves out at regular intervals and everyone else in the white line linked arms and filled in the gaps. We then slowly walked forward until we came into contact with the line of Gardai. We had hoped that at this point we would be outnumbered and be able to simply walk around them. But the protest their senior officer had said it would be impossible to guard them of persisters with 50 men they would try their best.

Unfortunately, in the event there was probably much more of the Gardai for each protestor in the white line. Plus they had enough power to have a cop every 5 metres or so coming up either side of us and putting more nature inside the fence.

There was a long, good natured face off at this point. Our line up included several US citizens and Bob from Yale (Cox) who celebrated his 85th birthday this week. When the IAWM march (with around 500 in it) passed us, far from witnessing a violent fracas they were greeted by the sight of the white line doing a can in front of a solid line of cops.

Shortly after they had passed we decided to try something different and got the whole white line moving parallel to the fence. Surprisingly this caught the Gardai on the hop and quite a few of them just stared at us until their senior officers ordered them to follow. This meant that our line was eventually found they were no longer facing a wall of cops but that there was only one every 5 metres or so. Selecting the opportunity people walked up to the fence or threw crude grappling hooks to the top of the fence and started to pull it down.

In the space of a couple of seconds the fence had started to peel off from the top and cops had come charging in, rugby tackling people to the ground, grabbing ropes and generally shoving people around.

Most of the arrests happened at this point as cops randomly grabbed people out of the crowd and threw them into vans. There were further arrests of the few who attempted to stop these vans moving off - despite the fact that a sea of cops surrounded them. But on our side at least things remained calm.

We formed up and marched back to the car park by the airport entrance where we had a small meeting, to get details of all those arrested for the legal support team. Both here and on the coach back to Dublin the overwhelming feeling was very positive. Those arrested were taken to court that evening and released on bail. The bail conditions excluded them from the entire county of Clare (and not just the airport). In cases of barring orders to proceed with what he is likely to be willing to take part.

Two weeks into the war and it had been announced that 120,000 US reinforcements on their way to the Gulf would be using Shannon as a refueling stop. Protests and constant concentration of plane spotters at the airport became the rule. Even small demonstrations are faced with massive police mobilisations, including the stopping and searching of coaches on route to Shannon.

Conclusions

The protests outlined above scored a major success in forcing the hidden issue of refuelling to the top of the agenda. Before this it had been an open secret, known to activists but not discussed in the media. The actions at Shannon transformed that situation. This in itself is a considerable victory - it's very hard to organise people to oppose something they are unaware of.

A vote has been forced in the Dail (the southern parliament) to enable refuelling to continue. This should effectively bury the lie of supposed Irish neutrality. It is clear that the southern state has never been neutral and has always allowed its facilities to be used by the US military. The Dail will hopefully call on the government to start the debate from the nationalist dominated terrain of 'neutralism' to the more libertarian ground of human rights.

To date the direct actions have had a fairly limited impact on the war effort. Although airlifts have been delayed at Shannon. The reality is that only a couple of dozen people were the core organisers of these and now over 200 have been arrested, tried (and in some cases done time) for their role. Well over a dozen are actually bailed from the whole of county Clare for the next two years. And the state now takes the threat seriously enough to diffuse the sort of action that the couple of hundred we could mobilise to date can offer.

In terms of the original groups of organisations involved in GANW and in particular the Grangegorman Gathering we have succeeded both in raising the issue and demonstrating that direct action is an effective way of stopping refuelling. We now have to recognise that we need to be able to build on this to convince, far wider forces in the anti-war movement that they also need to be able to build on this.

This is not impossible. The outbreak of war has widened the acceptance of the need for more militant action. The strategies open to the rather cynical Trotskyist poster that were formerly claiming to be 'for direct action, but not this action' have pretty much been exhausted. So the Irish SWP for instance has suddenly woken up to the need for mass civil disobedience. The immediate新聞 of March 5th and the outbreak of the war saw a move towards more local actions and internal work to both increase the numbers involved in GANW and improve communication and organisation. Talks have started about calling another mass action in the future - but this time where we have much more preparation time to organise these actions. If, as is likely, we continue to learn from the problems that have arisen we can look forward to greater success in the future.

The general model however has been shown to work. In countries where libertarian organisations can claim the support of tens of thousands of adherents it should be possible to organise similar actions on a far larger scale. As all else GANW demonstrated that we can take ourselves seriously we can move from complaining about the tokenism of the left's opposition to the war to demonstrating an alternative. A mass movement organising action against both refuelling and Anglo-US military bases in our European countries could have a very serious impact on the ability of the Bush/Blair army to wage more wars.

continued from page 5

forced to drop the terrorism charges, and they were put on parole. Nearly immediately after, in February, another five anarchists were arrested by the magistrate Bilbao Carmona, in Barcelona and Almeria a variety of anti-international charges. Once more, the terrorism charges fell a few months later.

From then on the same story has been repeated many times. Most recently in Valencia two protesters were arrested under anti-terrorism laws charged with the destruction of private property (a bank and an institute) and a letter bomb sent to the Subdirector-General of the post (largely responsible for the campaign of repression in Valencia). The Anti-Terrorist laws in Spain are far less destructive of public and private property as a terrorist crime is only applicable when political objectives are involved in the action. It is used to try to change young activists, who attack the apparatus and symbols of capitalism with terrorism.

The fact that, after a few months in prison, none of the activists have been found guilty of terrorism indicates a tactic for the government to prevent further anarchist and autonomist-direct action.

1. Actividad Nacional Central, Asociatcion de Defensa de los Derechos Humanos
2. Bilbao Carmona Marcos von Espaini Euskadi, directly responsible for the burning of national newspapers and postal service
3. Subdirector General de Policía, directly responsible for the campaign of repression in Valencia.
In the face of a hundred Gardai waiting for us, including the riot squad, the decision to publicly display the riot squad in the first line in this manner is very unusual in southern Ireland. Normandy at demonstrations they are sitting in vans, out of sight, on stand-by. Arriving at the fence the agreed plan was put into action where the people carrying the white flags spaced themselves out in regular intervals and everyone else in the white line limited area and filled in the gaps. We then slowly walked forward until we came into contact with the line of Gardai. We had hoped that at this point we would outnumber them and be able to simply walk around them. Before the protest our senior officer had said it would be impossible to gain ground with protetors with too many men but they would try their best.

Unfortunately, in the event there was only very limited space for each protestor in the white line. For them to have enough space to have a cop every 5 metres or so coming up each side of it and do some more visible inside the fence. There was a long good-natured face off at this point. Our line up included several US citizens and Bob from Yale (Cork) who celebrated his 80th birthday this week. When the IAWM march (with around 500 in it) passed us, far from witnessing a violent flare they were greeted by the sight of the white line doing a can in front of a solid line of cops.

Shortly after they had passed we decided to try something different and got the white line moving parallel to the fence. Surprisingly this caused the Gardai on the hop and quite a few of them just stared at us until their senior officers ordered them to follow. This meant one of our lines suddenly found they were no longer facing a wall of cops but that there was onl one every 5 metres or so. Seizing the opportunity people walked up to the fence or threw crude grappling hooks to the top of the fence and started to pull it down.

In the space of a couple of seconds the fence had started to peel off from the top and cops had come charging in, rugby tackling people to the ground, grappling the ropes and generally showing people around. Most of the arrests happened at this point as cops randomly grabbed people out of the crowd and threw them into vans. There were further arrests of the few who attempted to stop these moving off - despite the fact that a sea of cops surrounded them. But on our side at least things remained calm.

We figured back to the car park by the airport entrance were we had a short meeting, to get details of all those arrested for the legal support team. Both here and on the back to Dublin the overwhelming feeling was very positive. Those arrested were taken to court that evening and released on bail. The bail conditions excluded them from the entire county of Clare (not just the airport). In cases of barring orders to proceed with

being the other arm of the IAWM action. For example, the IAWM was declared a terror group in the UK, was listed as a terrorist organization, and was subject to asset freezes.

The conclusion was that the war on terror was a failure, with the US and its allies losing control of the battlefield and failing to achieve their objectives.

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We are printing this article on the IWCA because it is an example of political action as a catalytic force for working class communities to act on their own behalf. Struggling over real problems makes a difference, whether or not we live. Anarchists need to be aware of what other activists are doing and learn from them.

The article does not address in detail the IWCA tactic of putting up candidates for election. Nor does it go into the arguments for and against elections that most of us are familiar with. This is because electoralism is not a central plank of the IWCA strategy (which is one of the reasons they actually do better) but also why we should look at their successes in reaching people no one else wants to know about. Chelmsford Anarchist Community has never attempted a political party as a tactic and as a contribution to this debate we will run an article in the next issue on anarchist rejection of electoralism and what we can do instead. Until then, we hope this article will provide ideas and examples of practical work in the community.

In 1995 elements in Anti-fascist Action started to look outside the political arena to fascism that the organisation had carried out for a decade. It was obvious to many involved that the election of the Labour government would provide an opportunity for the far right to flourish. AFA had argued that the street cleaning work it was doing should have been making space for a working class alternative to emerge. The Independent Workers Union of Great Britain (IWGB) was formed to make this happen. AFA continued to operate but suffered internal difficulties and external pressures. By 1995 a number of IWCA local groups were in existence; at this time the IWCA comprised 56 actions and 7 action members but also anarchists from the anti-fascist movement. While the IWCA is perceived by many as a front for AFA Action, there were anarchists openly involved and working within it. In 1995, AFA activity declined and it was felt that the AFA model needed to be proposed politically, that forming a group of those who were not going to present electoral success or present them gaining influence among those who had, was not the way to do it. So this is the IWCA as a working class response to the New Labour or as an alternative tactic in the fight against fascism in the workplace.

Winning in the polls? While the tactics have been described as a means made by the same electoral gains as their counterparts in Europe the BNP has grown in size and influence. Every electoral gain gets national publicity in a way the Green Party can never be. The work the new party does has been effective in reducing anti-social behaviour that might help to get people on board. Not everyone can be involved in anti-social action, some of them might have been involved in anti-social action. However at all times the IWCA stressed that anti-social action was not the aim of the police.

After the problem had reduced some local people along with the IWCA continued to hold regular patrols to monitor the situation. Local shopkeepers and those most affected by the problem have been an important support for what had been done and indeed had backed the setting up of the patrols at the first anti-social behaviour meeting.

The IWCA was constantly adverised in its local newsletter the Harold Hill Independent. This led to working being undertaken in at least five or six other places and the IWCA successfully stopped a spate of game breaks-in after its patrols spent a week patrolling the Briar Road area of the estate.

Local people who were given a small flyer which informed them the patrols had been in force, their front doors and thanked the IWCA for the work they were doing.

It should be stressed that the IWCA was not always in the best situation since the police have been reluctant to involve and support some of these initiatives in the way that is necessary. The police have supported efforts by local youth and community to engage with the patrols not only in getting involved in a positive way on the estate, but also in helping to lead in promoting issues that are not only affecting young people.

And the backlash? Predictably, the police and councillors were more concerned about "vigilantism" than about the suffering of the people on the estate. The police response has been peremptory but there were no right to any kind of consultation.

The IWCA attempted to contact the police, but they refused to speak to anyone on the estate. The police have been peremptory but there were no right to any kind of consultation.

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We are printing this article on the IWCA because it is an example of political activity as a catalyst for wider work. Organisations and communities can act on their own behalf. Strengthening political relations makes a difference, whether at work, at home or elsewhere. Anarchists need to be aware of what other activists are doing and learn from them.

The article does not attempt to detail the specific tactics of putting up candidates for elections. Nor does it go into the arguments for and against elections that most of us are familiar with. This is because electoralism is just one of the strategies for change that can be used by anarchists. As a tactic and as a contribution to the debate we will run an article in the next issue on anarchism and electoral participation.

Community responses to anti-social behaviour
Crime is one area where existing IWCA groups have responded to the real needs of the communities around them. An example of this was the initiative taken by the IWCA to set up a community response service. The IWCA movement has produced more anti-graffiti stickers and articles optimistically hoping for community control over anti-social behaviour. If we are serious about living without government and have to take this issue seriously.

Horn Hill is in the borough of Harrow. In this local, the IWCA activists have helped establish a community response service. They have worked with the police to create a community response service. This was not the IWCA, but the Horn Hill Independent Residents Association.

Community responses to anti-social behaviour
Crime is one area where existing IWCA groups have responded to the real needs of the communities around them. An example of this was the initiative taken by the IWCA to set up a community response service. The IWCA movement has produced more anti-graffiti stickers and articles optimistically hoping for community control over anti-social behaviour. If we are serious about living without government and have to take this issue seriously.

Winning the polls?
While the activists have by no means made a same electoral gains as their counterparts in Europe the BNP has grown in size and influence. Every electoral gain gets them national publicity in a way the Green Party can only be, well, green with envy over. On the other hand, proportionately, for candidate, the IWCA have done phenomenally well. Over 50% of their candidates got elected. Well, one, in fact. Oddly with other results relatively very close results in North and East London, at least one couldn't help them with the

areas where groups of 15-30 youths had been causing various problems.

The patrols were successful in reducing anti-social behaviour that might otherwise have involved in anti-social behaviour. However, at all times there were situations that confrontation was not the aim of the patrols. After the problem had reduced the local groups along with the IWCA continued to hold regular patrols to monitor the situation. Local shop keepers and shops were involved in anti-social behaviour. Another of the local IWCA campaigns was support for a young man who had been left in a wheelchair after an accident but had been refused compensation by the Criminal Injuries Compensation Board. He was finally successful in his appeal.

On Blackfriars estate in Oxford, the IWCA have a group. There are views that the IWCA could be involved in action against drug dealers, publicising the addresses in public meetings and promoting action against landlords to evict. Expect the police to be scrapped for the community.

The IWCA was constantly advertised in its local newsletter the Horn Hill Independent. This led to work being undertaken at least in five other parts of the estate and the IWCA successfully stopped the use of graffiti break-ins after its patrols spent a week patrolling on the Birkenhead Road area of the estate.

Local people who were given a small grant to help set up the citizens police patrol had been involved and taking the front door and thanked the IWCA for the work they were doing.

It should be stressed that the IWCA has more recently moved on to discussing issues that involve the anti-social behaviour with the police. They have supported efforts by local residents to engage the police in action against the problems. However, there is still much to be done.

And the backlash?
Predictably, the police and councillors were concerned about "vagrancy" laws. The local police worked with the residents to address the problems. However, there is still much to be done.

Resisting gentrification
Flats in the part of the borough of Islington. After over a decade and more of council house sales, rent rises, gentrification and property speculation, parts of the borough are unrecognisable. However, there is still a large working class community that is not covered by the gentrification. This is particularly the case in other parts of the borough.

People who have lived here for 40+ years are upset about displacement of the community. These people do not want the existing community to be changed. They want the community to be respected and appreciated. The gentrification and property speculation is not wanted. The local police and the police force have supported the community. However, they have also been involved in action against drug dealers, publicising the addresses in public meetings and promoting action against landlords to evict. Expect the police to be scrapped for the community.
resources. £5 per year in Finchley - thought to be a major factor in the picture. Obviously the money does not come from anyone other than ourselves as taxpayers. The majority of the local government board. These have some locally elected members (who, it is hoped will be easily instigated, whilst giving the appearance of community participation, and others drawn from "partners" such as the police or council and some local appointees. In Finchley (where Iickenham is reluctant to back local activists and whom all the available seats would have been contested in a new list for democracy, the unsuccessful candidate managed to still make the board as - an appointee. A second election in early 2000 was more heatedly contested - as the political parties put up front candidates but the IWCA continued to support the local activists who were ultimately successful.

Getting involved in these structures is a new direction but it gave a much needed boost to a community whose needs and views have been pushed aside over the last 20 years. It didn't do the IWCA any harm.

In Shoreditch the IWCA worked with tenant activists to fight off proposals by the New Deal board that there would have led to estate sell-offs and. Instead, pushed successfully for the money to be spent on refurbishing council flats. The New Deal organisation had their own paper which, together with the council's propaganda sheet (both paid for by you and me) attacked the activists and tenant organisations who were opposing sell-offs. The IWCA countered by distributing their own paper amongst local people. The New Deal realised the strength of opposition and tried to put forward a "preferred option" of demolishing 30% of council housing in the area. But when too many tenants turned up at the board meeting they backed down. The New Deal was not intended to involve local people - the hope was that local representation would be tame, unrepresentative or easily outmanoeuvred. In Finchley and Shoreditch the IWCA have helped people mobilise to take some degree of control.

Council housing sell-offs

Shoreditch Court is a rundown block on prime land that the council had been running down for some years. It was targeted for demolition. Working with the Tenants Association the IWCA talked to virtually all the tenants and established that rather than be moved out they simply wanted the repairs, services and security that they were entitled to. Meetings were held and 90% of tenants signed a petition to the New Deal board making it very difficult to say that demolition was acceptable to them, and very was now started on some improvements.

The estate sell-offs is a major issue for both Ickenham and Ickenham. As the prospect of blatant privatisation has become less welcome on the estates, the idea of Arms Length Management Organisations is being pushed. These are clearly bad for any local tenant control and also for the council's workers. Even that few people who live on council estates will have a jaundiced view of the council's ability to run housing effectively, it is important that tenants realise what is going on. For those of you who don't understand ALMOs, check http://www.newam.org.uk/property/html/what.html where Ickenham IWCA have helpfully posted a Centre for Public Services report on ALMOs. More immediately, Ickenham in Hackney were alerted to a "consentation" meeting where tenants on one estate were being asked if they favoured a private landlord or an ALMO. 60 tenants made it to "the meeting waving the IWCA leaflet demanding "Option 3" (the one they hadn't been offered). Given what is happening in South Hackney it is very obvious that many of the IWCA's questions have been validly raised at the housing it has given them good contacts with tenants associations and respect and appreciation from the tenants themselves.

This turned into a second close at the last local elections in the ward where they stood.

Local campaigns

One of the key features of the IWCA work is the sheer hard work they put in. In Shoreditch a small group distributes 5,000 leaflets at estate across the borough. Fortunately they have now contacts on many estates who will help out with this. However they also spend a lot of time talking to tenants about what issues concern them. Hackney IWCA carried out a survey - knocking on people's doors and asking them what they thought important issues were, and since then have taken these issues up. A novel approach for any political organisation or movement - including - sadly - many of our own.

The action these issues have led to have not always been massively successful. An idea for promoting better street lighting, hassling the council to mend lights in areas where people felt unsafe did not get lots of people involved - though the lights in question were never fixed. The IWCA contacts made their involvement in a campaign to stop the closure of Laburnum School (in South Hackney) useful. Long-term contact made it easier to discuss links between this, the closure of a local swimming pool, threats to a local clock club and the overall move to exclude ordinary people from the area. They felt they could point to the big picture - of how the local authorities work with the City and how gentrification affects these decisions.

The lessons for anarchy

There is no comparable anarchist organisation doing the same sort of work. Only Ickenham Solidarity Group has had the same level of involvement with community politics in recent times. However many anarchists are involved with Tenants' Associations, and council sell-off campaigns, local initiatives on saving schools, libraries or other services, usually on a fairly individual basis. All too often, when a campaign ends up that's it. Some contacts or friendships are made but the temptation is lost. However the IWCA approach is to continue these initiatives as well as providing a political perspective and some longer term sustainability.I think the approach of asking people what they want: what concerns them, is key to this. Some left wing militants are often seen as "parachuting in", even when they have lived or worked in a community for many years. This is because ultimately their mission is to change outside that community. They left, they couldn't find - the big picture - of how the local authorities work with the City and how gentrification affects these decisions.

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"The IWCA in Hackney were alerted to a "consentation" meeting where tenants on one estate were being asked if they favoured a private landlord or an ALMO. 40 tenants made it to the meeting waving the IWCA leaflet demanding "Option 3" (the one they hadn't been offered)."
to say that demolition was acceptable to them, and we are now starting to see some improvements.

Estate sell-offs is a major issue for both Hackney and Islington. ISA's expectation is that the prospect of blatant privatisation has become more welcome on the estates. The idea of 'Arms Length Management Organisations' is being pushed. These are clearly bad for any real tenant control and also for the council's workforce. Given that people who live on council estates will have a jaundiced view of the council's ability to run housing effectively, it is important that tenants realise what is going on. For those of you who don't understand ALMOs, check http://www.isa.org.uk/isa/page/htmlfile.htm where Islington ISA have helpfully posted a Centre for Public Services Reform report on ALMOs. More immediately, ISA in Hackney were alerted to a "consultation" meeting where tenants on one estate were being asked if they favoured a private landlord or an ALMO. 60 tenants made it to the meeting waving the ISA leaflet demanding "Option 3" (the one they hadn't been offered).

Given what is happening in South Hackney it is no surprise that a major part of the ISA's work there is on housing, and it has given them good contacts with tenants associations and respect and, appreciation from the tenants themselves. This is a move towards a closed door at the last local elections in the ward where they stood.

Local campaigns

One of the key features of the ISA work is the sheer hard work they put in. In Shoreditch a small group distributes 5,000 leaflets across estates - fortunately they now have contacts on many estates who will help out with this. However, they also spend a lot of time and energy talking to tenants about what issues concern them. Hackney ISA's work has included visiting areas where people feel unsafe and dealing with issues which they thought the important issues were, and since then they have taken these issues up. A novel approach for any political organisation or movement - including - sadly many of our own.

The action these issues have led to have not always been as successful as we had hoped. For example, in Tower Hamlets, the ISA had an idea for promoting better street lighting, but the council was uninterested. However, the ISA continued to push the issue and eventually got some improvements.

The ISA's contacts made their involvement in a campaign to stop the closure of the Hackney Centre for Women a success.

The billboard pictured below advertising apartments in Hackney (which is similar to the ones in Islington) reads "A stunning landmark on building of Armitage Hall's development, capturing the Islington lifestyle. Always air conditioned, gymnasium and private super secure parking."
O
one again this year direct action orientated, largely anarchist, protests on May Day, unsanctioned by the state, made headline news, especially in London. So routine has this become that it is difficult to remember that it was only in 1989 that the process of revalidating Mayday began.

Mayday has become the one-time in the year when anarchists, or more po
tentially anarchists, receive widespread coverage of their activities. That of course is a part of the problem. Another is that much of the attention is negative, portraying us as largely violent hooligans, not least in articles written by those employed to recrate our ideas (blacks such as Vidal and Wombbitch for instance). Yet in the years since 1989, despite the consistent coverage and the state's disinformation, our activities received a large degree of public sympathy. This was in large part due to the significant numbers turning out to clearly anti capital
tal and anti-state protests. It also led to a massive increase in the amount of media coverage and in the number of activists in the wider population. All this seemed to reflect the growing disenchantment of people with the whole political process and who's mis
dictions.

Mayday this year saw more of the same, but on a much lesser scale. This partly reflected the concerns of the state and ruling class in the face of the massive antiwar protests and a slight increase in worker protests, hence the need to down play protests (as evidenced by the non-reporting of any anti-war direct actions, and the non-action again by the fire fighters). It also reflected the fact that this year the media had far more important matters to consider, such as the war in Iraq. At the same time the demor@
isation of Mayday protests was much sharper and focused, potential participants were referred to from the outset as rioters and the event as riots, despite the fact that these protests were not any more of a threat than those of previous Mayday protests. Logically therefore we should attend the trade union march. As revolutionaries, we reject the idea that the unions represent the class, what they actually represent is a layer of labour bureaucracy. The trade union march is an imposition as it was 5 years ago and - alongside the Countryside Alliance march - it remains the only demonstration promoted by the state. We suggest the idea in principle that there should be a revolutionary Mayday event as an alternative to the reformist march.

Barking much to view Mayday as a futility. (or at least a thought out) one
collective to which we should respond. The state's disinformation, our activities received a large degree of public sympathy. This was in large part due to the significant numbers turning out to clearly anti capital
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dictions.
Once again this year direct action orientated, largely anarchist protest on the streets of London, unsanctioned by the state, made headline news, especially in London. So routine has this become that it is difficult to remember that it was only in 1989 that the process of redefining Mayday began.

Mayday has become the one time in the year when anarchists, more problematically anarchists, receive widespread coverage of their activities. That of course is a part of the problem. Another is that much of the attention is negative, portraying us as less violent than has been the case. The coverage is written by those employed to report our ideas (literally such as Vidal and Monforte for instance). Yet in the years since 1989, despite the relative coverage and the state’s disinformation, our activities received a large degree of coverage that has increased in recent years. This has meant that activist organisations have been set up to counter this. Significant numbers were turned out to clearly anti-capitalist and anti-state protests. It has also led to a rising awareness of the topic among the media and politicians. Radio chat shows, phone-ins and newspaper columns have been filled with articles, interviews and commentary from the wider population. All this seems to reflect the growing disenchantment with people of the formal political process and its media spin-doctos.

This year saw more of the same, but on a much lesser scale. This partly reflected the concerns of the state and ruling classes in the face of the massive anti-war protests and a slight increase in worker struggles. But it also reflected the fact that this year the media covered many more of the state’s moves to keep the movement silent.

When the movement we can discern four main responses to Mayday. The first is the confrontational. The second is the symbolic. The third is the small group of activists having successful actions. The fourth is the direct action of the movement as a whole. These are not distinct responses but often interrelated.

The first response is the confrontational. The movement’s response to the police is not confined to the day of the protest, but extends over a period of weeks. It involves a range of tactics, including strikes, occupations, direct action, and militant actions. These tactics are designed to disrupt the movement of the police and other security forces, and to prevent them from being able to carry out their duties.

The second response is the symbolic. The movement’s response to the police is not confined to the day of the protest, but extends over a period of weeks. It involves a range of tactics, including strikes, occupations, direct action, and militant actions. These tactics are designed to disrupt the movement of the police and other security forces, and to prevent them from being able to carry out their duties.

The third response is the small group of activists having successful actions. These actions are designed to highlight the movement’s concerns and to draw attention to the issues that the movement is fighting for.

The fourth response is the direct action of the movement as a whole. This involves a range of tactics, including strikes, occupations, direct action, and militant actions. These tactics are designed to disrupt the movement of the police and other security forces, and to prevent them from being able to carry out their duties.

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struggle politics (even lack of politics), has proved to be an ongoing barrier to greater collective action across the movement, or movements.

As a result, and as well as the intense activism of many sectors in the city and elsewhere, the 2001 London Mayday Collective was not only smaller, but repressed through a much more violent state response. From the outset there was a lack of political discussion, with many activists seemingly content to accept that there is broad agreement, but this led to many disagreements being papered over. While true that there were notable differences, this became used as an excuse to avoid addressing this state of affairs. On the one hand, many seem to have only the vaguest idea of the political character of their protests, and are consequently unwilling to subject this to further critique. Others, no doubt aware of the fragile unity that exists within the movement, do not press the issue. Again, this is symptomatic of the wider problems we face: a further problem stemming from the lack of structure. Whilst agreements appeared to have been reached and decisions taken, there were no clear mechanisms for collective debate, including the imagery and wording of the propaganda (which we will discuss later) or the actual decisions themselves. What is important to remember is that these are not problems faced by large groups, but rather the result of a wide range of factors, including a lack of control of events. Faiths that seem to form much of our daily lives and our political experience, not the kind of objective for Mayday act so we must seek reform before to plan and facilitate, surely? We're here in case the police situation be managed by the overall of events, it's time to rethink the form of event to begin with, unless we wish to engage with them. What brings up the propaganda, and what is it? We feel that little effort was made to explain the politics of the event to the public or to any potential participants. The imagery focused on the "black bloc" (even a significant part of the UK scene), with pictures of masked young people who hide behind masks. There was some awareness of the previous three years, no sense of fun and playfulness. Some committees independently provided a leaflet aimed at explaining the roots of the event and the ongoing tradition of class solidarity. This was well received by passers-by on the day, many of whom were naturally curious. It is a shame that the Collective as a whole did not consider such a leaflet a necessary priority.

The prop (that was produced by the London Mayday Collective) was kept away from the march's targets, in the middle of central London, despite the dying out of the small group's argumentation, we were left wondering about the kind of revolutionary political practice that would have led to an uprising. In his place, without a trace of irony the "hardcore" radical starting out from the street and map served only to collude with the separation of political action into something that should only be carried out by the specialists.

Yet despite all this, we remain committed to the long term revolutionary objective of smashing capitalism for a world of peace and freedom.

So where next for Mayday? We believe it is not sustainable in its present form, although we remain committed to its original objectives, just as we remain committed to the long-term revolutionary objective of smashing capitalism for a world of peace and freedom. We steadfastly believe the Mayday actions have been worthwhile and a relative success, and despite our disagreements we must acknowledge the commitment and courage under fire of those involved.

For what next for Mayday? We believe it is not sustainable in its present form, although we remain committed to its original objectives, just as we remain committed to the long-term revolutionary objective of smashing capitalism for a world of peace and freedom. Arguments about Mayday reflect this real problem facing revolutionaries, and are sharpened by the present worldwide conflicts and attacks of the ruling class. If Mayday is to continue it needs to be more than an ad hoc collection of individuals, brought together through informal networks and occasional email invites to meetings (and we are guilty of this failing as much as anyone else), it needs to be adopted as an objective by the wider movement with a clearer political basis and tactical focus. That means hard work, networking, discussion, creativity and a breaking down of factional barriers to open up the process.

It continues in its present form, we know enough is happening to change the world. At the end of this process, it's time to rethink the form of event to begin with, unless we wish to engage with them.

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Strange Defeat

By the Chilienan Revolution 1973

As the situation degenerates, the revolutionary movement in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system. The struggle against imperialism in Chile is being repressed as an integral part of the global capitalist system.

The situation in Chile is deteriorating rapidly. The military government of General Pinochet has begun a crackdown on the opposition, and the streets are filled with tear gas and military checkpoints. The government has also begun to target student protesters and university campuses. The situation is escalating rapidly, and it is clear that a new phase of repression is underway. The Chilienan Revolution 1973, the radical left-wing opposition to the Pinochet regime, is currently facing a number of serious challenges.

The Chilienan Revolution 1973 was a movement of workers and students who sought to overthrow dictator General Augusto Pinochet and establish a socialist government. The movement was led by the Communist Party of Chile (PCCh) and the Socialist Party of Chile (PS). The revolution began in 1973 and lasted until 1974, when the military coup led by General Pinochet put an end to it.

The Chilienan Revolution 1973 was a period of intense political and social upheaval. The movement's goals were to end the economic and social inequalities that characterized Chile, to establish a socialist economy, and to implement a variety of social programs. The movement was characterized by its commitment to the principles of solidarity, equality, and the right to self-determination.

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To say there is any prospect of Mayday ever achieving its stated objectives is to be unrealistic. The government is too strong, too well supported by the people, and too firmly entrenched in power to be able to be effectively "overthrown". In reality, the only way Mayday can achieve its goals is if the government is forced to make significant concessions.

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Everywhere, the expansion of capital creates its apparent opposite in the form of national movements which seek to appropriate the means of production for the "benefit" of the exploited and thereby appropriate social and political power for the rulers. Imperialist's extraction of surplus has its political and social consequences, not only in enforced poverty of those who lose their livelihoods, but in the secondary role allotted to the local bourgeoisie, which is incapable of establishing complete hegemony over society. It is precisely this vacuum which the "national liberation" movements seek to occupy, thereby assuming the managerial role unfulfilled by the dependent bourgeoisie. This process has taken many forms from the religious xenophobia of Khudiram to the bureaucratic religiosity of Mac—In each instance, the marching orders of "anti-imperialism" are the same, and the men who give them are in identical positions of command.

The imperialist distortion of the Chilean economy provided an opening for urban proletariat which emerged as the major oppositional force. In Chile, both Christian and Social Democrats were proved to be the opponents of any radical solution to existing problems. Until the advent of the UP coalition, the contradictions on the Chilean left between a radical base of workers and peasants and its so-called political "representatives" remained to a large extent latent antagonsisms. The leftish parties were able to organize a popular movement solely on the basis of the foreign threat posed by American capital. The Communists and Socialists were able to sustain their image as "authentic" nationalists under Christian Democratic rule because their "Chileanization" program (which included a policy of agrarian reform that Allende was later to firmly contest) was explicitly connected to the American-sponsored "Alliance for Progress." The official Left was able to construct its own alliance within Chile in opposing, not reforming itself, but a reformism with internal ties. Even given its moderate nature, the opposition program of the Chilean left was only so as to maintain its autonomy left it open to the manipulations of the politicians. Despite this, the battle between reform and revolution was far from having been decided.

The election of the Freemen Allende, although it in no way meant that the workers and peasants had established their own power, nevertheless precipitated the class struggle occurring throughout Chile. Contrary to the UP's assertions that the working class had won a major "victory," both the proletariat and its enemies were to continue their battle outside the conventional political channels. Although Allende constantly assured the workers that they were both engaged in a "common struggle," he revealed the true nature of his socialism—by decree at the beginning of his tenure when he signed the Act of Nationalization, which formally guaranteed that he would not be the one to approve, or to reform, the UP's labor laws. In contrast to theUP's bureaucratic xenophobia, whenever the government was in trouble, the adjutants of the UP would rally around the UP's political backing because they feared the UP's collapse.

These occupations, Allende actively opposed the establishment of socialist relations of production. As a result of his activities, the Chilean workers only exchanged one set of bosses for another by occupying the government bureaucracy. Instead of Kinnick or Anacaona, directed their almehabed labor. This change in circumstances could not conceal the fact that Chilean capitalism was perpetuating itself from the profits extracted by the struggle of small corporations to the "five-year plans" of international Stalinism. The accumulation of capital was an accumulation of force made at the expense of the proletariat.

Those governments and social revolutions have nothing common with rural areas as well. In contrast to the bureaucratic administration of "agrarian reform" which was inherited and continued by the Allende regime, the spontaneous armed seizures of large estates offered a revolutionary answer to the "land question" (or "for all the efforts of the left in the central agrarian reform agency to prevent these expropriations through the mediation of the government, the agrarian reform agency, the peasantry's direct action went beyond any possible "official" forms of participation). Many of the funds taken were legitimated by the government only after pressure from the campesinos made it impossible to prevent the seizure of haciendas. By doing so, such actions called into question its own authority as well as that of the landowners. If the UP never intended to seize power, the landowners, the UP never intended to seize power, the landowners were forced to take on the initiative against the government.

For all his "Manxism," Allende was never more than an administrator of state intervention in a capitalist economy. Allende's state—that is, the form of state capitalism which the Landistas had accomplished the rise of all administrative interventions—was itself as much a defensive maneuver as it was a possible alternative to the extension of Christian Democratic policies. In nationalizing the copper mines and other industrial and urban enterprises, the Allende government began with the distortion initiated under the control of the Chilean state apparatus—a centralization initiated by the Left's "Chileanization" under Freire, which was the result of Allende's attempt to avoid the political consequences of nationalizing certain corporations because they had been spontaneously occupied by their workers. The very essence of the state apparatus became management of industry by dictating terms to impose itself on the realities of production. Large portions of the strike movement were now dominated by the "leaderless" movements. The growth of the CP and the strike movement were the primary means of political mobilization of workers. The workers and peasants had organized armed defense against the employers. The strikes became the strategy of the strike movement and the strategy of national defense. This was the reason why, in 1972, the government began to fear the workers, who were now organizing strikes, not in order to defend their companies, but to defend their communities. The workers questioned the legitimacy of the 말공Death of the Second Economy

"On the basis of the October 1972 movement, the workers did not wait for the UP to intervene, but actively occupied the factories and started up production on their own, without state or trade union "assistance." Cordones Industries, which controlled a large part of the steel products and organized armed defense against the workers, were formed in the factory complexes."
The election of the Frei administration in Chile, although it in no way meant that the workers and peasants had established their own power, nonetheless invigorated the class struggle occurring throughout Chile. Centrally to the UP's assertions that the working class had won a major "victory," both the proletariat and its enemies were to continue their battle outside conventional political channels. Although Allende constantly assured the workers that they were both engaged in a "common struggle," he revealed the true nature of his socialist-by-decade at the beginning of his tenure when he signed the Statute, which formally guaranteed that he would faithfully respect the bourgeois constitution. Having come to power on the basis of a "bugal" radical program, the UP was to come into conflict with a growing revolutionary current at its base. When the Chilean proletariat showed that it was prepared to take the slogans of the UP program literally—slogans that amounted only to empty rhetoric and unfilled promises on the part of the workers—threatened the existence of the fire regime. The succeeding UP was to move into a strategy opened up by the radical actions of the Chilean workers and peasants. It imposed itself as an institutionalized representation of popular aspirations because the content and form of the Chilean revolution became apparent. The workers and peasants of Chile were beginning to speak and act for themselves. For all his "Marxism," Allende was never more than an administrator of state intervention in a capitalistic economy. Allende's atavistic—whether of state capitalism that has accompanied the rise of all administrative structures of development—was itself not more than a new attempt of Christian Democratic policies. In nationalization to impose itself on the realities of the Chilean situation, the UP was able to be both a reformist and a revolutionary. The coup, which was ascribed to the Guatemalan military of the MR (Left Revolutionary Movement) and its rural counterpart, the MCC, both of which succeeded in winning electoral victories, was of the nature of radicalizing the victories of the workers and peasants. The Allende slogan of "armed struggle" and their contrary refusal of electoral politics were merely pretexts.

After the boos strike in October 1972, the workers did not wait for the UP to intervene, but actively occupied the factories and started up production. A "revolutionary" leadership of the UP, "takeover" unions, and "Red" cordones industriales, which controlled and coordinated the distribution of products and organized armed defense against the employers, were formed in the factory complexes.

These occupations, Allende actively opposed the establishment of social relations of production. As a result of his activities, the Chilean workers only exchanged a set of boxes for another, the government bureaucracy, instead of Remodelar or Aracuana, directed their alienated labor. This change in the socioeconomic conditions could not cover the fact that the Chilean capitalism was perpetuating itself. From the profits extracted by establishmental corporations to the "five-year plans" of International Stalinism, the accumulation of capital was an accumulation by force and at the expense of the proletariat. That governments and social revolutions have nothing common in the real and rural areas as well. In contrast to the bureaucratic administration of "agrarian reform" which was inherited and continued by the Allende regime, the spontaneous armed seizures of large estates offered a revolutionary answer to the "land problem." Yet the efforts of the workers and peasants in the rural areas was in vain. The central agrarian reform agency to prevent these expropriations through the "inversion" of the agrarian reform. Following the "agrarian reform," the workers' direct action went beyond such illogical forms of participation. Many of the fundo takeovers were legitimized by the government only after pressure from the campesinos made it impossible for the government to support it. Therefore, in order to "solve" the "agrarian reform" problem, the workers and peasants of Chile were beginning to speak and act for themselves.

Right wing activity in Chile increased, not in response to any governmental decree, but because of the direct threat posed by the workers and peasants' failure to extend their conquests to the point of replacing the Allende regime with their own power. Their supposed "right" to the UP, it used the slogan of "working class" to achieve its goals. As a result of the workers, the UP never missed an opportunity to demand "indiscriminate" expropriations and to call for a "slowdown." The enormous actions of the rural and urban proletariat formed the basis for the development of a movement significantly to the left of the UP. At the same time, this movement provided yet another occasion for a political repositioning of the UP. The coup, which was ascribed to the Guatemalan military of the MR (Left Revolutionary Movement) and its rural counterpart, the MCC, both of which succeeded in winning electoral victories, was the result of radicalizing the victories of the workers and peasants. The Allende slogan of "armed struggle" and their contrary refusal of electoral politics were merely pretexts.
them a month later. These occupations remained unchallenged by the Uruguayan army, which was divided in two camps that had no means to deal with the miners. The miners, however, continued their struggle, and the situation became more tense as the miners' demands were not met.

Eventually, the miners agreed to end the strike under the threat of military force, and the occupation of the factory was lifted. The mine was reopened, but the miners' demands for better working conditions were not met.

In conclusion, the occupation of the factory was a significant event in the history of the Uruguayan workers' movement, as it demonstrated the power of the miners and their willingness to fight for their rights. The occupation also highlighted the weaknesses of the Uruguayan government, which was unable to handle the situation effectively.

"In Chile, the revolutionaries hastened the day of their own execution."

By letting 'representatives' speak and act on their behalf..."

However, in the history of Sweden, class solidarity across the religious divide has only recently begun to emerge, in 1955 and by 1959, by only twice. If it is so blindingly obvious who the 'true enemy' is, the working class of the nation should be able to decide. Of course. Yet, the reality for the majority of people in the nation is that it is not religious affiliation, but rather a lack of it, which has become the dividing line. Even then, the letter's do not always exist. Therefore, in the north of Ireland, where the conflict is not a religious one, a world-view may be created in which religious affiliation is seen as the crucial factor for life, just as in, my eyes, and based on my life experience, class is the crucial central factor in my life. Y. looking at some aspects of the nation's social history, this article sets out to explore some of the many-centric class limits and conceptions. Firstly, it is not in the form of a systematic and formatted research, but rather in the form of a presentation of the various factors that have influenced the class structure and consciousness in the nation. Secondly, it is not in the form of a systematic and formatted research, but rather in the form of a presentation of the various factors that have influenced the class structure and consciousness in the nation.
them a month later. Their occupations remained undefined by the US and its intermediaries in the national trade union, the CUT, which led the workers isolated from each other by breaking their strikes and the parties that maintained it. If the future struggles in Chile are to advance, the enemies within the workers’ movement must be overcome first to eliminate the tendencies in the factories. Nevertheless, a struggle against the state will not cure all wounds. Like the Spanish Republicans who denied arms to the anarchist militis on the front in 1936, Alden was not prepared to tolerate the existence of an armed proletarian force outside its own ranks. All the conspiracies of the right would not have lasted a day if the Chihuian workers and peasants had been armed and had organized two armed forces. Although the MIR protected against the policy of the state, it was like their predecessors in Uruguay, the “suparmy,” only talked of arming the workers and had little to do with the reconstruction that took place. The workers’ slogan, “If disarmament of a defeated people was to find its bitter truth in the slaughter of workers and peasants that followed the military coup.”

However, in the history of Defenso, class solidarity across the religious divide is not only unprecedented. In 1909 and 1989, by only twice, it is not to be believed, and the workers’ movement is even more narrow. We must not allow the few words coming from the Made in China in 1929 and the 1950s Spanish revolution to advance. The conflict in Chile is not one of the major conflicts that could occur in the world. The Chilean workers’ movement in Latin America and in the US is not only a daily event in the streets of Santo Domingo in 1965, the

"In Chile, the victory of the workers’ movement is a victory of the workers’ movement..."

in repressive and national workers’ movements. The bolsheviks in Latin America and the 1950s Spanish revolution in Bolivia and Uruguay, the spontaneous revolt of workers and students in France in 1968, and the continuing revolution in Latin America. It is in the streets and the squares of these countries and within the barriers of the Chilean workers. The combination of the bosses and their power, and the workers’ movement, the manipulators of the social-democracy and the lefts.

From the favelas of Brazil to the labor camps of Cuba, the proletariat of the Caribbean. The proletariat of Latin America has maintained a continuous offensive against all those who seek to maintain their position.

In the struggle, the proletariat is faced with various caricatures of revolution which have damaged itself. These caricatures have in turn encountered a false movement of so-called “leftist” opposition. Thus, the ex-Moscow Front prepares to urban insurrection in Bolivia, Argentina, and Bolivia. If we take into account the history of Defenso and the socialist forces in these countries, we can see that the workers movement has been the main force in these struggles. The industrial conflict is not only a daily event in the streets of Santo Domingo in 1965, the

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have no banality. The next day there were 7,000 in a subsequent court and serious rioting broke out. Due to such disturbances, substantial increases in benefit were achieved and no further riots took place. However, once again working class unity between the communities was short-lived, as indicated by the severe rioting of 1932.

Indeed, there are several other aspects of Belfast's working class history which may be viewed negatively, and Belfast's history of segregation mirrored that of its surrounding region. For example, Protestant workers, too, included religious, racial, and cultural differences with the result that, 'working class districts became cut off from each other'. The Northern Ireland Special Constabulary, together, were both effective and non-violent at times, and were seen as a barrier between the communities.

The working class was more complex in its composition and organization than the middle class. It was divided into different strata, some of whom were better off than others, and it was divided into different regions of the country. The working class was also divided by race, religion, and culture. Therefore, it was not a uniform group with a single identity. It was made up of different subgroups, each with its own interests and concerns. The working class was also divided by region, with different groups in different areas having different experiences and demands.

Furthermore, the working class in Belfast was divided by race and religion. The working class was divided by race, with different groups having different experiences and demands. The working class was also divided by religion, with different groups having different experiences and demands. The working class was also divided by culture, with different groups having different experiences and demands. The working class was also divided by region, with different groups having different experiences and demands.

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have no banana'. The next day there were 7,000 in a subsequent march and several rioting broke out.1 Due to such disturbances, substantial increases in benefit were achieved and no further riots took place. However, once again, working-class unity between the communities was short-lived, as indicated by the severe rioting of 1922.

Indeed there were several other aspects of Belfast's working-class history which may be viewed negatively, but Belfast's history of segregation mirrored that of its surrounding region. For example, Protestant workers had isolationist clubs and societies for workers, and naturally Catholics2 with the result that, 'working-class districts became colour-coded areas'. The committee investigating trade unions in the shipyards and engineering industries of Belfast were skilled Protestant workers and were content to maintain their relatively privileged position. Furthermore, 'in 1929 the shipyard workers were an essential element in the background of Ulster unionism to the threat of a general strike. Thirty years later, in 1950, it was Protestant workers in the Belfast shipyards who were stopped by the workers who expelled all they considered 'dubious' among Catholics and people from the 'Catholic element'.

The two main communities of Belfast have also tended to align themselves with two competing nationalisms. The nationalism of Ulster Protestants has been tied to ideas of British national identity, while the Ulster Protestant community has been described as nationalist and anti-British.3 The Catholics, on the other hand, have tended to support the Catholic church's teaching on the role of the state and the Church of Ireland.4 This has led to a sense of 'us' and 'them', each side seeing itself as the 'true' Irish people and the other as 'foreigners'.

In the two communities of Belfast there has been a history of conflict between the two communities. This has led to a sense of 'us' and 'them', each side seeing itself as the 'true' Irish people and the other as 'foreigners'.

In 1932, at the height of the Depression, a quarter of Belfast's workforce was unemployed, an organisation called the Unemployed Workers Committee was formed. It included members of both the Catholic and Protestant working class of Belfast. A march in October 1932 attracted 60,000 people, led by a band that played the only non-sectarian tune they knew, 'Yes, we have no bananas'.

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Ditching the Olympics

During the campaign against the Amsterdam bid, activists found one of the most effective tactics was to counter each glossy pamphlet, each PR event, each lecture to the IOC with their own: "Until October 17th, 1986, the day of the IOC's deciding vote, a minimal group of activists would succeed for at least two years in achieving the maximal media effect. The fact that...the administration had been using the media for image improvement, which by definition belongs in the public sphere, made it possible to play them with more media precision. If the city had put all its money on, for example, the encouragement of sports in Holland, such a strategy would have been impossible.

Undoubtedly they copied all the methods and techniques of the enemy: the organizer's personal gift to the IOC's chairman was followed by a bag of marijuana, received in the mail with a letter signed "Mayer Ed" or "Mr. Mourinho". After the South African diaspora, we're sending you something with which you can clean your mind. The Dutch Olympic Committee would like to acquaint you with one of the products of that "socialist revolution" in this matter. Our national product can be obtained in five hundred legal sales outlets. Please don't be bothered by increasing opposition in Amsterdam."

Countdown

The London Olympic bid timetable is as follows:
- 17 July 2003: deadline for countries to hand their formal bid to the IOC
- 15 January 2007: full plans to be submitted to the IOC
- 15 May 2007: IOC to reject the least few bids
- 11th November 2007: formal last bid to be handed to the IOC
- 26 March 2008: each city to host a plenary session to the IOC's evaluation commission for one week
- 15 May 2008: IOC to name the hosts at a conference in Singapore

Dutch Courage

London is bidding to host the 2012 Olympic Games. The official brochure is revealingly proud: "not only have the Government given strong backing to the bid, but the project has received cross-party support in Parliament and from the business community". The residents of London's East End, where the Games are proposed to take place, on the other hand, haven't been asked. Nor are they likely to be.

Flahai - the company being paid a small fortune to consult the public on the Olympic bid recently confirmed that it would not be speaking to the public until its "marketplace" had been put in place.

The company had only three months in which to carry out the consultation and submit its marketplace to the government, which wanted, as far as possible, to keep the public in the dark about the consultation process. In October 2007, Flahai still had no plans to hold any public meetings or to approach key members of local communities. Instead, plans had been discussed with invited guests belatedly closed doors.

The public will be presented, towards the end of the process in November, with a fait accompli. Public meetings, if Flahai can be bothered to hold them, at this stage will serve only to "talk us into it if we want it" or greenwash, but not if we want it at all (Chairman Hackney Manning Users Group Hackney Gazette 30/11/07).

The bid is being sold to East Londoners as a means of regenerating a severely depressed and under-occupied area. But who is going to pay? Terry Jones and Ken Livingstone have agreed a £2.4 billion funding package for the Games, with the actual bid costing a mere £7 million. The government has apparently put together "innovative funding schemes, including an Olympic Lottery and increases in council tax". That's really all it is. And it looks like the Greenwich and Hackney allowances will be a bit higher.

The official website declares that "security is a priority. London is one of the world's safest major cities. So much so that the police routinely patrol without guns." Tell that to residents of "shuttered" streets like Clapton, Hackney, where showings happen on a depressingly regular basis. The website then boasts that the Metropolitan Police have uninvited experience in managing large-scale events safely and successfully, covering everything from traffic control to counter-terrorism. How convincing.

If this is the picture that Ken and his friends want to paint for the IOC, then we could have a lot of fun disillusioning them. The articles to follow show how it can be done.

OLYMPICS IN BERLIN

This article, "How did the Anti Olympic Committee stop the Berlin Olympics", has been translated from the Granace Collective's "Autonomists in the Movement: from the 1st 23 years".

When US President Reagan visited East Berlin in July 1987, he floated the idea for an Olympic Games in East and West Berlin. Steffi Graf, who had just won the French Open, just like his demand: "Mr. Gorbachev tear down this wall!..." After the fall of the wall we were forced to take this idea seriously, when the Berlin Senate applied to host the games in 2000. The International Olympic Committee's decision was due in 1992.

Our starting point was different to other "Stop it" campaigns. We didn't want to focus on the actual event with actions and a huge demos on the first day - instead we wanted to stop the Games coming to Berlin at all. Because once the decision to give the Games to Berlin, a whole lot of things would happen which we didn't want.

Restructuring (of the city) was always only a part of the issue for us, but it was the main thrust factor for the campaign.

The examples of other host cities spoke volumes. The rents go up, tenants are forced out and new buildings are erected. It's a great party for the City fathers and the banks.

But there were other important reasons why we opposed the Games. The Olympics is a whole - which differentiated us from other groups and parties when often (just) argued that Berlin was "the wrong city at the wrong time".

The elitist luxury and practice of the Olympics was a first fundamental point of criticism. In ancient Olympics only male nobles or (later) rich "citizens" were allowed to take part either as participants or observers. Only rich men or kings were allowed to watch, nothing else. The revival of the Games in the late 19th century was due to class imperialism like Pierre de Coubertin and excluded once again the great majority of the populace.

Autonomists meant that only those who are directly involved and who are needed to without payment could take part.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is a reactionary, semi-archaic, bureaucratic, As Fidel Castro put it: "A people's government of olympic oligarchs and rich benefactors". Our opinion, which we put on a billboard in Mitte (central Berlin) was that the "IOC is a pigsty of corrupt, dopers, dealers and mafia with a facade of a front office".

The height of the 1936 Games by the Nazis was another ground for our complete opposition. In every host city there has been, with varying levels of severity, some sort of "clean up operation". Under the Nazis, Roma were sent to a concentration camp at Buchow on the edge of the city. In Mexico City, shortly before the start of the 1968 Games, 3000 people were murdered by security forces at an extra parliamentary opposition demo. In Los Angeles for the 1984 Games, homeless people were driven out of the city.

Elite, competitive sport is itself a copy of capitalism's system of competition - and is used to prop up and encourage the dog eat dog ideology of individualism. The heightened state of security that accompanies any Olympic event requires not only thousands of cops to keep people in line, but also an enormous mass conversion. A radical oppositional movement is, in this context, potentially even more irritating (for the state) and requires from them a lot of resistance.

"The starting point was different to other "Stop it" campaigns. We didn't want to focus on the actual event with actions and a huge demo on the first day - instead we wanted to stop the Games coming to Berlin at all. Because once the decision to give the Games to Berlin was made, a whole lot of things would happen which we didn't want."
London is bidding to host the 2012 Olympic Games. The official London bid committee is playing it so smartly that "not only have the Government given strong backing to the bid, but the project has received cross-party support in Parliament and from the business community." The residents of London's East End, where the Games are proposed to take place, on the other hand, haven't been asked. Nor are they likely to be.

The public will be presented, towards the end of the process in November, with a fait accompli. Public meetings, if held, can be boarded to bore them, at this stage will serve only to "talk us into it". For white, but not for white at all (Chairman Hammersley Movers Group, Hackney Gazette, 13/1/92).

The bid is being sold to East Londoners as a means of regenerating a severely depressed and under-served area. But who is going to pay? Teresa Jillson and Ken Livingstone have agreed a £2.4 billion funding package for the Games, with the actual bid costing around £500 million. The government have apparently put together an innovative funding scheme, including an Olympic Lottery and increases in council tax. "What really is innovative is our ability to lose money," says Jillson. "The official website declares that "security is a priority. London is one of the world's safest major cities. So much so that the police routinely patrol without guns." Tell that to the residents of 'shanty town' in Clapton, Hackney, where shootings happen on a depressingly regular basis. The website then boasts the "Metropolitan Police have unrivalled experience in managing large-scale events safely and sensitively, covering everything from traffic control to counter-terrorism.

When US President Regan visited London in 1982, he floated the idea for an Olympic Games in East London. Bill Brimley, Stowe, was "snubbed", just like his demand - "Get Gorbachev tear down this wall!"... After the fall of the wall we were forced to take this idea seriously, when the Berlin Senate applied to host the games in 2000. The International Olympic Committee's decision was due in the year 2000. Our starting point was different to other "Stop it" campaigns. We didn't want to focus on the actual event with actions and a big demo on the first day - instead we wanted to stop the Games coming to Berlin at all. Because once the decision to give the Games to Berlin is taken, a whole lot of things would happen which we didn't want.

Restructuring (of the city) was always only a part of the issue for us, but it was the main push factor for the campaign. The examples of other host cities spoke volumes. The rents go up, tenancies are forced out and squatters occur, it's a great party for the City houses and upstart businesses - fuel for their city policies. But there were other important reasons why we opposed the Olympic Games: it's a whole - which differentiated us from other groups and parties who often just argued that Berlin was "the wrong city at the wrong time". The elitist history and practice of the Olympics was a first fundamental point of criticism. In the ancient Olympics only male nobles and (later) rich "citizens" were allowed to take part in it; at the Olympics of 1900, only those opposed to modern values could have agreed that nothing else. The revival of the Games in the late 19th century was in part to counter the idea of the modern Olympic Games. Amsterdum meant that only those opposed to modern values could have agreed to payment would not take part.

The International Olympic Committee (IOC) is a reactionary, anti-sporting, state always extremely reluctant to back down from any position. The event would mean the beginning of the end. We began talks in the early summer of '91 with some people from the Alliance (the Green group in the IOC) and the Berlin Olympic Committee (BOD), to say that they were interested in a joint campaign against the spectacles of the Olympics in Berlin. We started early, and by the beginning of '91 we were organizing an "up for it" group. Our opponents weren't too interested in our approach at the time. Over the summer we prepared the ground for the first big action - the visit of the IOC to East Germany, and the "anti-Olympic" protests would enough to show for it, the highlights and not for a sustained campaign that could last for two and a half years.
be visiting lunch was given a free panel meeting.

After this a cause long silence. There were few speeches which people had to take care of. The facilitators were on the move, most horrifically in the Huygens and Rustem gekke against refugees. All the same, there were some nice Volkopolutcions e.g. In January '90 the ‘Late Gothic’ concertion (named after the first Olympic bala chief who was shot dead because of incoherence) kidnapped a memorial plaque for the Nazi sports administrator Carl Doss, and from the 16 Olympic Stadium Memorial. Among the reason demand was the withdrawal of the bid for the 2000 and all future Olympic Games. The TV news from RTM horrifically lapsed this as ‘Anti Olympic activity blackmail the senate’.

In February, we tried to make a routine Senate presentation more interesting through a mobilisation of activists. But only 50 people came. A couple of us got into the Hall, stopped the chairman for Congress and asked for the possibility of an unrest. The paper itself was a hodgepodge of some leaflets giving our opinion on the issues... until some under cover cops fired teargas into the hall. We were frustrated by this step and began to think over what we were doing and how we could do it in the future.

By now we realised that ‘bad press was good news’. The noise the terrible image damage. Using the model of the Amsterdam anti Olympic campaign who’d fund their bid for the ‘92 Games in ‘86 we operated as a small but beautiful ‘communications guerrilla’.

This was not restricted to our small group, a video made by the then Green politician Judith Drees and other activists fed into this new wave of working. The video wasn’t particularly spectacular, but the final scene was used by many TV programmes - a balancing activist juggles a stone and then puts a finger up at an imaginary IOC member..."We wait for you".

Image damage meant that every report about resistance and problems for the bid was in our terms good news. So for example in Amsterdam, tourist boats were attacked as a media stunt - not because they had much against tourists, but rather because it created headlines which damaged the bid. Opportunities for creative were boundless - for example, a fake autonomous ‘strategy paper’ was ’insulted’ to the national press and city paper. The paper itself was a hodgepodge of printed old ideas, but the effect nonetheless, was immense. CDU representatives fumed at the assault. (‘Fireblowings’ Lady and Gentlemen representatives...), the press fumed, autonomous snarled and the IOC was bemolled.

Image damage was a deciding factor, the Senate was powerless to stop it. When

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One of the strongest arguments against anarchist ways of organising in the new democracy is "the tension between democracy and anarchy..." This argument is usually associated with Trotskyists. As it drops up with regular frequency, it is worthwhile to discuss this accociation in detail.

Anarchists are for federations of self-managed groups. This means that the group members do not form an official representation of the bid. The IOC confirmed the official delegation with two anti Olympic politicians in Berlin. An official may be allowed to attend the official meeting is given a ticket and binding mandate. Failure to implement that mandate agrees with the mandate that the delegate is instead unlikely to be re-elected. In this way power is shifted from the bid to the people and decisions flow from the bottom up. Anyone placed into a position of responsibility is held accountable to the membership and any attempt to usurp power from the grassroots is stopped.

Such forms of organisation do not stop from the brains of a few anarchists thinkers, independently of working class struggle. The idea of self-managed collective accountable mandates can be found in the World of Bakunin and Provisor after both became self-managed collectives. Bakunin raised the idea during the 1848 revolution, while Bakunin talked about after becoming active in the struggles of the International Workers Association in Switzerland. So these ideas were developed within the class struggle itself, often spontaneously. For example, both the Paris Commune and Russian Soviets implemented a system of important democratic decision making.

Anarchists have long argued that we should organise in ways that prefigure the society we want. We then call this ‘building the world in the shell of the old’.

Moreover, in anarchist theory, the class struggle is the link between capitalism and any future libertarian socialist society. We start to build the structures of the free society when we start fighting against capitalism. In support of our arguments we point to the unions, factory committees, workers’ councils, collectives, community assemblies and other popular organisations which have been created during numerous eruptions and revolutions which have emerged in a wave of struggles for post-revolutionary working class management of society (before being either reabsorbed by either the bourgeois (or so-called) workers’ state).

This means that the way we organise today is important to anarchists. We only become capable of managing society if we make our own decisions and directly manage our own struggles and organisations today. Self-management today is the foundation for the self-managed socialist society of tomorrow.

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After this cause a long silence. There were more speeches which people had to take care of. The facists were on the move, most hilariously in the Haymarket and Bosio conferences against refugees. All the same, there were some nice Voltaire actions e.g. In January '43 the "Late Gothic" constam-
dado (named after the first Olympic holy chief, who was served because of incompleteness) kidnapped a memorial plaque for the Nazi sports administrator Carl Diehle, from the '46 Olympic Stadium Memorial. Among the reasons were the withdrawal of the bid for the 2000 and all future Olympic Games. The TV news from RTU humbly lapsed this as "Anti Olympic activists blackmail the senate".

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This was not restricted to our small group, a video made by the then Green politician Judith Drisko, and other activities led into this new way of working. The video wasn't particularly spectacular, but the final scene was used by many TV pro-
gammas - a balancing act juggling a mone and then puts a finger up at an imaginary IOC member..."We wait for you":

Image damage meant that every report about resistance and problems for the bid was in our terms good news. So for example in Amsterdam, tourist boats were attacked as a media stunt - not because they had much against tourists, but rather because it created headlines which damaged the bid. Opportunities for cre-
aver were boundless - for example, a fake autonomous "strategy paper" was "leaked" to the national press and city paper (at the last moment). The paper itself was a loose set of rehearsed old ideas, but the effect nonetheless, was immense. CDU representa-
tives fumed at the asylum... (..."Firebombings" Lady and Gentleman representatives...), the press fumed, autonomous snarked and the IOC was bewildered.

Image damage was a deciding factor - the Senate was powerless to stop it. When

One of the strangest arguments against anarchistic ways of organizing is "demiocrac-
yzation". This argument is usually associated with Trotskyists. As it crops up with regular frequency, it is worthwhile to discuss this accusation in detail.

Anarchists are for federalisms of self-managed groups. This means that the group members will make the decisions directly at open meetings. Anyone delegat-
ed from that group to do specified tasks or to attend a federal meeting is given a strict and binding mandate. Failure to imple-
mant that agreed mandate means that the delegate is instantly replaced. In this way power over critical decisions and decisions flow from the bottom up. Anyone placed into a position of responsibil-
ity is held accountable to the membership and any attempts to usurp power from the grassroots is stopped.

Such forms of organisation do not suffer from the flaws of a few anarchists thinkers, independently of working class struggle. The self-managed accountable mandates can be found in the World of Bakuun and Proudhon after both because the collectivist struggle crept. Proudhon raised the idea during the 1848 revolution, while Bakunin talked about it after becoming active in the struggles of the French insurrectional Workers' Association in Switzerland. So these ideas were developed within the class struggle itself, often spontaneously. For example, both the Paris Commune and Russian Soviets implemented a system of impor-
tant decisions being made by the collective of workers.

Anarchists have long argued that we should organise in ways that prefig-
rural the kind of society we want. We now call this "building the new world in the shell of the old." Moreover, in anarchist theory, the class struggle is the link between capitalism and any future liber-
rarian socialists to be. We start to build structures of the free society when we fight against capitalism. In support of our arguments we point to the unions, factory committees, workers' councils, collectives, community assemblies and other popular organisations which have been created during numerous conflicts and revolutions which have been fought. Anarchists have a long history of fighting for - revolutionary working class management of society (before being understood by reformist workers' movements, the bourgeois or so-called worker's state).

This means that the way we organise today is important to anarchists. We only become capable of managing society if we make our own decisions and directly manage our own struggles and organis-
tions today. Self-management today is the foundation for the self-managed social organisations of tomorrow.

Of course this does not mean that anar-
chists argue that anarchism is "democratic." They argue that while anarchist groups are, in theory, directly democratic, in practice a few leaders will call the shots without being accountable. It is still a leadership except it is not democratically decided and would be taken up by those with the most time, charisma, experience etc. Because not all activists can attend all activist meet-
ings, it is argued, a lot of decisions are made at meetings with low attendance. A hierarchy exists, masked by fine sounding rhetoric. Worse still, there is no structure in charge that the leadership exists under the surface. Would it not, ask the critics, be far more democratic if some people were elected to regularly meet and do essential work and then hold these elected people accountable in general meeting that everyone can attend?

Does this proposed "democratic" solution sound familiar? Well it is in representa-
tive democracy, a basic principle of liberal bourgeois ideology. That self-
proclaimed socialists should be seeking to reproduce one of the principles of capital-
ism politics into anti-capitalist movements might seem strange to anarchists. Moreover, the influence of these with the most time, charisma, experience, etc. will be, at last, as strong in a representative democratic group as in a directly democ-
ratically managed group. Why does this render only the latter "undemocratic"? And, in prac-
tice, this problem will be far worse in repre-
sentative groups. Would leaders are likely to use all their skills and ability to get elected, making use of their charisma, experience, resources and time to sway voters to give them power. The key differ-
cence is that the voters would not be in a position to question these "leaders" when the decisions were actually being made. They would simply be left with a fait accompli, being reduced to simply trying to find better leaders next time. In repre-
sentative democracy decisions are not made by the whole group, but rather by a few leaders who may, or may not, have been elected by a majority.

In the UK, Tony Blair was elected to a quarter of the population. Most recently, however, the clear wishes of the majority and against Iraqi war. Is that clearly more "democratic" than self-management?

In response it will be argued that leaders will be held accountable more frequently to the group than is the case in current parliamentary politics. But this "solution" solves more problems than it creates. After all, how can the group hold those elected people accountable until they meet to make their leaders deci-
sions? And if they can't evaluate the decisions made for them at such meet-

Democracy is ....

U ndemocratic
thoughts on freedom

About seven years ago, I wrote a review of Albert Memling’s autobiography for Black Flag. In it I said Freedom Press was a wasted resource, being as it was unconnected to the rest of the anarchist movement, and happy to present itself as a wing of militant liberal- ization. I described the dispute between Albert and Freedom Press as something he didn’t understand, and said that it was really personal. The experiences of any comrades in the US and in Greece is to publish anything outside of the line had led, further to that paper’s isolation. Truth be told, I expected it to fall even further apart from anarchism with the death of its proprietor, Vernon Richards.

However, I was wrong, and indeed took a very long time to head those people around me who told me things were changing there. Since I’ve actively taken notice of it in the last year, Freedom has not only improved, but is well on the road to being a useful anarch- istic paper. What has been a dramatic turnaround for me I now contribute means to it.

I’m not alone. The results of a recent opinion report from an anarchist member of the International Socialism movement in Palestinian in-depth debate on what to do about old people feeling menaced by young taggers, a debate on how anarchists organise and an interview with Five Brigade Union organiser, sanctioned for criticising Gilchrist. There are small changes in themselves, but taken together represent a clear break with the past. Having grown to a large degree, it now takes people at Freedom Press now, I think they are open to ideas and activities from a much wider range of anarchists than before. At the moment editing and layout is mainly done by two people, and they are to be congratulated for their work. For the first time since the nineties, Freedom offers regularly a paper that the anarchists movement as a whole can be proud of.

just as things never get into Black Flag without people doing the work — whether editing or writing — even just letting others know what they were up to in their area — the same is true of Freedom today. We have a resource here — let’s use it!

martin h

slavery has not been abolished in Britain, behind high walls and locked doors it still flourishes. Working class people are being forced to toil in poor conditions, beyond the reach of health and safety inspectors, denied even the most basic employment and trade-union rights, and severely punished if they refuse to work.

in british prisons, there have been savage conditions which make it little more than being sentenced to death, day by day, for half a decade, any pretence at rehabilitating prisoners and empowering them with trade skills has been abandoned. They are now being run in a really explicitly capitalistic way, like a third world colony in Britain’s own backyard. cheap, unskilled, unskilled, and literally compelled to work.

williamson’s claim to be a company with a ‘consumer’ outlook which works in partnership with local communities has no ethical view. But in contrast, rather than offer jobs to the communities, williamson’s prefer to use the slave labour of a captive non-united workforce in order to keep their costs low and their profits high. if prisoners refuse to work, or are not considered to be working hard enough, prisoners are forced to do drudge work for williamson’s, this is paid by the state at 9.50p per day. this greedy company would rather use slave labour than give more work to their own workers or employ new ones.

the issue of prison slavery is an issue for all working class people, not least because it undermines workers’ pay and conditions generally. Not because prisoners are Somehow ‘stealing’ jobs, they have absolutely no choice in the matter, Not because the companies can turn down the wages of their own employees by using prison labour, and it brings with it the threat of short-time and redundancies. the employees of Dysons, for example, were thrown out of work when Dysons decided to use cheap non-united labour in Malaysia, but how many Dyson workers

cheap because we use slave labour

the prison industrial complex the new plantation system

not since slavery has an entire American industry derived its profits exclusively from treating human beings as a commodity

they are punished — placed in solitary confinement, brutalised, denied visits, have added to their sentences. private companies are making enormous profits from prison labour. £500 million in 1999, and growing by 50% or more every year. for williamson it’s a week’s work — and for prisoners there are no ‘micons’, no holidays, no union meetings, no transport problems, and if they are punished they are locked back in their cells. prisoners are treated as the bosses would like to treat all of us.

williamson’s are one of many companies profiting from the slave labour of prisoners. in swansea prison for example, where

known that for some time the company had been using cheap, non-united labour at full swansea prices! not surprisingly the last ten years have seen a dramatic rise in the number of prisoners. the company now employs more than 200 people.

the camps consist of a metal shed, a small wooden building.

the prisoners are divided into two groups: those who work in the workshops and those who are employed in the catering and maintenance.

the first group includes about 150 men who work on various tasks, such as repairing the buildings, cleaning the offices, and preparing meals.

the second group consists of about 50 women who are employed in the catering department, where they are responsible for cooking and serving food to the prisoners.

the prisoners are paid about £10 per week, which is less than the minimum wage, but it is enough to cover their basic needs.

the work is very demanding and stressful.

the prisoners often have to work long hours, and they are not allowed to leave the camp.

the conditions are worse in the winter, when the weather is cold and wet.

the prisoners are not allowed to communicate with the outside world, and they are not allowed to have any visitors.

the camps are located in remote areas, far away from the nearest town.

the prisoners are not allowed to receive any mail, and they are not allowed to make any phone calls.

the prisoners are not allowed to attend any classes or workshops, and they are not allowed to join any clubs or organisations.

the prisoners are not allowed to express any political opinions, and they are not allowed to protest against their conditions.

the prisoners are not allowed to leave the camp, and they are not allowed to travel anywhere without permission.

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Thoughts on Freedom

About seven years ago, I read a review of Albert Mehrer's autobiography for Black Flag. In it I said Freedom Press was a wasted resource, being as if it was unconnected to the rest of the anarchist movement, and happy to present itself as a wing of militant liberal-leftism. I wrote about how Albert and Freedom Press was something they didn't understand, and Freedom Press was about as far away from the reality that it was really personal. The experiences of many comrades in the 80s and 90s is getting to publish anything outside of the line it had, led further to that paper's isolation. Truthfully I don't think I expected it to fall even further away from anarchism with the death of its proprietor, Vernon Richards.

However, I was wrong, and indeed took a very long time to hear that people around me who told me things were changing there. Since I've actively taken notice of it in the last year, Freedom has not only improved, but is well on the road to being a useful anarchist paper. What has been a dramatic turnaround for me is new contributors stepping in.

In the last filings Freedom has shown for a long time if they aren't taking serious enough from an anarchist perspective of the International Solidarity Movement in Palestine in-depth debate on what to do about all of the black flag police forces. The debate on how anarchists organise and an interview with Five Brigade Union organizer, contested for criticising Gilchrist. These are small edges in themselves, but taken together represents a serious break with the past. Having spent a solid year of not visiting people at Freedom Press now, I think they are open to ideas and activities from a much wider range of anarchists than before. At the moment editing and layout is mainly done by two people, and they are to be congratulated for their work. For the first time since the merger, Black Flag is being faithfully maintained in something that the readership might assume as a byproduct of the writing and editing. Just as things never get into Black Flag without people doing the work - whether editing or writing - even just letting others know what they were up to in their area - the same is true of Freedom today. We have a resource here - let's use it!

Martin H.

Punished - placed in solitary confinement, brutalized, denied visitors, denied days to their sentences. Some companies are making enormous profits from prison labour, £250 million in 1992, and government cuts by £50 million from £600 million for a weekly work - and for prisoners there are 'nolickers', no holidays, no union meetings, no transport problems, no rewards, no holidays, no holidays back in their cells. Prisoners are treated as if they are not in a service. The government is only of us, all for us, and the companies. Whether one of the cases of prisoners, some leading to slavery in the prison system. In particular, prisoners are free of taking part in the work which is not more than 250 days. This greedy company would rather use slave-labour than have work to their own employees or employ new ones.

The issue of prison slavery is a huge issue for all working class people, not least because it undermines workers' pay and conditions. Generally not because prisoners are somehow 'stealing' jobs, they have absolutely no choice in the matter, but because the companies that own the wages of their own employees by using prison labour, and it brings with it the threat of short-time and redundancies. The employees of Dynos, for example, were thrown out of work when Dynos decided to use cheap non-unionised labour in Malaysia. But how many Dynos workers

Cheap because we use slave labor

The Prison Industrial Complex: The New Plantation System

Not since slavery has an entire American industry derived its profits exclusively from keeping humans of colour in servitude.

Slavery has not been abolished in Britain, behind high walls and locked doors it still flourishes. Working class people being forced to toil in poor conditions, beyond the reach of health and safety inspectors, dazed even in the most basic employment and trade-union rights, and severely punished if they refuse to work.

In British prisons, there have been savage cutbacks in the last half-century, and this is little more than the result of doing the best they can with the resources available. The system in place is to disfranchise prisoners from their rights and conditions generally. Not because prisoners are somehow 'stealing' jobs, they have absolutely no choice in the matter, but because the companies that own the wages of their own employees by using prison labour, and it brings with it the threat of short-time and redundancies. The employees of Dynos, for example, were thrown out of work when Dynos decided to use cheap non-unionised labour in Malaysia. But how many Dynos workers
Is the Emperor Wearing Any Clothes?

A review of Negri and Hardt's Empire from an anarchist perspective - by Andrew Flood

The publication of Empire in 2000 created an intense level of discussion in left academic circles that even spilled over at times into the liberal press. This should please the authors, Antonio Negri, one of the main theoreticians of Italian "autonomous Marxism" and a previously obscure literature professor Michael Hardt. It is clear that they see Empire as the start of a project comparable to Karl Marx's Das Kapital. The Meridet St complained that the "Communist Manifesto" has evolved in their lifetime.

The book's subject is the question of "Empire" - a concept that has been around for a long time, but one that has recently gained new relevance in the context of globalization and the rise of transnational corporations. The authors argue that "Empire" is a new form of global domination, distinct from earlier forms of imperialism, and that it requires a new radical political response.

Negri and Hardt's approach is characterized by a deep engagement with a wide range of intellectual traditions, from classical Marxism to poststructuralism and postcolonial theory. Their analysis is both theoretical and political, and it is intended to provide a basis for a new phase of radical political struggle.

The book is divided into two parts. Part One, "Empire's Formations", examines the institutional and cultural formations of Empire, while Part Two, "Empire's Resistances", examines the possibilities of resistance and rebellion.

"Empire is not simply a description of the evolution of capitalism to a new phase. It is a modern 'grand narrative', providing an overarching view of how society (dis)functions and how it can be transformed."

The book was controversial and polarizing, with critics on both the left and the right. However, it remains an important work for anyone interested in understanding the dynamics of contemporary global power and the possibilities of resistance to it.

"Empire" was translated into many languages and has been widely discussed and debated in academic and popular circles. It is a seminal work in the field of critical geography and has inspired a wide range of subsequent research and activism.

The book has been influential in the development of critical geography and has been cited in countless academic articles and books. It has also been translated into many languages and has been widely distributed and read by activists and academics alike.

"Empire" was a groundbreaking work that challenged conventional notions of power and domination. It remains a key text in the study of globalization and the possibilities of resistance to it.
IS THE EMPEROR WEARING ANY CLOTHES?

A review of Negri and Hardt's Empire from an anarchist perspective - by Andrew Flood

The publication of Empire in 2000 created an intense level of discussion in left academic circles that even spilled over at times into the liberal press. This should please the authors, Antonio Negri, one of the main theorists of Italian 'autonomous Marxism' and a previously obscure literature professor Michael Hardt. It is clear that they see Empire as the start of a project comparable to Karl Marx's Das Kapital. The Meridit Stefano Zizek has called Empire "The Communist Manifesto for the 21st Century".

"Empire is not simply a description of the evolution of capitalism to a new form. It is a modern 'grand narrative', providing an overarching view of how society (dis)functions and how it can be transformed."
All of this suggests that US policy, including military policy, is still determined by what is best for US capitalism rather than what is best for Empire. This is not just the case for Japan but also for other Asian countries in which the imperialist powers made alliances with the local military and political regimes. However, it is also clear that the US has not abandoned its empire-building ambitions. The establishment of a US military base in the Philippines is just one example of this. Despite the criticisms of the US military, it remains a powerful force in the region and is capable of imposing its will on local governments when it is necessary.
The most obvious critique of post-modernism from an anarchist perspective is that in its rejection of the idea of a centre, the rule of the master of the program, the centrality of the working class, the Enlightenment, Scientific truth, etc., it has in fact created an entirely new kind of authoritarianism and absolute power in the form of a globalist political system. We are controlled not just by the fascist or neoliberal secret police but primarily from the state and the globalist force that is able to regulate everything we are exposed to. Rout, as Foucault was later to do, placed anarchism at the heart of his thought and practice: "the project of generating a culture of power, a new type of subject, a new form of resistance and a new form of solidarity."

And this is where things get tricky. As anyone who has tried to approach post-modernist political writing will know, the language is simply not an effective way to grasp. You are left with the strong suspicion that this impenetrable form of expression is intended to disguise the fact that there is nothing new in the way of real ideas present. Let us try and have a peek.

The most obvious question that arises from the idea of decolonized power is how will control over the working class be maintained by capital? After all, strong

One of the interesting and indeed most refreshing aspects of autonomous Marxism is that they turn the traditional left analysis of the relationship between capital and the working class on its head. The successful working class struggle that forces changes on capital. On its own, they insist, capital contains almost no creative power. Although they do accept their case there is nothing remotely quite encouraging in the overall picture of capital forced to modernize by working class struggle as opposed to a working class always being the victim of capitalist modernization...

All of this suggests that US policy, including military policy, is still determined by what is best for US capital rather than what is best for Empire. This is included in the larger context of modernization but it does offer a convincing sketch of how a truly global capitalism might exist without the need for modernization. In fact, it can be argued that the existence of Empire is now a large factor that is likely to be renewed. Much of what I covered so far is summarised quite well in the preface of the book. Fortunately it's also the easiest part to understand. But Empire is not simply a description of the evolution of capitalism to a new form. It is far wider in its aims to be a post modern "grand narrative", providing an overarching view of how society functions and how it can be transcended. It is not simply a description of the evolution of capitalism to a new form.
There are so many definitions of the word 'capitalism' and one of them is that it is a system in which the means of production and distribution are owned by private individuals or corporations. This means that the value of goods and services is determined by the market, where supply and demand are the driving forces. Capitalism is often associated with economic growth, innovation, and freedom, but it can also lead to inequality, poverty, and environmental degradation.

In this context, the author discusses the implications of capitalism for society, politics, and the economy. They argue that while capitalism has contributed to significant improvements in living standards, it has also created new problems, such as inequality and environmental degradation. The author suggests that a more balanced and sustainable approach to capitalism is needed, one that takes into account the needs of all people and the planet as a whole.

The author also mentions the role of government in regulating capitalism. They argue that a democratic government can help to ensure that capitalism serves the needs of the majority, rather than just the wealthy few. This can be achieved through policies that promote social justice, environmental sustainability, and economic fairness.

In conclusion, the author suggests that capitalism is a complex and dynamic system that requires ongoing analysis and adaptation. While capitalism has made significant contributions to human progress, it is not without its challenges. The author calls for a more balanced and sustainable approach to capitalism, one that takes into account the needs of all people and the planet as a whole.
inviting them to follow the example set by the capital. This has led to a series of formulationsподобное выражение of the same idea. For example, the struggle against colonialism has been translated into a struggle for national liberation. This has been the case in many countries, where the struggle for national liberation has been fought against colonial rule.

However, the struggle for national liberation has not been without its problems. In many cases, the struggle has been characterized by violence and civil war. This has led to the displacement of large numbers of people and the destruction of infrastructure.

Moreover, the struggle for national liberation has often been accompanied by the rise of nationalist movements. These movements have been characterized by a desire to assert national identity and to promote national culture. This has led to the promotion of cultural nationalism, which has been accompanied by the suppression of other cultures and traditions.

Despite these challenges, the struggle for national liberation has been a source of inspiration for many people. It has provided a model for the struggle for social justice and human rights. It has also provided a model for the struggle for democracy and freedom.
No War But The Glass War! Libertarian Anti-Militarism Then and Now

Edited by Anna Key, ISBN 1-876504-13-7
Kate Sharpley Library, 2003, £2

This pamphlet contains 150 pages of anti-militarist propaganda, from Spain's last imperialist adventure in 1893, through the First World War up to the 'War on Terror'. It includes Ralph Rainger's key analysis of why war is 'the state of the state' and a recent brief discussion of the modern-day.

Libertarians have opposed the armed forces as the ultimate prop of the state, a pool of scared labour and the place where the authority principle (neither, not logic) runs rampant. Anarchists have always argued that the alternative to dying for our leaders is fighting for a new world. There's a brief history of the US military, practices against the Cuban revolution and a brief discussion of the 'Angry Brigade', organisations for the 'Angry Decade', extra illustrations and a photo of the Angry Brigade. The book is an excellent introduction to the history of anti-war activism.

ANTITUDE

By Tony Allen, Gothic Image Productions

In his book, Tony Allen is concerned with how comedy comes from theatre by demolishing the fourth wall, the shared decree of acting. The book is a collection of essays on the history of the genre, showing how the rise of the second-rate style of comedians meant that personal authenticity became the norm. The essays cover the history of comedy from its origins to the present day, looking at the different styles and the different contexts in which they were performed.

Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth

Peter Glassgold (editor), Counterpoint Press 1995


Kropotkin and his support of the people in the First World War. Max Augustin argues for anarchist methods to be applied in the labour movement. Kropotkin writes on Aid and the failure of prisons. All this and much more.

A powerful collection of essays which are a testament to the validity of anarchist ideas but will inspire readers today. It is an essential work for all anarchists who seek to know the history of their movement and the knowledge that to build upon and surpass past glories.

Emmanuel Goldin is, rightly, considered a key figure in US anarchist history. You need only read "Anarchism and Other Essays" or "Red Emma Speaks" to see that she was an important thinker, able to discuss clearly and convincingly on a host of subjects. From 1896 to 1917, she helped produce the legendary Journal "Mother Earth."
Bending the Bars - by John Barker

Older readers may well remember the Angry Brigade trial in 1970. John Barker wrote a famous defence at the trial, and later remarked that they "set up a great big man" in his preface Barker calls this a "sentimental celebration" of the class spirit of many as well as an "obviously effective tactic" of his first stitch inside. Neatly so, as the former meshed would have decorated from a fascinating, humorous book. What you get in a chronological collage of the cells he was in, the mass he made, and their re- tracted perspectives on what was going on outside. It starts with a period on remand, and that first experience of the cells exercising collective power by bringing a silent in Britain prisons. The you had a lot more going on in terms of everyday politics then now, and this is reflected in the level of communist generally among the cells, and the events going on outside. The Hull prison riot particularly energises Barker. Barker tells of his own experiences, like his first acid trip or the top guy way his mates was outside and he send them when the Republican prisoners start arriving in the English prison system, he finds much to share with them. In this collected account, it’s the spirit of resistance and the imagination the prisoner’s to fight back that shines through.

Most of the book is dialogue form, which is very elaborating on. Unlike many autobiographies, it’s written in the first person and is not as a series of monologues, but as a series of dialogues between the narrator and various characters, giving the reader a sense of being inside the prison and experiencing the events firsthand. The result is a rich and engaging narrative that brings the story to life.

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The Angry Brigade: The Case and the Case
by Gordon Carr

"You can't reform profit capitalism and imperialism. Just kick it till it breaks." - Angry Brigade, communiqué 8

Between 1970 and 1979 the Angry Brigade used guns and bombs in a series of symbolic attacks against property. A series of communiques accompanied the actions, explaining the changing targets and the Angry Brigade philosophy, their autonomous organisation and attacks on property throughout other forms of militant working class action. Targets included the embassies of repressive regimes, police stations and army barracks, aristocrats and financiers, government departments and the homes of cabinet ministers, the Attorney General and the Commissioner of the Metropolitan Police.

This book covers the lives of some of the Angry Brigade members, their backgrounds and their influences, and follows their campaign and the police investigations culminating in the 'Skidmore' trial. It is based on interviews with some members of the 'Skidmore' and the Old Bailey - the longest criminal trial in British legal history.

This pamphlet reproduces the BSC document on the Angry Brigade and follows it up with this book. Written after extensive research into both the liberationist opposition and the police, it contains the essential study of Britain's first urban guerrilla group. This expanded edition is illustrated with a comprehensive chronology of the 'Angry Decade', with illustrations and a police view of the Angry Brigade trial. The book is intended to be read by interested readers and as a resource for the defence of those charged.

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Emusa Goldman is, rightly, considered a key figure in US anarchist history. You need only read "Anarchism and Other Essays" or "Red Emma Speaks" to see that she was an important thinker, able to discuss clearly and convincingly on a host of subjects. From 1901 to 1977, she helped produce the legendary journal "Mother Earth."

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Anarchy! An Anthology of Emma Goldman's Mother Earth
by Peter Glassgold, editor

The anthology itself is broken up into five sections: "Anarchism", "The Woman Question", "Literature", "Civil Liberties" and "The Single Tax." Each has its important articles, the book being an invaluable repository for anyone seeking to understand the development and spread of anarchism and related movements. You can understand why the US government suppressed it and ended Goldman and Berkman.

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No War But The Class War! Libertarian Anti-Militarism Then and Now
Edited by Anna Key, ISBN 1-877656-157

This pamphlet reproduces 150 years of anti-militarism, from Spain’s last insur- rection in 1893, through the First World War up to the "War on Terror." It includes Ralph Broume’s classic analysis of why war is the "war of the state" and a recent dispatch from occupied Iraq.

Liberalism has opposed the armed forces as the ultimate prop of the state, a pool of cheap labour and the place where the authority principle (note not logic) runs rampant. Anarchists have always argued that the alternative to dying for our leaders is fighting for a new world. There’s a brief glimpse of this book in practice, from the Ukraine’s Mikhailov’s insurrection to Spain’s revolutionary military.

Liberalism had the kind of peace that is so only a breathing space between wars but peace from below. To get all leaders and bosses off our backs, no war the class war will do.

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An attitude
by Tony Allen

In his book, Tony Allen is concerned with how comedy differs from theatre by demonstrating the 'fourth wall', the shared secret of acting. The transition from the standpoint of the audience is what Allen argues characterises performance and his book is called Attitude because attitude is what a performer needs to make that relationship work.

In a sense, it becomes clear that Allen tries to play to his home crowd, his particular political humour requiring an understanding of the world it comes from. The performer mentions that one of the crucial differences between an anarcho-squatter audience and a lefty one is that lefties don’t like how their experience is being altered by the fact that there’s no art that they can’t identify with. That art is only possible if you accept that personal behaviour is political, and that what is funny is the way in which they have to be funny.

The book is humorous and made me laugh out loud several times, but it’s not uniformly funny and certain references are very specific to the squating scene. It’s in the nature of comedy that some parts are already dated, like the famous humour of 'Have I Got News For You'; Yes, it was there, but it’s not relevant any more. Thanks to the current stream of anarcho-squats doing a weekly topical show on the Comedy Store, I stopped going comedy shows because they failed to excite me any more and I don’t think things have changed. It’s the difference is interesting when you look at the current mix of the media and the radicalism of the left parties and the effectiveness of their programmes.
Bullshit Detector

A Review of ‘May ‘68 and its Afterlives’ by Kristin Ross

The events of May 1968 in Paris are one of the great legacies of the sixties. They show that no matter what concessions are made to create social peace (bigger cages, longer chains) revolution still has plenty to offer; and not just to groups of political nit-pickers. Whole swathes of people can get up and say ‘Enough of this! We want to live!’ Such inspiring examples, when too large to be ignored, have to be explained away. The rivers of ink which have been used to try and blot out this significance are the subject of May ‘68 and its Afterlives. This is an academic book, and the author’s not afraid to come out with lines like this: ‘Liberation would play a central role in producing and circulating the tropes and images through which May came progressively to be transcoded.’ (page 16) Thankfully, most of the book is clearer than that. If this book has a sound, it’s the sound of an axe being sharpened, rather than someone applauding their own cleverness. Ross has her axe out for accounts of May ‘68 which attempt to portray it as a high-spirited tea party rather than a revolutionary situation, or paint it as the growing pains of capitalism, not an attempt to destroy it. It’s important because it reveals the agenda of those who focus on students in Paris in May and sweep under the carpet the unruly workers all across France - before and after May. All history runs the risk of getting tangled in myth, and it’s very pleasing to see the process of deliberate falsification and its purpose laid bare. Make no mistake, the neo-liberal fuckers are just as bad as the Stalinists.

Anarchists would do well to read this since the examination of the ‘prehistory’ may challenge a few myths of the ‘Situationists’ paint great slogans on walls, and Paris erupts’ type. But the greatest strength of this book is that it gives some sense of the liberation people felt, freed from being bounced between working and consuming, able to get on with living - a yawning gap opening up between the world as it is and the world-as-it-could-be. My favourite example of this is the origins of those famous posters, the artists first produced some to sell to support the movement. These were taken off them and flyposted—art goes immediately from being just another commodity to something useful. The discussion of the political process during the ferment of May plays up the importance of equality, direct democracy and self-management. It also explains the role of capitalism’s expert loyal opposition - the unions and Communist Party in the destruction of the movement - and that of ‘expert’ historians and ex-militants (poachers turned gamekeepers) in making sure the idea of liberation stays dead. ‘Anonymous militants, neither celebrities nor martyrs, people embedded at the time in the texture of everyday neighbourhood grassroots activity - these are the voices that by the mid 1980s had all but disappeared from any version of ‘68, eclipsed by those who had become the post-facto stars, leaders and spokesmen for the movement.’ (page 143)

This is not a study of the events of May themselves - there are no pictures of barricades - but it is a great mental detonator to encourage us to look at them and their meaning. Hopefully next time we’ll remember that everything must change and that the privileges of experts - even experts of revolution or social change - are trouble waiting to happen.

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