

ANARCHIST FEDERATION— MEMBERS HANDBOOK

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A brief introduction to the Anarchist Federation

Wherever you go you are likely to come across a wide variety of anarchists who each have a different idea of what anarchism means and how anarchists should behave. The media is also keen to tell you what *they* think we are and what *they* think we've been up to. At the end of it all you may decide that anarchism is merely an excuse to do what you want and stick a paltry two fingers up at the establishment, without having any thought for the future of this planet or how we can change the way society is run. We in the Anarchist Federation believe that there is more to anarchist thought than simply 'doing as you want'.

We call ourselves 'anarchist' because we believe that people can and should live and control their own lives, and create and organise their own communities and cultures. But to do this means releasing ourselves from all that hold power over us in our name—governments, bosses, police, prison, schools, etc.—the whole capitalist system. The authorities do not exist to help us but to help themselves. They help to maintain the power and wealth of the few that benefit from keeping things the way they are—the ruling class. We are also communists because we believe that our abilities, skills and creativity, and what we produce with them should be shared and available to all to satisfy our needs and desires, not to satisfy profits and exploitation. Unlike (most) Marxists we do not believe that communism can be created for us by a party or political elite because, as happened in the USSR and elsewhere, this elite just becomes another government controlling our lives, leaving us with no say once again.

Our aim is a stateless society where there is freedom and equality and where we organise on a collective basis. No group or individual should exploit or oppress any other. We want neither uncontrolled individualism (the popular perception of anarchy), nor state dictatorship (the popular view of communism).

The new society will not be achieved without a revolution. Power is too firmly entrenched in the hands of the state and the ruling class for the system to wither away peacefully. It will be a class struggle, where the working class frees itself from a system that controls people's lives through the economy, the state and the dominant culture of ideas. By revolution we do not mean a political minority seizing power, but ordinary people taking control of their own lives and defending their ability to do this. Equally important are the struggle of those who are oppressed on the basis of their ethnicity, sex, sexuality, age and 'health'. The end of capitalism, however, does not mean the end of all oppression. We must continue to struggle against those who discriminate and oppress all those within our class.

ACTION

There's not much point objecting to the system in which we live if we're not prepared to do something about it. Obviously change cannot happen overnight, but there are things we can do to promote our ideas and improve our lives now. Whether it's fighting for decent health care for all, women's empowerment or protecting our environment, we must organise and take direct action. AF members are active on many fronts including the fight against ID cards, anti-fascist activities, asylum support, and workplace struggles to name but a few.

IDEAS

Action alone will not achieve change. If our campaigns have no direction, no vision of what we are trying to accomplish, then ultimately we will become disillusioned and lose our enthusiasm. Our ideas are therefore very important. We need to constantly check them against our experiences and that of others, holding onto our basic principles but ensuring that we don't fall into the trap of creating a rigid dogma that cannot adjust to changing circumstances.

PUBLICATIONS

We have a variety of publications in which we express our views and discuss issues. *Organise!* is a biannual magazine in which we encourage debate amongst members and non-members alike, on both historical and current issues. *Resistance* is a monthly bulletin that provides up to date analysis and comment on current events. We also publish pamphlets that go into more depth on particular topics.

HOW WE ORGANISE

The AF is a national membership organisation based on federated local groups and individual members. We aim to have a national (and international) perspective and to

develop together as an organisation. To do this we must have regular delegate meetings and an annual national conference. However this doesn't make us puppets in the party machine; local groups/individuals are free to go about things in their own way and develop their own initiatives. This way, whilst agreeing on many basics, we allow room for diversity and healthy debate.

The way in which we organise is important to us. It's all very well talking about anarchist principles but we must put them into practise now. We conduct our meetings and conferences so that people can feel confident about participating in the debates without fear of being shouted down or ridiculed. We also rotate tasks and responsibilities as far as possible to avoid the danger of leadership cliques developing and gaining undue influence. We are more than willing to, and very often do, work with other organisations as we believe it's important for people to work together and exchange ideas. We are trying to build a serious organisation with members that stick at it despite setbacks and the enormity of the task ahead. The struggle for an anarchist society can be exciting, fulfilling, frustrating and exhausting, but when you take a good look at the world around us do we really have any choice but to keep going?

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES

1 The Anarchist Federation is an organisation of revolutionary class struggle anarchists. We aim for the abolition of all hierarchy, and work for the creation of a world-wide classless society: anarchist communism.

2 Capitalism is based on the exploitation of the working class by the ruling class. But inequality and exploitation are also expressed in terms of race, gender, sexuality, health, ability and age, and in these ways one section of the working class oppresses another. This divides us, causing a lack of class unity in struggle that benefits the ruling class. Oppressed groups are strengthened by autonomous action which challenges social and economic power relationships. To achieve our goal we must relinquish power over each other on a personal as well as a political level.

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

4 We are opposed to the ideology of national liberation movements which claims that there is some common interest between native bosses and the working class in face

of foreign domination. We do support working class struggles against racism, genocide, ethnocide and political and economic colonialism. We oppose the creation of any new ruling class. We reject all forms of nationalism, as this only serves to redefine divisions in the international working class. The working class has no country and national boundaries must be eliminated. We seek to build an anarchist international to work with other libertarian revolutionaries throughout the world.

5 As well as exploiting and oppressing the majority of people, Capitalism threatens the world through war and the destruction of the environment.

6 It is not possible to abolish Capitalism without a revolution, which will arise out of class conflict. The ruling class must be completely overthrown to achieve anarchist communism. Because the ruling class will not relinquish power without their use of armed force, this revolution will be a time of violence as well as liberation.

7 Unions by their very nature cannot become vehicles for the revolutionary transformation of society. They have to be accepted by capitalism in order to function and so cannot play a part in its overthrow. Trades unions divide the working class (between employed and unemployed, trade and craft, skilled and unskilled, etc). Even syndicalist unions are constrained by the fundamental nature of unionism. The union has to be able to control its membership in order to make deals with management. Their aim, through negotiation, is to achieve a fairer form of exploitation of the workforce. The interests of leaders and representatives will always be different from ours. The boss class is our enemy, and while we must fight for better conditions from it, we have to realise that reforms we may achieve today may be taken away tomorrow. Our ultimate aim must be the complete abolition of wage slavery. Working within the unions can never achieve this. However, we do not argue for people to leave unions until they are made irrelevant by the revolutionary event. The union is a common point of departure for many workers. Rank and file initiatives may strengthen us in the battle for anarchist communism. What's important is that we organise ourselves collectively, arguing for workers to control struggles themselves.

8 Genuine liberation can only come about through the revolutionary self-activity of the working class on a mass scale. An anarchist communist society means not only co-operation between equals, but active involvement in the shaping and creating of that society during and after the revolution. In times of upheaval and struggle, people will need to create their own revolutionary organisations controlled by everyone in them. These autonomous organisations will be outside the control of political parties, and within them we will learn many important lessons of self-activity.

9 As anarchists we organise in all areas of life to try to advance the revolutionary process. We believe a strong anarchist organisation is necessary to help us to this end. Unlike

so-called socialists or communists we do not want power or control for our organisation. We recognise that the revolution can only be carried out directly by the working class. However, the revolution must be preceded by organisations able to convince people of the anarchist communist alternative and method. We participate in struggle as anarchist communists, and organise on a federative basis. We reject sectarianism and work for a united revolutionary anarchist movement.

10 We oppose organised religion and religious belief(s).

MEETINGS

A general description of the way we proceed at meetings is to be found in 'DIY Anarchism' in the appendix.

SUBSCRIPTIONS

Unfortunately we are under the yoke of capitalism and so we still need your money. Membership dues are set by National Conference and currently these are:

£1.00 per year for under 16s

£15.00 per year unwaged

£24.00 low income (take home less than £500/month or £115/week).

Everyone else pays 1% of take their take home pay per month (e.g. £651 take home pay, £6/month subs)

These contributions cover the cost of *Organise!*, *Resistance*, the internal bulletin and minutes from NDMs and National Conference. Local groups are responsible for setting their own dues.

If you find you are unable to pay your dues then don't worry, it will not result in loss of membership as long as you continue to fulfil the other duties of being a member and you inform the National Treasurer of your situation. (We don't need the full details, just state that you can't pay right now).

If you would like to pay your subs by standing order then you are welcome to do so (bank details given below). This is the preferred method of payment as we can plan our expenditure with more confidence, however members can still pay by cheque/postal order/postage stamps/cash if a standing order is inconvenient or impossible.

Girobank PLC

Branch: Bootle

Sort-code: 72 00 04

Beneficiary's name: Anarchist Federation

Account number: 60243284

WHAT DO I DO IF ...

I move house

Write or e-mail your new details to the National Secretary, they should then send you an acknowledgement and ensure that all relevant officers (Treasurer, IB editor, Publications officer etc.) are made aware of the change.

I want to pay subs by standing order

See the section on subscriptions.

Someone contacts me and wants to join/get more info

Whatever you do, do it quickly. Ideally if someone requests more information you should write a short note thanking them for their enquiry along with (where available) a current copy of *Organise!*, *Resistance* and *Aspects of Anarchism*. You should then send the enquirer's details to the National Secretary along with details of what you've already sent. At the very least you should send them a quick note saying that our National Secretary will be in touch with them shortly.

If someone contacts you wishing to join the AF then you should immediately pass their details to the National Secretary and tell the prospective member that they will be contacted shortly.

If the enquiry is from outside the UK then you should again acknowledge their enquiry and send their details to the International Co-ordinator.

I want to borrow a book from the federation library

Write to the librarian with the name of the book you want. The book will then be sent to you. When you've finished reading it post it back, with the money to cover the postage when it was sent to you.

See the appendix for a list of books in the library

I want to join the AF email list/forum

Contact the National Secretary saying you want to join the email list/forum.

I want to write for *Organise!//Resistance*

The editors of *Organise!//Resistance* are always looking for new material. Anything from 30 to 3000 words is acceptable, preferably on disk or by e-mail in "txt" format. Requests for articles also appear in the IB and NDM/Conference minutes so you might find inspiration there. Guidelines from the *Organise!* and *Resistance* editorial groups follow below.

ORGANISE! EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE: STATEMENT OF POLICY AND PRACTICE

Aims

I To promote the principles and practice of Anarchist Communism and the position of the Anarchist Federation as the leading group promoting Anarchist Communism within the working class

2 To make *Organise!* and other publications for which it has responsibility the most widely read and influential publication(s) of Anarchist Communist ideas

Principle and practice

The purpose of the Statement is to maximize clarity, solidarity and accountability in the operations of the Editorial Collective. The chief principles by which the Editorial Collective operate are a) to promote Anarchist Communist ideas; b) to work on the basis of mutual respect, solidarity with and equality for others; c) openness.

To adhere to these principles the Editorial Collective operates in the following way:

1 The Collective will seek to assist writers in their efforts to write the best articles possible and to maximise involvement of members in writing for *Organise!*;

2 The main criteria as to whether articles are included are that a) the content is interesting, challenging or appropriate to the times and needs; b) they positively contribute to the aims of the Collective; c) they positively contribute to the ideas and understanding of anarchist communism and promote the position of the AF. No article will usually be included where it does not meet a minimum standard and where it does not meet either criteria b) or c) above;

3 It will give priority to submissions that accord with anarchist communist principle and practice unless polemical articles based on other ideas or experiences have been specifically commissioned;

4 It will also give priority to commissioned articles, particularly from members, as opposed to unsolicited articles;

5 The Collective will have an Editor whose primary roles are to a) receive all articles on behalf of the AF and circulate them to other members of the Collective; b) to convene or facilitate discussion within the Collective regarding copy; c) to take any final decisions about the production of *Organise!* in the interim between agreement to produce and actual production on the basis of the widest possible consultation with Collective members accepting the constraints life and time impose upon us. The person taking this role will change with each issue of *Organise!*

6 Articles received will be corrected if required but not amended without the agreement of the author(s). If agreement cannot be reached the article will not run or will run with a disclaimer – in such cases the name of the author will be printed with the article.

7 The editor will be responsible for contacting authors of articles held over or not included and if required provide explanation/justification. This task can be delegated to other members of the Collective but must be done before the print copy deadline.

Deadlines

There are two deadlines, the external deadline and the print copy deadline.

I External Deadline: This is the deadline for receipt of articles. No article will be included before this date; the 'first received, first included' practice will not be used. No

article received after this date will be considered for publication in the current issue (but see below) unless specifically commissioned and agreed it could be received late. The grounds for including late articles are a) where insufficient articles etc have been received by the External Deadline; and b) where an urgent issue requires the Collective to write or commission an article by an agreed deadline. All articles received will be date-marked. In the case of electronically-transmitted articles the Editor will print a paper copy and date-mark it.

2 Print copy deadline: This is the deadline agreed with the other members of the Federation by which copy will be received by the printers. The Collective has a duty to members to ensure copy reaches the printers by this date.

RESISTANCE EDITORIAL COLLECTIVE: GUIDELINES FOR ARTICLES

Politics

Resistance must fundamentally be a bulletin of examples of working class resistance! We shouldn't slip into the lefty mindset of defeatism. We don't want to be misery mongers, bleating on about how shit capitalism is and how much it messes up people's lives. We need to inspire people to take up the fight by showing them that people in the world aren't taking things lying down, but are fighting back to improve their lot. The examples of resistance that we include should always be libertarian in nature.

If we come across as just another group of lefties (which we're not!) then people won't touch us with a barge pole. We need to actively distance ourselves from the left in attitude as much as in terms of political ideas.

Though we include articles about what's going on in activist circles we prefer to see articles about what's going on in the real world. We have a regular column reporting on workplace struggles (strikes, go-slows, sit-ins, sabotage). We have a couple of good sources of info, though the best stuff (wildcat, illegal) is often unreported so keep your ears to the ground in your local area.

Following on from this, we need people to send in accounts of community struggles where they live, the sort of stuff ignored by both the mainstream press and the anarchist media.

If *Resistance* is to be read by people who are not necessarily politicised at this point then we must never use acronyms, abbreviations, specialist lefty language or anything else that most people from outside our circles won't understand. We must always be as clear and concise as possible.

Content/layout

Front page – This should contain a lead article of about 300–400 words and include a relevant graphic. We prefer to keep to this size so we can have some smaller articles on the front page as well.

Articles for the inside should be around 200 words in length, although anything below this is OK also.

Pictures are always needed. If you don't have time to write anything then just keep an

eye out for an interesting or funny photo that could go in.

To give some tips on writing style here are some rules on political writing George Orwell developed:

- 1 Never use a metaphor, simile or other figure of speech which you are not used to seeing in print.
- 2 Never use a long word where a short one will do.
- 3 If it is possible to cut out a word always cut it out.
- 4 Never use the passive where you can use the active.
- 5 Never use a foreign phrase, a scientific word or a jargon word if you can think of an everyday English equivalent.
- 6 Break any of these rules soon than say anything outright barbarous.

He adds: "A scrupulous writer in every sentence that he writes, will ask himself at least four questions, thus: What am I trying to say? What words will express it? What image or idiom will make it clearer? Is this image fresh enough to have an effect? And he will probably ask two more: Could I have put it more shortly? Have I said anything that is avoidably ugly?" And as we're more revolutionary than Orwell we're happy to accept articles from either sex. The deadline for resistance articles is usually around the 21st of each month.

A more in-depth *Resistance Production Handbook* is available from the National Secretary on request.

WEBSITE ADMINISTRATOR ... AND RELATED ROLES

The main AF website www.afed.org.uk is the responsibility of the website administrator. One additional member helps manage the AF 'Myspace' page www.myspace.com/afed (two in total). Currently another AF member manages the international IAF-IFA website www.iaf-ifa.org

The main website www.afed.org.uk is intended to be the first port of call for people who are interested in anarchist communism in Britain, and is designed to be found easily if you search on keywords like 'anarchist' or 'anarchist communist'. It contains our aims & principles and publications including an archive of all *Resistance* bulletins, most recent issues of *Organise!* (plus an index of older issues) and all recent pamphlets plus some older pamphlets that are no longer available in print e.g. poll tax one. These can be read online or downloaded. Most publications are put online as they come out, often before these are in print in the case of *Resistance*, although we have sometimes held back *Organise!* in order to increase sales at the London bookfair.

There are some poster and sticker designs available for downloading. As well as downloading or reading on the web, people can order them by post and even buy some publications, stickers and t-shirts online (via a link to AF-North – see below). We have various other texts in English and translations of our aims and principles and some pamphlets in various languages. These translations are in the 'international' section of the website. There is a donation button on each main page of the website so we can encourage people to send us a bit of cash even for free items, or to support the *Organise!* press fund.

Rather than replicate the work done very well on other websites, the AF site has clear links to other sites that specialise in immediate 'news' and also up-to-date 'prisoner support' info. It also links to the AF section of the 'libcom forum' www.libcom.org/forums/af and AF 'Myspace' www.myspace.com/afed which are used for more personal discussions with people who are interested in the AF. On the AF home page we do try and advertise important events e.g. Projectile film festival and bookfairs and some local meetings, and alert readers when new publications come out.

Currently the AF website supports a few simple web pages for local groups (Hereford, Liverpool, Nottingham & Sheffield) and other web pages can be added for groups as required. There are also (oldish) Scotland and Ireland pages. Other groups run their own AF websites (Leicester, Manchester/Oldham) or Myspace pages (East Kent, Sheffield). Links to all these local sites and email addresses can be found via the 'Groups and Contacts' part of the AF website. Local pages are a very good way of showing non-members what we do in practice and giving them a local postal and/or email contact.

The Manchester/Oldham website 'AF-North' www.af-north.org features an archive of publications of historical groups like Wildcat and Subversion, plus the www.iaf-ifa.org website contains information relevant to AF's joint activities with the other sections of the International of Anarchist Federations.

Plans for the future of the AF website include an internal discussion forum for members (to supplement the email list), and a blog-space for groups and individuals to write articles that can be uploaded by those groups/individuals directly (rather than by the AF web-admin).

New members are encouraged to learn and get involved with website maintenance and provide content as they do for printed publications. Members who have knowledge in this area have previously run training workshops at AF conferences and other meetings to share their skills.

THE CONSTITUTION OF THE ANARCHIST FEDERATION (abridged)

1 STRUCTURE: The AF is a national organisation based on the principle of federation on which regional/local/workplace/interest groups voluntarily work together in a concerted manner.

2 MEMBERSHIP: The AF is a membership organisation. A member must agree with the aims and principles and participate, to the best of their abilities, in the work of the organisation. Members will communicate with the national organisation on a regular basis (e.g. by word of mouth, letter, report, attending National Conference) and should read the Internal Bulletin (IB) and all national journals, pamphlets and leaflets, and endeavour to attend National Conference. Individuals shall join through their local group. If no local group exists they will be registered through the National Secretary.

3 GROUPS: A group shall consist of at least three members. Each group is autonomous in that it is responsible for its own internal affairs. The group shall hold regular meetings in

the locality and keep in touch with isolated members in their area.

A group requires two posts;

SECRETARY: Responsible for receiving mail and answering enquires, notifying members of meetings and activities, ensuring that members have access to minutes of meetings and maintaining contact with individual members in their area.

TREASURER: Responsible for keeping financial records, maintaining the group's bank account, collecting dues and keeping financial records open to the group for inspection. The group should practise rotation and recall.

4 REGIONAL ORGANISATION: Groups shall federate regionally and shall organise regular meetings attended by group delegates from the region. Regional organisations will require a secretary. All groups and individual members in the region will be sent all minutes of regional meetings.

5 NATIONAL ORGANISATION:

National Delegate Meeting (NDM) – The NDM is responsible for deciding tactics and the general running of the Federation in line with National Conference policies. The NDM is subordinate to the National Conference. Groups shall send one mandated delegate for every three members to the NDM.

National Conference: This is the supreme decision-making body of the Federation. It elects National Officers and decides Federation policy. It meets once a year. Policy decisions are made on the basis of a simple majority of the membership. Delegates are represented on the same basis as for NDMs'. National Conference alone can amend the Constitution and Aims and Principles. Emergency National Conferences can be held at the behest of a NDM. Non-members may be invited to attend National Conference as long as they have been proposed and approved by an NDM. Their names and details must be published in the pre-conference IB.

6 NATIONAL OFFICERS: The principle officers of the Federation will be the National Secretary, National Treasurer, Internal Liaison Officer, Publications Officer, Anarchivist, Librarian, Email Secretary, Prisoners Liaison Officer, Internal Education Officer. These are elected annually by the National Conference. They will normally not hold office for more than two years and will not hold office for an intervening period of two years. Officers may be in a post longer if no other candidate comes forward. National Conference can elect other National Officers to fulfil specific tasks for specific periods. All officers are subject to the control of the members through the National Conference and the NDM, which can instruct the Officers to fulfil specific tasks. All officers should give reports to all IBs, NDMs and National Conferences. All officers are subject to recall by conference.

7 INTERNATIONAL SECRETARIAT: In order to maintain contact with fraternal groups overseas there shall be an International Secretariat. It will be elected and accountable to

the National Conference and the NDM. Those with linguistic skills and a strong interest in international work will be involved. The International Secretariat will make reports to the IB and national meetings, including listing publications received (copies available on request). Secretaries are responsible for sending publications and *Organise!* to groups/individuals on an exchange basis.

8 VOTING: A delegate has as many votes as group members. Individuals must either attend the NDM or National Conference or register their vote through their nearest local group, regional organisation or the National Secretary.

9 ACCOUNTABILITY: In order to ensure utmost accountability of all decisions, all decisions are subject to ratification by members. This means that if a member does not agree with a decision made at NDM or National Conference, they must register their negative vote with the National/Regional Secretary within two weeks of receiving the minutes. If a majority of the membership disagrees with a decision then the decision is overturned. In certain circumstances a positive ratification procedure can be put into operation. If a decision is taken at National/Regional DM or National Conference which:

A. Is not agreed to by 2/3 majority of votes cast or

B. The majority of the meeting feel is important enough to require the support of the vast majority of the organisation, the minority may request that the final decision on that issue is made by positive ratification.

All members receive the minutes of the meeting or conference, together with a ballot paper for the particular decision to be ratified. They can vote 'yes', 'no' or 'abstain'. They must send their vote off, including abstentions within two weeks of having received the minutes. All members can vote, including those who attended the meeting or conference. The final decision will be that supported by the majority of those voting.

10 DELEGATES: It is the job of delegates to present the views of their groups. While they may express their own opinions during the debate, they must also reflect the views of those who delegated them. When voting, they must vote as mandated and not as how they personally feel. All delegates are accountable to their group.

11 INTERNAL BULLETIN (IB): An IB will be produced at least two weeks before each NDM for which members, groups, committees and officers etc. will be urged to contribute. A special Conference IB will be produced at least one month before the National Conference in order that groups can fully discuss motions and instruct delegates on their decisions.

12 PUBLICATIONS: Groups and individuals may publish articles, pamphlets etc. as they see fit under their authority. Newspapers, periodicals and other publications produced in the name of the Federation are under the control of the NDM which is empowered to

nominate and remove editors, production teams etc.

13 FACTIONS: Groups may work with and contact each other in the Federation but if such relationships effectively constitute a faction at variance with Federation policies, then this should be made clear in public pronouncements. This consideration applies to minorities in general.

14 ASSOCIATION & NON-ASSOCIATION WITHIN THE AF

1. Basic Principle

1.1 The AF is a federation of individuals, organising in groups on a voluntary basis, joined together on the basis of free association

1.2 The AF consciously organises on a collective basis, striving to achieve the highest level of unity but we also relinquish over each other, personally and politically.

1.3 Where people can work together they should do so, where they cannot, they should not.

1.4 We reject the 'right' to control behaviour claiming instead the right to disassociate from those we cannot work with within the Aims & Principles of our organisation.

2 Reasons for disassociation

2.1 These basic principles mean there is no power or authority in the AF to punish, discipline or otherwise constrain individuals and groups.

2.2 The sole grounds for the AF disassociation from any members or groups are:

A. Racist or sexist behaviour, harassment or abuse;

B. Other abuse, threatening intimidating language or behaviour;

C. Assault;

D. Unconstitutional disruption or other action or non-action, which sabotages, damages or undermines the AF.

E. Behaviour, which adversely affects the credibility and relationship of the AF with individuals and organisations with whom we associate or cooperate.

F. Membership of political parties or other organisations whose aims, methods or principles of organisation are incompatible with those of the AF and which sabotages, damages, undermines or adversely affects the credibility and relationship of the AF with other individuals and organisations.

3 Disassociation Procedure

3.1 The best dispute is one settled immediately or locally. The AF asks its members to act pro-actively to mediate or otherwise immediately resolve any dispute between members or to end any infringement of the Aims & Principles and Constitution of the AF.

3.2 The AF believes that in a revolutionary organisation, sensitivity, openness, tolerance and fairness will resolve most situations. Any process of resolution or disassociation should be conducted in a quick, careful, fair and detailed way.

3.3 Where possible the problem should be quickly resolved between the members most directly involved. In attempting to resolve a situation at this early stage the members or the local groups may request the Internal Liaison Officer to assist. The ILO may offer to assist or be requested to assist by the National secretary.

3.4 Any member may request that the AF disassociate from the member(s).

3.5 If mediation or resolution at the early stage fails or is not feasible and a complaint is received from the National Secretary then she/he will ask the ILO to form a reporting group of two with her/himself and one other chosen as follows:

A. They should not belong to a local group but should live in the same region as the member(s) concerned if possible;

B. They should not be officers of the AF;

C. The ILO should ask the member if she/he has any objection to the member selected and offer alternatives;

3.6 The reporting group will investigate the matter and draw up a report and/or recommendation whether the AF should disassociate

3.7 During the reporting stage the member(s) concerned will be partially suspended from membership: they may not exercise any office, contribute to external publications or attend NDMs' except to represent themselves. They may cooperate with other members on campaigns, collaboration activity or other work/projects as those members decide.

3.8 The reporting group will report to the National Secretary within two weeks. They may report as follows:

A. The Allegations are not proven. The National Secretary will urge member(s) involved to re-establish comradely relations. Failure to do so will be grounds for the AF to disassociate itself from the member(s) concerned.

B. The Allegations are proven: No Recommendation. The National Secretary will write to the member(s) to inform them their membership is suspended in full until the next NDM. Pending resolution they may not exercise office etc. and other members are requested not to collaborate on any AF campaigns, projects or public activities. The report will be published in the IB and the member(s) concerned will have full liberty within our Aims & Principles to state a case. The NDM may, by consensus, a 2/3-majority vote or positive ratification decide to disassociate. If it does the AF will disassociate immediately unless the member(s) involved appeal to the National Conference.

C. The Allegations are proven: Recommendation Disassociation. The National Secretary will write to the member(s) to inform them that their membership is suspended in full until the next NDM. The NDM may, by consensus, a 2/3 majority or positive ratification decide NOT to disassociate. If it does not, then the AF will disassociate immediately. The National Conference will include a report on the matter and has the power, by consensus, a 2/3 majority vote or positive ratification to reinstate the member(s) involved.

3.9 If the matter comes before a National Conference or Emergency Conference before there has been an NDM then the National Conference may decide the matter as it wishes.

If the process of positive ratification is involved, then a vote of more than 50% of the *total* membership is required to overturn Conference decision.

3.10 If either the ILO or National Secretary cannot fulfil their roles, then the active officer will request another officer to fulfil that role. If neither can fulfil their roles then the Anarchivist will take the role of the ILO and the National Secretary replaced temporarily by the Treasurer. If this is not possible we're in trouble and the NDM will need to decide how to proceed.

OFFICER JOB DESCRIPTIONS

The **National Secretary's** tasks include keeping a national membership list, national correspondence, answering enquires and informing regional and group secretaries of members in their area.

The **National Treasurer's** tasks include collecting national dues, maintaining the Federation's bank account and allowing all accounts to be inspected by the NDM of the Conference on request, including financing officers activities and publications of the AF.

The **Internal Liaison Officer's** tasks include liaising with all individual members and applications for membership received from areas where there is no existing group.

The **Publications Officer's** tasks include stock taking, distribution and tracking all of the Federations publications and liaising with the International Secretariat re: publications sent out. The officer is also responsible for sending out publications to paying groups, international bookshops and individual members.

The **Anarchivist's** tasks include maintaining records of decisions made by the Federation and ensuring that NDMs and Conference are aware of outstanding decisions. She/he is also responsible for ensuring that the Constitution is kept up to date.

The **Librarians' tasks** include holding the Federations library and is responsible for providing a lending service to members of the Federation, sending the Library list out to new members and ensuring that the full list appears in the pre-conference IB.

The **Email Secretary's** tasks include being the first point of call for those contacting the Federation by E-mail. She/he will respond initially to the request for information and pass the details over to the relevant officer member.

The **Publications Officer** deals with requests for publications and payment and ensure that stocks of our pamphlets are maintained.

Prisoners' Liaison Officer is responsible for providing information concerning prisoners, Nationally and Internationally in the IB, Organise! and resistance.

Internal Education Officer's tasks include organising educationals' at NDMs, Conference and Day Schools and circulating all material relating to educationals' in the IB.

International Co-ordinator. We have an international secretariat corresponding and sharing information with anarchists abroad. The international co-ordinator, well, co-ordinates this.

Organise Editorial Team. Produce our magazine Organise!

Resistance Editorial Team. Produce our bulletin resistance

IB Editor. Collates and produces our internal bulletin, which is sent to each member prior to our national meetings.

As part of planning our activities for the year ahead each of these posts has a budget allocated to it at the National conference.

DIY Anarchism

Introduction

The Anarchist Federation exists to extend and deepen revolutionary ideas, values and ways of acting within the working class and oppressed and exploited sections of society. We think we have something useful to contribute to the revolutionary movement and as a result our aim is to be as effective as possible. Experience has shown us that effective anarchism is organised anarchism. It is to improve our effectiveness that this brief article is published. To be an anarchist is not enough, we have to act as anarchists to spread our message.

At the moment the AF is small. We have many single members who are spread over the country with little contact with each other or other anarchists. The idea behind this article is to suggest some ways we can as simply and effectively as possible break out of the isolation that surrounds many of us. Some people who read the following pages will be new to the AF, members who have little, if any, contact with other anarchists in their communities. Experience tells us that lone anarchists become a little disillusioned anarchists after a short while. Even if our efforts bring no immediate results (for we live in a hostile environment) given commitment, every anarchist can play an active part in the long term process of preparing for an anarchist communist revolution.

The following pages contain no magical solutions but are based upon years of practical experience which should be shared. Hopefully, the information they contain will be of some value.

Making an impact in the community

A single determined and dedicated activist can have a significant impact. Suddenly towns that from a revolutionary point of view seemed politically dead are covered all over with anarchist propaganda. Stickers are found everywhere, empty shop windows are covered with our posters, people appear in town centres selling and distributing literature and so on. By yourself or with a little help from your friends or comrades, you can with a bit of effort get anarchist ideas noticed. And, with a bit of luck, some one out there will be interested, get in touch and eventually help you.

Obviously, the first thing to do is get hold of propaganda. You can produce this yourself or it can be obtained from the AF. Posters are a good way of reaching people and spreading the message. Make sure that they include a contact address, AF material will have the

Secretary contact address which is useful. You could get a local Post Office box number but these cost about £50 and are not really worth while unless you are expecting a lot of interest.

A general point about security, don't give out your personal address or telephone number to any organisation or person unless you are pretty sure about them. Apart from the local police who monitor "extremist" activity, you might also come to the attention of fascists, or almost as bad, recruiters for the Socialist Workers Party!

Leafleting sometimes brings results and has the advantage that you can talk to people directly if they are interested in the content of the leaflet. Leafleting in public can be a bit daunting. So, initially, give yourself a fixed time period of, say half an hour.

When writing a leaflet, it is usually sensible to stick to one main subject e.g. local factory closures, racism, etc. You should try however, to draw revolutionary conclusions, placing the subject within the context of capitalist exploitation, the way forward, etc.

A more ambitious project would be to write a local newsletter covering current affairs and local issues. Newsletters take a while to research, write, print and distribute, but they can be quite influential, especially if they deal with local council cock-ups, corruption, cuts, etc. Such a publication could consist of just two sides of an A4 sheet. Keep the articles short, snappy and to the point. Remember to add a contact address and perhaps to ask for contributions to future issues.

One free way of reaching a large audience is to write a letter to your local newspaper from an anarchist communist viewpoint. Local newspapers are often desperate for material and so the chances of your letter being published are quite high. One comrade in an average sized town succeeded in having a half page article devoted to anarchism in the local rag after sending in a letter. Anarchy can be news! One problem with sending in letters is that you are usually expected to give an address which you might not be too keen on.

Those with talent and facilities might consider music as a way of getting ideas across. One AF group recently persuaded a number of bands to donate tracks for an AF benefit CD. Politically motivated songs do inspire people, so if you can persuade a local band to do a benefit gig, you can create a real spectacle. Also music can make money, always in short supply in the AF.

A local AF group

A long term aim of the AF is to set up an organisation of groups in every town in the country. In line with this goal we must draw people into the AF and, where possible set up active and functioning groups in localities and workplaces.

The minimum number for an AF group is three members. Someone should volunteer/ be elected as secretary and another should take prime responsibility for looking after any money that is collected through membership dues, fund raising, etc.

You should think about what the purpose of a group would be. Factors that you might want to take into account include spreading effective political propaganda, involvement in local and national issues and campaigns, anti-fascism, developing your political awareness and

understanding, fund raising, paper sales and involvement with the AF as part of a national organisation.

In our experience it is best that meetings are run on a fairly formal basis. A free-for-all discussion usually means that the quietest and least assertive members do not have a voice. So elect a different chairperson (or ask for a volunteer) at each meeting, as this too will inhibit the same dominant person from taking over. The chairperson should ensure that everyone gets a proper turn to air their views in the fairest order.

An agenda sheet is passed round at the beginning of the meeting to allow everyone to add items for discussion. It is sensible to keep a minutes book to record decisions and the previous meetings minutes should be read out at the start of every meeting to allow for continuity and recall of decisions made.

A programme of activities, topic for discussion etc., should be planned to prevent 'drift' and also maintain a sense of direction. Members should pay regular dues if they can afford them. Without money there is a limit to what the group can do. So fund-raising including the unglamorous jumble sales and bootsales etc., are an important part of every group's activities. Remember to send regular amounts of money to the national treasurer to help pay for *Organise!*, *Resistance* and other shared propaganda material.

One way of keeping down costs is to 'borrow' stationary, photocopy, stamps, telephone calls, etc., from organisations such as employers.

The AF is a federation of members and groups which through a system of conference, delegate meetings, internal bulletin, etc., acts in a co-ordinated manner throughout the land. This unity of purpose and activity can only be achieved through the active participation of groups. So attending national meetings etc., should be given high priority.

N.B. Often it might not be possible to form an AF group, even though you are in contact with other anarchists. A second approach in these circumstances is to help form a more broadly based group. At least you can debate ideas and carry out joint activities, though without a general agreed core of ideas, the process can be uneven, contradictory and chaotic.

Organising in the workplace

Despite what the lefties say about the importance of industrial struggles, these groups without exception have very little workplace presence. The reason for this is simple, it is not easy to operate in an overwhelmingly hostile environment. Your chances of success are affected by a whole range of factors. Small workplaces have less opportunities than larger ones. Shops and catering are extremely difficult. Established firms with traditions of militancy offer more opportunities usually. White collar workers have different priorities than manual workers, and so on.

Despite the difficulties, workplace organisation can offer some spectacular opportunities including sabotage, occupations, strikes, go-slows and expropriations! However, a sobering feature is that management intimidation can lead to loss of livelihood. So, unless you couldn't give a toss, some degree of caution is advisable.

Organising at work does have the advantage over other areas of activity insofar as issues

tend to be clearer. In all sectors, private and public, there is a whole range of issues which continually arise and are significant. In times of recession, when the employers are under pressure to hold on to markets and unemployment is high, issues such as redundancies, increasing output (i.e. the rate of exploitation), wage cuts, tougher work conditions, job evaluation, etc., come to the fore. In periods of economic upturn, short, sharp conflicts arise when workers take advantage of their strengthening positions to win back what has been lost in the previous period. Generally then, there is no shortage of issues to take up.

Comrades should be aware of an often unforeseen difficulty arising out of workplace organisation. There is often a tendency to see such struggles as separate and isolated from what is going on in the outside world. There is the ever present danger of not seeing the wider context of such a particular struggle. The tendency towards "economism", i.e. putting bread and butter issues outside of and before wider economic and political issues, ends towards a sharp narrowing of vision.

The anarchist communist militant must make the wider connections. Redundancies, wage cuts, etc., are part of a whole economic process and this needs to be understood. Company, industry and even international solidarity can sometimes win struggles when isolated actions seem hopeless. We must explain that employers are doing us no favours by paying for our work and that, in fact, exploitation is taking place.

The reactionary nature of trade unions is a difficult issue to tackle as many workers (despite being continuously disappointed) see them as defenders of their interests. Often the best militants, who may also be totally reactionary in other respects, identify unions with the class struggle. This false perception must be patiently and carefully argued against both theoretically and with example from the abundant evidence available of official union sabotage of real struggles.

Some comrades may be tempted to become union representatives/shop stewards. This may arise because of frustrations with a low level of militancy, a desire to replace moderate stewards and the desire to offer some revolutionary leadership. Such temptations should be resisted. The acceptance of an official union position necessarily means being bound by union rules and regulations. The workplace representatives rather than being the workers' tribune actually ends up playing the role of mediator between workers and management. Collective bargaining on behalf of workers means colluding with the process of exploitation and if a shop steward does try to maintain some revolutionary credibility s/he faces isolation and ultimately the sack.

Revolutionaries in the workplace, like everywhere else, are a tiny minority. Since our goal is revolution the form of anarchist organisation best suited for pursuing that goal is the workplace anarchist group which will advance revolutionary ideas and forms and methods of struggle. Such groups and individuals must use industrial conflicts to tear off the mask of illusion that conceals the exploitative reality of capitalism and the inadequacy of trade union and sectional approaches.

In day to day practice, ideas can be spread through casual conversation. More serious and detailed revolutionary effort might involve meetings of like minded comrades, the production

of leaflets and perhaps, workplace bulletins and of course, the sale and distribution of AF literature. Given the totalitarian nature of many workplaces, the distribution of propaganda should be done with care. Comrades who are not employed in workplace can hand out leaflets, etc., outside the premises and, if the literature is researched, effective propaganda can be carried out.

Do not use the works photocopier to print anti-employer material, it might get you sacked. Similarly don't hold meetings on company premises – enemies abound!

Organising in colleges

Spreading anarchist ideas amongst students can be refreshingly easy compared to some other areas of work. Some students are open to radical ideas and, within reason, all ideas compete on a more or less equal footing in the academic marketplace. A word of warning, although there is usually a sprinkling of anarchists in higher education, quite a few of them will turn out to be unreliable wallies.

One of the best starting points is the Freshers fair which many colleges run for students every September. This is a good opportunity to advertise your existence. A few leaflets, pamphlets, posters, etc., can be spread out and should draw attention. Try to sign up supporters straight away and get them to help you immediately.

If you feel confident enough try to set up an anarchist communist association. This may just require a few friends signatures and should give you access to student union facilities like photocopying.

However, assuming that a more general anarchist grouping is more viable, go for that bearing in mind that the membership will tend to be unreliable and floating. Nevertheless, despite having interminable rows with Stimerites and individualists, you can gain from a sense of belonging to a wider group than just yourself.

Don't be afraid to make the most of student union facilities. This might mean typing and office support, cheap printing, rooms for meetings, etc. Whether you are on your own or part of a larger group, you should be able to get hold of materials and facilities. Armed with these you can bring out consistent anarchist propaganda and help contribute to the distribution of libertarian ideas.

Students on teacher training courses have the advantage that there exists a large and well established libertarian approach to learning. Advocacy of the teaching methods of people like Ferrer could be a subtle and legitimate way of finding openings for a wider debate on anarchist communism.

One of the downsides of being an anarchist student is that the authoritarian left will either court you, ridicule you or attack you depending on their level of arrogance and enthusiasm. So be prepared to defend your politics and undermine their confidence. The standard question aimed at you by the arrogant leftie is, "How can you be an anarchist and a communist?". You have the opportunity to either put your views across or tell them to fuck off.

AF Assistance

The AF can provide you with a certain amount of support. An important aspect of this involves simply feeling a part of an organisation of people who share common beliefs and goals.

If members attend delegate meetings, conferences, day schools, etc., this can break down the sense of isolation that affects individual comrades. These events are not all work and no play, though they do take up quite a bit of time. There are, as well, often full of humour and there is a social side which helps reinforce groups solidarity and identity. The internal bulletin (IB) also helps members to involve themselves in AF debates. The IB is entirely the product of the membership, so it becomes much more interesting if everyone sends in contributions. Groups and individuals who send in reports of their activities give support and encouragement to others.

Members are encouraged to contribute to the AF in whatever ways they can. We are always in need of articles for *Organise!*. If you have something to say, why not send in an article, though bear in mind that it should not contradict the basic ideas as laid out in the aims and principles.

Similarly, we need writers for *Resistance*, leaflets, pamphlets, etc. Those with audio/video equipment could also help spread the AF's propaganda into new areas.

The National Secretary of the AF should be able to supply you with our publications, posters, stickers and leaflets, etc. Contact the National Secretary if you want someone to speak at a meeting. Whilst time, distance and cost sometimes make it difficult for speakers to visit your locality, it is surprising the lengths AF members will often go to support members. Members could also turn up to help you fly-post, leaflet or do a Saturday paper sale. All you have to do is ask.

Public meetings

If you are feeling ambitious then a public meeting can be an effective way of making an impression. The benefits of a public meeting are that you can possibly attract a large audience and have a good discussion. The down side is that nobody might turn up or sections of the audience could be hostile if they do.

To overcome these likely difficulties, a public meeting should be well planned and properly organised. Firstly choose a topic that will have appeal, will be interesting and will allow us to get an anarchist communist message over.

The meeting will have to be well advertised. This might mean producing and flyposting an interesting and fully detailed poster, distributing leaflets, and so on. It may make sense to target a particular audience, e.g. young people, students, etc., depending on your interests and abilities. The meeting should be held in a room that is as central as you can possibly afford. There is no point in holding a meeting miles away from the intended audience. They won't turn up.

The speech itself should be well thought out. It may be wise to write it out in full, leaving a line between sentences, emphasising key points, numbering paragraphs, using

different coloured pens and so on. You should quickly rehearse the speech a few times – is it too short, too long, is it being spoken too quickly? If you are confident enough after a few rehearsals, use only notes as mental guides. A speech read from a detailed text can be boring, on the other hand a properly written talk can help calm the nerves and boost confidence.

On the point of nerves, if you are well prepared a degree of nervousness can be a good thing – it gets the adrenaline flowing and helps to produce a fiery speech. It is best not to have an alcoholic drink beforehand especially as more than one pint of beer can seriously reduce effectiveness.

Keep the talk fairly short. Twenty five minutes or less is long enough, especially if you have something controversial to say which will stimulate discussion.

The meeting will require a chairperson to introduce the speaker, maintain order and control how the discussion goes. A good chairperson finds a balance between allowing debate and questions and letting some windbag or disrupter in the audience from taking over. Firm but fair chairing is vital.

It is useful to have a bookstall with AF and other anarchist literature on sale after the meeting. It is also a good idea to pass round a note pad asking for the names and addresses of people who are interested in finding out more about the AF.

If all this seems a bit too daunting then a public meeting could be based around a video or you could copy a suitable programme from the television. A discussion afterwards, chaired to bring out the main points is necessary.

Conclusion

The few odes that have been presented in this brief article are nothing more than the barest outline of possible approaches to operating in a hostile political climate. There is no substitute for innovation, originality and imagination, backed up by continuous effort. From small beginnings we can build a strong revolutionary anarchist movement in Britain.

Strategy & tactics

Short term tactics and strategies

This document is not intended to be a rigid tablet of stone but has been written in the light of current social, economic and political realities. In other words, it deals with how the world is now and our situation as revolutionaries within it. When circumstances change, then our methods too may need to adapt.

The ideas of this document are guidelines to enable us to work more coherently and effectively as an organisation. Some of the things mentioned we are already doing, while other things we need to improve on or work towards.

Tactics and Strategies encompass what we do or should be doing on the following fronts:

- Organisational
- Propaganda and Ideas
- Social and "Community"
- Industrial
- International

In reality, these categories are not separate but overlap. They have been written in this way because it makes it easier to follow.

ORGANISATION

The ultimate goal of the AF is to help achieve anarchist communism. But how can this happen given the numerically small size of our organisation and our negligible influence on the working class? In the short term then, it follows that our aims need to be numerical growth and a greater spreading of our ideas. As we'll look at ideas in section two, for the moment we'll focus on how to 'build the AF'

It's important to note however; that when we talk of building the organisation or 'recruiting', we aren't saying we willy nilly hand out membership cards to all and sundry as many Trotskyists do. This would only make a paper membership as for anarchists the essence of our organisation is self-organisation. Self-organisation needs an active, aware and voluntary membership. It's alright for Trotskyists, etc., to have half-hearted members or members lacking in understanding of the groups politics. This is because the authoritarian nature of their organisations allows them to use political leaders, party bosses and 'professional revolutionaries' to make sure any new members do as they're told, follow the party line, etc.

We of course don't do this. Neither do we have leaders. For us, new members might be unfamiliar with all aspects of our politics but they join on the basis that they agree with a pretty comprehensive set of aims and principles and work to the best of their abilities for the organisation. If you agree with our As&Ps, then you are an anarchist communist. If you work for the organisation as well, then you are an AFer. Consequent political education and development for the new member doesn't come from 'leaders' but should come from the group, the organisation or from working with other individuals in the AF. And in fact we are

all constantly learning and developing our ideas communally or communistically. So how should we recruit and build the organisation? Who should we be targeting? As we are such a small organisation, it is completely beyond our abilities and finances to just target 'the working class', we need to look at areas where we may be able to have some involvement and influence. These areas will be dealt with through the course of this document. First though, here's who we think we should be targeting.

On the personal level, some members may have friends who are open or sympathetic to our ideas. It might be worth inviting them to meetings or if you are an isolated member, cajoling them into helping you to flypost, sticker, do a paper sale, leaflet, hold a meeting or even form a small group. Some members may have family who are interested.

Outside of family and friends, we are talking about where you work, community groups e.g. Tenants Associations, local campaigns, etc. These will be dealt with in later sections. It should also be remembered that the left is in crisis. The collapse of state socialism and the rightward lurch of the Labour Party is leaving a lot of leftists feeling a bit lost. Many will no doubt plod along following the same old leftist bullshit, defending the indefensible. Many others will fall disillusioned by the wayside. These new doubters are worth talking to, debating with and inviting to meetings.

Individuals

Maybe before we look at how to build the organisation, we should look at how to keep our members. If everyone who has ever been a member was still a member, then we'd probably be three or four times as big as we are at the moment.

People sometimes leave because they no longer hold our views or have some disagreement. Others maybe think the world will change once they become anarchists and when it doesn't change they pack it in and go elsewhere. There's probably not a lot we can do about these things. However it's likely the majority of leavers do so because of isolation and inactivity in their locality. A sizeable amount of our members don't belong to any group and might even be the only anarchist in their town. However keen and committed these members may be, if the AF seems distant (i.e. occasional conference minutes, the IB and *Organise!* dropping through the letter box), then demoralisation can easily set in. The next step is either drifting out of political activity or joining a bigger organisation which they don't entirely agree with.

Yet these comrades are our potential to be a real working federation across the country. They need everyone's encouragement, attention and help. Here's what needs to be done:

- 1 National Secretary should keep in touch with isolated members as much as possible.
- 2 Isolated members should be encouraged to keep in touch with the National Secretary as much as possible.
- 3 The National Secretary should ensure that every isolated member is put in touch with at least two other isolated members.
- 4 Upon joining, every member should be met by a member of the organisation.

5 Groups should maintain regular contact with isolated members especially if they aren't too far away.

6 Groups should try to offer assistance with paper sales, organising meetings, providing speakers, etc., to isolated members.

7 Isolated members should make every attempt to establish a group and/or if applicable get involved in any broad based local anarchist group.

8 Within a region, one or more individuals (or a group) should take responsibility for maintaining contact with others in the region with a view to forming a regional group or organisation which could meet on a regular basis, plan activities, discuss ideas, etc.

9 Responsibility should be taken to ensure a constant and adequate supply of propaganda is available to all members.

Groups

Just because you're not isolated doesn't mean everything will be easy. Ideally, groups should be hives of activity and political discussion. If your group is functioning well, it generates enthusiasm and you can get a long way on that. But a balance must be kept. All business and no discussion of ideas at meetings can be very dull and uninspiring and can easily make a group lose its direction or can lead to people dropping out. Time for discussion of ideas/issues of the day should always be set aside for purposes of political education and developments as well as for fully acquainting new members with AF ideas. The reverse is also true. All discussion of ideas and no business will make us seem like we've got our heads in the clouds and our ideas will appear irrelevant to the real world. If we cannot put our ideas into practice then our ideas are dead. It's important to be active in as many areas as we can.

Although usual meetings are for members or prospective members only, it's important that regular advertised open discussion meetings are held as a means of bringing new people in. Regularity is important as we need to be 'open to the public'. The public needs to know that a certain night, say, every month, is AF night. Such continuity can go towards creating a 'periphery' of sympathisers who may eventually become members.

National

It shouldn't need saying but all members should make every effort to attend NDMs, Conference and any educationals. If members don't attend, then we are failing as a national organisation. Admittedly, members don't have loads of money and often have other commitments which prevent them from travelling round the country to AF events. We do operate a pooled fairs system which means that members who have a lot in travelling expenses can get some of their money back.

If members still cannot attend, they should be contributing to the IB which only costs a bit of thought and a stamp/email. Members and groups need to be sending regular reports, writing items for discussion or sending in information for the benefit of other members. Besides this, *Organise!* and *Resistance* need article writers ... always!

Certain marches/demos/events require a national mobilisation. Members need to make every effort to be there. After all, the AF needs to be seen to exist as an active organisation which can extend our influence which in turn shows us to be an organisation worth joining. Mobilisations are a good opportunity to get our ideas across to a lot of people whether we're leafleting, handing out *Resistance*, selling *Organise!* or getting 'stuck in' in one way or another.

As far as recruiting goes, on the national level, people get to hear about us because they pick up a leaflet on a demo or read a copy of *Resistance* or *Organise!* We need to send out reports of our activities to anyone who writes in for information, any 'peripheral' who are not subscribers and any anarchist or libertarian socialist groupings not already part of a national organisation.

To sum up, if we want to build the organisation, we need cohesion within the organisation. We need to maintain some sort of continuity with our activities. We need to have a visible public face.

PROPAGANDA AND IDEAS

For us to grow and have some influence as an organisation, our ideas need to spread. People are more likely to take on anarchist communist ideas when engaged in struggle. Also our own ideas can develop better through practical experience. So the AF needs to be actively involved in various struggles. We'll specifically look at action and activities in later sections. In the meantime let's focus on what we should be doing as far as propaganda is concerned.

Our propaganda should always be honest and truthful in other words, not manipulative (as is sometimes the case with the authoritarian left and even some 'anarchists'). We should aim to be upbeat and enthusiastic in tone and be offering great ideas and sharp insights. We should aim to give practical solutions to social questions and struggles based on a strong theoretical foundation. Though we develop theoretically, we aren't a bunch of know-alls in an ivory tower. At the same time we are not blind activists involved in things for the sake of it but we are an activist organisation with a strong anarchist communist analysis of the world and the struggles within it.

Magazines and bulletins

Blowing our own trumpet here! Though there's always room for improvement, *Organise!* is the best publication around – brilliant ideas, articles, etc. It's neither too theoretical (in a stodgy way) nor is it too newsy (with little anarchist communist content). It's a good balance and puts our ideas across well and gets people interested in us and anarchist communism. It's target audience is small i.e. people with some political knowledge or ideas, or those on the lookout for new ideas and alternatives.

As it is *Organise!* virtually sells itself, it's not only a good mag, but it's also been quite influential in the 'movement'.

There is also a need for our ideas in a more agitational form. Most of us probably know

people who would be into the AF but find *Organise!* a bit heavy going – for those with little or no political experience yet who are angry and want to get stuck into it, *Organise!* may not be the best starting point.

We also have a monthly national bulletin: *Resistance*. *Resistance* (and other local AF bulletins) can do a good job in getting our ideas across to more people, thus broadening our target audience. Articles should aim to be short and punchy, they can reflect local issues. Such bulletins also have the benefit of allowing for fairly immediate and up to the minute articles. On demos in London, maybe 30 people will buy *Organise!* on a good day. With *Resistance* maybe 500 plus people will read it. It can be left in bookshops, libraries, waiting rooms, on buses, etc. The good thing too, is that we don't have to spend loads of time and energy trying to sell it down the local shopping centre.

Local A4 inserts can also be done if any group wants to. This means we have a regular agitational bulletin of fairly good quality but produced on the cheap without all the expense, headache and heartache associated with bringing out another 'saleable' national magazine/newspaper.

Pamphlets

Our pamphlets are usually more theoretical but the ideas in them are usually self-contained and can be a good introduction to our ideas. We should also be on the lookout to cover issues of the day in simple and accessible form. Our manifesto *Beyond Resistance* covers a wide range of issues in depth.

Leaflets

Most leaflets have tended to be aimed at issues around demos, campaigns, etc., which is always necessary. At the same time we could do with a stockpile of 'hardy perennials'. The *Aspects of Anarchism* page from *Organise!* has been turned into a cheap and useful pamphlet but the articles could also be in the form of leaflets along with other subjects, e.g. the unions, national liberation struggles, etc. These would be especially useful when people write in and ask 'What are the AF's views on ... ?'

Stickers and posters

The whole country's bus stops and lamp posts should be plastered with AF stickers as they need not only advertise us but can give us a real presence (even if there's only one of us there). They are especially useful for isolated members. Stickers should always be in good supply.

Posters have mainly been used to advertise public meetings. Occasionally they have been about a particular issue. The organisation should also maintain a stockpile of general recruiting posters with a good but simple graphic and a slogan like 'Join the Anarchist Federation – Organising for Resistance' (or something snappier). Also a poster which simply advertises *Organise!* would be useful. The same slogans plus AF address could also apply to any graffiti – the bigger the better (but don't get caught).

Meetings

As mentioned in section one, regular open discussion meetings are essential for establishing groups. Occasionally it's worth doing more formal public meetings (possibly jointly with other groups). These often attract more people.

For discussion meetings, draw up a list of topics, choose the best ones and advertise the list. One person leads off the discussion (no big speeches) then it opens up to the assembled group for a more general discussion. With public meetings, they are usually more formal with speeches and questions from the audience. These are often based on things like Mayday, anti-election meetings (at election time), etc. They may be on anarchist ideas and history, e.g. what is anarchist communism, the Spanish Revolution, etc. (Note: it's not a good idea to do too many historical subjects as people will think we are living in the past but once in a while they can be really useful to show what is possible and enable us to learn from the past).

All the above propaganda work is our bread and butter! But as we said earlier, people are best won over to our ideas through struggle. What we do as AFers can sometimes be the most effective form of propaganda.

SOCIAL AND COMMUNITY

We need to be vocal as anarchists, when possible, in our daily life struggles (e.g. work, dole, housing, etc.) as well as when organising as an AF individual member/group/national organisation in other broader based campaigns and struggles that we may be involved in. It should not be forgotten however, that we don't get involved in things just to push our ideas or recruit new members but because we actually want our class to win its struggles. We have good ideas and sharp insights and we are cynical towards community leaders, bureaucrats, politicians, councillors (left and right), etc. We are always well placed to argue against leadership cliques, bureaucratisation, we can warn of 'buy offs' and 'sell outs', condemn reformism and the antics of the leftists.

We anarchist communists believe in fighting to win as quickly and effectively as possible. If it's struggle in the workplace, we push war with the bosses, if it's in the broader community, we are for no compromise with the enemy, etc. Compare this with the remains of the left. Their strategy seems to be one of prolonging the agony of futile gestures, in order to sell more papers to the depressed and demoralised who they can then possibly recruit (a bit like Christians preying on drunks, the homeless, etc.). To the average working class person engaged in any dispute/struggle our ideas are either frightening or refreshingly honest, attractive and spot on. The less timid or less gullible are often very open to our ideas. The left often attract either those they have conned or those with little stomach for a real fight (though there are probably a few real revolutionaries there).

At the moment we don't recruit loads because many people want 'safe', reformist options that appear a bit radical, even if it leads nowhere. We can recruit from a volatile minority – those who are pissed off and angry, don't want to be a victim any more and have had enough of the 'alternative' leftist bullshit.

But it's not just about recruiting. Struggles can be won the anarchist communist way,

while reformism generally leads to defeat, which is why we push our views whether people join or not. For us, honesty and integrity is important—traditionally anarchists have been renowned for these qualities—people may agree or disagree with us but we are generally respected for our principled positions. This is appealing to many people, especially after all the lies and manipulations of the left.

If people don't actually join but are still influenced by our ideas and take some aspects of anarchist communism on board, this is a good thing in itself. It means new people hold some revolutionary views – which contributes to a possibly growing culture of resistance within the working class. This 'culture of resistance' idea is a sort of medium term goal of anarchist communists. Let's be clear on what it means.

Our class is culturally impoverished, in fact what passes for working class culture is actually foisted on us by the ruling class through its media, education system, etc. What community there is, is artificial, based on workplace, place in the pecking order, family, alienation, consumerism and ideas like patriotism, sexism, regionalism, racism, self-seeking individualism, so called 'common sense', etc. Our true sense of community and culture only comes to life when we resist, when our class acts for itself. The more our class resists the stronger our culture and community and the more rebellion and social revolution become possible.

So, we should be active in all areas of life as anarchist communists. However, time and our small numbers make this impossible at the moment. Still, we should be involved in as much as we can (without burning ourselves out).

Areas of involvement for AFers may vary from town to town or depending on the interests and experiences of different individuals. However, when getting involved in anything, priority should always be given to activities where members have common interests and where we can work together as a group.

At the time of writing, things we should be involved in are activities against ID cards and the national identity register. Then there are the issues that are always with us (e.g. housing – tenants associations, squatting), unemployed struggles (e.g. claimants' unions, etc.), anti-racism/fascism, anti-sexism, environmental struggles, hospital closures, anti-electoralism, prison support, etc. Once again, comrades shouldn't be involved in everything but should be selective. Ask yourselves, given our small numbers and resources, where can we be most effective locally and nationally?

When AFers are working together on some project, issues should be discussed and differences ironed out. As united an approach as possible should be adopted as it's bad practice to put forward widely conflicting views (which is usually due to a lack of pre-discussion rather than real disagreement). If we lack common ideas, we appear incoherent, shambolic and chaotic, which is all ammunition for our enemies.

A note of caution. Beware of getting drawn too deeply into single issue politics. It wouldn't be the first time that anarchists have ended up throwing all their energies into one issue and seeing that particular cause as the be all and end all. Single issue politics is counter to anarchist communism which sees the linking up of various struggles as a necessary goal.

Social and community struggles are not just about us participating in campaigns, etc. It's also about organising locally, regionally and nationally as the AF (let's face it we're part of the small community of resistance). We should be aiming to build a local AF presence in our towns, in our streets, on our estates, etc. This can mean organising meetings on strictly local issues or concentrating on a particular estate with a blitz of stickers and posters. It's worth trawling the local college or university to see if they've got an anarchist group. Try and get some posters and stickers up.

If there's a local broad based anarchist group in your town, the AF should have an input. Groups should be involved and for the isolated member they can be a lifeline and help break down isolation. (even though they are full of conflicting ideas which are quite often reactionary). Some class struggle groups have tried to force revolutionary ideas on local and regional groups by trying to get them to adopt revolutionary positions, class struggle aims and principles and the like. This is bad tactics as either the group will split (leaving only yourselves!), you will be excluded, or everyone will get bored, drift off and be completely alienated from revolutionism. They should be seen for what they are - a useful contact point with some potential for co-ordinating joint actions (though for some activities it will be impossible to work together - e.g. a syndicalist and AFer would find it impossible to draw up a leaflet on a local strike unless it was completely vague). Look upon them as a slightly bigger pond for us AF fish to swim through and where people may become more open to our ideas. People's views change through struggle and we should always attempt to be fraternal and non-sectarian rather than pushy and demanding witch-hunts against those with crap politics.

INDUSTRIAL

The workplace is not the most welcoming of place to revolutionary ideas, nor does it usually offer sympathy even to reformist or democratic ideas. As we all know, the nature of work is exploitation and the management has no time for those who rock the boat. Yet spreading our ideas and organising in the workplace is vital. Here, more than anywhere else, can resistance and rebellion have the most direct effect against the boss class (should our class use it's potential power).

It is a rare workplace where we can shout our anarchism from the rooftops. Caution is the order of the day. If you're new to a job, it's never a good idea to be all agitational from the outset as you won't have a job for long (plus your workmates will probably think you're just a whinger). Get to know the job but most importantly, get to know your workmates. From comrades experience, friendships at work tend to be a more reliable source of support (should you need it) than any political alliance with the workplace lefty. Having said this, you might not get along with anyone at work anyway!

Of course, how you function as a revolutionary worker depends on your particular job, workplace, size of firm, management style, whether union or non-union, degree of job security, etc. Some places may be relatively easy places to agitate in, while others may seem impossible.

Unionised workplaces

As a rule, unionised workplaces offer a better working environment. Unions can offer things like improved Health and Safety, legal protection, support over minor quibbles with management, an environment where progressive ideas can actually be discussed with fellow workers, etc. The union is committed to the idea of "fairness" at work but is lukewarm, to say the least, to the notion of class struggle and is definitely anti-revolutionary. We however, are revolutionaries, we're for class war, fanning the flames of discontent, pushing for resistance and rebellion against the boss class, capitalism, the State.

Agreed, it's probably better to be in a unionised workplace and yes, it's probably worth being a member of that union as it can offer some social benefits like insurance, Health and Safety, etc. (just as it's useful to sign on when you're out of work). When it comes to tackling disputes however, the union is not on the side of the workers. And it's this message that needs to be put across to those we work with. In fact, many unionised workers tend to be cynical about the union - some because they are the bosses toadies but many others because they think the union is a waste of time, does nothing but talk, or is in some way in league with the management (which they are!). The majority of course are disinterested. Those who are really into the union at branch level, tend to be either misguided but well-meaning or leftist politicos enamoured with union procedure and hoping their group can gain some influence in the machinery of the union.

It's our job to push ideas of resistance and the most effective tactics among those we work with. It's not for us to get too involved with the terminally boring and ultimately demoralising machinations of the union. In the past, many members have been shop stewards. We'd say that this is a bad move because to be a good rep, you have to represent your members and liaise with management. This is a contradiction for an AFer. If you're all revolutionary about it, you will be of no use to management or those you represent (as they are unlikely to want you to be really revolutionary) and you won't be a rep for long. It's also a contradiction in that unions are an institution for propping up capitalism. Though they might offer us some day to day social benefits, we shouldn't be colluding with them by being too actively involved in their running. Our role is to push revolutionary ideas and ways and means of practical resistance.

On the other hand we don't encourage individuals to leave the union as this would probably make them even more isolated and vulnerable in their workplace (admittedly, depending on circumstances, an individual AFer may find there really is no point in staying in the union and decide to leave - we wouldn't necessarily discourage this but such a move should not be taken lightly). If a sizeable group of workers were to leave the union in order to be more effective, then we should encourage this. Even if their aims were merely to set up a more radical alternative union, then we should still be involved but should point out the weaknesses of this tactic and argue for a more revolutionary approach.

Rank and filism

Rank and file organisations and movements have tended to either aim to put pressure

on backsliding union leaders, promote rank and file left-wing 'leaders' in order to replace current backsliding leaders, or have been party-building machines for some leftist group. This is no reason for ignoring them. Occasionally they have grown out of general anger and discontent, autonomously. In fact the level of anger and willingness to fight which makes such things possible means they can also get out of control (as far as leaders are concerned). If such things do arise autonomously, they generally get railroaded into backing some left-wing slate or else end up fizzling out after being manipulated by leftists.

We need to be critically supportive and involved with any autonomous rank and file initiatives. It's up to us to point out the limitations of rank and file action, warn against reformism and leftist manipulation, as well as point out the possibilities and alternatives to rank and fileism (which we'll look at later).

Non-unionised workplaces

Union membership has massively declined since the seventies due to government attacks and the unions' compliance with all anti-union legislation. Also many traditionally unionised industries are gone. Many younger workers have never experienced industrial action. Add to this the fact that unions have been incapable of defending all but the most basic of workers rights, plus the fact that many workers are too scared of the dole to fight, then it's easy to see why most workers are not in any union.

The nature of non-unionised workplaces means that work is usually casual with minimal job security. Management has total power which is wielded arbitrarily and we are 'lucky' if we have a 'good' boss. If you want to keep your job, talk about the weather, football, sitcoms, etc. Anything contentious can easily land you outside the gates, P45 in hand.

Often there's a complex pecking order with networks of 'supervisors' and 'managers' who are about as managerial as a milk monitor but ten pence an hour more than you gives them a little power. Some places have company "staff reps" and monthly meetings for all their workers where you can voice disagreements (if you're daft enough) or recommend ways of improving business (if you're totally insane).

If you stay in such a place long enough, a good relationship with your workmates is really important. The level of discontent usually runs high in places like this and they are potential powderkegs. Unless people don't care if they get the sack or not, workers will keep their resentment to themselves as there will be those who will grass you up for an extra ten pence an hour. If there are workmates you can trust (and vice versa), you will possibly find some people open to ideas of rebellion and resistance.

It's our job to fan these flames of discontent but from past experience, potential rebels often end up wanting to move forward by joining the union. Now as we said earlier, it's probably better to be unionised than not but should we be promoting something we don't agree with anyway? We suggest we should argue against the union because:

- 1 Unions are largely a waste of time, in the bosses pocket, etc.
- 2 Management will probably sack you for joining one or thinking of joining one
- 3 If you were to fight a dispute for union recognition, the 'benefits' are barely worth the

risk of being sacked, blacklisted, etc.

4 It's rare in such places to get all workers to stick together – we're probably talking about a minority who want to do anything anyway.

One argument in favour of unionising is that if your workplace is not in a union, should you strike, you will be isolated from the broader trade union movement. You will get little support from other workers especially say, delivery drivers who might not cross official picket lines to make deliveries but without union backing might have to cross. There is some truth in this but we should not make too much out of it because: in current law, the driver not crossing an official picket line would be classed as a secondary action and would be illegal, the unions would never officially back such action anyway, it's rare for drivers to take such action anyway as many are either agency staff or if permanent and union members are still afraid of risking their jobs. Also, weigh it up, for the sake of a rare driver not crossing your line are you willing to have your dispute watered down, undermined and sabotaged by an organisation which is, in reality, your enemy?

If your workmates decide that they are going to unionise, it's best to critically go along with it whilst letting people know your disagreements. If they want something better, what would an Afer advocate?

When the unions first began, they were 'secret societies' for obvious reasons. To think of setting up a union now, you still have to be pretty secretive. If this is the case, why be so secretive for something so crap? If you do work with people who you can trust and who want to fight, then why go legal anyway? We should push the idea of some sort of resistance group that would not be constrained by union legality

Workplace resistance groups

Whether unionised or non-unionised, the idea of resistance groups in your workplace may seem a long way from reality (especially in the current social climate) but this is a goal we need to be moving towards. Obviously if such a thing is unrealistic where you work and would only quickly get you sacked, then it would be silly to advocate it (unless you don't mind getting sacked). For others though, it might seem a plausible possibility, especially if you are or have been involved in some ongoing dispute and/or there is a degree of anger and discontent.

Such groups must not seek to be alternate unions, they must be anti-capitalist, anti-company, anti-union and political party and have no respect for legality. They need to operate outside the union. They should advocate class war and practice direct action to achieve their objectives. Such groups would have a propaganda function (pushing resistance and rebellion, slagging management, attacking trade and alternative unionism, advocating go-slows, non-co-operation, sabotage, unofficial action, mass sick days, etc.) and an active function (i.e. actually doing or trying to organise for what they advocate). They would have to be semi-secret organisations (for obvious reasons).

Obviously they could not be for AFers only as this would be a non-starter. Neither do they have to be made up of those who call themselves "revolutionaries", they are intended

for angry people who basically want to nobble the management/the bosses in general by the most effective means. People don't have to call themselves revolutionaries to be good class fighters and potential revolutionaries. The important thing is that such groups have no dealing with the union (even though members may be in the union), have no pretensions of becoming an alternative union and are always external to and against the union. Their aims should be to hammer the company as effectively as possible (a bit like a 'hit squad') and link up and collaborate with other similar groups (if or where they exist).

Such resistance groups may operate in a particular workplace or may be a national grouping of revolutionaries and rebels based around a particular industry/line of work.

Revolutionary/AF groups

An AF group in every workplace would be an ideal long term goal. A more realistic vision would be the occasional AF workplace group and national groupings of AFers within a particular industry.

Because of our limited numbers and influence, if possible, it might be better to try and establish industrial/workplace revolutionary groups with those who hold similar views on workplace struggles to ourselves (e.g. various left-communists, non-aligned workplace militants, etc.). It should be remembered that there can be all sorts of pitfalls working with left communists (they can often be pedantic and sometimes divisive).

Anti rank and filism and syndicalism

Such a strategy of aiming to develop resistance groups or organisations and revolutionary workplace groups is a break with rank and filism and syndicalism.

The problems of rank and filism have already been mentioned but for many class struggle anarchists, syndicalism is a very attractive method (after all the CNT was the mass anarchist movement, claiming possibly three million members at it's high point).

For us the problem with syndicalism is that to function as a union, you have to get your organisation accepted by the bosses/state. Such legality undermines revolutionary action. Another problem is it's apolitical side. To become a large or even mass organisation, anarcho-syndicalists find they have to tone down their anarchism or else they will be unable to function as a union and end up as a political organisation. In order to be a union, they tend to end up with a politicised anarchist minority who may function as a leadership and a less politicised majority or rank and file. If you combine the legalism with the apoliticism, then you have a recipe for possible leadership cliques, class collaboration and betrayal. This is what happened in Spain with the CNT and the SAC in Sweden became a more or less social democratic organisation.

The resistance groups we propose make no concessions to syndicalism neither are they another rank and file organisation. They are not budding 'revolutionary unions' but are a means of banding together the most militant workers for direct action purposes. They aren't a means of collective bargaining but are simply geared towards making things hot for the bosses via disruption, sabotage, etc. They have no intention of radicalising the union or trying

to push the leadership leftwards. They are not legal but semi-underground. Membership of such groups will at least be a sackable offence (if you get caught). As for the revolutionary groups, they are unashamedly political organisations.

AF in the workplace

As with all other areas, if there is more than one AFer in a particular workplace, common agreement on tactics and strategies needs to be worked out. Comrades should have a coherent united approach.

We need to compile a list of the type of work our members are involved in with a view to those working in a common area collaborating on some future project. This could be producing a *Resistance* bulletin for a particular industry, etc.

Ads could go in *Organise!* and other publications calling on revolutionaries within a particular industry to contact us in order to help get a project off the ground. Possibly there could be collaboration with comrades from other groups with views similar to ourselves. AFers are also free to join alternative unions like the Industrial Workers of the World.

As far as working with other libertarians with regard to local strikes and workplace struggle goes, collaboration on strike support, etc., may be worthwhile but joint propaganda could only work if we were all arguing for basic direct action strategies. Anything beyond this would always be vague as we and the syndicalists propose different solutions.

All leftist initiatives should be given a wide berth and their manipulations should be exposed (though they may contain people sympathetic to real resistance and revolutionary ideas).

INTERNATIONAL

As a national organisation we have a strong international perspective. For us anarchist communism entails the ideas of 'revolutionary internationalism'. The basis of this should be the linking up with revolutionaries overseas with a view to eventually forging an effective libertarian communist international. At present there is no established international with regards our political orientation. We are however affiliated to the 'synthesist' international, the International of Anarchist Federations which contains various national federations and other groupings which unite libertarian communists, syndicalists, lifestyleists, individualists, pacifists, etc. And there is also the syndicalist International Workers Association.

Anarchism world-wide is varied. Outside of Britain and the US where anarchism is predominantly lifestyleist, counter-cultural or radical liberal, the main tendency (and tradition) is anarcho-syndicalist. The non-syndicalist libertarian communist tendency is smaller and indeed many of these are still in some ways bound to leftism, syndicalism and the unions. Our own anti-union, anti-syndicalist tendency is in fact a minority of a minority. As a matter of fact, our position seems to have more in common with the small council and left communist groupings and some autonomists than with the majority of anarchists. The same goes for our view on left wing nationalism/national liberation struggles (though to a lesser degree).

We need to be spreading our ideas internationally whilst at the same time we should be

looking into ways of working on a practical level in a concerted manner with revolutionaries abroad.

The level of anarchist ideas varies from country to country. In some places, anarchism is a strong, deep rooted working class tradition, in others it is relatively weak. In some parts of the world it is quite new either because it never existed or because it has been heavily repressed for many years. In certain countries, it is a 'luxury' to be as open as we are about our anarchism. In others you may get imprisoned or even executed for it. There are many countries where, as far as we know, there are no traces of anarchism.

The International Secretaries should be responsible for establishing contact with non-anarchists. This might include councillists but could also mean contact with non-anarchist resistance groups overseas or 'leftist' emigree groups in Britain from countries with little or no anarchist scene. This might apply to countries with particularly heavy repression, wars, etc. Obviously we're not talking about Stalinists and hardcore national liberationists but groups who may be open to debate, new ideas, etc. If they exist, then we need to be giving them the anarchist communist message.

It follows that our work needs to operate on different levels depending on the ideological development or strength of anarchism in a particular country. So, where anarchism is very weak, we need to encourage and help it to develop (hopefully in a revolutionary direction). Where it is stronger we can afford to be more critical.

APPENDIX I

Anarchist Federation lending library

CDs

CHUMBAWUMBA
Showbusiness! live

NOAM CHOMSKY
Capital Rules
Mutual Aid Recordings with booklet
featuring interviews with Chomsky and
Chumbawumba

Less Rock, More Talk
Featuring MYKEL BOARD, NOAM CHOMSKY, TOM
LEONARD, JAMES KELMAN, JELLOO BIAFRA, PENNY
RIMBAUD, NORMAN NAWROCKI, M. GIRA, STEVE
POTTINGER, JERME SPEW, PETER PLATE

HOWARD ZINN
A People's History of the United States

TOM LEONARD
Nora's Place and other poems 1965-1995

JAMES KELMAN
Seven Stories

Pamphlets

K. BULLSTREET
Bash the Fash - Anti Fascist Recollections
1984-93,
29 pages

From Alcatraz to Marion to Florence - Control
Unit Prisons in the United States
32 pages

BOB DARKE
Poor Lenin Extracts from "The Communist

Technique in Britain"
(very small typeface! Not for those with
poor eyesight)

DAVE DOUGLASS
Come and Wet This Truncheon, 1985
The Miner's Strike

DAVE DOUGLASS
Tell us About The Miners : The Role of the
Media in the Great Coal Strike of 1984/1985
29 pages

BONNIE KERNES
Oppression: Social and Economic Realities,
1999
11 pages

BONNIE KERNES
Women in Prison, 2000
8 pages

L. GAMBONE
Revolution and Reformism: A split between
"Moderates" and "Revolutionaries" in French
Anarch-Syndicalism, 1995
17 pages

PERCY BYSSHE SHELLEY
The Necessity of Atheism
4 pages

VIRUS EDITORIAL (Barcelona)
The Anarchist Resistance to Franco with
biographical notes by Antonio Tellez

BENJAMIN ZEPHANIAH

School's Out : Poems Not For School

56 pages

Books

MURRAY BOOKCHIN

The Spanish Anarchists: The Heroic Years

1868–1936

1998

316 pages

DO OR DIE

Voices from the Ecological Resistance Issue 9

December 2000

230 pages

BOB MENDELSON

Andrew Ant The Anarchist; A Fable for all ants and those humans concerned with justice

(illustrated story book with large print suitable for anarchists who want their kids to grow up and not become coppers!)

1976

DANIEL GUERIN

No Gods No Masters Book One 1998

Covers Stirner, Proudhon and Bakunin,

Direct Action, Guillaume, Kropotkin

294 pages

DANIEL GUERIN

No Gods No Masters Book Two

Covers Malatesta, Henry, Pelloutier, Pouget,

The Spanish Collectives, Voline, Makhno,

Kronstadt, Leval, Spanish Civil War, Durruti

and anarcho-syndicalism

ANTONIO TELLEZ

Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary

208 pages 1974

ed SAKOLKY R. and DUNIFER, S,

Seizing the Airwaves

A Free Radio Handbook

1998

211 pages

Also found at www.af-north.org

APPENDIX II

Keeping safe on demos and actions

STICK TOGETHER If you can, go with a group of mates, people you trust. Keep an eye out for each other, count up after police charges, arrange meeting points in case you get separated. Have a list of names somewhere safe, with a mate who's not there, who has a number for a solicitor. Act as a thinking group. Know who's up for what. It could be wise to have someone from your group to have a basic knowledge of first aid.

MASK UP These days the old bill film us from the start of demos. If you don't want to get lifted later on, wear a mask or scarf over your face. Cops have caught masked up folk by matching their clothes to earlier film. So if you can, wear old clothes you don't mind chucking afterwards, or plain, dark clothes that are tough to identify. Fluffy tie dye shirts and blue faces may look pretty but stand out a mile. Maybe we should be investing in 100s of Gordon Brown plastic face masks.

On previous demos, some lads on Whitehall went and ripped flags off the Cenotaph – brilliant. They then went and paraded for the TV cameras, giving a good view of their faces. Use your heads.

GO EQUIPPED Some items worth taking along: Junior hack saw, to cut through official locks and chains; a D-lock, for locking places in our own interests; paintbombs and spray cans, to cover cops' visors and journo cameras.

BUNCH UP A solid line that moves around is harder to break up than isolated individuals.

UN-ARREST PEOPLE If someone is grabbed by a snatch squad, they can be snatched back by a determined small group. Especially if one or two cops hold them, it can be easy to rescue them. If you grab someone back, it's useful to swap clothes to confuse the cops looking to re-arrest them. Or suggest they move to another area of the fight.

THROWING STUFF People who throw stuff inaccurately from 50 yards back are wankers. We've seen too many heads cracked by bottles and bricks wellied from behind. Have some bottle, move up nearer the front and do it properly or don't bother. People too pissed to throw on target should be stopped, by force if necessary.

FLUFF OFF If you aren't into the fight, or are 'against violence', we suggest you move out of the area. Anyone standing in front of the police and trying to stop bottles hitting them has got to consider themselves a target.

DON'T SAY CHEESE Press and TV cameras have been attacked on previous demos,

but this needs to be stepped up. Small groups of us could decide to concentrate on this in a given situation. Or we'll find ourselves on the front page of The Sun. Powerful catapults might be useful.

LEGAL OBSERVERS People with orange bibs, saying 'LDMG/Legal Observer', are there to gather info on people nicked, get people to witness for them, and get them a solicitor. They are not cops, stewards or lawyers, they're just like the rest of us, some have been nicked in the past, they know the score. Help them help you, give them names, descriptions, statements on people who've been nicked. Everyone can be an observer - it's up to us to look after each other.

USE YOUR EYES Watch what the cops are doing, if they're preparing to charge, moving back, vans or horses being moved about. Watch out for spotters pointing out people in the crowd, warn people who've been pointed at, move away if it looks like they've got your number.

KEEP ON YOUR TOES Don't stand still, move around, keep the filth on the run. Don't get trapped in dead ends. Spread out and stretch the cops.

IF YOU GET ARRESTED Try and make sure people around you, preferably your mates are aware of it and can act accordingly. Probably if you're nicked in a 'riot' situation, the police will be too busy to interview you. BUT don't rely on this. Don't make a statement to the police, don't admit to anything; 'no comment' is the only reply to questions. Although they can now bring your silence up in court, the best place to start making a defence is with a decent solicitor and access to witness evidence. If you're beaten up, see a doctor, get injuries photographed. It can help in any case the coppers bring against you, or if you want to sue them.

[See also: 'No Comment - The defendant's guide to arrest' <http://libcom.org/organise/no-comment-the-defendants-guide-to-arrest>]

This text is an extract from a leaflet produced by 'The Hungry Brigade' in May 1997.

APPENDIX III

Glossary

IB	Internal Bulletin
NDM	National Delegate Meeting
SWP	Socialist Workers Party (Marxist Leninist party)
ACF	Anarchist Communist Federation (our former title)
CW	Class War
CWF	Class War Federation (alternative name for Class War)
EF	Earth First
RTS	Reclaim The Streets
DAM	Direct Action Movement
ACOD	Anarchist Communism Or Death (light hearted AF saying)
AFA	Anti-Fascist Action
Sol-Fed	Solidarity Federation (UK Anarcho-Syndicalists)
CNT	Anarcho-Syndicalist Union based in Spain
ANL	Anti-Nazi League (Front for the SWP)
PTA	Parent-Teachers Association
PLO	Prisoner Liaison Officer
IMF	International Monetary Fund
WHO	World Health Organisation
MP	Local Arsehole
MEP	Not quite so Local Arsehole in Europe