

**Contents: Part 2**

Page: 18: Hungary: A Black Hole on Europe's Map: An Interview with G. M Tamas by Jaroslav Fiala

Page: 22: The Housing Question: Charles Williams

Page: 25: Uk Nuclear Clean Bill

Page: 25: Climate Change: The Alternative is Social Collaspe or Socialism

Page: 30: What's This Life?

Page: 31: so you Thought Slavery was a Thing of the Past?

Page: 32 Anti State Non Market Group Directory

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From The Bullet  
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**Hungary: A Black Hole on Europe's Map****An interview with G. M. Tamás by Jaroslav Fiala (A2 magazine)**

**Jaroslav Fiala (JF):** In the past you have written on post-fascism. In recent years, the growing rise of nationalist and racist forces has taken place across Europe. What is your explanation for this phenomenon?

**G. M. Tamás (GMT):** The whole nature of European politics has changed after 1989: the two hegemonic blocs had disintegrated, after the Soviet threat which forced the internal compromise in the West resulting in the welfare state and the toleration of large West European communist parties and communist-influenced trade unions, ceased to exist. So did cease to exist the Western pressure which had set certain limits to Stalinist and post-Stalinist dictatorship. The Cold War equilibrium was over.

The more or less 'proletarian' counter-power together with the 'adversary culture' from academic Marxism to *avant-garde* cultural practices is gone, too. The [compromesso storico](#) – the key to the flowering of Europe from the 1960s to the 1980s – has become both unnecessary and impossible. The new states and their élites had to realise that old-style religion and nationalism is ineffectual, their foundations have crumbled, the Army and the Church are not the forces they used to

be. Social integration, mass mobilization are now indirect, mediated through the media, if at all. A sense of integration for passive and isolated citizens can be offered only by political passions that can be exercised privately, without organization, without ideology proper, in an exclusively negative way. So explanations for social discontent can be understood chiefly as the result of 'heterogeneous' elements (in the sense of Georges Bataille), 'outsiders,' 'foreigners,' 'immigrants,' 'gays,' non-participants (welfare cheats, layabouts, the underclass in general). This does not need mass mobilization as in 'classical' fascism because it does not concern any parts of the ruling class or state élites, while fascism and National Socialism, of course, did. This is an authoritarian radicalism based not on hatred, but on contempt. The hyperactive passivity of old fascism gives way to the passive passivity of post-fascism.

**JF:** Let's focus on Hungary. The election showed a rightward, extremist shift, again. What is happening to your country?

**GMT:** It's a difficult question – and the most important one. First of all, this was [another election](#) where genuine right-wing and pseudo-left parties had a contest. The 'left' coalition combined elements of human rights liberalism, pro-European business liberalism and a very vulgar 'left' populism, with obviously unrealistic promises. These elements went very badly together. Viktor Orbán and his national conservatives simply refused to present a programme or an election manifesto at all. Their only slogan was "We'll continue!" Their policy is a combination of

handouts to the middle class and to the middle class only, and of a very severe 'law and order' routine against everyone else. It's a simple and straightforward politics of repression: censorship of the media called 'national unity' (that is, no audible dissent), strongly chauvinist national education at all levels, a cult of 'hard work' persecuting the unemployed, especially the Roma poor, a *macho* talk of will, force, determination, action, 'follow-the-leader,' virility. A new national identity rooted in football and based on extreme right football supporters' groups, contempt for intellectuals and a generalized hatred against all foreigners (both against our neighbours in the 'successor states' and against the treacherous, decadent West, not to speak of our coloured brethren).

The left has been presented – following the oldest recipe – as the agents of 'abroad,' *le parti de l'étranger*. At the same time, the governing party has lost hundreds of thousands of votes that went in part to the overt fascists. The malcontent just leave the country in droves. London is today the third largest Hungarian city. The general mood is glum, there is an atmosphere of suspicion and loathing. There is xenophobia and ethnicism without the slightest trace of national pride.

**JF:** How would you describe [Viktor Orbán](#) and his party Fidesz? Before 1989 you were friends...

**GMT:** Actually, we were friends up to the mid-1990s. Mr Orbán is a very able, very ruthless, totally unprincipled and pragmatic politician, a cunning tactician and a shameless demagogue. He keeps contradicting himself and affirms the opposite of what he has trumpeted a week ago, but since he doesn't give interviews and is never subjected to critical, let alone hostile questioning (the new House rules in Parliament make him almost exempt of any obligation to debate and to convince), he doesn't have to account for any of these. There was not a single TV debate between Fidesz and the opposition. His rhetoric is outrageously simplified: he's fighting the cosmopolitan powers of international finance and those of international leftist subversion to keep the Nation safe, reduce the cost of living and give back to Hungary its ancestral might, you know, a brave little David struggling with Goliath, and so on. The worst enemy can be recognized by his or her accusing the national conservative Hungarian government of anti-Semitism which

does not exist, it is all a malevolent Jewish invention.

**JF:** Why is Orbán's Fidesz so popular? It seems that the party expropriated many anti-capitalist elements. Basically, it says: if you are against the socio-economic system, vote for us.

**GMT:** It is the usual right-wing anti-capitalism of the 1930s: it makes a difference between productive and parasitic capital. Mr Orbán makes special deals with Western industrial companies that are fully or partly tax-exempt and are attracted by the extremely low Hungarian wages, but declares war against banks and against global financial institutions such as the IMF. The decorative refurbishment of Budapest (in a very poor taste, I might add) is paid for by the EU, the anti-Hungarian monster. Mr Orbán is, like many before him, the champion of the national bourgeoisie, he is by now himself a very rich man.

Like the radical right everywhere, Fidesz is opposed to anybody it deems 'unproductive' from bankers to intellectuals to the unemployed to the old-age pensioners and to university students. 'Unproductive' equals 'parasitic' equals 'subversive.' By their ambivalent, semi-anti-capitalist talk they have managed to become the system itself and also the opposition to the system. As it is mostly the middle class who vote, there are about two million people who would fall for this propaganda done very skilfully by the Fidesz PR and indoctrination machine (a combination of Thatcherism and Putinism), undergirded by Mr Orbán's relentless activity and continuous initiatives in every regard.

Also people are getting restless. Mr Orbán has acquired tyrannical traits of late that might be, sooner or later, his undoing. (He seems to believe that he is actually governing Transylvania and Vojvodina as well, the *fantaisiste* Szekler flag is fluttering on the Budapest Parliament building, Hungarian government representatives are holding assemblies and participating in public ceremonies in Romania, without even paying courtesy calls on the local authorities. The official term is 'reunification of the nation across the borders.' This is nonsense, but extremely dangerous nonsense.)

**JF:** Is the influence of anti-communism significant? If so, how does the Hungarian right use it?

**GMT:** It is the old extreme-right formula: communism and liberalism are identical. They are inventions of rootless, misanthropic, mysterious circles, opposed to human nature and to the natural order. 'We,' true Hungarians, are conservative pragmatists, serving our own interests only, defined by a sober look at our own people and at our own country. We are no ideologists, we are looking for simple things, such as dignity, pride, well-being, a simple but comfortable life and we cherish tradition, be it the tradition of kings or peasants. And so on. And, of course, although this is only suggested, not stated, both communism and liberalism speak with a slightly Semitic accent.

**JF:** The election showed growing support for racist, anti-Semitic Jobbik as well. It seems this party has a lot of supporters among young people. Why?

**GMT:** The strength of Jobbik is its unsentimental, clear hatred of the Roma and its open wish to see them thwarted or, better, expelled. It's based on 'moral panic' like the old anti-Black racism of the antebellum American South: crime, proliferation of sensual, oversexed savages etc. Also it appeals to the young middle class by its anti-establishment stance. It sees history from the point of the view of the Axis, rejects all democratic bromides and does not respect the obligatory good manners of politics between, say, 1945 and 2000. This seems rebellious and original. They are using the symbols of the old Arrow-Cross party, hated and despised even by the more mainstream fascist tendencies, and which was known by its lunatic cruelty. This is the ultimate non-PC statement.

**JF:** How does Jobbik operate? Is it like the Golden Dawn in Greece (e. g. organizing 'riot police,' militias, services for the poor etc.)?

**GMT:** They are not doing anything for the poor, except promising that they will rid them of the Roma, but as to the rest, it's rather identical in method. The serial murder of six Roma executed by extreme right militants now in custody did not cause great revulsion. Instead, there are speculations how the Judeo-Bolshevik or Judeo-Liberal cabal has

organized the assassinations in order to slander our people. In this climate, Jobbik has no difficult job. After the elections, the centre-left parties have propounded a 'constructive dialogue' or 'debate' with Jobbik. The fascist party cannot be kept in quarantine, declared the leadership of the Hungarian Socialist Party. In the national elections, the fascists were on the second place, now it is predicted that at the European elections they will reach the second position. In the local elections in the autumn, they might acquire 70-80 mayoralties in the provinces, pollsters say. In the new Hungarian Parliament, the select committee on culture and education will be presided by a fascist.

**JF:** There is a lot of hatred against Roma people in Hungary. Are there also activists defending them? Or is the civil society rather weak and passive?

**GMT:** There are such groups, of course, immensely unpopular. Civil society is not wholly passive, but it simply isn't anti-racist. This might change, though, although at the moment even the centre-left has abandoned the topic and is beginning to talk, too, of 'public security in the countryside,' the acceptable translation of 'Gypsy crime.'

**JF:** How about the Hungarian left? Why did it fail in obtaining support?

**GMT:** Apart from being inept, uninspired, disunited and cowardly, the centre-left had no access to the main media (the internet reaches only the young middle class, solidly on the right) and failed to present an alternative. They fought a lukewarm campaign, in the style of 'more of the same, but better,' also they were mired in some really disgusting corruption affairs. Their slogans praising democracy were ineffectual, as 'democracy' means for most people impoverishment, foreign influence, inequality, unfair employment practices, in one word: failure. 'Democracy' makes people laugh and I must confess, I do understand them up to a point.

**JF:** Given the trajectory of development of post-communist countries after 1989, it seems that most of them are in deep trouble. What went wrong?

**GMT:** We are all pre-communist countries. But apart from this, Eastern Europe – and the

whole world – is in deep trouble. Capitalism, as we all know, is crisis-ridden, but the old consolations don't apply. Parliamentarism and 'the free press' are empty even where they are tolerated by the system better than in Hungary. The left liberal recipe of redistribution is undermined by racism, xenophobia, misogyny and the like. Poverty is on the increase, but equality is hated. Anti-capitalism, too, has reverted to its pre-Marxian moralistic, often nonsensical form. Radical critical thought floats in an empty space, as the old workers' movement is dead. A replacement for the industrial proletariat is unlikely to be found.

**JF:** Do you see any light at the end of the tunnel? Or are we simply walking toward more exploitation, authoritarianism and new forms of fascism?

**GMT:** I would be sorely tempted to say yes. But to say that would mean that we should give up thinking and feeling, and I am not prepared to propose quite that. There have been dark ages before. Our task is to keep our little lights alive and do our duty, regardless of failure, regardless of consequences. The continuity of a tradition opposed to exploitation and oppression is vital, even if we are only links in a chain, and will be probably – and justly – forgotten by a better age that might or might not come.

**JF:** You said that the sense of social integration can be offered only by political passions that can be exercised privately. Do you think this can be achieved only through new xenophobia? Are there any better political passions we could offer to isolated citizens today?

**GMT:** Passions can certainly be lived in other ways, too. And better passions may be on offer sometimes. Genuine social discontent also can be expressed by various versions of 'moral panic' but they won't amount to anything much as they cannot be sustained in the way that movements (based, after all, on personal, actual, physical, temporal togetherness and shared ideals) could.

**JF:** Could you say a little more about the differences between the 'classical' and new fascism? Are there any other contrasts or similarities?

**GMT:** 'Classical' fascist movements in all their variants have been the movements of war veterans, of soldiers, with military ideas of leadership, following and mobilization. But the age of mass armies is over. More important, fascism appeared amid the collapse of the Old Régime and was a reaction to socialism, to universalist and radical proletarian revolutions. This whole context has disappeared with the defeat of the Axis in 1945, with the cold war equilibrium and its demise, de-colonization and the end of the Soviet system in 1989. What survives, apart from nostalgia for the very worst, is the inability of late capitalism to integrate the 'heterogeneous.' The fundamental idea of modernity, civic equality through representation and public guarantees for private lives, is becoming increasingly unthinkable, witness the anti-immigrant policies of the most 'respectable' Western governments. Quite simply, the conceptual 'force' necessary for imagining a community *not* based on ethnicity or on common interest narrowly defined, is lacking.

**JF:** You also said that we are all 'pre-communist' countries. What does it mean (e.g. combination of reactionary politics, cowardly and moralistic left or other things)?

**GMT:** Well, of course, since there was no communism yet – at best, an egalitarian state capitalism with quite a few advances of civilization, beyond tuberculosis, syphilis, mass starvation and death from freezing – we are all pre-communist, even if there won't be any communism, ever. I don't think that the undeniable moral failures and sins of the contemporary left are in any sense decisive, however disappointing and saddening. Those are probably only consequences. There is no 'outside' to capitalism, as there was in the times of Rosa Luxemburg and Lenin. (In their case, large peasant societies, colonial or not. There isn't a revolutionary 'outside,' either.)

What kind of 'adversary culture' can be kept alive in the absence of a real adversary? Our little Marxist or anarchist conventicles express internal contradictions of late capitalism, but there is nothing outside the unified horizon of the system. It is for the first time that there is Marxist theory – actually, quite a number of excellent works and initiatives – without a Marxist movement. There have been socialists in the nineteenth century – sharply criticized by Lenin and Trotsky – who thought their work

was simply a preparation for crises that would be produced by history and not by their own activity. It was waiting for reality to create the opportunity for liberation and emancipation. Neither Mensheviks nor Bolsheviks were proven right ultimately. This is a period 'after history,' if we mean modern history engendered by the problems of bourgeois society. These problems are sometimes solved by decadence and obsolescence rather than by anything else, but they remain mostly unsolved. Contemporary reactionary political fashions and illiberal regimes show the deep discontent but are, naturally, making things only worse. This is the situation which we are asked - by events - to address. •

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**THE HOUSING QUESTION:**

"Value enters as subject."  
*Grundrisse*, Karl Marx, written during the winter of 1857-8.  
 [First published in 1939 in Moscow, in English in London in 1973, translated by Marin Nicolaus, Pelican Books].

"Gherkin in a pickle: iconic tower is bust. The City's iconic Gherkin tower has fallen into receivership after its owners failed to strike a restructuring deal over its mounting debt-pile, paving for a likely sale of the skyscraper"...  
 CITY A.M. /25TH April 2014.

"In a pickle The Gherkin -yours for £550 millions".  
 The Guardian /25 April 2014.

by Charles Williams...

Britain has become a society of renters, not owners, this reality was revealed recently. It probably came as a shock to many people. But those with their feet on the ground were probably not astonished... The prices of flats, houses has gone through through the roof. You will excuse the metaphor, but it illustrates the present situation or shall we call it shambles. Only the rich will afford to live in the centre of London. *The Evening Standard* [23rd of April 2014] recently drew up a price list on the Central Line, it makes grim reading. Grim Britain not so Great anymore. Here are some of the findings:

<b>Zone 6</b> , Average house prices:	
West Ruislip:	£385, 266
<b>Zone 5</b> , " "	
Ruislip Gardens:	£284, 395
" "	" "
South Ruislip:	£284, 395
" "	:
Northolt :	£236, 284
<b>Zone 4:</b>	
Northolt:	£296, 059
<b>Zone 3:</b>	
Hanger Lane:	£482, 714
Ealing Broadway:	£604, 806
West Acton:	£482, 714
<b>Zone 2</b>	
Shepard's Bush:	£553, 926
Holland Park:	£2,440,205
<b>Zone 1</b>	
Notting Hill Gate:	£1,461, 160
Queensway:	£1,271,885
Bond Street:	£2,173,142
Liverpool Street:	£1,250, 833
Marble Arch:	£1,125,648
Tottenham Court Road:	£2,173, 142
<b>Zone 2</b>	
Mile End:	£275,069
Stratford	£240,413
<b>Zone 4</b>	
Chigwell:	£761,008
<b>Zone 6</b>	
Epping:	£369, 608
For more info see: <a href="http://Homesandproperty.co.uk/central line">Homesandproperty.co.uk/central line</a>	

Investment firms have moved in, buying flats, houses, buildings lock, stock and barrel. These firms invest in *futures*. (1) Mortgage firms are also introducing new lending measures. In other words it will be more difficult for buyers to purchase the house of their dreams. The poor in London will be relegated to the faraway suburbs. This syndrome was introduced a few years ago when Garden Suburbs were set up to decongest the centres of towns and to get rid of inner city slums. This scheme was two-fold, first it helped to get rid of nasty slums which were ridden with diseases. But it also facilitated the resettlement of entire populations. People ended up living in new towns which had become dormitories complete with giant supermarkets, highways, but no soul...A new way of life (or slow death) was introduced after the Second World War.

A few people were concerned with this new development of the territory. A few names come to mind, like Lewis Mumford, Colin Ward and also those who belonged to the *Internationale Situationniste*. All were worried about the new conditions put forward by architects, town planners...

The *Housing Question* has always been on the agenda... Karl Marx wrote about it...We continue today with an update on the ghastly situation brought about by the crisis of the economy in 2014. The British coalition government will build token social housing units. But on the whole they favour the Estate Agents who push the *status quo*. It is not uncommon to see 6 Estate Agencies on a High street in Britain today, sometimes it reaches 12. An amazing sight, it makes you want to puke all over their windows. Housing is a real cash crop bonanza. The Estate Agents are the managers of the coming Housing Bubble. They remind you of sharks in a feeding-frenzy. It is horrific.

The Con/Libdem coalition favours the "innovative finance mechanisms", to get social housing built. But the proof will be in the buildings, not the speeches by Housing Ministers...

Recently one good thing has come out of the London Mayor, Boris Johnson. He now favours a tunnel to house the HS2 railway line from Euston to Camden Town and further. Hence many streets, buildings will be saved if that tunnel scheme is adopted. This is the only good thing coming from the present Mayor of London, but it is a start. To destroy streets,

buildings, means destroying people. Enough has been destroyed... [1]. It is important for the Mayor of London to stick to "I will do", and not "**I might do**". We will see if he sticks to the tunnel idea for HS2.

So let's come back to the Housing Question in Britain. It is dire. There are many empty buildings, houses, flats. Investors in futures can keep the places empty and wait for an upturn in the economy to flog the places at a high premium. Some people in the Coalition have called for a tax to be imposed on empty buildings, houses, flats. The owners of these places will no doubt will find some sleeping tenants or buyers in order to avoid this empty tax.

All this mess in the housing market started when Mrs Thatcher put forward the idea that people could buy their council homes. Many people went for it. We can remember those who did so when they protested with placards in London, which said that the GLC was not doing repairs to their homes. The GLC daleks met these tenants and told them: "You bought these homes, it is up to you to do the repairs"...

Often you can see places which were bought under that Thatcher's scheme. They are derelict. People can't afford the repairs.

A basic need like housing has never been a free possibility -apart from the times of insurrection, revolution, occupation, when people could live where they wanted-, but these periods are often short-lived. The reaction is never too far to make sure that the *status quo* prevails. Squatting was an interesting movement, it started during the Second World War, and then in the fifties, sixties and seventies it flourished.

Often squatters moved in and saved entire streets from demolition. It also alleviated the housing crisis. But today squatting is illegal hence the increased present housing crisis... The housing crisis is kept artificial, it could be solved overnight if empty buildings were used to house people. All governments from the left to the right have not built many social housing units...Those in power always invoke the lack of capital and yet if you help to build social housing, rents will be paid, hence it makes sense especially if the rents are not high. Money will come back so that it can be used to build more Housing Co-op Homes. If you are not in a housing coop or a housing association in London and elsewhere, you are in trouble. Homeless people are on the increase. In the old days people got arrested

in winter so that they could have a roof over their heads and a few meals a day. Maybe that trend will increase but there is one problem there, the prisons of Britain are full to the brink...

A few years ago Karl Marx quoted this document in the first volume of *Capital*: "Rents have become so heavy that very few labouring men can afford more than one room". Report of the Officer of Health of St Martin's in the Fields, 1865". And he continues: "There is almost no house property in London that is not overburdened with a number of middlemen. For the price of land in London is always very high in comparison with its yearly revenue, and therefore every buyer speculates on getting rid of it again at a 'jury price' (the expropriative valuation fixed by jurymen), or on the pocketing an 'extraordinary increase of the value arising from the proximity of some large-scale undertaking .As a result of this there is a regular trade in the purchase of 'fag-end of leases'. Gentlemen in this business may be fairly expected to do as they do - get all they can from the tenants while they have them, and leave as little as they can for their successors". *Capital*, volume 1, page 813/814/ Penguin Classics.

So the *Housing Question* is still with us. A basic human need is not fulfilled. Hence the mass crisis. But in modern capitalism many human basic needs are not the priority, the priority of the system is to get people working and being part of the automaton subject. Everything else is secondary.

(1) *Liffe*: short for London International Financial Futures Exchange, a financial institution which deals specifically in futures, 'stocks, or contracts for stocks, sold for future delivery'. (cf. the *Oxford Dictionary of New Words*/ Oxford University Press. 1991.

(2) In Paris Les Halles veg/fruit/meat market was destroyed in 1971, when Georges Pompidou was President, the prime minister was Chaban-Delmas, helping him was Jacques Chirac who was nicknamed 'The Bulldozer'. Some people have said the heart of the Paris [Les Halles], was taken out when that market was abolished, they also said it was done as a kind of punishment for the May-June Mass occupations movement. The market had been there since 1173 when it was set up by King Phillippe Auguste II... Later in 1863 Victor Baltard set up the modern Halles market. Today it is known as 'Le Trou des Halles' [The Halles' hole]. For a long time gangs used to roam in the Hell's hole. Today it is quite a

*posh place with boutiques... Gangs have moved elsewhere.*

*When it was the Halles' veg, fruit, meat market it was a lively place. you could buy cheaply there at all times of the day. You could also pick up a day's work if you needed to... Today all that is gone...*

Written by Charles Williams on the 25 of April 2014 exclusively for *The Libertarian Communist* magazine.

**Here are some additional points which relate to the housing situation in London.**

Yahoo Finance UK/Dominic Lipinski/PA Wire - House prices in London have increased by 17% over the past year, according to ONS data

A penthouse has sold for £140million, annual prices are rising at a rate of 17% and billions of pounds of foreign money is pouring in.

Meanwhile, the average price of a home could be £560,000 by the end of next year, according to estimations by PWC.

A potential buyer was quoted

*"It truly is a crazy time to be buying right now, the pressure to pay over the asking price is considerable, with agents playing on your insecurities. I found a friend to buy with and we decided to get a two-bedroom flat together. Looking at the market, this option also seemed to provide better value for money. I had been seeing one-bedroom apartments for £405,000 but was finding two-bedrooms of the same quality for only around 10% more .Around the start of April we started looking for a two-bedroom property and found somewhere that seemed to fit the bill. It was a nice place, about 10-years-old, in a fairly new development near Hackney Downs. It was on the market at £420,000.*

**Garages in people's houses in London are going for £750 grand.**

*In Le Monde [Sunday 22/Monday 23 June 2014], there is an article called:*

*A Londres , les gratte-ciel poussent le long de la Tamise. (In London, skyscrapers are growing all along the Thames).the*

"A controversial project anticipates the construction of 236 towers of more than 20 storeys." Eric Albert, the author of the article says: " if London is going towards the skies, it is because the town is falling apart". And he adds: "Paris is still resisting the race towards going higher". Half the permits have already been agreed. (...) "Simon Jenkins, the president of the National Trust says: "The

town risks of being destroyed by the skyscrapers".

Comment: **these skyscrapers are high value blocks.**

The following was reported on the BBC TV news [23 June 2014].

**Evictions have trebled in London in the private sector...**

At an Annual General Meeting of the London Tenants' Federation a pamphlet was launched called: STAYING PUT/ AN ANTI-GENTRIFICATION HANDBOOK FOR COUNCIL ESTATES IN LONDON...It is available on line at : [www.justspace.org.uk](http://www.justspace.org.uk) and [www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com](http://www.southwarknotes.wordpress.com)

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**Interesting information via email**

In an article in *City A.M.* [24 June, 2014].

**£110 bn for UK nuclear clean.**

The bill for cleaning up the UK's nuclear waste has reached an estimated £110 bn, according to a new report from the Nuclear Decommissioning Authority.

The figure represents a £6.6 m increase on bill quoted in last year's annual report, owing to the way the clean-up costs are calculated and a rise in the cost of the Sellafield plant in Cumbria. The NDA believes the actual cost of the UK nuclear clean up over a 100 year plus period could be anywhere between £88bn and £218.

**As someone Commented**

**"Fucking joke and now George Monbiot and the green crew want more nuclear "because that's the affordable carbon-free option". For Fukushima's sake, we'll die from value either way"**

+++++ The following article is from The Internationalist Communist Tendency (ICT). We are presenting it in a edited (shortened) version due to length, A full length version can be obtained either from the ICT website or World in Common (WIC) where it was posted in March of this year. The reason for its inclusion is because we believe it present in clear terms the link between the threat to our planet and the social system which dominates us.

**Climate Change: The Alternative is Social Collapse or Socialism**

Towards the end of 2013 the spectre of ecological catastrophe, which now threatens humanity, again raised its head. Since the

start of the 2007/2008 crisis our rulers have managed to largely ignore the questions of global warming and ecological degradation of the planet. This is because other issues dominated the headlines and, in any case, they consider it too costly to deal with [1]. However, two recent events have brought the issue back into view.

The first was the publication, in September 2013, of the latest report by the UN Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change, Assessment Report 5 (IPCC AR5). This is the first report since 2007 and shows how much the condition of the planet has deteriorated in the last 6 years, and it is clear that this deterioration is due to the activity of humans. The report marshals a wealth of scientific evidence which shows that, despite all the posturing and hot air produced by our leaders, they have totally failed to reduce emissions of greenhouse gases, and are highly unlikely to limit temperature increase to the 2°C from pre-industrial times, during this century. This is the agreed threshold of temperature increase beyond which the process of global warming spirals out of human control and becomes self-perpetuating.

The second event was the November climate conference in Warsaw. This was the 19th such conference since the UN IPCC was set up and like all the others failed to achieve anything concrete. It ended with the usual unctuous words and the commitment to work towards a future conference in Paris in 2015 at which, it is hoped, as always, that some binding limits to carbon emissions could be agreed. Leading green groups such as Friends of the Earth, Greenpeace, various NGOs and others [2] walked out of the conference claiming the developed world was effectively blocking progress towards either cutting emissions or providing help for those most impacted by climate change. There seems little reason to expect anything concrete to emerge from the future Paris conference.

While it is clear that capitalism, as an economic system, cannot lay the spectre of ecological collapse to rest, it is also clear that the environmental lobbies, such as Friends of the Earth, think that capitalism can solve these problems. For them it is simply a question, as their conference briefing says, of "making the world wake up to the need for urgent action." Reversing climate change could, they think, be achieved without any fundamental change to capitalism if only our



leaders would wake up. This is a common view amongst environmentalists; a view which sees capitalism moving towards sustainability and zero growth. This view has been considered in detail by an organisation launched by the Stockholm Environmental Institute called the "Global Scenario Group" which baptised it as the "New Sustainability Paradigm." They attempt to outline the theoretical basis of this scenario in a document entitled "The Great Transition" [3] and claim it is theoretically underpinned by the work of the 19th century economist, J S Mill. He argues that the capitalist economy must reach a stationary state where growth ceases. We argue that such a scenario completely ignores the way capitalism operates, and must operate, as a system and is therefore hopelessly utopian.

### Ecological Collapse

Global warming, which has now become a threat to life on Earth in the longer term, is only the most publicised part of a general ecological degradation of the planet. This degradation stems from the way the capitalist system operates, the result of which is a continual and relentless demand for growth and reduction of production costs. The system's need for infinite growth and the finite resources of Earth stand in contradiction to each other. Successful operation of the system, which in the terms of capital means growth, or accumulation of capital, means that on the one hand nature is treated as a resource to be exploited ruthlessly, and on the other it is treated as a rubbish tip into which inexhaustible quantities of toxic trash can be dumped indefinitely.

The interchange which humanity has with nature has now become so unbalanced that we consume or deplete 25% more of nature's resources in a year, than the Earth's ecosystem can replace [4]. To make up the shortfall we simply use up the planet's reserves, a process that can only continue until they are exhausted. If this point is ever reached there will be a catastrophic collapse of civilisation. The capitalist system is like a juggernaut heading for a precipice; but a juggernaut with its own internal system of guidance which cannot be altered.

### Global Warming

Anthropogenic, or human-made, global warming, is caused by emission of greenhouse gases (GHGs). The most significant of these is carbon dioxide, CO<sub>2</sub>, which is produced by

burning fossil fuels such as coal, oil and gas. GHGs, because of their molecular structure, reflect back to Earth its own long wave radiation emissions. They thereby affect the balance of energy received from the Sun with that emitted from the planet and so obstruct Earth's cooling system. The temperature of the Earth then rises until a new state of energy balance is reached. The Earth has been in a state of energy imbalance since the late 70s which means it has been receiving more energy than it can emit. This creates a general rise in temperature and puts more energy into the atmosphere. The process whereby GHGs reflect radiation back to Earth is known as "radiative forcing."

The global economy is largely dependent on carbon for energy. Today according to the International Energy Agency 86% of the world's energy is supplied by fossil fuels which, in 2011, received state subsidies amounting to \$523bn! [5] The use of fossil fuels is also increasing faster than all other sources of energy combined. In the period 2000 to 2008 global energy use increased by 22% and 86% of that increase was supplied by fossil fuels and half of this was from coal, the dirtiest of all the fossil fuels [6]. The correlation between the growth of the economy and the growth in CO<sub>2</sub> emissions is fairly close. In the decade to 2007, for which figures are available, the global economy grew, on average, by 2.5%, in terms of GDP, and CO<sub>2</sub> emissions grew by 2.8%. There is a clear causal relationship between global capitalism's search for profitable accumulation and global warming. Even bourgeois commentators are no longer able to deny this, and it is for this reason that environmentalists aim to create a "no growth" capitalist economy.

As mentioned above global warming, which is caused by human interference with nature's carbon cycle, is only one of a host of degradations which capitalism is inflicting on the natural cycles of the planet. The "Millennium Ecosystem Assessment" concluded that out of the 24 natural ecological processes on which human survival depends, 15 are in decline or becoming unsustainable. Humanity's interchange with nature has become so profligate and destructive that within a few generations we may not be able to sustain life. When natural cycles do not regenerate the resources, capitalism simply uses up the Earth's reserves. When timber, for example, is not replaced more natural forest

are cut down thereby reducing the planet's reserves and in the process making the removal of atmospheric CO<sub>2</sub> even more difficult; when water tables fall, aquifers are pumped to lower levels so using up historical ground-water which has accumulated over centuries; when topsoil erodes more forest lands are cleared; when fertility declines, and 40% of farmed soils are now degraded, artificial fertilisers and insecticides are used. These in their turn pollute ground-waters, rivers and wetlands killing aquatic life producing dead rivers and lakes, and so on. Insecticides and loss of habitat are killing off the world's bee population. A recent study found 35 different pesticides in the food store of honey bees [7]. At the same time wild insect pollinators are being killed off. Yet 75% of the crops we produce depend on insect pollination and this decimation of pollinators is already beginning to threaten food production. Chinese farmers are now pollinating certain crops by hand! [8] It must be clear to anyone with their eyes open that we face an urgent crisis yet the ruling representatives of capitalism have greeted all the above with indifference.

#### Capitalism's response – "drill and frack 24/7"

As the IPCC report shows, far from slowing down the emissions of GHGs, the rate at which they are released has accelerated. The response of our rulers to the melting of the Arctic sea ice is a fair example of capitalism's global response to these issues. As is well known the Arctic Circle is a sink, removing CO<sub>2</sub> from the atmosphere, a sink which is equivalent to 10% of the total terrestrial sink, and in addition the Arctic ice reflects incoming radiation out of the atmosphere thereby reducing the heat received by the atmosphere. The ice sheet has been reduced from 10 million km<sup>2</sup> in 1982 to 7.1 million in 2012, a reduction of about 30% [9]. Furthermore scientists estimate that there are a further 200 billion tonnes of frozen GHGs trapped in the Arctic regions which could be released by this warming. In the longer term the Thermohaline Ocean currents (e.g. the Gulf Stream) which warm the northern hemisphere could be altered with incalculable consequences. However, the melting of the Arctic ice has been treated, not as an ecological disaster which requires urgent action, but as an opportunity to drill, recover and burn the oil and gas deposits of the area which were previously inaccessible. We are told these deposits represent 30% of global undiscovered gas and 13% of the

undiscovered oil and, of course, capital's economists have costed it all up and announced, with a smile, that it will bring in \$60bn of profit [10] The fact that such action can only make global warming worse is not even considered. Worldwide drilling and fracking [11], for ever more oil and gas are the order of the day, and as far as the general ecological crisis is concerned the response of Capital is "What have the future generations ever done for us?"

Since the IPCC was set up by the UN all its publications, which were supposed to be providing advice for governments, and all its international meetings have achieved nothing. The capitalist class, of course, appoint their top economists, rather than environmental scientists, to advise them on the ecological crisis. In the UK, for example, the economist Nicholas Sterne produced a report for the government in 2006 advising that CO<sub>2</sub> concentration in the atmosphere should be limited to 550ppm, which he advised would be equivalent to a temperature rise of 3°C. He concluded that 1% of global Gross Domestic Product (GDP) needed to be spent annually to achieve this. However, to reduce emissions and temperature rise more than this would be too expensive. Such a temperature rise is, of course, beyond the 2°C threshold which climate scientists estimate would trigger runaway global warming. Sterne has subsequently admitted he was wrong on the temperature rise, and it would be 4°C, a rise which makes runaway global warming even more likely [12]. Similarly the US economist W. Nordhaus in a book called "The Climate Casino" has calculated that a 2°C rise in global temperature could be achieved if 1.5% of global GDP is spent on reducing GHG emissions. This cost could only be achieved if all the main polluters agreed and cooperated in limiting emissions. If only half the main polluters agreed the costs would rise to 3.5% of global GDP which would be prohibitively expensive and eliminate global growth.

What these economists do not appear to realise is that, while starting from the assumption that the ecological crisis can be solved within the capitalist system, their calculations, which show the required costs would be unsustainable, prove the opposite, namely that this crisis cannot be solved within capitalist relations of production. It is clear that the demands of the capitalist system, namely profits via cheap energy are being followed in preference to any strategy which

could ensure the long term survival of life on the planet. Why are we doing exactly the opposite of what rationality should dictate?

### The capitalist imperative – “accumulate, accumulate!”

The capitalist system requires accumulation of capital. If capitals do not accumulate they will collapse, and there is therefore a general struggle for accumulation of capital, which means growth and expansion of markets, throughout the entire system. This drive for accumulation is derived from the internal functioning of the system and cannot be avoided. Capitalism is a productive system which produces for profit not for human needs. It is based on the separation of the working class from the means of production; a separation which enables the capitalist class to extract unpaid labour from the working class. This unpaid labour is converted into surplus value and forms the basis of capitalist profit. Technical developments and improvements in production increase productivity and tend to reduce the number workers in production. As the number of workers employed by a particular capital decreases the amount of unpaid labour extracted, and hence the capitalist system requires continuous profit, similarly decreases. This leads to a tendency for profit rates to fall.

The fall in profit rates in turn leads to increased competition between capitals. Capitals responds to this by converting part of the surplus value extracted from workers into fresh capital and accumulating it in order either, to introduce further technical improvements, or to increase the scale of production or both. This produces a circuit of continuously expanding reproduction with each circuit of production leading to an increase of capital. Although the rate of profit tends to fall, by increasing the scale of production, and selling more commodities, the mass of profit can be maintained. These tendencies which are felt initially at the level of the individual capitals, tend to generalise themselves over a whole economy and finally operate on a global scale as profit rates tend to average out. This results in capitalism's desperate struggle for growth. Capitalism has to “expand or die”, which is why all national economies measure their success in terms of growth. At present the global economy, measured by GDP, is growing at approximately 3% annually which means it will double in size every 24 years. This means

doubling the CO2 emissions and doubling demands on an ecosystem which is already overloaded by 25%. Only when the ecological problems start to affect profits will capitalists start to treat them seriously. This will occur when the ecological reserves have been used up and by then it will be too late to do anything about it.

This brief sketch of the dynamic behind capitalism's continual drive for growth shows that the forces propelling this drive come from the workings of the capitalist system itself, not from the immorality of the capitalist class. They are material forces, they are not ideological ones. Consequently the attempts of environmentalists to persuade the capitalist class to “wake up” and to adopt a zero growth economy, reflect a failure to understand the internal dynamics of capitalism, and are therefore futile. However, this is exactly what the most serious environmentalists are trying to do.

### New sustainability paradigm

J Porritt [13] in his latest book, *The World We Made*, describes the transformed world of 2050 through the eyes of a teacher who has lived through a complete change of lifestyle and the global economy in the period from the present to 2050. The “brave new world” is one where global warming and ecological degradation have been overcome or reversed and human society is in a harmonious relationship with nature. Yet the basic elements of capitalism remain in place. He describes how corporations have changed into B corporations or “benefit” corporations, committed to environmental targets and the good of society. Customer stock ownership schemes, cooperatives, community interest companies and social enterprises dominate the economy. Recycling, local food and local energy production are the norm. All this has been brought about by popular pressure. It was started by a protest movement in 2018 called “enough,” which appears to be a reincarnation of the “occupy” movements. “Enough” was sparked off by a World Bank report showing increased global inequality and a new explosive IPCC report. This movement led capitalists to see the errors of their ways, stop producing for profit, and accept the changes he describes. These changes are enforced by Government legislation. Capitalism has, he notes, “became something worth fighting for.”

The idea that capitalism can be reformed to become the charitable and green system envisaged by Porritt is fairly typical of the environmentalist movement. The clearest explanation of this position comes from the "Global Scenario Group" in their description of the "New Sustainability Paradigm." In this society the basic structures of capitalism remain intact but the distribution of the social product is changed to end inequality. Institutions of capitalism, such as multi-national corporations become social organizations. Lifestyles change and social structures are reformed while technical green advances are applied worldwide. The market becomes harnessed to sustainability.

The present world order is driven by the struggle for profit which leads to competition, nationalism and imperialism. These are the characteristics of capitalism. Yet all of these have been eliminated in the utopias described by the "Global Scenario Group" and by Porritt. On the one hand they admit that the present order of states, dominated by an economy exploiting the working class, struggling for profits, operating with relentless competition and backing all this up by imperialism, cannot possibly lead to their utopia, since it specifically excludes these things. On the other hand by excluding these key characteristics of capitalism they admit their utopia is in certain fundamental respects non-capitalist. Porritt is, in this sense, admitting his utopia is not achievable without a break from capitalism. Yet this is something he is not prepared to countenance. He maintains his utopia is a type of capitalism worth fighting for.

The whole scenario is shallow reformism, shot through with contradictions and quite unachievable.

### A Communist Planet

Although previous societies have inflicted local environmental damage on the planet which sometimes was so severe that it led to their extinction, as possibly the case of the Easter Islanders, the present scale of degradation is of an entirely different order. It is global and affects everyone. As has been shown above the present destruction of the planet is rooted in the capitalist system of production and cannot be solved without a break with capitalism. The entire system of production based on wage labour and capital needs to be replaced with a system which produces for

human needs. The means of production need to be converted from capitalist class property to social property before an equitable system of distribution can be achieved. Instead of the present system in which workers are alienated from the means of production and from the products of their labour, a free association of producers producing for the needs of humanity, is required. Instead of the interchange with nature being determined by capitalist profit, this interchange needs to be collectively planned and regulated by all. Only after such changes can we achieve a balanced exchange with nature. We call a society of socialised property and freely associated producers, producing for human needs, "communism" though this has nothing whatsoever to do with the system of state capitalism which existed in the former Soviet Union. It will be a society which will inscribe on its banners:

From each according to their ability, to each according to their needs [14].

A society where the free development of each will be the condition for the free development of all. Such a society will differentiate itself from capitalist in a myriad of ways, but the principal differences will be that it is a society without state, without money, where the mass of humanity participate in the planning and running of society. It will be a society without wage labour and commodity production and without classes.

The choice facing the world on the environmental front, as on the social front, is one of the ruin of civilisation or the construction of a communist world.

### References

(1) The last climate change conference attended by world leaders was the Copenhagen conference of 2009, which like the previous 14 conferences achieved nothing whatsoever. Since then there have been 4 further conferences, in Cancun, Durban, Doha and the latest in Warsaw (capital city of one of the worst polluters in Europe!) have all been low key with world leaders keeping well away.

(2) Some other groups who walked out were WWF, Oxfam, Action Aid, Jubilee South, 350.org. In all 800 people walked out.

(3) See [tellus.org](http://tellus.org)

(4) The figure for 1999 calculated in a study by the US Academy of Sciences was 20%. The figure for 2009 given

is 25% see  
[books.google.co.uk/s%20regenerative%20capacity&f=false](https://books.google.co.uk/s%20regenerative%20capacity&f=false)

(5) See [en.wikipedia.org](http://en.wikipedia.org)

(6) See [en.wikipedia.org](http://en.wikipedia.org)

(7) *Financial Times* 9/11/13

(8) Apple and pear farmers in Szechuan China are now forced to use paint brushes to pollinate the flowers of their trees. *Financial Times* 9/11/2013.

(9) See *Financial Times* 12/04/2012

(10) *Financial Times* 25/01/2013

(11) The UK government has provided tax breaks for fracking and incentives for local authorities to encourage drilling.

(12) See Sterne's statement at the Davos summit January 2013

(13) See J Porritt "The World we made". Porritt was previously a leading member of both the Green Party and Friends of the Earth and founded the charity "Forum for the Future."

(14) Marx *Critique of the Gotha Programme*.

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### **What's this life?**

What's this life? When it's the violence of the alarm clock that drags you out of bed! When you spend hours and hours at work and commuting to work as well. When you are obliged to endure the chiefs, the noise of machines, the brightness of a screen, to be submitted, and profitable. When your body gets ruined, when back, stomach, joints, ears pains... recall you that your body is not a machine in which it could be possible to replace a faulty part by a new one. Our organs will be deficient forever, and then we will have to use medicines and other rubbishes that will destroy us a few more, that will ruin the rest of our existence... an existence of wage slave.

"The alien character of labour emerges clearly in the fact that as soon as no physical or other compulsion exists, LABOUR IS SHUNNED LIKE THE PLAGUE."

This is the reality that sometimes you hide to yourself: you publicly praise the merits of labour; you take pleasure in what you do, whereas deep down you know that labour destroys you and that you would like to live without this burden.

Really, that's odd! The dictatorship of the economy that obliges to sell yourselves to survive turns into a voluntary servitude: you proclaim that work is necessary! Then listen to your body and understand that capital makes you play a role, until to feel your body to fall into decay and to know that you will never make fully the most of life, until to die like your colleagues you knew so well and who died "following of extended sick leave".

Whether we work until we are 60, or 62 years old or much more, it's the labour itself that is called into question!

Today, in this demonstration you believe that things can change, that large numbers, noise, colours, and the pom-pom will be enough so that this law making our living conditions worse could be withdrawn. However this force of number is not a force, it's just hot air. "Our" union leaders and left politicians count us and count on us, because for them we are only masses to be manoeuvred in order to make their governmental comeback easier. We are just an ordinary stepping stone! Back in office, what would they change to this law? Nothing! Because this society governed by the profit dictatorially imposes the extension in working time, it imposes an always more increased exploitation of labour force. And because our riposte is not equal to the attacks we have to suffer, there is no reason so that the bourgeois don't continue in the way of austerity!

Bourgeois' program all over the world is clear:

You have to slave away always more, always longer, while shutting up!

My friend, my fellow, my comrade, my colleague from work, it's fatalism that one puts into your head. It's also to believe that you are not able to do anything but perhaps to go to the polls, and clearly to do nothing to make so that life changes radically. Let's not trust in any way those who speak in our name so that our exploitation is perpetuated. Let's not delegate our strength to them, because we know by experience that they are ready to sell us to the highest bidder; they are great buddies with the rulers.

You could be an active force that changes the world. Today while accepting the principles of this demonstration, you stay in the role of the one who never stops moaning, and who is always manipulated. Shout as much as you want! You delegate your force whereas the power is within you. Your power is sleeping and absorbed by the routine - subway, work, television, sleep-by the isolation and the withdrawal into yourself, by the belief that only some supreme saviours are able to save you, while you work yourself to death for a fucking wage. Fear, routine, and passivity govern our semblance of life.

So break your isolation! Let's meet each other! The big fear of the rulers, included the unions, it's that you

take responsibility for yourself instead of staying spectator and marvelling yourself at TV, what is the height of impotence. They are freaking out that you get organized with your pals while giving more strength to what you already make: from daily resistance (sabotage, pilferage, absenteeism, and breaking-off) to the organization of wildcat strikes and supporting other struggles. We are all in this world, but bitter paradox we are nothing today. Only sheep who march behind parties' and unions' leaders.

What can ensure the triumph of our demands is the organization of our autonomous force outside and against all the structures of the state! Outside and against the unions and political parties, whatever they are!

Proletarians contact: [proletairesnavant@hotmail.fr](mailto:proletairesnavant@hotmail.fr)

[Originally in French: Quelle est cette vie?]

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### **So you thought Slavery was a thing of the past?**

According to walkfree.org in Uzbekistan every year over a million children and adults are forced into the cotton fields by their government to meet daily picking quotas during the harvest season. Doctors are dragged from their hospitals. Some colleges stand empty as teachers and students are forced to work the fields. Amongst the companies taking advantage of the modern slavery system are -- Daewoo International. Walkfree.org say that Daewoo has continued doing business in Uzbekistan even after publicly acknowledging that the Uzbek government uses forced labour to produce the cotton it buys and processes. The Central Asian nation of Uzbekistan is one of the largest producers of cotton globally. While the Uzbek authorities and companies like Daewoo continue to rake in the profits from the cotton trade, children and adults subjected to this state-orchestrated system of modern slavery miss out on education or their wages, and many citizens are threatened and beaten. For more information see.

<http://www.walkfree.org/daewoo-cotton/HomeEnglishSlaveryToday>

### **What is modern slavery?**

One anti-slavery organisation states that according to the International Labour Organisation (ILO) 20.9 million men, women and children around the world are in slavery. In the 21st century people are still sold like objects, forced to work for little or no pay and at the complete mercy of their 'employers'.

There are many different characteristics that distinguish slavery from other human rights violations, however only one needs to be present for slavery to exist. Someone is in slavery if they are:

**Forced to work - through mental or physical threat;**

**Owned or controlled by an 'employer', usually through mental or physical abuse or the threat of abuse;**

**Dehumanised, treated as a commodity or bought and sold as 'property';**

Physically constrained or has restrictions placed on his/her freedom of movement.

### **What types of slavery exist today?**

**Bonded labour** affects millions of people around the world, with biggest numbers in South East Asia. People become bonded labourers by taking, or being tricked into taking, a loan for which they are unable to ever pay off. Some bonded labourers receive basic food and shelter as 'payment' for their work, but due to penalties and exorbitant interest rates, no matter how hard they work they are never able to pay off the loan, which can even be passed down on to their children.

**Child Slavery** affects an estimated 5.5 million children around the world. Child slavery includes the worst form of child labour and child trafficking.

**Early and forced marriage** predominately affects women and girls who are married without choice, forced into lives of servitude often accompanied by physical violence and have no realistic choice of leaving the marriage.

**Forced labour** affects people who are illegally recruited by individuals, businesses or governments and forced to work - usually under the threat of violence or other penalties.

**Descent-based slavery** involves people who are either born into a 'slave' class or are from a 'group' that society views can be used for slave labour.

**Trafficking** involves the transport of any person from one area to another for the purpose of forcing them into slavery conditions. Trafficking involves transporting people between borders but can also affect

Many forms of slavery involve more than one element or form listed above. For example, trafficking often involves an advance payment for the trip and organising a promised job abroad which is borrowed from the traffickers. Once at the destination, the debt incurred serves as an element of controlling the victims as they are told they cannot leave the job until the debt is paid off. See [www.antislavery.org](http://www.antislavery.org)

**Anti-State, Non Market Sector Groups****Worldsocialistmovement/SPGB:**

worldsocialism.org/spgb: Postal address: 52 Clapham High Street London SW4 7UN.

Email [spgb@worldsocialim.org](mailto:spgb@worldsocialim.org)

**Promotional Material for the World Socialist Movement:** See previous issues or contact [veronica.clanchy@hotmail.co.uk](mailto:veronica.clanchy@hotmail.co.uk) or phone 01202 569826

*"Role Modelling Socialist Behaviour: The Life and Letters of Isaac Rab.* Further details can be obtained by contacting the address below.

**World Socialist Party US (WSPUS) website:** [www.wspus.org](http://www.wspus.org)  
Postal address: World Socialist Party, Box 440247, Boston, MA02144

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<http://stephenshenfield.net> contains all issues of The Libertarian Communist and a host of useful articles for the ASNM sector.

Andy Cox's website looks at how socialism might be developed: <http://socialistmatters.webs.com/>. Please see the piece about Andy on page 2 of this issue.

**World In Common:** [www.worldincommon.org](http://www.worldincommon.org)  
Email [worldincommon@yahoo.com](mailto:worldincommon@yahoo.com)

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[www.libcom.org](http://www.libcom.org); now contains all back issues of this journal: <http://libcom.org/library/libertarian-communist>  
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**The Commune**

For workers' self-management and communism from below.  
Website: [www.thecommune.co.uk](http://www.thecommune.co.uk)  
Postal address: The Commune, Freedom book shop, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E17QX

Comrades may be interested in the following links:

For Libertarian Communists in Russia and Belarus:  
<http://wiki.avtonom.org/index.php>  
"Eretik" (Heretic) is a left communist journal in Russian and English that appears both on the net and in print. This is produced by a group in Moldova.  
See: <http://eretik-samizdat.blogspot.com/2012/immunity-of-rich-and-powerful.html>

**A couple of places to purchase Literature and help support the ASNM sector.**

**"There is an Alternative!"**

**STIMULANTS:** A collection of material highlighting an opposition to the Mantra that "There Is No Alternative" to how we live today. Journals, Pamphlets, Books, DVDs and Cds etc. available [www.radicalbooks.co.uk](http://www.radicalbooks.co.uk)

**Libertarian Communist Literature** has a selection of pamphlets and journals related to the anti-state, non-Market sector. Journals Include: **Black flag, Aufheben, Socialist Standard, Organise** and others. We have a variety of pamphlets and a few books.

If you are interested please contact the postal or email address on Page 2 with your details

The Libertarian Communist is now available from **Housemans Bookshop, 5 Caledonian Road, London N1 9DX** email [shop@housemans.com](mailto:shop@housemans.com)  
<http://www.housemans.com/>

And

**News from Nowhere, 96 Bold Street, Liverpool L1 4HY** tel 0151 708 7270, email [nfn@newsfromnowhere.org.uk](mailto:nfn@newsfromnowhere.org.uk)  
<http://www.newsfromnowhere.org.uk/>

**Chronos Publications**  
BM Chronos, London WC1N 3XX

The Life and Death of Capitalism Series No.1

No Revolution Anywhere By Robert Kurz  
Available now

The Substance of Capital by Robert Kurz (forthcoming)

**Worth taking a look at**

The Socialist Labour Party of America ([www.slp.org](http://www.slp.org)), and the Marxist Internet Archive Library and Marx Myths and Legends [www.marxmyths.org](http://www.marxmyths.org)

**Direct Action Industrial Unions**

**Industrial Workers of the World:** [www.iww.org](http://www.iww.org) Or P/O Box 7593, Glasgow, G42 2EX Email: [rocsec@iww.org.uk](mailto:rocsec@iww.org.uk).

Workers International Industrial Union.  
[www.wiiu.org](http://www.wiiu.org) or [www.deleonism.org/wiiu.htm](http://www.deleonism.org/wiiu.htm) see the article on Industrial Unionism in issue 9

*See Also*  
**International Libertarian Socialist Alliance: Formerly called the *World Libertarian Socialist Network***

[www.libertyandsocialism.org](http://www.libertyandsocialism.org)

**The following are additions to the directory and well worth taking a look at:**

[www.theoryandpractice.org.uk](http://www.theoryandpractice.org.uk)

[www.marxisthumanistinitiative.org](http://www.marxisthumanistinitiative.org)

For information on issues related to Global Heating See:

<http://thinkprogress.org/climateissue/>

