

Fighting Global Capitalism



Our Globalisation

Inside:

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The world's 225 richest people have a combined wealth equal to the combined annual income of the world's 2.5 billion poorest people. A 4 percent levy on their wealth would provide adequate food, safe water and sanitation, basic education, basic health care and reproductive health care for all those in the developing countries.

In the USA the wealth of the top 1% is greater than that of the bottom 95%. In Mexico 40 people own 30% of the wealth in that country of 95 million people. The housing crisis in Ireland demonstrates how even during an economic boom the gains don't go to the working class.

The last 40 years have seen massive economic development and an increase in human knowledge. In the last 50 years man has gone to the moon and sequenced the human genome. But the capitalist system which delivered these miracles is unable to help the tens of millions who die every year because they lack access to basic medicine and clean water. According to the UN 2.6 billion people have no access to sanitation, 2 billion have no electricity and 100 million are homeless.

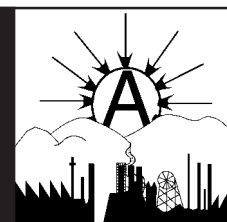
This inequality is fundamental to the way that capitalism works. This is why anarchists have and will continue to be at the heart of the anti-capitalist protests. But protest is not enough, we want to change the world.

This pamphlet tells you about the global bodies that capitalism has constructed and how we can oppose them.

Workers Solidarity
Movement

2001
PDF edition

www.struggle.ws/wsm



Globalisation: the end of the age of imperialism?

IT HAS BECOME increasingly fashionable to use the term globalisation as a description of the international economy and international political relations. Globalisation is meant to have taken over from imperialism, when a handful of large states openly and directly ran most or the world.

The bosses' magazine, *The Economist*, ran a major article on this New World Order called '*The New Geopolitics*' last July. It described this supposed transformation: "*The imperial age was a time when countries A, B and C took over the governments of countries X, Y and Z. The aim now is to make it possible for the peoples of X, Y and Z to govern themselves, freeing them from the local toughs who deny them that right.*"

Many on the left, including some anarchists, have critically adapted this description of the New World Order. Central to this is the idea that the rapid movement of money made possible by the 'information age' and the growth of multinationals means that the age of imperialism - when powerful nation states dominated the world - has been replaced by a more abstract and invisible but equally powerful rule by capital which is not tied to any state.

At first sight such a description seems compelling, it is 'common sense' that international trade has increased and that treaties like the European Union are breaking down the old nation state. But does globalisation provide us with an accurate description of how the world works?

In fact the *Economist* article admits that "...before the first world war some rich countries were doing almost as much trade with the outside world as a proportion of GDP as they are doing now (and Japan was doing far more)". Assuming 'rich' to be a polite word for 'imperialist' here, what has changed is in fact the sheer volume of world trade (and wealth) along with the fact that smaller countries are now far more involved.

End of the nation state?

But this is not the end of the nation state. In fact since 1914 the number of states had rocketed from 62 to 74 by 1946 and today it stands at 193. The other surprise is that in the wealthy nations state spending as a percentage of GDP (a measure of the relative wealth of a country) has actually increased since 1980. The central idea of globalisation - capital becoming increasingly independent of any

particular nation state therefore has to be questioned. Again the *Economist* is unusually honest here in asking what is "*the central reason why a state remains*". It answers "*the State is still the chief wielder of organised armed force*".

Recent wars clearly divide into two types. Some involve geographic neighbours fighting each other, commonly over border demarcations like India and Pakistan. Others involve interventions by countries that may be 1000's of km's away, most commonly on the basis of 'humanitarian intervention' as with the UN interventions in Iraq and Somalia or the NATO intervention in Kosovo. But when we look at these second type of interventions we find that, far from the distant countries being a random collection or selected according to size, every single one of these interventions has been led by one country, the USA.

Beyond this the second and third most important forces in the intervention will also be drawn from a very small pool of countries including Britain, France and Italy. Clearly, on the military side at least, such interventions are not random but are dominated by a small number of what the more old fashioned amongst us would term imperialist powers.

The US is the dominant power and, with its NATO junior partners, has proved able to dictate to any and every other nation on the planet. Indeed NATO has no realistic rivals. The closest you might come is an imaginary alliance of China and Russia. This would face a power with not only a larger and far better equipped military force but which also has over ten times the economic muscle (NATO's GDP in 1997 was 16,255 billion dollars, Russia's was 447, China's 902).

However the spread of democratic ideas, and knowledge about other countries, has meant that 'old style' imperialism has lost its popularity. That is why imperialism today is far more likely to hide behind 'humanitarianism' and a whole range of supposedly international bodies. When we look at these 'international' bodies, however, we find that they are constructed in such a way that only the major powers have a real say in decision

making.

The United Nations

The United Nations was the great hope for many as an alternative to war, or to a peace where rich countries could do as they please. Even today many well-meaning people all too often refer to the UN as if it was an alternative to US or NATO domination of the globe. The UN may claim to be a global body representing all countries, but in reality - for effective intervention - it may only act with the say so of a tiny number of powerful military powers. These are the five permanent members of the Security Council (USA, Britain, France, Russia and China), each with the ability to veto any intervention that goes against their interests.

In effect the UN is a cover behind which these countries can wage war when it suits them - as when the UN supposedly went into Iraq to protect Kuwaiti sovereignty in the 1991 Gulf war. But they can stop the UN acting in other cases, so for instance no UN body invaded the US to protect Nicaraguan sovereignty when the Reagan administration were mining its harbours in the 1980's.

Even where the smaller countries disapprove and partly block military action behind the UN banner, the NATO countries have proved adept at ignoring calls for negotiated solutions and using UN resolutions as an excuse for war as in the ongoing bombing of Iraq. Often these excuses are astounding hypocritical. NATO could bomb Serbia supposedly to protect ethnic Albanians living in Kosovo from Serbian paramilitaries yet stands by while Turkey (a NATO member) massacres ethnic Kurds.

The Security Council mechanism by which the major powers control the UN and hence military intervention is quite well known on the left. However what is not so widely realised are the similar mechanisms that exist by which - without resorting to arms - the major imperialist powers, and the US in particular, can control the world economy. Once this is revealed the idea of globalisation becomes no more than a cheap card trick designed to disguise and take away our attention from the imperialist domination of the world.

Economic control - Debt, the World Bank and the IMF

One aspect of this economic control has recently got a lot of attention, if perhaps a little indirectly. That is the massive debt owed by 'Third World' countries. The Jubilee 2000 campaign, which demands that 'unpayable' debt be abolished, has had considerable success in mobilising tens of thousands on demonstrations in support of this demand. Some 800,000 people in Ireland alone have signed the

petition for the abolition of the debt. What is seldom mentioned is the central part debt plays for the western powers in dictating how third world economies are organised.

The debt crisis of the late 1970's and early 1980's proved an ideal leverage for the western powers to force 'free trade' on the 'third world'. This occurred when third world countries faced with falling incomes and rising interest rates defaulted on their loans.

Before this many countries had followed a policy of 'import substitution' which meant that they tried to manufacture goods like, for instance, cars that they had previously imported. Without suggesting this sort of policy offered a positive alternative role it did have one big disadvantage for the imperialist powers, it tended to deny them both markets and cheap raw materials.

What the imperialist powers wanted, and what they essentially have won, was a system where the third world provided cheap raw materials & labour and acted as a market to consume the products of companies with their bases in the imperialist countries. But for obvious reasons this would not be a popular policy for the people of those countries, except perhaps the few who could be promised a share of the profits generated if they would administer the system.

When the debt crisis hit in the mid-1980's, starting with Mexico's declaration that it was unable to repay loans in 1982, the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund stepped in. Despite the fact that these institutions are household names most people have very little idea of what they do or how they function. Until recently they were quite happy to keep things that way.

One dollar - one vote

In summary, both these bodies are designed in a way which favours the powerful western nations - they are based on the pro-business principle of "one dollar - one vote". What is more, their internal decision making structure gives the US a veto - enabling it to block any decisions that go against its economic interests. They are technically part of the UN structure, but in reality the western powers have an even greater say in them than they have in the UN. In the case of the IMF the US holds 17% of the vote while only 15% is required for a veto. In the case of the World Bank it has managed to insist that every single president is a US citizen. Thanks in particular to the debt crisis, the power of these institutions is so great that no country can defy their dictates without losing the ability to engage in foreign trade.

The debt crisis forced most developing na-

tions to hand over control of at least part of their economies to the IMF and World Bank. This occurred in the 1980's when individual countries became unable to repay loans. At that stage the IMF and World Bank would step in and 'offer' to facilitate re-structuring of the loans providing the country concerned implemented an IMF dictated 'Structural Adjustment Program'.

Typically these involve removing barriers to imports and removing whatever protection of workers 'rights' and pay exists. This is usually achieved through high inflation, privatisation and anti-union laws (and indeed physical repression). Alongside this, spending on education and health are slashed. In the 1980's an official of the Inter-American Development Bank described these as "*an unparalleled opportunity to achieve, in the debtor countries, the structural reforms favoured by the Reagan administration*".

The payoff

It shouldn't be imagined, through, that this means the local ruling class likes these policies. In reality today most Latin American economies are controlled by locally born but US educated economics graduates. As Latin American intellectual Xavier Gorostiaga observed "*Neo-liberalism has united the elite's of the South with those of the North and created the biggest convergence of financial, technological and military power in history*".

In 1960, the income of the wealthiest 20% of the world's population was 30 times greater than that of the poorest 20%. Today it is over 60 times greater. The top 20%, though, is too crude a measure. According to the UN "*the assets of the 200 richest people are more than the combined income of 41% of the world's people*".

This highlights what is perhaps the major post-war change to the imperialist system. Before the war the old colonialist countries like Britain and France had controlled it. They favoured a very obvious system of direct rule with the local ruling class being composed of people sent out from the imperialist country for that purpose. This system caused great resentment amongst the local middle class as it denied them the possibility of promotion into these roles, and more often than not the racist nature of the imperialist power meant the local middle class had to put up with all sorts of petty oppressions.

The post-war years saw many anti-colonial revolts in which the working class and peasants, under middle class leadership, united to throw out the imperialists. With the growth of these movements, and the growth in the military and economic might of the US, the old imperialist powers were frequently defeated and a section of the local ruling class

would take over the running of the country, often with American aid but sometimes with Russian aid.

As US dominance grew a post-colonial system was constructed where, in return for accepting terms of trade favourable to US business, the local ruling class would be allowed some local control. Some, of course, were not happy with this but by the 1980's the debt crisis on the one hand and the collapse of the USSR on the other meant they had little choice and most came over.

The US has constructed a 'New World Order' in which it pulls almost all the economic and military strings. With such control there is no need for it to rely on 'old fashioned' direct imperialist control. Through the IMF/World Bank and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) it can set the rules of global trade with its junior partners of the G7 nations (the seven most powerful economies).

Recently it has not flinched from using these powers on its 'junior partners' in particular with its attempts at imposing Genetically Modified foods on reluctant European states. The handful of 'rogue' states that are reluctant to accept its rule have been easily contained, militarily and economically in the case of North Korea and Cuba or bombed into the stone age in the case of the ongoing war against Iraq.

Those who suffer from this new imperial order include the workers and peasants of the developing world. Real wages in most African countries have fallen by 50-60% since the early 1980s and in Mexico, Costa Rica and Bolivia average wages have fallen by a third since 1980. But workers in parts of the developed world, and in particular the US, have also seen falling living standards and wages.

This global economic order had given new weapons to the major companies by which they can dictate economic policy to even the governments of the developed world. The threat of mass withdrawal of investment has essentially ended the post-war social democratic compromise throughout Europe, in particular in countries like Britain.

The nation state continues to be central to this 'New World Order'. Multinationals may trade everywhere but their headquarters, administrative and research facilities are concentrated in the imperialist nations. The recent trade war about bananas grown in the Caribbean, for instance, was fought between US and European based transnationals, despite the fact that neither grows significant quantities of bananas.

Andrew Flood

[based on an article in Workers Solidarity No 58 published in Oct 1999]

Against the WTO Against Capitalism

The problem with the World Trade Organisation is not simply a problem of bad decisions, it is a problem with capitalism itself. The decisions of the WTO may often seem to be crazy to ordinary people but to business they make sense. It represents the continued ascendancy of profit over people.

With or without the WTO we live in a crazy world, where people count for nothing while capital counts for everything. How else can we explain how according to the UN "the assets of the 200 richest people are more than the combined income of 41% of the world's people." And the poverty of those at the bottom is thrown into stark relief when you consider that over one billion live on less than a dollar a day. The result of this global madness; 17 million children die every year of easily preventable diseases. More generally one third of people in the Third World do not reach the age of 40.

We must be clear that abolishing or reforming the WTO will not in itself make a significant change to these figures. The problem is with the capitalist system itself, a system that can put a man on the moon but cannot provide clean water to all of the world's population. This is not because the system is run by bad people – the rules of competition and profit which today we are meant to worship means that if it doesn't turn a profit it's not worth doing.

It is worth organising against the WTO precisely because it is a figurehead of world capital. But let's not fool ourselves that if it

can be reformed or abolished this would make any real difference. It is the capitalist system itself that is rotten and that must be got rid of.

What is the World Trade Organisation?

The World Trade Organisation is the international body that tries to set rules for trade between countries. It was set up out of the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) in 1995. Its conferences are dominated by the imperialist powers (the US, Canada, the EU and Japan) who can afford to send huge 'negotiation' teams and who determine the agenda each day. In turn the policies these teams argue for are determined by the wishes of big business in the form of the multinational based in these countries.

The WTO has the power to decide that any given country is erecting barriers to trade. Often this translates into multinationals objecting to laws that give some local protection to workers or the environment. Right now for instance Canada is taking a case on behalf of its multinational asbestos

industry that seeks to overturn the ban on the use of asbestos in construction.

The WTO is a rich man's club. It is integral to the global nature of modern capitalism. But it is meeting growing opposition. The WTO only serves the interests of multinational corporations

The WTO is not a democratic institution, and yet its policies impact all aspects of society and the planet. The WTO rules are written by and for corporations with inside access to the negotiations as is shown below

The WTO has ruled that it is:

1) illegal for a government to ban a product based on the way it is produced (i.e. with child labor); and

2) governments cannot take into account the behaviour of companies that do business with vicious dictatorships such as Burma.

Under the guise of removing "barriers to trade", corporations are using the WTO to dismantle hard-won environmental protections. In 1993 the first WTO panel ruled that a regulation of the US Clean Air Act, which required domestic and foreign producers alike to produce cleaner gasoline, was illegal.

The WTO's fierce defense of intellectual property rights—patents, copyrights and trademarks—comes at the expense of health and human lives. The US government, on behalf of US drug companies, is trying to block developing countries' access to less expensive, generic, life-saving drugs.

During the most recent period of rapid growth in global trade and investment - 1960 to 1998 - inequality worsened both internationally and within countries.

[based on Anarchist News No 21 Nov 1999]

TRIPS and the WTO - killing millions for massive profits

In Africa millions of people are sick and dying from AIDS although drugs exist which could significantly improve their health and lengthen their lifespan. However, even though these drugs could be produced cheaply enough to fight against the epidemic, they are currently far too expensive for virtually any African to afford. The reason that they are denied any chance of lifesaving treatment is the lust for profits of the pharmaceutical multinationals, which own patents for the drugs.

The World Trade Organisation's Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights (TRIPS) was created to allow multinational corporations to demand that their 'ownership' of intellectual patents be respected in all countries. Among other things, it allows them to prevent third world countries from making cheap versions of the AIDS drugs which are currently the only hope of survival for tens of millions of Africans.

The cost of manufacturing patented drugs is a tiny fraction of their price. Before the

TRIPS agreement, India, Brazil and several other countries developed industries capable of copying the formulas of drugs and mass producing cheap generic versions which could then be distributed all over the third world. These generic drugs often cost less than one-tenth the price of the patented drugs. However, the 4 enormous multinationals, which dominate the pharmaceutical industry, didn't like this.

Despite the fact that they already made fat profits, they argued that they needed to be protected against these generic manufactur-

ers and that their high prices were needed to reward their innovations. They neglected to add that they in fact spend far less money on research than on marketing and only a tiny amount of money is spent on combating the serious diseases of the third world. The dirty work for the drug companies is done by the US government, which was responsible for the TRIPS clause of the WTO.

This clause grants them a global 20-year monopoly over the drugs, which they develop, and provides for trade sanctions against any country which doesn't protect this monopoly.

However, the TRIPS agreement did allow for some exceptions to this law of patents on drugs. In cases of national epidemics, governments can unilaterally take over the production of certain drugs and produce them locally at a price set by the government. This is known as 'compulsory licensing'.

Yet this small concession is too much for the multinationals. The US government has used aggressive tactics against any country that makes use of these licences, threatening them with sanctions and loss of trading privileges. India, Brazil and the Dominican Republic have already faced these

threats.

In Africa, despite the fact that AIDS is clearly a rampant epidemic, the US government did everything it could to prevent the development of generic AIDS drugs. It was only a few months before the presidential election, after Al Gore had been embarrassed by protestors during his campaign, that Clinton reversed the US policy and promised not to 'retaliate' against African countries which attempted to make generic AIDS drugs. Now, with the elections over, and Bush at the helm it seems likely that this reversal won't last long.

TRIPS is concerned with all elements of intellectual property rights, life-saving drugs are only the most emotive and obviously unjust part of the agreement. The agreement essentially copper-fastens the monopoly of developed countries, especially the US, over all aspects of technology. Developing countries are forbidden from copying the products and processes of the developed world, ensuring that they will never be able to challenge their position at the bottom of the global economic order.

This private ownership of ideas and innovation is a detriment to all scientific ad-

vance. Innovation and new technologies are never the product of one mind or one company; rather they build on a multitude of minuscule advances achieved over many years of rational inquiry.

For one company to claim ownership of an idea, which is built upon the discoveries of countless scientists working over centuries, is preposterous. The corporations who own these ideas are thieves, stealing the product of centuries of thought from humanity and repackaging it to safeguard their massive profits. If property is theft, intellectual property is grand larceny.

It is no surprise that the WTO is the organisation responsible for TRIPS. The WTO is designed to promote and defend the rights of corporations on a global level. TRIPS is their attempt to appropriate for themselves all the achievements of human science, to be sold back to us at a profit. The aggressive support of the US government for the WTO and TRIPS is virtually enough to force every developing country to comply.

Sanctions or trade restrictions by the US would be enough to cripple most developing economies. If this causes the unnecessary deaths of millions of voiceless Africans, so be it. They are merely collateral damage

on the road to the new world order.

Happily, this huge crime is not without its opponents. The wave of anti-capitalist and anti-globalisation protests against the WTO and other international financial institutions has shown that there is significant opposition to corporate and capitalist rule. Activists in the US succeeded in raising the issue of AIDS in Africa through a campaign of protests and demonstrations. The scale of the disaster in Africa is such that the US government was forced to back down when the reality of the situation was brought to public attention.

Still this is but a temporary setback to the march of the new world order. The multinationals will continue their advance; their project remains very much alive. The movements of opposition need to continue to grow and develop if they are to have any chance of stopping the inhumane system that is being constructed around us. For Africa, it could already be too late to stop the disaster.

Chekov Feeney

[based on an article in Workers Solidarity No64 published in May 2001]

General Agreement on Trade in Services

"Suspicion is growing that national governments are no longer in the driving seat—that most crucial decisions on trade and economic policy are being made in the boardrooms of multinational corporations and round the table at the World Trade Organisation"

New Scientist Editorial June 9th 20001

Increasingly decisions made behind closed doors by Bureaucrats in the World Trade Organisation (WTO), the European Union (EU) and the like are impacting directly on everyone's lives. The General Agreement on Trade in Services is once such decision. The GATS were first brokered in 1994 as part of the much older General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade first signed in 1948. According to the WTO the GATS agreements cover 160 services sectors including telecoms, transport, distribution, postal services, real estate, insurance, construction, environment, tourism and entertainment. Few people realised when the deal was first done that the WTO also includes healthcare, education, housing, water, waste management and other basic services usually run by government agencies.

The agenda of the GATS agreement is quite simple to privatise as many services as possible opening them to international competition. You can access the text of the agreement on the WTO's website (www.wto.org). The preamble states the aims as

"wishing to establish a multilateral framework of principles and rules for trade in services with a view to the expansion of such trade under conditions of transparency and progressive liberalization"

"Liberalization" means privatisation. True the treaty makes allowances for some countries being introduced at a slower rate but it also states clearly that liberalisation once achieved must be "irreversible. Services are to be taken out of the hands of governments and sold to the highest bidder. What does this mean in practise?

In the Spring of last year thousands of residents of Cochabamba Bolivia seized control of the cities central plaza to protest at a dramatic increase in their water bills which had more than doubled in one go. There was a violent military crackdown and uprisings throughout the country. Six people were killed and hundreds injured. (A full account of this struggle can be found at www.globalexchange.org) The targets of the protest was Aguas Del Tunari (ADT) the local water utility that had just been privatised and a major part sold to International Water Limited an affiliate of the San Francisco based Bechtel Group. The government had to back down and cancelled ADT's contract.

What is significant about this besides the heroic struggle are 2 things

Firstly at every stage of the way the WTO and the World Bank insisted in this privatisation. In February 1996 they told the

mayor of Cochabamba that unless it privatised there would be no World Bank money for the water system. In July 1997 World Bank officials told the Bolivian president in Washington that the privatisation of the Cochabamba water was a pre condition for debt relief from themselves and International Monetary fund.

The second issue of significance is that Bechtel having incorporated International Water Limited as a Dutch company is now suing the Bolivian Government under a 1992 trade agreement between Holland and Bolivia for \$25 million in damages and lost profits!

Well you might say corrupt tin pot dictatorships in South America – it could never happen in the Western World. Think again! One of the key articles in GATS as currently under negotiation is article VI.4 the so-called "Necessity test". In a trade dispute final authority will rest with the GATS Disputes Panel to decide whether a national law restricting the operation of a transnational company is "necessary"

A very weak version of such a necessity test is already incorporated in the North American Free Trade Agreement. Recently the state of California banned a petrol additive MBTE that was contaminating water supplies. The Canadian manufacturer of the chemical filed a complaint and is looking for \$976 million. According to them the Californians should dig up every petrol tank in the state and reseal them and hire a swarm of inspectors to make sure that it is done just right. To just take the chemical out would be "trade restrictive". According to Gregory Palast in the Observer (April 15th 2001) *"The GATS version of the Necessity Test is NAFTA on steroids"*

Conor McLoughlin

Your money or Your life

The World Bank and its actions..

If you've ever owed money to a bank, you'll know it's not a pleasant experience. Depending on whether they think you're good for the money, the bank will either screw you in the short term or milk you dry over the longer haul. Banks are in the business of making money and generally they'll stop at nothing to get their way.

Right now across the world, the lives of millions of people are in the hands of two of the most powerful financial institutions ever created - the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank (WB). These banks hold the lion's share of the debt currently owed by the 'Third World'. This debt first accumulated in the '70s when poorer countries borrowed in order to develop their economies. But when the world recession hit in the '80s huge numbers of countries found they couldn't repay their loans - this was when the IMF and WB first stepped in.

Turmoil

To understand why the so called 'debt crisis' has happened we need to look back at why the WB and IMF were set up. This relates to when the world economy collapsed for the first time 70 years ago - an event often called The Great Depression. One of the major consequences of the Great Depression was a realisation by those in power that the world's economic system was unstable. This instability has given rise to massive poverty and social turmoil and one of the most worrying consequences of this was the trend towards revolution in Europe, Asia and South America.

When World War 2 neared conclusion, bankers and financiers from the Western countries met at Breton Woods to consider how best to minimise future economic instability and collapse. One of the key decisions taken was to set up IMF and the WB. These two institutions would be financed by the Western powers and their primary role would be to 'manage' the international financial markets - releasing money in times of shortage, withdrawing cash in times of surplus.

The WB and the IMF played a major role in avoiding a world depression when they took over responsibility for the 'bad debt' incurred by 'Third World' countries by the mid 1980s. Much of this debt was initially owed to private banks like Barclays, Credit Lyons, Chase Manhattan etc. In order to stave off a disaster (and the collapse of a number of major Western

banks) the IMF and WB moved in and 'lent' money to a wide range of countries who were about to default on these loans. This saved the big 'private banks' from disaster and it also put the IMF and WB into an unassailable position of power - that they have never relinquished since.

Force

Since the mid 1980s nearly 70 countries in the world have been 'forced' to adopt 'Structural Adjustment Programs' designed and developed by the WB and the IMF. Backed up by the massive economic power of the United States, Japan and the European Union these SAPs (as they are known) were supposed to 'revive' Third World economies. Instead they've led to disaster and massive poverty. Because of SAPs, local economies and wages have collapsed; basic services like sanitation, water, health and education have fallen apart. Meanwhile the burden of debt has been forced onto the poorest of



the poor with the result that poverty has increased, life expectancy has deteriorated and infant mortality has soared.

While it's not difficult to see why the SAPs have failed (instead of promoting investment they sucked the money supply from local economies) it is important to remember that these programs were never intended to be anything other than

harsh. More to the point the SAPs have played an important role in the long term economic strategy of the West. This strategy is all about making Third World economies more dependent (the word they use is integrated!) on Western needs and in particular more open to exploitation by Western multinationals; SAPs also guarantee the West a massive supply of cheap labour.

Democracy...?

The power that the IMF and WB now have is enormous. They are dictating to millions of people about how they should live and in what way. For many their policies mean an early death, or if that doesn't come then a life of harsh exploitation and low wages.

What do anarchists say about what should be done? There are a few points that need to be made. Firstly we have to ask why it is the world economy (and the lives of millions) is under the control of just a small number of Western bankers? Should this be happening and why do we have to accept it? Secondly, in the world right now, there is a massive surplus of wealth. The personal fortune of Bill Gates alone would sort out most of the major health and educational needs of billions of people (with change left over). So the problem in other words is not the generation of wealth but how it is distributed. And the problem of wealth distribution as we all know, is one of power and politics. Lastly we need ask ourselves why the 'Third World' is in such debt? If we look at the issue we will see that much

of the problems of the Third World stem from the historic exploitation of the African, Asia and Latin Americas by the West - or to use a more accurate term, the problem stems from imperialism. This is a legacy that we shouldn't accept and a legacy that has to be fought against.

Anarchists want a democratic economy. We want every 'unit' of the world's economy (down to smallest workplace, office and farm) to be organised along egalitarian lines - election of managers, assemblies to organise work and work conditions; participation and active decision making by workers in all the aspects of the work that they do. This is the sort of 'macro-economics' that we are planning for in the long term. But first - and this cannot be forgotten for one moment - we must wrest real power and control from the hands of the WB, the IMF.

Kevin Doyle

[based on an article published in Workers Solidarity No60 published in September 2000]

What is wrong with the G8?

Make no mistake, in Genoa, as elsewhere two incompatible visions of the world will collide. On the one side are the G8, the most powerful governments of the planet. They are Canada, France, Germany, Japan, Great Britain, Italy, Russia and the United States. On the other are tens of thousands of ordinary people, many of them citizens of these countries.

The G8 summits effectively decide what sort of world you and your children will live in. Behind closed doors decisions are made that mean our environment is sacrificed to profit, our health service is run down and privatised and millions of people continue to die for want of clean water and basic medicine.

The G8 summit will plan directives to the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank, which impose cuts in education and healthcare through *"Structural Adjustment Programmes"*. According to Trocaire *"Sub Saharan Africa still pays US\$37 million each day in debt repayments while seven million children die annually as a direct result of the loss of resources through debt repayments"*. These are the results of the neo liberal (or free market) dictatorship that the G8 is imposing on the planet.

In 1998, that 20 percent of the world's people living in the highest-income countries accounted for 86 percent of total private

consumption expenditures while the poorest 20 percent accounted for only 1.3 percent. And things are getting worse, not better, three decades ago the poorest 20% accounted for 2.3 percent.

But this is not simply a case of the people of the rich western countries screwing the people of the third world. The figures demonstrate this also. The United States is the most powerful economic power on Earth. In 1999 Bill Gates had more wealth than the bottom 45 percent of American households. As of 1995 the wealth of the top one percent of Americans was greater than that of the bottom 95 percent. And there also things are getting worse. In 1999 Business Week revealed that top executives earned 419 times the average wage of a blue-collar worker, up from 326:1 in 1998. In 1980, the ratio was 42:1

We say the G8 is at the top of a system of exploitation and human misery, a system

whose role it is to preserve. We are not pleading with them to be reasonable. We are saying their world must come to an end! The world's people need an economy based on filling their needs, not on making profits. We need a political system without professional politicians; a federation of self managed communities and workplaces. This is not a demand we make of the G8 - the world we need cannot come from above but must be won through the struggle of all of us below.

Debt relief & Democracy

Polls show huge majorities in favour of debt cancellation. In Britain for instance 69% of the public would have liked to see the government celebrate the Millennium by cancelling Third World debts. In Ireland hundreds of thousands signed a Jubilee 2000 petition for debt cancellation.

While the G8 summit, for PR reasons, talks of poverty relief the reality is that even the limited debt cancellation programs agreed to date have been farcical. The report *From Debt to Poverty Eradication* revealed that *"The total reduction in debt repayments delivered for all 41 countries since the adoption of the HIPC (Highly Indebted Poor Countries) programme in 1996 amounted to only US\$1.1 billion. In that time, the 41 HIPC countries paid a total of US\$35 billion towards their outstanding debts"*.

[based on an article published in Anarchist News 22, July 2001]

Opposing the Nice treaty

Seattle, Quebec, Prague and Nice are all cities which have seen furious confrontations between those pushing the agenda of capitalist 'globalisation' (neo liberalism) and those who oppose it. Those pushing this agenda are made up of the world's elite - politicians and billionaires. They meet behind closed doors, discussing secret documents and surrounded by thousands of riot police, to prevent interruption from the 'unwashed masses' protesting outside.

The people of the planet have no say whatsoever in their decision making. Our rulers and bosses make the decisions in secret.

The real agenda of the Nice treaty is a world for profit not people. We won't stop this agenda by voting against the treaty but it is a minor part of building a struggle for a different world. One based on globalisation in the interests of all the world's people rather than the wealthy minority who run the system now.

In the 'global' world the bosses are building, borders are removed for money but are reinforced to prevent the free movement of people. This has human costs, not simply in terms of unemployment in Ireland (e.g. the movement of Fruit of the Loom textile factories from Donegal to Morocco) but also

in the maintenance of vicious low pay and anti-union regimes on the edges of the EU. Workers fleeing these regimes for the EU are drowning in their hundreds as they attempt the dangerous night crossing from North Africa to Spain.

In this 'global' world the multinational drug companies are trying to use 'intellectual property' laws to prevent the manufacture of cheap anti-AIDS drugs for the tens of millions dying because of AIDS in Africa. They want to protect profits rather than save lives. Nice includes the introduction of qualified majority voting on intellectual property matters which will make it easier to agree and enforce such laws.

Biotechnology companies want to force the importation of genetically modified foods into Europe and even to outlaw the labelling of foodstuffs to indicate they contain GM foods.

The EU imposed 'free market' in *"trade in services"* means privatisation of public services. This targets not only obvious services like transport and telecommunications but also education and healthcare. This results in

1) The increased cost of services as the private business seeks to maximise its profits

2) A decreased quality of service for the same reasons, in particular for those who for one reason or another are less profitable or less able to pay for the service

3) Job losses, speed ups and longer hours for those who work in providing these services.

The Nice treaty will set up a European Rapid Reaction Force whose aggressive purpose is revealed by its design - it is to be able to intervene up to 4,000 kilometres from the borders of Europe! Ireland will not only supply troops to this force but will have to spend £450 million on it.

EU Commission President Romano Prodi in an interview with The (British) Independent on 4 February 2000 said *"If you don't want to call it a European army, don't call it a European army. You can call it 'Margaret', you can call it 'Mary-Anne', you can find any name, but it is a joint effort for peace-keeping missions"*. The bombing of Baghdad and Belgrade were both carried out under the cover of 'peace-keeping'.

The bosses want us to provide not only the labour to make their profits but also the muscle to protect them. As Des O'Malley TD explained "Irish troops should be prepared to fight to defend North Sea oil" (speaking to a delegation from the Peace and Neutrality Alliance, 14/5/98).

[based on an anarchist Vote no to Nice leaflet distributed for the Irish referendum]

The anarchist economic alternative to globalisation

An immediate question springs to mind: has an alternative society every existed, and has such a society existed for long enough to be useful to us as an alternative model to the economic model of capitalism. The answer to both these questions - and this may surprise you - is YES. The most elaborate and extensive alternative economy ever created in human history existed in Spain between the years 1936-38. Estimates of the number of people involved range between 5 and 7 million; the sorts of industries that took part were both urban and rural in nature.

What was it about this society that made it alternative? I would say there were two principle features that made the Spanish Revolution Model an 'alternative to capitalism'. In the first place, production and distribution of goods and services was to serve human needs and not profits. In some sections of the alternative economy created in Spain during the revolution, money was abolished. As long a people made a reasonable contribution to the work of the community or collective there were free to part take of the goods and services that that community was able to produce. In sense the economy operated in the direction of the philosophy, 'From Each According To Their Ability, To Each According to Their Needs'.

The second feature of this alternative economic model in Spain was what we might call 'the democratic element.' And perhaps it is this as much as anything that marks this Spanish example out as one of the most unique and far reaching in the annals of human history. Democracy is a much abused word, but in the Spanish revolution for one of the very first times in human history, workers replaced the 'authoritarian' running of economy with a democratic alternative. What do I mean by this, 'a democratic alternative'? Basically what I am saying is that in any workplace - from a factory to an office to farm to a hospital, the administration or management of the enterprise was on the basis of an elected and recallable management. In other words instead of having the management of a company imposed by the 'owners' or the shareholders of a company the workers on the basis that they were the ones who did the work and made the wealth decided that they should select the management. This idea is more generally called 'workers self-management' and I would argue that it has to be in place if we are ever to talk meaningfully about a real alternative economy.

In the Spanish revolution a huge number of industries were collectivised and run democratically. In the Catalonia area, the industrial heartland of Spain, for example over 3,000 enterprises came under workers self-management. This included all public transportation services, shipping, electric and power companies, gas and water works, engineering and automobile assembly plants, mines, cement works, textile mills and paper factories, electrical and chemical concerns, glass bottle factories and per-

fumeries, food processing plants and breweries.

On the land the scale of the revolutionary transformation was equally dramatic. The major areas being Aragon where there were 450 collectives, the Levant (the area around Valencia) with 900 collectives and Castille (the area surrounding Madrid) with 300 collectives. Not only was the land collectivised but also in the villages, workshops were set up where the local trades - people could produce tools, furniture, etc. Bakers, butchers, barbers and so on also decided to collectivise.

Spain is an important and valid example of how a democratic economy geared towards people's needs can actually work. The economy lasted for nearly two years and survived in a climate that was less than hospitable. Remember that Spain in that time was immersed in the Civil War and just as importantly there was bitter political struggle to be contended with - with anarchists on one side defending workers self-management, with liberals and the Spanish Communist party opposed to the idea. These aspects placed enormous pressures on the alternative model of economic organisation, nevertheless that model survived and even thrived until its eventual military suppression towards the end of the Civil War.

In the context of the discussion here today then, the example of democratic economic model that emerged in Spain emphasises some key points that are pertinent to our discussion here today:

Firstly it refutes the argument of the bosses and those capitalist economist who say we can only run a modern economy with a heavy dollop of authoritarianism; what they're often talking about here is of course slave labour conditions and wages.

Secondly we can see in the Spanish exam-

ple that a democratic economy has significant advantages to the 'authoritarian' economy of today. What are these advantages

It destroys the profit motive in the sense of bosses and owners taking cut of the wealth that workers actually make.

Second is destroys the alienation from work that is so much part of working life nowadays.

Thirdly it makes workplaces, factories plans and farm more accountable to the communities and area they are part of - since workplaces in general draw their workplaces from local communities and these work now participation in a meaningful way in the running of their workplaces, factories and offices, they are far more likely to not operate in more environmentally friendly and accommodating manner to their nearby communities

So to sum up on the question we have in front of us today, The Spanish worker collective formed at the height of the revolution there are one of the best examples of how alternative to capitalism can actually function and thrive. The collectives were large-scale and involved a wide range of communities, geographical areas and industries. From a practical, economic point of view they worked. And to this day they remain the most extensive democratisation of a large-scale economy ever achieved on this planet.

There is I think one final point that needs emphasis if we are to appreciate fully the achievement and potential of the Spanish Revolution model. In part this has to do with the politics of means and ends, in parts this has to do with the aspirations of the Spanish anarchist movement. The Spanish anarchist wanted to create a society that emerged during the revolution in Spain in 36. The wanted to created democratic self-management by workers. And this is why during the decades prior to the Revolution they emphasised and re-emphasised the need for democratic accountability and methods in the anti-capitalist movement in Spain. This is something we can learn from today. If we want our struggle to take us in the direction of a self-managed, participatory democracy then we have to put those features high on our agenda and we have to make them also part of our practice. We have to understand that means and ends are connected.

Kevin Doyle

[based on a talk given to the Dublin S26 collective's post Prague workshops]



Anarchism and the Spanish Revolution

On June 19th 1936 Franco's coup was defeated in most of Spain by workers who seized arms and stormed the barracks. Most of them were anarchists and they went on to collectivise industry and agriculture in large areas of republican Spain as well as forming militias to fight the fascists. The web page below has 100's of documents and photos produced at the time and afterwards about this experience, its successes and failures and why it was defeated.

<http://struggle.ws/spaindx.html>

From the Czech Republic: Why we organise against the IMF

The Czech anarchist organisation Solidarita/Organisation of Revolutionary Anarchists is working as part of INPEG, the Czech alliance organising the protests in Prague this September. In October one of their members will be speaking in Ireland about these protests. Vadim Barek, Solidarita's international secretary explains what the IMF means to workers in the Czech republic and why they are organising against the summit.

The elite of global capitalism will come together in Prague to plan our planet's and its working-class inhabitants exploitation for the next century. The whole event will cost Czech taxpayers about 22,500,000 dollars. A 70 million dollar loan has also been taken to reconstruct the Congress venue for the financiers needs. Their security will be provided by 11,000 cops armed to their teeth. The preparation of the state repression against opponents of capitalist globalisation has swallowed up all the states budget reserve of 3.5 million dollars.

IMF/WB and Czech Republic

In 1990 the then Czechoslovak government took a loan from the IMF of 3.9 billion dollars. In turn the government promised to liberalise and restructure the economy. The EU has pressured Czech governments to take loans from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development under the same conditions.

Now 10 years later the results are clear. Since 1989 working-class families' real incomes have dropped by 13% (farmers by 28%). In 1997 the value of basic social benefits [education, healthcare, housing] had fallen 44% - their share of GDP has dropped from 2.7% (1991) to 1.7% (1998). Purchasing power of pensions is 10% lower than before the 'Velvet Revolution'. The real value of the minimum wage has decreased by 60% since 1991.

Unemployment has grown to 9% (in some regions it has reached 20%) and about 130,000 workers do not receive their wages [In all the former East Block countries companies in trouble save money by not paying wages for months at a time]. Privatisation of the Czech railways is going to take the jobs of some 10,000 railway workers. Recently the World Bank (WB) has used its share in Nova Hut steel works to prevent the creation of a possibly viable steel consortium of the largest Northern-Moravian steel plants. Steel workers already have problems with receiving their wages and during the next few years about 20,000 of them may lose their jobs.

The Globalisation of resistance

This is why ORA-Solidarita together with other anarchist, environmentalist and socialist groups is taking part in the preparations for international protests against IMF/WB. These will culminate in a Day of Action on September 26th. Opponents of

globalisation will try to make the IMF/WB summit impossible in the same way that a coalition of trade unionists, environmentalists, human rights activists and anarchists obstructed the WTO conference in Seattle last year.

During our activity in workplace struggles (like in the engineering factories Zetor, Kralovopolska, CKD DS...) we are trying to put the everyday problems of workers in the context of IMF/WB policy. We make information stalls in front of factories and in the streets. We agitate among workers. We put both direct and indirect pressure on Czech union confederations to take part in the protests.

But the resistance against a multinational capital has to be multinational too. That is why we organised actions of solidarity with protests in Seattle and to highlight globalisation of the resistance movement.

Freedom, Self-Management, Socialism!

Contrary to some Czech environmentalists and stalinists, ORA-Solidarita does not believe, that the IMF/WB can be reformed in some way to reduce world poverty and exploitation. They are key institutions of the global capitalist system whose purpose is the accumulation of profits. As such the institutions are only important to multinational capital if they are maximising its profits (and thus the exploitation of the global working class).

We do not seek a return to a national capitalism's protectionism. This meant the same exploitation for workers and it gave birth to neo-liberalism. Contrary to Trotskyists we do not call for the creation of "workers' states" and the replacement of the IMF/WB by a "Development Bank". This only leads towards a globalisation of totalitarian state capitalism, which we - in the Eastern Bloc - overcame in 1989.

The cause of a today's worldwide misery is capitalism in all its forms and that is why it has to be dismantled. Revolutionary Anarchists fight for a genuine socialism based on freedom and workers' self-management. Socialism means a society and economy organised from the bottom up for a fulfilment of human needs and not for an accumulation of profits for a few. Socialism thus can be created only by a global revolutionary anti-capitalist movement of the working class. That is why the ORA-Solidarita supports and instigates both national and international unification of social resistance movements and fights for their libertarian and revolutionary character.

[based on an article originally published in Workers Solidarity No60, September 2000]



anarchist news on the internet

It's not surprising that the national media - owned by the state or by the super rich - refuses to advertise anarchist news or activity. But now you can bypass the censors if you have access to the internet.

In your web browser go to <http://struggle.ws/wsm>

This page, designed to be friendly for new internet users shows you key sites on the internet linked with Irish anarchism, international and Irish radical news and a huge variety of anarchist history and theory.

To get regular news and announcements from the WSM by email send a message to lists@tao.ca with the text **subscribe ainriail**.

This free service is a low volume list with an average of only 4 posts/week



Africa, anarchism & neo-liberalism

While neo-liberal reforms have certainly affected workers in the West, it is in Africa where they have had most impact. Neoliberal policies seek to reduce state control over the national economy in favour of private capitalists - the so-called 'free market'. These policies have been most widely applied in Africa for the simple reason that they are the policies promoted by the international financial institutions (IFI's), the World Bank, IMF and WTO.

Many African countries are chronically broke. They must regularly borrow money to finance the public sector and to service their existing debt. The IMF is willing to provide loans as long as the government will carry out a neo-liberal reform package, known as a Structural Adjustment Program (SAP).

The SAPs often impose harsh conditions which cause huge suffering amongst the poor. Such changes would never be tried by the ruling class in the powerful countries as they often lead to instability and violence borne out of desperation. Tellingly an SAP was one of the elements which contributed to the increased tension in the lead up to the Rwandan genocide.

Neo-liberalism in 5 steps

In concrete terms the neo-liberal policies which have been widely implemented in Africa over the last 2 decades are:

*Removal of state control over prices and money. This has meant that subsidies on basic goods such as food and fuel have been removed. In some countries even the most basic foodstuffs have become too expensive for the poor. Food riots against SAP measures have occurred all over the continent, notably in Zimbabwe. In Nigeria in June 2000, an IMF-driven increase in the price of fuel provoked a week long general strike and mass resistance.

*Large cuts in public spending. These have caused massive layoffs of public sector workers in many countries. Hundreds of thousands of workers have been retrenched (made redundant) in Senegal, Zambia and Tanzania to name but a few. Other cutbacks in public spending have seen reduced social programs and increased charges. Current Structural Adjustment demands for Mozambique include a fivefold increase in health charges.

*Privatisations of state owned corporations such as electricity, water and transport. These privatisations have often merely replaced a state monopoly with a private monopoly which has generally led to price rises and the effective barring of the services to vast numbers of the poor. In South Africa, electricity and water cut-offs have become common in the townships of Soweto as part of the ANC's neo-liberal GEAR policy.

*Policies to promote a 'flexible' workforce. This essentially means the large scale subcontracting of labour and a reduction in workers' rights, wages and conditions. Workers at Wits University in Johannesburg recently saw their salaries cut by almost 70% and lost all of their benefits under a recent restructuring plan.

*Policies to promote competitiveness. This involves reducing tariff barriers and reducing taxes on businesses and the rich to attract investment. As a result of this, local industries can be undermined by cheap imports causing massive job losses as happened to the South African textile industry. Sales taxes (VAT) are introduced as alternatives to company and income tax. This causes increases in prices of goods for workers and big increases in profits for bosses.

Anarchist Resistance

This opposition has normally come from community groups or independent trade unions. African anarchists have formed part of this resistance. In Nigeria the anarcho-syndicalist Awareness League was involved in the general strike against fuel price rises which succeeded in forcing the government to reduce the price significantly.

In South Africa anarchists have actively opposed the government's neo-liberal GEAR plan since its introduction in 1996. Most recently anarchists have been working in the Anti-Privatisation Forum (APF). The APF is an alliance of left wing activists, some radical unions and mass-based community groups such as the Soweto Electricity Crisis Committee whose constituency is numbered in millions. It was established to campaign against the privatisation of services in the government's IGOLI 2002 plan for privatising Johannesburg's municipal services. South African anarchists are committed to fighting privatisation every step of the way.

Chekov Feeny

[based on an article in Workers Solidarity No62 published in January 2000]

Download and print out extra copies of this pamphlet from <http://struggle.ws/wsm/pdf.html>

Sweatshops, unions and Fortress Europe

Although the European bosses do not want to allow immigrants from North Africa to enter Europe (it is estimated that between 200 and 1000 drowned trying to enter Spain in 1998*) they do want access to these same people as cheap labour.

The EU is continuing the exploitation of the people of North Africa through creating a special trade zone of some of the North African countries similar to the free trade zones North America has created in Mexico. In Ireland this has been most visible with Fruit of the Loom closing plants in the north west of Ireland and opening new plants in Morocco where workers are paid one seventh of what the (low paid) Irish workers were paid.

Morocco is a monarchy, infamous for jailing political prisoners in an underground jail in the desert. As might be expected, one of the services provided for the European bosses is the suppression of trade unions. An International Confederation of Free Trade Unions (ICFTU) report notes that *"21 Moroccan trade unionists were imprisoned in 1999 for trade union activities, and that they were tortured during their detention."*

ICFTU also revealed a dispute where *"when a trade union was set up in November of last year at a subsidiary of the Irish [sic] Fruit of the Loom group in the town of Sale - a factory employing over 1,200 workers - a whole arsenal of anti-union tactics was unleashed: the recruitment of militiamen to intimidate participants at the union assembly, the dismissal of eight leaders elected by the grass roots, the governor of Sale .. sided with the Fruit of the Loom management, stating bluntly that he didn't want any unions in his prefecture."*

Moroccan workers, like Irish workers, should be supported in their fight for better pay and working conditions. A student led anti-sweatshop campaign in the US has forced over 60 universities to form a Workers Rights Consortium, to monitor working conditions in plants which manufacture clothes they sell.

If you are a member of Mandate or another union that organises retail workers you could demand that your union fills this role and regularly reports to the members on any disputes. As part of this, direct links should be built with unions in the relevant plants in the countries concerned. This would be the first step to showing solidarity with workers in Morocco and elsewhere. They are being exploited by the same gang of bosses who exploit us. An injury to one is an injury to all.

* this figure is from an Inter Press Service news report full text is at www.oneworld.org/ips2/aug98/18_26_094.html

[based on an article in Workers Solidarity No63 published in March 2001]

The media and the anti capitalist globalisation movement

Learning from Nice

You may remember back in early December (2000) the news being dominated for several nights by coverage of the European Summit in Nice. An endless stream of politicians and political experts offered us their opinions on what new voting arrangements might be introduced. You might even be aware that there was some opposition on the streets of Nice to the summit, on December 7th most TV news items started with brief footage of a bank being set on fire

The Nice summit became a focus for opposition because the 'Charter of Fundamental Rights' it introduced was, despite its name, yet another attack on the rights of workers across Europe. It also would allow the EU Commission to directly negotiate with the WTO and so impose the deregulation of services including health, education and water. If you were relying on the media you were probably unaware these issues were even on the agenda!

On the eve of the Summit around 80,000 people marched through Nice. Most were behind the banners of the European Confederation of Unions with around 10,000, including many anarchists, behind the banner of the Collective for a Counter-Summit.

The French state had already taken significant steps to undermine the demonstration. A train carrying up to 2,000 demonstrators was stopped crossing the Italian border at the town of Vintimille by hundreds of CRS riot police. When they left the train they were attacked by Italian police firing tear gas. The Irish Times carried a front page picture of this confrontation without bothering to explain what had caused it.

Meanwhile in Nice French riot police attacked the thousands of demonstrators who at the end of the demonstration had headed to the train station to show solidarity with the Italians. As the French IMC* later reported "*The Schengen Agreement 'guaranteeing' freedom of movement in Europe had been violated, preventing the Italians from going to Nice. Since the Italians were not consumer goods, they did not have the right to cross the border.*"

This denial of freedom of movement was not just happening on the borders, it was also happening in France itself. Collectives had formed to demand free trains for the demonstrations to allow unemployed people to attend. But at the stations the trains were to leave from, Paris, Dijon, Lyon and Bordeaux, the police were waiting and confrontations occurred. At the worst in Bordeaux there were several injuries and arrests.

On the opening day of the summit the more determined protesters tried to blockade the conference centre, a tactic

also used in Seattle, Prague and Melbourne. At dawn up to 6,000 demonstrators marched on the 'Acropolis' in different groups and by different routes. As they reached the police barricades they were attacked with tear gas and baton charges. One group that broke through to within 100 metres of the centre was also attacked with stun grenades and rubber bullet pistols.

Reuters reported that "*Several East European leaders, due for talks with the EU, stepped out of their cars at the fortress-like Acropolis convention centre coughing and wiping tears from their eyes.*" Other mainstream media reported that at times tear gas was sucked into the ventilation system of the conference itself, making Chirac cough during his opening speech.

It was during all this that a bank was set on fire and several cars were overturned. These images were used by many TV news programs without any real explanation of the context in which they arose. And of course there was no coverage of the peaceful solidarity protest in Dublin that night.

At the same time police in Nice launched attacks on reports from independent media. IMC reported that "*A Zalea TV journalist was arrested He was brutally knocked to the ground and handcuffed throughout the afternoon... Three Kri-prod reporters were arrested as they were shooting video of the demonstra-*

tions. A Patriot journalist shooting an altercation got violently kicked in the groin by a police officer"

In hindsight Nice deserves to be remembered for the extreme bias shown by the media. Despite hundreds of hours of coverage the media ignored key issues. The counter summit attended by thousands of people was completely ignored. It finally closed when the police fired tear gas into the venue! Coverage of the demonstrations was laughable - confined to a few images of unexplained 'violence'. Once more the demonstrators were presented as a handful of violent hooligans without any alternative to capitalist globalisation.

This shouldn't be a surprise, after all the media is owned and controlled by the very governments and corporations pushing capitalist globalisation. It's very hard for the individual activist to overcome this unless they have internet access (see below). If you do then a number of sources were carrying reports from the demonstrators. But most people don't have internet access and so publications like this are the only way of reaching them.

Andrew Flood

[based on an article published in Workers Solidarity No62, January 2000]

* French Indy Media Centre - part of a global network of web pages that allows anyone to add their own text reports, photos or video for others to look at.

See <http://www.indymedia.org>

<http://www.ainfos.ca> is an excellent source for international anarchist news in many languages.

The WSM and 17 other anarchist groups produced a statement for Nice that was distributed there in four languages. See

<http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/wsm/statements/nice2000.html>

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Review: NO LOGO

No Logo by Naomi Klein (Flamingo Press, IR £11.13/stg£8.99)

The publication of No Logo was perfectly, if unintentionally, timed. Just as the N30 demonstrations in Seattle made headlines around the world, No Logo arrived to explain some of the reasons for that movement. So although Naomi Klein has made it clear that she is not an 'official' spokesperson for the movement - that this movement has no official spokespeople - at a time when observers (and even some participants) wondered what was going on, No Logo provided some answers.

Klein starts by discussing how advertising and general business practices have changed in the last twenty years. Essentially, companies decided that they were no longer in the business of selling products, because products are messy, they can be copied, or even improved on. But if you are selling an idea, an experience, a set of associations, it's much harder for another company to compete with you. Sportswear is a good example of a market where price, and even quality, isn't that important - people choose between Nike and Adidas because of their ad campaigns, not their shoes.

At the same time as companies started this emphasis on brands rather than products, they started moving out of manufacturing. Owning a factory was thought to tie a company down, because then you have the constant expense of wages, as well as the money tied up in buildings and equipment. Manufacturing still has to take place of course, if not by you then by your suppliers, but then dealing with workers can be someone else's problem, and you can concentrate on building your brand.

Now a lot of the actual manufacturing of clothes, computer parts, and other industries has moved to the developing world. Unlike the west, where workers expect a decent wage, and are organised enough to demand it, in the free trade zones in China, Indonesia, the Philippines, Mexico, and many more countries, factories can be run with little outside interference. The description of these free trade zones, where workers sometimes work up to 100 hours a week, in appalling conditions, is the most interesting and useful part of the book. Workers there are barely paid enough to live on, and often work compulsory (and sometimes unpaid)

overtime. Most of the workers in these factories are young women, migrants from other provinces, because they are thought to be easier to dominate, and less capable of organising themselves. Even when workers start to unionise, they can be summarily fired, and large-scale agitation faces the constant threat that the factory will be simply packed up and moved to another zone. Solidarity with these workers, and outrage at the conditions they live in, was one of the driving forces of the Seattle and Prague protests.

Where No Logo fails is in its attempt to tie these different themes together. Klein tries to argue that companies have to spend more money on 'branding', and this is why production is moving to sweatshops. Companies can't afford to have factories and a brand, so they ditched the factories. But it's not just the big brands that are made in sweatshops. Nike runners may be made in Indonesia, but so

The sweatshops are, after all, nothing new. They existed in the west, alongside hellish factories, and unsafe mines about a century ago[1], and it wasn't because the Victorians had just discovered advertising. Bosses always try to keep their costs down, because decent pay and safe working conditions just eat into their profits. Conditions didn't improve because the rich had a change of heart - every pay rise, every reduction in the working week, every safety standard had to be fought for. The same struggle is going on around the world today, and it's a fight against capitalism, not logos.

This is why No Logo is ultimately disappointing. When it tries to be constructive, and suggest actions we can take, too much time is spent talking about 'subverting' advertisements, or painting over billboards. Ads may be annoying, and this kind of thing can be fun, but it doesn't really accomplish anything. Consumer boycotts are explored, even while their weaknesses are admitted. [2] So there's less room to explore ways that we in the west can help sweatshop workers get organised, and how we can help their struggles, which should be the objectives of any campaign. No Logo is still an interesting book, and possibly a good introduction for those who don't know much about the issues involved. But as a political analysis, or a guide to action, it's severely limited by Klein's unwillingness to admit that the problem is not advertising, but capitalism.



Footnotes

1 There are some direct parallels - in China, textile workers are frequently locked into their factories so the women will have no choice but to work, and 'outside agitators' can't get in. Because textiles are highly flammable, there have been several fires at these factories, and in some cases the factory has burned down with the workers still trapped inside. Exactly the same thing - doors locked in a textile factory, for the same reasons, with the same tragic results - happened in New York in the early 20th century, most notably the infamous Triangle Shirtwaist factory fire.

2 Boycotts may be effective when they have a single clear target, like Shell's actions in Nigeria, but they may just prompt a whitewash campaign, and a series of apologies from the companies concerned, until they think the spotlight has moved on to someone else. Since Nike has been a focus of the anti-sweatshop campaign, Reebok can pose as the ethical alternative, even though their work practices are exactly the same.

[based on an article from Red & Black Revolution No5, 2001]

Review: Globalise This! The WTO and Corporate Rule

**Globalise This! - The Battle Against
The WTO and Corporate Rule** by
Kevin Danaher and Roger Burback
(Common Courage Press US\$16.00/
stg£10.22)

Globalise This! is one of the more important and informative books to come out of the Battle of Seattle. Published by Common Courage Press ("Our Goal is to turn pens into swords") the thrust of the book from the very beginning is towards the activist and 'the citizen' interested in doing something about what is wrong on this planet. As the blurb says "*The WTO, World Bank and IMF must - and can - be stopped. This book tells us how.*"

In terms of style and structure the book is well set out. There are four sections: the first on *What Happened At Seattle*, the second on *Dealing With Diversity*, the third on *The Case Against the WTO*, and the fourth, *Ways To Restructure The World Economy*. Overall this format gives something to everyone - eyewitness accounts, background and facts, arguments to be put to the unconvinced. Moreover the style, while somewhat uneven due to the number of contributions, is engaging and personal.

The politics of course are the main thing, so what about these? It should be borne in mind that this book is something of a celebration, and in this sense it probably does shy away from being too self-critical. Nonetheless, some issues are tackled. For example, in *Where Was The Colour in Seattle?* (by Elizabeth Martinez), the issue is raised about why the overwhelming majority of the participants at the protest were, as the author puts it, "Anglo".

Similarly in terms of the acknowledging the 'anti-authoritarian' practices and organisational methods of protesters at Seattle, the book is good and informative. Clearly this 'anti-authoritarianism' has given the authorities a lot of problems; but the point also needs to be brought out that this structure principally suits the participants - allowing for great momentum of action in what is a diverse movement of groups, organisations and individuals.

It's when the book gets on to its proposals for the future (*Part 4 - Ways To Restructure The World Economy*) that it is at its weakest. Take for example the article *It's Time To Gone On The Offensive? Here's How*. Here William Grieder advances the idea of putting manners on the 'multinational corporations'; this will be done through the enactment of legislation in the US Congress.

Of course this is a lovely idea, but what planet is the author living on? Grieder cites the precedent of 1977 legislation in the States - the Foreign Corrupt Practices Act - that made it a domestic crime for US multinational to bribe officials in their international operations. Indeed, interesting! But FCPA is a far cry from an action that would really effect multinational operations and right to 'profit'.

Standard political analysis (and a reading of recent history) would suggest that if an attempt was made at even a principled level to wrest power and the right to profit from capitalists (via an act of Congress), their reaction would be far different and more extreme; it is reasonable to suggest that such measures would not even be "allowed" get to Congress's door!

Unfortunately there are plenty more naïve prescriptions of this nature lying about in this section. The view seems to be that we can 'humanise' capitalism. If only it was so!

But another aspect to the contributions in this section that is worrying (and gratifying!) is that many of the actions/ solutions proposed are predicated around 'reforms' in the US Congress and so on. Some of the contributors obviously feel that the

USA is the place where it is all happening - that the solutions, as much as the desire for real change, begin and end there! There is so much wrong with this sort of outlook (that posits change at the USA Congressional level as a real and tangible strategy for the new movement) that one wouldn't know where to begin.

This isn't the place to go into what anarchists propose instead, but isn't there a real need in this sort of book for an article(s) that hits at some home truths about the system we are trying to overthrow? Let's face a few basics:

- (a) change must begin and come from below;
- (b) the type of change we need must tackle authoritarianism in society and root it out;
- (c) last but not least, the emancipation of people must be in the hands of the people themselves! The Congress (and especially the US Congress) is far removed from these simple but important rules of engagement!

There is much to commend in this book, but not so much in the solutions it offers. But perhaps having these 'solutions' set out here in the manner they have been, is useful for the debate that they can (and undoubtedly will) provoke. Common Courage have done us a very good service in that respect.

Kevin Doyle

[based on an article from Red & Black Revolution No5, 2001]



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Revolutionary Anarchism & the Anti-Globalization Movement

Riot police battling youth. Armed forces locking down a major American city. Tens of thousands under anti-capitalist banners. Western youth and workers physically battling the WTO and imperialism. These potent images of the 'battle of Seattle', November 30, 1999, were seared into the minds of militants the world over, inspiring millions upon millions fighting against the class war from above that some call 'globalization'. Followed by further mass protests in Washington and Davos, and two massive international coordinated actions on May 1, 2000 and September 26, 2000, Seattle marked, by any measure, an important turning point for the global working class and peasantry.

"The Idea That Refuses To Die"

And anarchists were in the thick of these protests and solidarity actions, whether in Rio, Johannesburg, Prague, Istanbul, New York or Dublin, demonstrating an impressive organizational ability, growing credibility, and rising popular appeal.

In the bourgeois media, anarchists have assumed a prominence unknown since the 1960s, amazingly receiving even more credit than was our due for our role in the new 'anti-globalization' movement. Anarchism was, the New York Times exclaimed, *"the idea that refuses to die."* The authoritarian left, shocked at being so outflanked and outmaneuvered by the anarchists, suddenly found it necessary to write vicious, and often grossly dishonest, polemics against anarchism.

It is ironic, then, that the anarchist movement remains wracked with disagreement about how it should orientate itself towards the 'anti-globalization' movement.

Orientating To The Movement

While the Platformist tradition of anarchism, and many anarcho-syndicalists have strongly identified with the new movement, many other comrades seem reluctant to become more involved in the new movement. Some are rightly concerned about the presence of reformist and middle-class elements such as NGOs in the movement; others point to the unexpected support of far right groups such as fascists and Islamic fundamentalists for 'anti-globalization'; for others, there are suspicions about the role of right-wing trade union leaders in the movement.

These concerns are valid. But they should not be used as reasons not to be involved in the 'anti-globalization' movement. The new movement represents an important development for the international working class and a massive opportunity for the anarchist movement at the dawn of the twenty-first century. Seizing the moment, being involved, shaping the movement - this is the best opportunity available today to implanting anarchism within the working class and

clawing our way back to our rightful place as a movement of millions, a movement that can help dig capitalism's grave.

Anti-Capitalist, Not Just 'Anti-Globalization'

When we enter the 'anti-globalization' movement, though, we must enter as conscious anti-capitalists. 'Anti-globalization' is a vague term that opens the resistance to capitalism to all sorts of pitfalls.

Many aspects of globalization - if by this we mean the creation of an increasingly integrated world economic, political and social system - should be welcomed by anarchists. The breaking down of closed national cultures, greater international contact, a consciousness of being *"citizens of the world"*, concern for developments halfway around the world - all are positive developments.

We should not line up with those who, under the banner of 'sovereignty' and 'nationality' call for the enforcement of national culture, national foods, closing of the borders to 'foreign' influences and so forth. This outlook - even if dressed up in 'anti-imperialist' clothing - is xenophobic and directly implies support for local nation-states.

We must support the possibilities for the development of a cosmopolitan international culture, the globalization of labour and the labour movement that are emerging with globalization. We must totally oppose the religious fundamentalists, nationalists and fascists whose problem with globalization is that it opens people to new ideas that challenge backward prejudices and cultural practices. Culture is not static. It is changed and reshaped through struggle, and we anarchists should only defend those elements of national cultures that are progressive and pro-working class.

What anarchists oppose are the neo-liberal, capitalist, aspects of globalization. We oppose attacks on wages, working conditions and welfare, because these hurt the working class and because they are in the interests of capitalists.

These capitalist aspects of globalization are

an international class war rooted in capitalism, and its current crisis of profitability. Notwithstanding the hype about the "new economy" and the "new prosperity", capitalism has been in crisis since around 1973. Average growth rates in the West in the 1950s were around 5% per year; by the 1970s, they fell to 2%; by the 1980s, the figure was closer to 1%. And so, big business has been trying to restructure itself for survival and renewed profit through the implementation of neo-liberalism: casualization, privatization, subcontracting, welfare cutbacks, regressive tax reform, and the deregulation of trade and money movements. All of these policies are in the interest of the dominant sections of the capitalist class - the giant transnational corporations.

Outside And Against The State

The capitalist nation state is not the victim of capitalist globalization, as some suggest - usually from a nationalist, state-capitalist, or reformist perspective - when they argue that the development of large companies and large multi-lateral institutions like the IMF and WTO leads to a loss of 'sovereignty' by a supposedly innocent nation state, which is then 'forced' to adapt to the 'new reality' of 'globalization'.

These sorts of argument have some serious political implications. They divert attention away from the role of the nation state in driving neo-liberal restructuring. They also tend to suggest that the nation state - 'our' nation state - is an innocent victim that 'we' must ally with and defend against a 'foreign' globalization. On the contrary, anarchists recognise that the nation state is one of the main authors of globalization, and, in particular, the capitalist aspects of globalization.

The IMF, World Bank, and WTO are organizations made up of member nation states, as is the United Nations. It is the nation state that has implemented neo-liberal attacks on the working class the world over. It is the nation state that has allowed giant corporations to operate globally, by dismantling the closed national economies of the 1945-1973 period, which were characterised by the thinking that *"what's good for Ford is good for America."*

It is neo-liberal restructuring, implemented and enforced by the nation state, which has made it possible for international labor markets, international capital movements, and international production chains to emerge on the scale that has taken place (I include many Third World nation states here, including 'my' own, South Africa: witness the fact that the South African capitalist class government is reducing tariffs faster than the WTO requires. When the WTO asked South Africa to open up its textile industry over 12 years, our rulers volunteered to do the job in just eight! So capitalist globalization is not something simply imposed on 'us' by the global system, imperialism, etc., although these play a role).

The nation state is part of the problem. One is as bad as another in this respect. There-

fore anarchists do not agree with people like Ralph Nader who argued, roughly, 'Vote me, so I can save our democracy from the big companies', because anarchists know that the role of the State is to serve those companies: this is what the State does! This is where we part ways with those who think the state is an ally of labor and the poor in the fight against capitalist globalization.

As such, anarchists cannot agree with idea of a right/left anti-globalization coalition, or the liberal myth that we have now moved 'beyond left and right.' (Witness the Seattle protests: the liberals gave semi-fascist Pat Buchanan a platform, but whined when the anarchists attacked Niketown).

Against National Protectionism

We fight outside and against the State, trying to organize internationally. True, cheap imported goods do threaten jobs 'at home'. But the solution is not to call on the state to ban these goods: it is to organize workers in all the sweatshops around the world. We fight for international labour unity, an international minimum wage, international labor standards, and never national protectionism and trade bans.

Anarchists want self-managed, class-confrontational struggle, rather than 'engaging' the system. Anarchists want to build self-managed forms of struggle and action, rather than placing our faith in technocracy, elections, or 'our' governments. In this picture, the use of violence is a tactical question, not a principle: lock down or burn down are choices to be made according to the situation. This is precisely what the liberals and pacifists refuse to see.

Into The Anti-Globalization Movement

We must enter the new anti-globalization movement. True, it is full of reformists and middle class elements. But this is precisely why we must be involved! To stand back is to surrender the new movement, with its immense revolutionary potential, to the reformists and middle class. It is to abdicate our revolutionary duty to merge revolutionary anarchism with the struggles of the working class, to prevent the revolt of the slaves being used to hoist another elite into power.

It is not a question of whether we should be involved. It is an issue of how.

The aims of anarchist involvement are surely:

1) To promote the self-management of struggle: at every point, anarchists must fight for organisational forms, protest forms, and decision-making forms that rest upon the active involvement of the working class and provide an opportunity for the class to self-manage the struggle, win confidence, and fight from below.

This means:

- Occupations, rather than elite sabotage.
- Marches and protests and riots, rather than policy advocacy.
- Action committees operating through mandates and accountability through as-

semblies and summits, rather than the delegation of all responsibility to a small coterie of leaders.

- Decentralised coalitions which allow the maximum initiative from below.
- Building the capacity of organisations through promoting horizontal linkages between groups, and by ensuring the widest dissemination of information to the 'base' members of the structures
- Fights and demands that promote class polarization and expose the class basis of neo-liberalism.

We can raise 'reformist' demands with a class war bite. (For example, take a company in a financial crisis. The bosses will say let's save money by outsourcing workers and slashing jobs. Anarchist militants can instead raise the apparently 'reformist' demand that the company can be saved by slashing management salaries by 80%. This will expose the unfair nature of the system, the class wage gap, and the refusal of bosses to really consider alternatives - because they sure won't consider this one - all of which will deepen class polarisation!)

2) Fighting the government: anarchists must be there arguing against national protectionism, against arguments to 'engage' the local state, against calls for the state to 'stand up' to capital, against multi-class coalitions and calls for nationalisation. Instead, our focus must be on promoting the self-emancipation of the working class through its own struggles, organizations, and efforts, on the need to mobilize outside and against the state, and on class struggle anti-capitalism).

This means:

- Fighting for practical international solidarity with workers in sweatshops and in subcontracting companies through campaigns, actions etc., informed by the overall perspective of winning international labor standards (a global minimum wage, global basic conditions of employment, etc.) and global trade unionism of the base. This is the real working class basis for opposing cheap imports: better wages for all, rather than a race to the bottom where we see who can earn the least, or chauvinist protectionism.
- Labour-based regulation of working conditions, through practical solidarity action, rather than appeals to the WTO, etc. to enforce labour standards through a social clause in free trade agreements etc.
- Exposure of the class basis of neo-liberalism as an attempt to drive down wages and working conditions, and open up the economy for privatisation and speculation, and hence, of the need for a class response that has no illusions in the capitalist state
- Opposing privatisation because it harms the working class through job loss and worsening social services, and not because we think nationalisation is some sort of step towards socialism and workers' control. Instead of calling for more nationalisation as an alternative to privatisation - which won't happen and in any event won't empower the working

class - anarchists should raise demands for worker and community self-management of social services and infrastructure, and stress the right of the working class to a decent life.

Aims And Objectives

The aim of these tactics and demands is simple. These points are put forward as means to develop a powerful, democratic, and internationalist working class coalition centred on unions, but also involving communities, tenants, students, etc. Further, these points are also meant to help develop a libertarian and anti-capitalist consciousness of the international nature of the class struggle, the opposition between the working class, on the one hand, and the state and capital on the other, and a generalised confidence and belief in the desirability, necessity and possibility of self-managed stateless socialism (i.e. anarchy).

Many in the 'anti-globalization' movement will not accept these aims. But this is precisely why our intervention in the anti-globalization movement as militants with clear ideas and tactics is so vital.

And this is also why we need anarchist political organizations with theoretical and tactical unity and collective responsibility, groups of the type advocated by Nestor Makhno and Peter Arshinov in the Organizational Platform of the Libertarian Communists in 1926. Unity, clarity, dedication are our indispensable revolutionary weapons against an enormously powerful and confident capitalist enemy. We can win.

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Originally published in the North Eastern Anarchist c/o Sabate Anarchist Collective, PO Box 230685 Boston, MA 02123 email: sabate36@juno.com website: <http://www.nefac.org>





Anarchist Platform

<http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/platform.html>

The Anarchist Platform is an international email list for anarchist who agree with the points it outlines below and are willing to work locally for organisations in agreement with these points. It currently has members on all the world continents and has been translated into many languages.

It arose from discussion between the Irish Workers Solidarity Movement and the South African Workers Solidarity Federation (which has now dissolved). Because of this background the points assume a common understanding of what anarchism is. Probably the book "Anarchism" by Daniel Guerin contains the best detailed explanation of anarchist history and theory from this perspective.

After the dissolution of the WSF the WSM decided to use the points agreed to launch the Anarchist-Platform email list. The purpose of the list is to bring together anarchists who agree with the points both for the exchange of information but also in the hope that they will meet up with others on the list in their geographical region and engage

in common work. As such list members are expected to actively pursue this agenda and not simply lurk (a common feature of other lists).

We invite you to look at the 'Anarchist Platform' points below and if you agree with them to subscribe to the international anarchist mailing list Anarchist_Platform. If you find you don't agree with them all but are in partial agreement we invite you to subscribe to AP_discuss instead for ongoing discussion.

The 'Anarchist Platform' points are below followed by instructions on how to subscribe to these lists

How to join these lists

Anarchist Platform

To join this list please email wsm_ireland@yahoo.com Your email should have the subject 'Anarchist Platform' and should include the following

1. A statement that you agree with the points and want to subscribe to the list.
2. A short introduction that can be posted to the list saying where your from and what if any organisations your involved with.
3. Specify whether you want to subscribe to the list or the digest. The digest means you only get one mail every three days containing all that periods posting so it may be better for you if you have limited email access.

AP_discuss

Email ap_discuss_subscribe@onelist.com . When you have subscribed post a short introduction message indicating where you disagree with the 'Anarchist Platform'

Anarchist Platform

We identify ourselves as anarchists and with the 'Platformist' tradition within anarchism which includes groups and publications such as "The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists" the "Friends of Durruti" and the "Manifesto of Libertarian Communism". We broadly identify with the organisational practise argued for by this tradition but not necessarily everything else they did or said. That is it is a starting point for our politics and not an end point

The core ideas of this tradition that we identify with are the need for anarchist organisations that seek to develop

- Ideological Unity
- Tactical Unity
- Collective Action and Discipline
- Federalism

Anarchism will be created by the class struggle between the vast majority of society (the working class) and the tiny minority that currently rule. A successful revolution will require that anarchist ideas become the leading ideas within the working class. This will not happen spontaneously. Our role is to make anarchist ideas the leading ideas or as it is sometimes expressed to become a 'leadership of ideas'.

We work within the trade unions as the major focus of our activity where this is a possibility. We therefore reject views that dismiss activity in the unions. Within them

we fight for the democratic structures typical of anarcho - syndicalist unions like the 1930's CNT. However the unions no matter how revolutionary cannot replace the need for anarchist political organisation(s).

We also see it as vital to work in struggles that happen outside the unions/workplace. These include struggles against particular oppressions, imperialism and indeed the struggles of the working class for a decent place and environment in which to live. Our general approach to these, like our approach to the unions is to involve ourselves wherever the greatest number are found and within this movement to promote anarchist methods of organisation involving direct democracy.

We actively oppose all manifestation of prejudice within the workers movement and identify working alongside those struggling against racism, sexism, [religious] sectarianism and homophobia as a priority. We see the success of a revolution and the success of the elimination of these oppressions after the revolution being determined by the building of such struggles in the pre-revolutionary period.

We oppose imperialism but put forward anarchism as an alternative goal to nationalism. We defend grass root anti-imperialist movements while arguing for an anarchist rather than nationalist strategy.

We identify a need for anarchist organisa-

tions who agree with these principles to federate on an international basis. However we believe the degree of federation possible and the amount of effort put into it must be determined on success at building national organisations capable of making such international work a reality rather than a matter of slogans.

*Useful URLs for documents above

Daniel Guerin's anarchism

<http://www.geocities.com/CapitolHill/Lobby/3998/contents.html>

The Organisational Platform of the Libertarian Communists"

http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/platform/plat_preface.html

Friends of Durruti

http://flag.blackened.net/revolt/debate.html#fod_debate

Manifesto of Libertarian Communism

<http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/mlc/index.html>

