



ANARCHO-SYNDICALISME ET
CRISE ENVIRONNEMENTALE
ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM AND ENVIRONMENTAL CRISIS



CLASSE OUVRIÈRE MOTEUR DU MONDE



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À propos de ce journal

Liberté Ouvrière est un projet bilingue de diffusion des idées et pratiques anarcho-syndicalistes.

C'est un blogue, une chaîne Youtube, une page Facebook, mais surtout un journal.

La première parution était une introduction à l'anarcho-syndicalisme. De quoi se familiariser et mettre la table. Des copies sont disponibles à la librairie anarchiste L'Insoumise de Montréal ou encore gratuitement par la poste sur demande courriel. Le PDF du journal ainsi que les articles sont en ligne sur le blogue.

Le thème de cette deuxième parution est "**Anarcho-syndicalisme et crise environnementale**". On retrouve donc majoritairement des textes constructifs sur des réponses anarchistes et anarcho-syndicaliste à la crise environnementale.

Certains textes sont exclusifs (grâce à de généreuses contributions), d'autres ont déjà été publiés sur le web ou ailleurs. Même si le plus vieux textes ici date de 1993 le tout est majoritairement écrit dans les dernières années et reste donc d'actualité. On y retrouve des opinions et des idées pertinentes, mais aussi des témoignages intéressants de luttes environnementales variées, que ça soit au Québec ou ailleurs.

Dans la présente édition, vous trouverez un dossier spécial portant sur **Murray Bookchin**. On y en apprend plus sur sa critique -sulfureuse et malavisée- de l'anarcho-syndicalisme ainsi que les idées anarchistes classiques qui ont largement orientées son courant politique: l' "Écologie sociale".



Mention spéciale à l'**Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation**, section australienne de l'Association Internationale des Travailleurs-Travailleuses, pour leur généreux don au projet! Merci aussi à OLT pour la généreuse contribution en images et BD! Merci beaucoup!

Prochaine parution à venir

Anarcho-syndicalisme: réforme ou révolution

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Le développement durable

Une approche qu'il faut impérativement mettre aux vidanges

*Alexandre B. Couture
Québec, 2022*

Comment est-ce qu'une approche aussi inefficace que celle du développement durable peut-elle être toujours l'approche largement dominante dans la lutte contre la destruction environnementale ? Il semble qu'un bilan misérable de 30 ans comme approche dominante devrait être plus que suffisant pour la remplacer par une approche pouvant atteindre des résultats à la hauteur des nombreux problèmes environnementaux. Mais non, elle est toujours en place et cet état des faits ne semble pas sur le point de changer. Pourquoi donc ? Cet article tentera de répondre à cette question.

La raison la plus évidente de l'échec de la lutte mondiale aux problématiques environnementales est que son approche, le développement durable, ne remet pas en cause le fondement même de la crise écologique, c'est-à-dire le capitalisme et sa montée en puissance depuis la révolution industrielle. Au contraire, le développement durable stipule qu'un capitalisme vert est possible, même souhaitable, et que le problème n'est qu'une question de volonté. Toutefois, un capitalisme vert ne peut exister puisque le système économique qu'est le capitalisme ne peut survivre sans une croissance économique infinie (la croissance ne peut toutefois qu'être finie puisque nous sommes, jusqu'à preuve du contraire, limités par les limites planétaires). La croissance, qu'elle soit capitaliste ou pas, ne peut qu'être destructrice puisqu'elle met une pression énorme sur les écosystèmes par son besoin insatiable de ressources et son inévitable production de déchets, quoiqu'en pensent les partisans du concept de la dématérialisation de l'économie capitaliste (qui n'est habituellement qu'une délocalisation des industries polluantes vers les pays du tiers-monde).

Une autre raison de l'incapacité du développement durable à obtenir des résultats positifs dans la lutte à la crise environnementale est qu'il se borne à vanter des agissements individuels très peu significatifs (pensons à la place disproportionnée que prend le discours sur les pailles en plastique) et d'une confiance inébranlable envers la technologie dans la solution environnementale. La solution est pourtant tout autre qu'une addition de petits gestes ou bien d'un espoir en

vers un miracle technologique, mais repose bel et bien sur des changements drastiques de nos modes de vies basées sur l'accumulation matérielle et sur une redéfinition des besoins humains qui ont été parasités par le marketing capitaliste. Les changements de nos modes de vie ne devront donc pas être des initiatives sur le plan individuel, mais plutôt des choix de sociétés qui auront des effets contraignants sur les comportements contraires à la survie de la communauté biotique planétaire, notamment envers les industries qui ont largement profitées de la destruction environnementale et qui sont largement responsables de la situation actuelle. Pour ce qui est dudit miracle technologique, s'il est réellement possible (permettez-moi d'en douter fortement), il ne servira qu'à augmenter la marge de profit d'une minorité, et non à sauver la planète, s'il n'est pas arrimé à une bifurcation radicale des modes de production et de consommation humaine, c'est ainsi que fonctionnent les règles du jeu en économie capitaliste comme l'a démontré le paradoxe de Jevons¹ il y a plus d'un siècle.

L'action environnementale a donc besoin d'une approche qui n'hésite pas à pourfendre les réelles causes du désastre environnemental, en premier lieu le capitalisme, ce que le développement durable ne pourra jamais faire puisqu'il lui est intimement lié. Cette approche pourrait bien être celle de la décroissance ou bien toutes autres approches s'attaquant radicalement au capitalisme et à sa croissance économique. Mettons donc le capitalisme et le développement durable aux vidanges et tournons-nous vers des solutions qui s'attaqueront réellement à la problématique environnementale et du même coup aux autres problèmes liés au capitalisme comme les très nombreuses injustices et systèmes de domination.

¹ Paradoxe mis de l'avant par l'économiste du 19^e siècle William Stanley Jevons qui découvrit que l'amélioration de l'efficacité dans l'utilisation du charbon avait augmenté de façon exponentielle son utilisation au Royaume-Uni et du même coup les conséquences environnementales qui découlent d'une augmentation de son utilisation. Ceci s'explique puisqu'en contexte capitaliste il est logique qu'un gain en efficacité se transforme en augmentation de l'utilisation de ladite ressource puisqu'elle permet d'augmenter la marge de profit, but ultime de tous capitalistes.



GNL Québec

Les gains matériels d'une lutte écologiste

**Collectif Emma Goldman
Québec, 2022**

À l'été 2021, le gouvernement du Québec officialisait son rejet du projet d'usine de liquéfaction du gaz naturel de GNL Québec après avoir longuement persisté à le promouvoir. Cette volte-face sur un projet évalué à 14 milliards \$ est le résultat de plusieurs années de luttes écologistes. Concrètement, ce sont de petits collectifs populaires locaux, organisés sur la base d'assemblées, qui ont réussi à faire pencher la balance. Devant eux se dressaient un promoteur, un État et des élu-e-s qui ont dépensé des millions \$ dans une bataille qui leur était annoncée gagnée d'avance par un gouvernement conquis à leurs idées. C'est une victoire historique à laquelle, on peut noter, les syndicats régionaux ont très peu participé – lorsqu'ils n'apportaient pas tout simplement leur appui au projet dans l'idée que des centaines d'emplois seraient « gagnés » pour la région. Alors que les médias ont constamment présenté les positions ouvrières et écologistes comme diamétralement opposées au cours de cette lutte, dans ce texte, nous tâcherons de présenter en quoi elle constitue une victoire pour la classe ouvrière.

Un tel projet n'aurait tout d'abord pas suscité autant d'enthousiasme partout. Le Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean, qui devait l'accueillir, est considéré comme une des régions périphériques du Québec. En terres Innuat volées du Nitassinan, depuis la colonisation, son développement économique s'est centré autour d'industries qui ont su profiter des ressources naturelles du milieu. « Chaque

pays développé, écrivait l'économiste Samir Amin, a créé en son sein son propre pays sous-développé [1] ». Il s'agit des divisions spatiales générées par le capitalisme, autrement dit du développement inégal. Cela se répercute en règle générale entre autres choses sur la diversité économique, les conditions d'emploi, les taux de chômage et une forme de dépendance à l'endroit des marchés extérieurs. Ainsi, les 1100 emplois directs et indirects promis par GNL Québec, dont près de 250 bien payés durant la phase d'opération, sont certainement arrivés comme un signe d'espoir inattendu pour la classe dirigeante régionale – peu importe les sommes exorbitantes accordées à l'entreprise en subventions directes et indirectes. Celle qui discourait depuis des décennies sur la nécessité de « diversifier l'économie », comme si les gens étaient plus dupes qu'ailleurs, avait maintenant trouvé un filon à soutenir. Les médias et des syndicalistes n'ont pas tardé à les suivre là-dedans, notamment via un faux mouvement citoyen « Je crois en ma région ». Celui-ci était formé par la création paramunicipale de l'ex-maire Jean Tremblay, *Promotion Saguenay*, ainsi que des associations de parcs industriels et des chambres de commerce. À travers une idéologie régionaliste appelant au sentiment d'appartenance, une vision manichéenne et interclassiste était diffusée pour présenter l'opposition aux grands projets inutiles comme des menaces aux intérêts soi-disant communs de la région. L'ouvrier de la région était selon elle l'otage de groupes écolos exogènes et marginaux.

C'est sans surprise que l'on a pu voir un appui ouvrier considérable aux projets dans les sondages commandés par les industriels ou affichés dans les grands médias.

Le soutien offert par plusieurs syndicalistes au projet n'était guère plus surprenant. Après plus de 30 ans de domination du modèle du syndicalisme d'affaires, nos syndicalistes sont plus souvent enclins à entretenir de cordiales relations avec les directions qu'à les confronter. On a d'ailleurs dorénavant l'habitude de les voir discourir en chœur de la nécessité de préserver la prospérité des entreprises. C'est l'idée reçue que la croissance économique favoriserait la prospérité de tous et de toutes par un effet de ruissellement. Or, force est de remarquer que les surplus engrangés dans les quarante dernières années n'ont pas été répartis à l'ensemble de la société, ont été concentrés pour former des fortunes sans précédent dans l'histoire et ont généré une croissance extrême des inégalités sociales. Professionnel-le-s de l'encadrement de la main-d'œuvre, ces pontes syndicaux sont en définitive devenus des partenaires dans le « développement du sous-développement » (pour reprendre l'expression d'André Gunder Frank).

Les conseils de bande, organismes de gouvernance des communautés Autochtones instaurés par le colonialisme canadien, ont quant à eux cherché à négocier leur part du gâteau. Faisant fi du rejet du projet par une partie considérable de leurs membres et du péril qui guettait le fjord et les écosystèmes tout au long du pipeline gazier de 780 kilomètres, cette petite élite bureaucratique misait sur une Entente sur les répercussions et les avantages (ERA) pour s'en mettre plein les poches en catimini. Heureusement, plusieurs ont activement dénoncé leurs manigances. À cet égard, le Collectif Mashk Assi, formé de membres des Premières nations qui défendent le territoire et vivent sur celui-ci de manière à perpétuer les traditions ancestrales, s'est maintes fois exprimé. Ce groupe a pris part à la lutte de ses premières à ses dernières heures. Il portait une vision différente du territoire et de son utilisation en opposition à l'extractivisme et aux emplois qui en découlent. D'autres membres des communautés Autochtones ont également été nombreux à prendre part aux manifestations contre le projet, l'une d'elles, à Mash-teuiatsh, ayant par exemple rassemblé plus d'une centaine de personnes.

La victoire écologiste a été un affront fait à la communauté régionale des affaires. Le rejet du projet de 14 milliards \$ fait rupture avec leurs modes de pensée et leurs « solutions » à court terme qui ont historiquement façonné le mal-développement de cette région périphé-

rique. Au-delà des clichés véhiculés par la classe dominante, cette lutte exprime une conscience qui doit continuer de s'épanouir. Nous n'avons pas à marchander la santé de nos organes vitaux et celle de nos enfants contre leurs bilans économiques. Il y a autre chose qui a de la valeur que ce qui est produit dans les usines. Face aux marchands de pacotilles de nos rues commerciales vivotantes, face à une classe politique vendue aux intérêts des multinationales, les travailleurs et travailleuses et les moins nantis-e-s de notre région peuvent avoir un pouvoir ensemble en faisant voler en éclat le faux consensus régionaliste : en arrêtant la machine. Plutôt que de plier éternellement aux menaces de fermeture et d'exodes du patronat, on pourrait commencer à se dire qu'il serait possible de s'organiser bien autrement sans les monopoles, Rio Tinto-Alcan et Produits Forestiers Résolu, que les

travailleurs et les travailleuses peuvent effectivement prendre le contrôle de l'économie. Et si la fumée devait cesser de sortir des cheminées des usines, ce sera parce que l'on aura choisi ensemble qu'elles ne répondraient pas à un besoin.

Pour une décroissance libertaire

Pour les marxistes orthodoxes du siècle dernier, écrit le philosophe Pierre Madelin, « l'émancipation du prolétariat passait par l'appropriation et la socialisation des moyens de production, sans remettre en cause ni la nature de ses moyens de production, ni l'idéal productiviste qu'ils devaient servir, ni même la nécessité d'une centralisation de leur gestion [2] ». Sortir de la crise écologique et se libérer du capitalisme implique aussi de se libérer de la déposssession (de notre puissance, de nos facultés, de nos capacités) dont il nous afflige et de la subordination du moindre aspect de nos vies à sa logique marchande. L'idée de l'emploi à tout prix, astronomiquement subventionné et destructeur du territoire, doit être définitivement balayée. La mise en marche sous autogestion ouvrière d'un projet comme GNL Québec n'aurait guère plus de sens pour nous. Pas

plus qu'une mine à ciel ouvert exploitée au milieu d'un village par une coopérative de mineurs autogérée. C'est à ce propos que le sociologue John Holloway écrivait : « la révolution ne consiste pas à détruire le capitalisme, mais à refuser de le fabriquer [3] ». La satisfaction des besoins ne saurait se réduire à la production de biens. Il faut sortir de cette obsession idéologique de la production à l'infini de nouvelles marchandises simplement pour faire rouler artificiellement une économie de la rapidité et de l'éphémère. La prise de conscience des enjeux liés aux écosystèmes dans notre rapport au monde à travers l'écologie, ainsi que les savoirs, réalités



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et modes d'organisation propres aux Premiers Peuples sur le territoire desquels nous habitons, nous appellent à un dépassement de perspective. Tout en développant de nouveaux rapports de complicité avec les communautés Autochtones, les impacts environnementaux liés à l'augmentation des gaz à effet de serre devraient nous inciter à envisager la nécessité d'une décroissance libertaire. Il ne s'agit pas là d'arrêter le développement de nouvelles technologies qui facilitent et améliorent nos vies, mais plutôt de mettre un terme à la fabrication de marchandises qui alimentent cette société consumériste et qui nécessitent de plus en plus de ressources bien souvent exploitées dans les pays du Sud. Dans le développement de communautés résilientes, conviviales et en harmonie avec le territoire, nous pouvons ici et maintenant préfigurer une forme d'auto-organisation ouvrière pour sortir du marais de la dépossession. Ces expériences ne sont pas fatalement condamnées à l'isolement, à être enfermées sur elles-mêmes et pacifiées. On a qu'à penser aux mobilisations contre GNL de petits producteurs bio et artisans du fjord, aux zones à défendre (ZAD) en France ou aux *Caracoles zapatistes* au Mexique.

Par où commencer?

« Tout commence le jour où ils font une assemblée sans les bonzes du syndicat ».

- Extrait du journal Rosso, Groupe Gramsci de Milan sur les ouvriers et ouvrières des ateliers de Mirafiori à Turin (1973) [4]

Nous voulons tout pour tout le monde et rien pour nous seul-e, mais évidemment, sur « le plancher des vaches », par où commencer ? Il n'y a pas de recette toute faite pour le changement que nous voulons. Toutefois, nous pouvons partager quelques constats pour éviter certains écueils. L'autonomie et l'auto-organisation en dehors des institutions a certainement fait la différence dans la lutte contre GNL Québec. Plutôt que de reposer sur la quête de soutiens de grandes organisations syndicales ou sociales, la lutte contre GNL s'est structurée à partir du bas, dans les débats en assemblées et dans les actions directes autonomes. Les grandes structures ont démontré qu'elles n'étaient pas en faveur d'initiatives telles qu'un blocage ferroviaire, l'occupation des bureaux de GNL ou l'installation d'un mini gazoduc rempli de merde devant les bureaux de Promotion Saguenay. Mais l'attente et l'inaction dans une lutte nous réduisent à l'impuissance. Nous avons vu cela en 2012 lorsque le Mouvement des associations générales étudiantes, le MAGE-UQAC, tentait par tous les moyens de pacifier et de faire cesser une grève combative hors de son contrôle, impulsée et animée de manière autonome par les membres de plus d'une dizaine de programmes d'étude. Nous l'avons ensuite vu dans les années subséquentes, lors du lock-out des employé-e-s de garage des concessionnaires du Saguenay-Lac-St-Jean. Campé-e-s sur le bord de la route durant près de trois ans, les syndiqué-e-s de la CSD étaient sommé-e-s par leur chef de se vautrer dans

leur chaise, tout en essayant passivement les provocations patronales. La nécessité de construire un rapport de force malgré l'arsenal légal et répressif à la disposition du patronat était une évidence pour bien des travailleurs et travailleuses de la base. Il y a eu des actions autonomes de la base et nous en avons également réalisé solidairement en dépit de la condamnation de ces gestes par le syndicat. Ces actions ont au moins nourri le moral des lockouté-e-s dans les temps durs et servi à augmenter la pression sur des patrons qui laissaient leurs employé-e-s geler sur le bord du chemin.

S'organiser de manière autonome dans une lutte ou un mouvement permet de dépasser la réduction de ceux-ci à une négociation dans laquelle les propositions de changement social sont dès le départ évacuées. Force est de constater les dommages qu'ont faits des décennies de concertation, de collaboration et d'affairisme au sein des mouvements sociaux et syndicaux : la priorité n'est plus du tout à la lutte et au pouvoir des travailleurs et travailleuses. Au-delà de quelques discours annuels, les chefs des centrales syndicales ont bien intégré leur position de cadres hauts placés dans la société capitaliste à la manière d'apparatchiks soviétiques. Par l'autonomie, nous pouvons reprendre du pouvoir collectivement et individuellement dans des actions que l'on décide et assume ensemble. Nous ne sommes pas des marchandises. De plus, nous n'avons pas besoin des moyens financiers des syndicats pour lutter. Eux se permettent de payer des publicités à coup de centaines de milliers de dollars, mais refusent de payer les contraventions des ouvriers et ouvrières trop rebelles pour leurs bureaucrates. La bataille contre GNL a bien prouvé qu'un projet de 14 milliards\$ pouvait être battu sans grands moyens. Cela fait que oui, pour commencer, on pourrait bien s'organiser par nous-mêmes, sur nos milieux de travail ou de vie et dans la complicité avec les gens qui sont solidaires, pour passer outre l'attente et la pacification et faire des victoires. Créer des réseaux, des espaces libérés, des milieux alternatifs et relier tous ces archipels en lutte pour construire notre monde sur les ruines de celui des capitalistes. Enfin, c'est faire le constat de la nécessité de prendre des moyens en adéquation et en cohérence avec les objectifs : renforcer la capacité des individus et des communautés à assurer eux-mêmes leurs reproductions matérielle et symbolique, à se libérer collectivement des systèmes de domination, à faire la révolution sociale.

[1] Samir Amin. « Le développement inégal : essai sur les formations sociales du capitalisme périphérique », Éditions de Minuit, 1973, p.318.

[2] Pierre Madelin. « Après le capitalisme : Essai d'écologie politique », Éditions Écosociété, 2017, p.55.

[3] John Holloway. « Crack Capitalism : 33 thèses contre le capital », Libertalia, 2016.

[4] Marcello Tari. « Autonomie! : Italie, les années 1970 », La Fabrique Éditions, 2011.



Anarchosyndicalisme et changement climatique

Une contribution au débat

*Une compagne de la CNT-AIT (France)
France, 2022*

Un appel à un groupe de réflexion a été lancé dans l'AIT (Association Internationale des Travailleurs) sur la question de l'approche anarchosyndicaliste vis-à-vis du problème du changement climatique. Je vous propose ici l'état de ma réflexion personnelle, mais qui s'est nourri des échanges, des débats et des expériences de lutte que nous avons avec les compagnons de la CNT-AIT en France.

Depuis plus de 30 ans, nous avons été impliqués - comme de nombreuses sections de l'AIT - dans des luttes écologiques liées à la crise climatique à venir. Notre implication dans ces luttes s'est toujours faite selon une approche à double sens : aborder le problème environnemental dans son contexte global (capitalisme, Etat)

mais aussi aborder une autre pratique organisationnelle, plus horizontale, à travers des assemblées populaires. Nous avons participé à de nombreux mouvements (antinucléaire, contre les usines pétrochimiques, etc.) à différentes "ZAD" (Zones à défendre, occupation d'espaces naturels contre chantiers : Vingrau, Somport, Sivens, etc.), la plus récente était une lutte contre un barrage local. Cette lutte est assez similaire à notre compréhension de la lutte que les compagnons de l'ASI de Serbie soutiennent contre les micro-centrales hydroélectriques.

Pour répondre à la question sur l'action anarchosyndicaliste à la crise climatique, il me semble d'abord nécessaire de développer une meilleure compréhension

de ce qu'est la crise climatique, d'où vient-elle, quelles en sont les causes et les conséquences. Ainsi, l'une des activités auxquelles nous avons participé a été d'introduire un débat entre nos membres et amis sur la crise et sa signification.

Dans ces échanges, nous avons parlé des technologies modernes et de la science. Dans l'opinion publique, il existe une opinion commune selon laquelle - pour résoudre la crise - il faut s'appuyer totalement sur les scientifiques et la technologie moderne - ce qui pourrait conduire à la dictature des experts et des techniciens. D'autres - étiquetés comme « anti-industriels » - pensent au contraire qu'il faut brûler toute civilisation

A ce stade de notre réflexion collective, nous sommes entre ces deux pôles : pour un usage limité et sobre des technologies. Les assemblées territoriales devraient décider quels sont leurs besoins et comment produire, cela signifie donc quelle technologie est acceptable ou non acceptable.

Cette question technologique a aussi un impact sur le travail et l'organisation du travail (automatisation, intelligence artificielle, ubérisation) donc en tant qu'anarchosydicalistes nous devrions échanger là-dessus, et nous cherchons à avoir l'avis des autres sections de l'AIT sur ce sujet.

Ensuite, sur la façon d'agir concrètement contre la crise climatique, il me semble qu'il y a deux niveaux.

Au niveau mondial, nous ne voyons pas d'autre issue que de faire la révolution, détruire le capitalisme et au lieu de cela développer un réseau auto-organisé de fédérations. Mais c'est un objectif à long terme certainement.

Certaines manifestations et marches ont été organisées en France pour alerter sur la crise climatique et demander au gouvernement d'agir, sur la base de rapports scientifiques. Ces marches étaient souvent organisées par des groupes tels que "Extinction Rébellion", pour nommer le plus médiatique. Nous sommes assez méfiants envers ce groupe, et assez méfiants envers sa méthodologie et ses formulations. Ils ne se plaignent pas du capitalisme (ils critiquent plutôt le néolibéralisme). Ils demandent au gouvernement d'agir (alors que nous voulons détruire le gouvernement). À notre avis, leur appel à une solution scientifique est souvent un appel au « capitalisme vert ».

Par exemple, l'un de nos membres travaille pour une entreprise dont une filiale développe de la "viande végétale" (de culture). Cette entreprise soutient discrètement le mouvement végétarien, car cela aide l'entreprise à créer et à étendre le marché de leur futur produit. Aussi tout le discours scientifique actuel sur « l'agriculture de précision pour faire face à la crise climatique » est en fait officiellement soutenu par toutes les grandes entreprises et multinationales agroalimentaires. Aussi, appeler à remettre le pouvoir de décision entre les mains des experts scientifiques et techniques, c'est prendre le pouvoir de décision des mains de la population et le mettre entre les mains d'experts et *in fine* de grandes entreprises. Cela ne veut pas dire que nous ne devons pas écouter la science ou les scientifiques. Mais la science n'est pas neutre, elle est toujours au service

d'une politique déterminée. Donc la politique - l'idéologie si vous préférez - vient toujours en premier. La science devrait donner des éléments d'appréciations aux assemblées populaires locales, qui devraient avoir la capacité de décision, et non au gouvernement ou à l'État.

Pour le moment, nous n'avons pas décidé de rejoindre ces marches climatiques, car nous sommes occupés par d'autres sujets tels que le mouvement des Gilets Jaunes. Mais ce qui est intéressant, c'est que le mouvement des Gilets Jaunes a lui-même fait la jonction avec la question de la crise climatique.

Le mouvement des Gilets Jaunes a été déclenché par la question de la taxe sur les carburants. Les gens qui ont du mal à survivre jusqu'à la fin du mois avec leur bas salaire voulaient que le prix du carburant baisse.

Le gouvernement, les politiciens conservateurs MAIS AUSSI LES ÉCOLOGISTES (Parti Vert EELV) s'en sont pris aux mouvements des Gilets Jaunes, disant qu'ils étaient égoïstes, qu'ils ne pensaient pas à l'environnement, que les Gilets Jaunes voulaient seulement avoir le droit de polluer plus en utilisant leurs voitures etc. La réaction des Gilets Jaunes fut très intéressante : cette question a été débattue dans de nombreuses assemblées locales (les rond-points occupés). Une réponse convergente a alors émergé de ces débats, sans que ce soit forcément coordonné. Cette réponse a été débattue et finalement adoptée par la plupart des rond-points et est devenue l'expression commune du mouvement : si les Gilets Jaunes conduisent leur voiture pour aller au travail, à l'école, au supermarché, ce n'est pas par libre choix, mais parce que l'organisation de la société les y a contraints. Ils préféreraient vivre dans des quartiers bourgeois riches, aller à leur travail à vélo ou rester chez eux pour travailler avec leur ordinateur, acheter et manger des produits bio... Mais ils n'ont pas le choix à cause de la division du travail et du système de classe. Alors les Gilets jaunes ont dit que les deux problèmes (comment survivre jusqu'à la fin du mois, comment survivre jusqu'à la fin du monde) sont liés. Problème social et problèmes écologiques sont liés. Nous devons donc changer notre société dans son ensemble.

Il est intéressant de voir que la révolte de 2019 en Équateur a été similaire, dans son déclenchement et ses conclusions. D'après les compagnons anarchistes équatoriens avec qui nous avons échangé, c'est également la question du prix du carburant qui a mis le feu au poudre. Les écologistes (urbains) ont également reproché aux émeutiers de demander le droit de détruire davantage Mère Nature. Et les assemblées locales - aussi bien urbaines qu'indiennes - ont répondu qu'au contraire elles veulent juste avoir la possibilité de vivre dignement, dans un environnement préservé, et que c'est l'organisation de l'économie qui détruit à la fois leur vie et leur environnement naturel.

Pendant le mouvement des Gilets jaunes (comme en Équateur) un réseau de solidarité a émergé, pour fournir de la nourriture, partager des biens et des services. Très souvent, les gens ont pris en considération la question climatique (partager les transports pour diminuer la pollution par exemple). Bien sûr, cela a été à petite échelle et dans un temps limité, mais cela montre que les gens

ont la pleine capacité de comprendre le problème et d'agir, ils n'ont pas besoin d'un expert pour leur dire quoi faire ou non.

Nous pensons que cet exemple nous montre que la méthodologie anarchosyndicaliste des assemblées populaires, est tout à fait valable pour la prise de conscience comme pour l'action.

Un autre problème que nous voyons avec des groupes comme Extinction Rebellion, mais aussi avec certains faux insurgés (comme le groupe "Tiqqun / Appel - The Coming Insurrection") qui sont très présents dans ces marches climatiques ou ZAD, est la confusion qu'ils font sur le terme "action directe". Ils confondent l'action directe réelle (qui est l'action sans représentant, par les premiers concernés) avec « l'action spectaculaire » (soit violente soit médiatique). En fait, tous les deux veulent diriger le mouvement dont ils s'érigeraient en représentants médiatiques. Ce ne sont que les deux faces d'une même pièce. Et nous avons dû les affronter dans le pas-

sé dans certaines luttes.

CONCLUSION

Je pense que les anarchosyndicalistes, et singulièrement l'AIT à travers ses sections, pourrait jouer un rôle en étant un réseau d'échange d'informations, d'analyses et d'opinions théoriques, mais aussi sur les luttes locales auxquelles nous participons. Les sections devraient être encouragées si possible à traduire davantage leurs documents et à les partager directement avec les autres sections (ceci est valable pas seulement sur cette question en fait.) Ces échanges peuvent créer une émulation et une coordination entre les sections sur la question climatique comme sur les autres.



OLT



La question des luttes qui concernent le territoire

Jean-Philippe Crabé
France 2022

L'aménagement du territoire dans le cadre de l'économie capitaliste mondialisée porte de graves atteintes à l'environnement et détériore ou bouleverse les conditions de vie de populations tenues à l'écart des décisions. Par ailleurs, il transforme profondément les sociétés et compromet leur avenir. Confrontés à ces luttes, les anarchosyndicalistes doivent prendre position. C'est une question de cohérence avec leurs objectifs révolutionnaires, mais aussi parce que, lorsqu'un projet d'aménagement (qu'il soit de voie rapide ou d'exploitation d'un site) concerne la région où ils vivent, ils sont, comme les autres, touchés par ses conséquences. Pour autant, la problématique liée aux luttes pour la défense du territoire pose un cadre complexe dans lequel il n'est pas toujours aisé de se positionner.

Des luttes qui s'attaquent à un problème majeur

Lorsqu'au tournant des années 1990, la France, l'Espagne et l'Europe ont décidé qu'il fallait développer les axes transpyrénéens, la vallée d'Aspe s'est trouvée au cœur d'un projet d'ampleur, l'axe européen E7, qui s'est matérialisé, pour les habitants, par la construction d'un tunnel sous le col du Somport, puis des élargissements de la route nationale 134, la déviation de villages et une

augmentation du trafic poids lourd démesurée (nous sommes aujourd'hui à 800 camions par jours). Pour les habitants, la route est devenue dangereuse et source de nuisance. Au-delà du sort des habitants, l'existence de cette voie rapide a d'autres conséquences, à des échelles plus larges. Lors de sa construction la Chambre de Commerce et d'Industrie de Pau expliquait aux entrepreneurs que, plutôt que d'investir dans de nouvelles infrastructures dans la région, ils seraient plus avisés d'attendre le percement du tunnel pour s'implanter au Maroc et bénéficier des bas salaires. Côté espagnol, la Coopérative de Pau¹ a profité de cet axe pour coloniser les terres aragonaises et y cultiver du maïs... en pompant allègrement dans les eaux de l'Ebre. Aujourd'hui, des camions transportent des haricots verts du Lot et Garonne qui sont conditionnés dans une usine de la région de Teruel avant de repasser par la vallée d'Aspe pour être vendus en France. Cette route est également source de drames humains. En 2018, un camionneur espagnol est mort dans son camion, au fond d'un ravin. 12 000 litres de chlorate de soude, qu'il transportait, se sont déversés lentement sur la cabine du malheureux avant de finir dans la rivière. Le travailleur a hurlé pendant des heures sans que les

¹ Aujourd'hui renommée Euralis, dans le top 10 mondial des semenciers.

pompiers ne puissent intervenir. Son cadavre n'a été extrait du lieu de son martyre que le lendemain. Est-il utile de parler des conséquences écologiques qui ont suivies ? Mais cela n'a pas remis en question l'utilisation de cette route de montagne comme axe européen. D'ailleurs, cette vallée enclavée et sa population peu nombreuse semblent sacrifiées par les décideurs puisque le président de région, Alain Rousset, parle maintenant d'y aménager un axe pour le ferroutage international. Couloir à camion, couloir à train de marchandises, qu'elle vit prépare-t-on aux Aspois ?

Le système ne cantonne pas ses attaques au milieu de l'entreprise, tous les pans de la vie sont touchés.

L'aménagement des territoires périphériques en fait partie et ce sont les plus précaires et les plus marginalisés qui sont les premiers touchés : qui va rester vivre à côté d'une autoroute, une entreprise polluante ou une déchèterie ; pour qui les espaces naturels gratuits et non privatisés deviennent les seuls refuges ? Promus par les puissances de l'argent et les autorités, les projets inutiles sont sources de révoltes légitimes car ils illustrent parfaitement la condition des pauvres décrite par Garcia Lorca : *« ceux qui n'ont rien et à qui l'on refuse jusqu'à la tranquillité de ce rien »*.

La mondialisation capitaliste passe par la multiplication des voies rapides et la métropolisation. Les territoires périphériques subissent une véritable colonisation au travers d'aménagements routiers, ferroviaires, d'aéroports, de sites industriels, d'enfouissements de déchets etc. qui répondent aux besoins des grandes entreprises et des métropoles au mépris des populations qui y vivent. Celles-ci sont dépossédées de leurs territoires et de leurs vies s'en trouvent bouleversées. Ce sont des populations éparées et peu nombreuses, qui ont du mal à se faire entendre et qui sont aujourd'hui rejointes par de nombreux précaires qui fuient la ville, son mode de vie, ses prix et ses loyers exorbitants.

Ces bouleversements impactent la société toute entière. Les aménagements permettent la mise en concurrence des travailleurs. Ils modifient les rapports de force dans les entreprises (chantage à l'emploi, délocalisation etc.). Ils permettent l'établissement d'usines polluantes dans les régions les plus paupérisées. Ils facilitent et nécessitent une exploitation accrue de toutes les ressources minières et des énergies fossiles. Si les répercussions environnementales catastrophiques sont largement commentées, nous devons aussi nous interroger sur le devenir des sociétés qui se développent sur ces bases.



L'organisation anarcho-syndicaliste doit soutenir les luttes qu'elle juge légitime et, si ses militants veulent s'y investir, ils doivent intégrer les assemblées générales de ses mouvements et prendre part aux actions loyalement.

Dans le cadre d'une révolution, comment autogérer des villes de dix voire trente millions d'habitants ? Comment assurer la pérennité de régions qui ne connaissent même pas l'indépendance alimentaire ?

Un terrain de lutte complexe et ambiguë.

Aux alentours des années 2000, une multinationale¹ suisse voulait poursuivre l'exploitation d'un filon calcaire dans le Roussillon. Le petit village de Vingrau² était sa prochaine cible. Cette exploitation, par la poussière calcaire qu'elle génère, allait rendre inutilisable les vignes qui font vivre la majeure partie de la population.

Contre le maire et le patron du bistrot du village, partisans de la carrière, la population s'est organisée en autogestion. Le boycott de la municipalité a été quasiment unanime. L'assemblée des villageois a pris en charge des fêtes de village alternative, aménagé un bar clandestin pour se retrouver. Elle s'est substituée à la municipalité pour assumer une bonne partie de la vie du village. Le Maire a vu le balcon de sa maison exploser, les CRS ont chargé sur des villageois qui n'ont pas reculé, mamies en tête. Radicalité, autogestion, hostilité vis-à-vis des élus clairement identifiés comme des ennemis, lutte contre une multinationale...

tous ces éléments expliquent le soutien de la CNT-AIT à ces habitants. Pourtant, cette implication n'a été ni simple, ni évidente. Ce projet de carrière promettait des emplois ouvriers dans la région tandis qu'un certain nombre d'opposants étaient des exploitants viticoles qui embauchaient, au moment des vendanges, des salariés saisonniers. L'un d'eux, opposant au maire, était membre du CNI³. Ce qui n'a d'ailleurs pas manqué de créer des divergences parmi les opposants car la majorité n'était pas sur ce genre de positions. Un territoire visait par un « projet inutile » n'est pas forcément habité que par des salariés et le dit projet menace également l'intérêt de propriétaires et d'exploitants locaux qui s'impliquent dans les mouvements d'opposition. La dimension interclassiste, l'imbrication dans la lutte de partisans de la défense du territoire et de ceux qui défendent leur propriété, la notion même de territoire qui prend parfois une connotation « régionaliste » sont autant d'éléments qui peuvent devenir rapidement problématiques.

Dans la conduite de ces luttes, d'autres problèmes apparaissent. Comment s'opposer ? Pour quelle finalité ? Par quels moyens ? Lors de la lutte contre le tunnel du

¹ OMYA SAS.

² Pour avoir une petite idée sur cette lutte, consulter le site l'Affranchi : <https://laffranchi.info/wp-content/uploads/2015/11/lAffranchi9.pdf>

³ Le Centre National des Indépendants et des Paysans est un parti de droite qui recrute essentiellement parmi les paysans et les classes moyennes, aujourd'hui rattaché aux Républicains, il a souvent tenté de jouer le rôle de passerelle entre la droite classique et l'extrême droite.

Somport, les composantes politiques et des associations environnementales ont adopté une stratégie médiatique autour de la protection de l'ours des Pyrénées, ce qui était le meilleur moyen de se mettre à dos une partie importante de la population locale. Cette stratégie médiatique a été une des causes de l'échec du mouvement d'opposition¹. Pour autant, la dimension médiatique est souvent incontournable dans ce genre de conflit. Il ne s'agit pas d'un conflit dans une entreprise où les salariés peuvent faire peser une pression financière sur un patron. La pression s'exerce souvent à travers l'opinion publique et les actions en justice. Cette réalité a tendance à favoriser les spécialistes de l'environnement et les partis politiques d'opposition au détriment des habitants qui se voient relégués à un rôle de soutien. L'inefficacité latente des actions juridiques² et la volonté d'établir un rapport de force autrement que par le simple relais médiatique a poussé une partie des opposants à créer des ZAD. Mais là encore, rien n'est simple.

Dans une lutte syndicale, les salariés de l'entreprise apparaissent naturellement comme ceux qui doivent décider des orientations (même s'ils en sont souvent dépossédés). Quand la lutte concerne le territoire, la question de savoir qui est légitime pour décider se pose. Qui est légitime ? Les protecteurs de la nature venus des villes, les habitants locaux, ceux qui s'y installent pour lutter dans une ZAD ? Les personnes impliquées sont diverses et leurs motivations multiples : arrêter le projet, combattre le système ou récupérer ses biens expropriés etc. Quand, comme à Notre Dame des Landes, l'occupation se poursuit pendant des années, les zadistes ont organisé leur vie sur le territoire. Ils sont devenus des habitants à part entière – et non de simples militants qui apportent leur soutien, le temps d'une lutte. Ils ont des perspectives propres qui dépassent la revendication immédiate de l'arrêt du projet. Dans ce contexte, la résolution négociée du conflit proposée par les autorités a créé des conflits d'intérêts entre les opposants qui veulent un retour à la propriété privée – et qui se contentent de l'abandon du projet d'aéroport – ceux qui veulent « normaliser » la ZAD et ceux qui veulent continuer à vivre dans un espace qui exclut la propriété privée. Lorsque l'on ajoute à cela les oppositions idéologiques internes à la ZAD, avec une composante autoritaire et violente qui prend le pouvoir, la situation devient intenable.³

Quelle place pour les anarchosyndicalistes ?

« Pour nous, l'anarchisme n'est pas une découverte de laboratoire, ni le fruit de penseurs géniaux, mais un mouvement spontané des opprimés et exploités qui sont arrivés à la compréhension (...) de la nocivité du privilège et de l'inutilité de l'Etat, et qui veulent lutter pour un ordre social qui assure à l'homme son libre dé-

¹ A ce sujet, il est possible de consulter en ligne une étude sur le rôle et l'utilisation de la presse dans l'affaire du tunnel du Somport : <http://cnt-ait-pau.fr/wp-content/uploads/2018/09/Le-r%C3%B4le-et-l'utilisation-de-la-presse-dans-l'affaire-du-tunnel-du-Somport.pdf>

² En France un bâtiment public jugé illégal ne peut être détruit. L'exemple le plus emblématique en la matière est le pont de l'île de Ré.

³ A propos de Notre Dame des Landes et des conflits qui sont apparus, deux brochures sont très éclairantes : « Des dynamiques inhérentes aux mouvements de contestation » (<https://zad.nadir.org/IMG/pdf/dynamiques.pdf>) et « Quand NDDL se prend pour le petit père des luttes - Entre récupération et autoritarisme » (<https://zaducarnet.org/index.php/2021/09/04/quand-nddl-se-prend-pour-le-petit-pere-des-luttes-entre-recuperation-et-autoritarisme/>)

veloppement. »⁴ Cette définition caractérise la singularité de l'anarchosyndicalisme et de l'anarchisme ouvrier. Il ne s'agit pas d'un mouvement théorique qui cherche simplement à diffuser ses idées mais d'un mouvement, dans l'action, d'exploités qui prétendent se défendre, lutter et changer la société par une révolution. Si l'organisation syndicale nous apparaît naturellement comme la forme concrète que doit prendre nos solidarités c'est parce qu'elle comporte plusieurs avantages évidents : c'est une organisation de classe et par là même, elle met en exergue l'opposition entre exploités et exploités ; c'est un vecteur par lequel l'ensemble des exploités peuvent agir collectivement et de manière autogérée, excluant ainsi toute avant-garde éclairée ; c'est une organisation à même de participer à la réorganisation économique de la société future. Mais si elle reste centrale dans notre démarche, l'action syndicale ne couvre pas tous les champs de la lutte.

PAS DE BOMBE A GRANDE VITESSE
DANS NOS VALLEES



Nous pouvons souscrire au constat fait par Luis Andrés Edo quand il affirme que « l'activité extrasyndicale est une manière de s'impliquer dans les activités de groupes sociaux, culturels et marginaux dont le penchant anti-autoritaire leur confère une vision quasi anarchiste »⁵ tout comme à son souhait que l'appui à ces mouvements par les organisations anarchosyndicalistes soient non-structurés et qu'il ne vise pas à absorber ces mouvements. C'est une question de loyauté vis-à-vis des personnes avec qui nous luttons et que nous soutenons et c'est également le moyen de conserver notre spécificité et notre liberté. L'organisation anarcho-syndicaliste doit soutenir les luttes de ce type qu'elle juge légitime et, si ses militants veulent s'y investir, ils doivent intégrer les assemblées générales de ses mouvements et prendre part aux actions loyalement.

Que peut-elle apporter à celles et ceux qui s'engagent dans une lutte pour la défense de leur territoire face à des projets inutiles ?

Que ce soit par ses militants ou par la parole collective et le soutien de ses organisations, l'anarchosyndicalisme peut être un appui théorique et pratique non négligeable. Notre vécu et nos réflexions sur la pratique autogestionnaire peuvent permettre de clarifier des modes de fonctionnement qui, s'ils restent opaques ou autoritaires conduisent presque toujours à la faillite des luttes. Notre réflexion anticapitaliste apporte un certain recul nécessaire pour éviter certains pièges. Par exemple, en vallée d'Aspe, une partie des opposants proposaient le feroutage comme alternative à la route, comme s'il fallait à tout prix se plier aux exigences mon-

⁴ « El anarquismo en el movimiento obrero », Emilio López Arango, Diego Abad de Santillán, Ediciones Cosmos, Barcelone, 1925, p.106.

⁵ « Syndicalisme révolutionnaire », Luis Andrés Edo, texte de 1984 reproduit dans Liberté Ouvrière n°1, 2021.

dialistes sans se poser la question de la légitimité des sacrifices exigés de la population ni de la pertinence à permettre l'accélération et l'augmentation des trafics internationaux de marchandises. Notre caractère d'organisation de classe est également utile pour prévenir certains écueils comme celui de faire confiance à tel ou tel élu ou encore de tenir responsables des nuisances les ouvriers d'un chantier ou les camionneurs qui utilisent une route.

Cela nous permet aussi d'apporter des modes d'action complémentaires. Après la mort du chauffeur en vallée d'Aspe, en 2018, le collectif « Stop camions » a porté un discours clair parlant tout d'abord du drame humain avant de s'attarder sur les conséquences pour la vallée en déclarant : « Encore une vie humaine victime des objectifs de rendements, de la vitesse et de la violence du monde économique »¹. La CNT-AIT a soutenu l'action du collectif et a organisé une campagne en direction des routiers sous le titre : « Routiers, en vous faisant passer par le Somport, vos patrons vous envoient à la mort ! ». Dans ce tract, la CNT s'engageait à soutenir les routiers qui organiseraient des mouvements pour refuser de passer par le tunnel du Somport. Nous avons contacté la CNT espagnole pour mener cette campagne avec eux. Si la campagne n'a pas eu de résultats probants, la piste de ce genre de démarches ne doit pas être négligée. Gardons à l'esprit que nous devons œuvrer à unir les différents exploités qui sont victimes de ces projets. C'est également le cas quand nous nous trouvons dans des situations où des conflits apparaissent entre zadistes et habitants locaux. Par notre culture et nos idées, nous sommes à même de déconstruire les aprioris dont les zadistes sont parfois victimes et faire entendre à ceux-ci le point de vue des habitants quand celui-ci est légitime. D'autant que la ZAD est parfois un moyen nécessaire pour faire capoter un projet. Nous avons connu cela avec la lutte d'Abesse, lutte victo-

¹ Le tract de ce collectif, qui a rassemblé plusieurs centaines d'Aspois lors de ses rassemblements, est consultable sur le site de la CNT-AIT de Pau : <http://cnt-ait-pau.fr/non-aux-camions-en-vallee-daspe/>

rieuse mais longue et qui a eu besoin, un moment, d'une occupation pour tenir.

Par ailleurs, il est important d'avoir un regard particulier sur les ZAD qui, sur certains points, s'apparentent à des squats ruraux et qui connaissent des problématiques proches du mouvement squatter des années 90. Une partie des zadistes sont antiautoritaires ou anarchistes. Ils sont confrontés à des mouvements autoritaires et

violents, des tentatives de récupération et/ou d'institutionnalisation. Si nous pouvons discuter la pertinence de voir dans le modèle de « contre-société » une stratégie révolutionnaire qui se suffit à elle-même, il serait préjudiciable de négliger la dimension de « sociétés de résistance » des ZAD. Surtout dans une période de précarisation extrême où la question de la nourriture et du logement deviennent des urgences vitales pour bon nombre de gens. La solidarité avec les zadistes non-autoritaires doit être une évidence.

Pas plus que la lutte syndicale, les mouvements de défense des territoires ne sont exempts de reproches. Ils ne sont

pas forcément révolutionnaires, ils peuvent dériver. Mais ils constituent des pôles de résistances légitimes qui séduisent beaucoup de personnes – notamment dans les jeunes générations – qui se méfient des grands mouvements sociaux sur lesquels elles n'ont pas de prise et qu'elles jugent – à juste titre – contrôlés par des institutions politiques et syndicales intégrées. La lutte pour la défense de son territoire paraît plus concrète et plus facile à maîtriser. En cela, notre devoir est d'y participer pour favoriser l'auto-organisation et permettre d'éviter toutes les récupérations, d'où quelles viennent. Ces luttes emportent parfois des victoires dans cette période où nous en manquons cruellement. Elles peuvent initier des pratiques, être à la source de rencontres entre humains dans lesquelles des solidarités se créent. Des solidarités qui perdurent et qui se réactivent pour d'autres luttes, parfois sociales.

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Fraguas

Un projet de squat rural dans une Espagne vidée

*Collectif Fraguas
Espagne, 2022*

Après 9 ans de vie, de coexistence, de potagers, de gestion et de travail, surtout de travail, la Junta de Castilla La Mancha, propriétaire indu de la Montagne publique dans laquelle se trouve Fraguas et donc du village lui-même, ne lâche pas la répression et la persécution des personnes accusées de squatter Fraguas.

En mai 2013, après la présentation d'un projet de repeuplement, d'éducation et de durabilité pour le village abandonné de Fraguas à la Junta de Comunidades de Castilla La Mancha et son refus ultérieur par la Junta, le village a été squatté et les travaux de réhabilitation et de reconstruction des bâtiments originaux du village ont commencé avec l'intention de donner un abri à ses repeupleurs et à tous ceux qui croyaient qu'une vie durable et autogérée était possible.

Retour vers le passé : Fraguas a été exproprié pendant la dictature de Franco en 1968, avec les 1 134 hectares déclarés Monte de Utilidad Pública et destinés à la reforestation de pins.

Qu'est-ce que cela signifie ? Cela signifie que, par le biais d'extorsions et de mensonges aux villageois et en profitant du besoin de main-d'œuvre dans les villes voisines, les jeunes ont émigré, sans possibilité de retour, car les personnes restées sur place ont perdu l'accès à la terre et l'utilisation de cette terre, qui était essentielle à leur survie, est devenue interdite et non viable en raison du reboisement en pins.

Le territoire a été vidé, regroupant les personnes dans les noyaux de production et l'administration en a pris le contrôle total, ne laissant à ses propriétaires légitimes absolument rien de plus qu'une pauvre "compensation économique" et laissant mourir un patrimoine social, historique et culturel irrécupérable.

Comme si cela ne suffisait pas, dans les années 1990, le village a été utilisé comme site d'entraînement militaire, ce qui a détruit une grande partie des maisons, l'école, l'église et les écuries.

Revenons au présent : après 9 ans de résistance et d'engagement en faveur d'un modèle de vie communautaire, agro-écologique et autogéré, l'administration n'a pas cédé mais a resserré au maximum sa machinerie répressive. La punition des camarades repeupleurs étant une peine de 2 ans et 3 mois de prison et une responsabilité civile s'élevant à 110 000 euros pour la démolition, pour la deuxième fois, du village de Fraguas.

En résumé, il y a 6 personnes condamnées pour un crime contre l'Aménagement du Territoire, bien qu'aucune des prémisses qui énoncent ce crime ne soit remplie. Comme le fait qu'aucune nouvelle construction n'a été réalisée, qu'il n'y a pas de but économique et que les réhabilitations pourraient être autorisées. Par conséquent, celle qui a réellement commis l'infraction à l'aménagement du territoire est l'administration qui a changé le caractère territorial de Fraguas (à l'origine une zone urbaine) en un Monte de Utilidad Pública.

Si la Junta de Comunidades de Castilla La Mancha va de l'avant, six personnes iront en prison pour avoir repeuplé et reconstruit un village abandonné dans l'une des régions les plus dépeuplées et dé-ruralisées d'Espagne.

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On the Global Climate Strike

*Priama Akcia
Slovakia, 2021*

When we took part in the 2019 climate strikes, we couldn't imagine that further protests would be paralysed by pandemic. And when the pandemic came, it seemed that, with the apparent decline of some industries, the state of the planet would improve, at least minimally. But it turns out that we are actually worse off than we thought. The last two years have confirmed that, if there is any hope, the necessary changes will have to address the real causes of the problems. And much more than just touch. Capitalism and the system of decision-making through the state must sink into oblivion and we must build something better.

Workers' movement

Neither capitalism nor the state has offered us anything to avert or help us cope with the catastrophes already underway and yet to come. If we want real change, it won't happen without social movements. However, we need not only those that address the climate crisis, but

also the change of society as such.

We see the workers' movement as essential to this because it is linked to work as a source of reproduction and change of the whole world.

The vast majority of us will live our lives in the position of workers. In the position of workers we create and reshape the world. As a movement, we thus potentially have the greatest power to decide what is produced, how, where and for whom.

However, we stand against a power that is guided by the principles of profit, competitiveness and satisfying of the economic interests of a small part of society. Against a power that is dragging the whole of society down.

Moreover, the workers' movement is facing fundamental challenges in regards to climate catastrophes. The most critical one is obviously the one it shares with other movements - overcoming the general reluctance of people to organise.

There is no time for frustration - we are organising ourselves

The scale of the disaster we face is vast and multifaceted. Our response may be limited, but still it is locally, trans-regionally and internationally significant. Full of solidarity, mutual aid, protest and building of the germs of a new society in our activities, organisations and relationships in general.

In our view, this kind of response should be used in all the efforts for change – from solving problems in the workplace, to protests against encroachments on women's rights and lives, to environmental actions and all sorts of other struggles. We should think not only about the partial goals, but also about broader changes.

It is not just a nice theory that would be useless in practice. On the contrary, this approach works, and many organisations involved in these struggles would attest to this. However, we are not forgetting an important fact - the rejection of hierarchies, mutual aid and solidarity are principles that can spark social struggles, but these principles also arise in the struggles themselves. And this is the source of our hope for the survival of society.

Ecosystems are just one of the victims of capitalism and the state

Today more than ever, we need to replace capitalism with production and service provision without the profit motive and wage labour. This should be at the heart of our future thinking about climate change. Capitalism and the state are not destroying only nature itself, but also our lives. Every day. At work and in our relationships with other people. They poison us with their hierarchies and power.

That's why we organize. Together we are stronger and can achieve more. We make decisions horizontally, without support from the state, outside of parliamentary or municipal politics and business influence. We are working on resolving problems at work, but we also deal with problems linked to the climate crisis, even at international level within the International Workers' Association (IWA/AIT). We educate ourselves, we communicate, we coordinate, we discover new ways to fight against all forms of power and destruction. We have participated in previous climate strikes, in the protests against the construction of the LNG terminal in Bratislava, and today we will again be participating at the Global Climate Strike.

Slovak Section of the International Workers' Association

www.priamaakcia.sk

Photo report from the Global Climate Strike in Bratislava (22 October 2021)



In September, the Urban Action Camp took place in Bratislava and some of its organizers decided to coordinate the Global Climate Strike. This resulted in actions in several Slovak cities. Although the situation was not inclined to organising real strikes in the form of production stoppages, it was evident that many people in the crowd were not at work, and we know that some students also had to fight for their time off. As in the past, the rally was

supported by the Priama Akcia union.

The speeches at the protest left no one in doubt that the slogan of the protest "Change the system, not the climate" was meant seriously by the organisers. They were carried out in an anti-capitalist spirit and emphasised the interconnection of different struggles.

The march through the city centre was met with a positive response from passers-by and there was a good mood throughout, accompanied by drumming.





Anarcho-syndicalism as a foundation for revolutionary environmentalism

*Un CéNéTista
Spain, 2022*

The historical development of the class struggle has posed a strange situation at the present time.

In the past, industrial development (the concentration of capital, ownership of the means of production and the increase in military capacity and control of the State), meant a confrontation between the State, the rising capitalist class and a non-industrialized craftsmanship, and not yet proletarianized. The development and deployment of capitalism forced the artisans to abandon their positions of strength and take a step back, facilitating the production space for a new economic subject, product of capitalist industrial society and the concentration of property and wealth, in the capitalist and state class.

In this way, the craftsman, who controlled a very important part of the production process, is forced to fight against the new management of the manufacturing centers for which he works, losing control over working time, therefore also rest, remuneration, work tools and techni-

cal control over the production and manufacture of handcrafted pieces. In this sense, the advancement of industrial society means the entry of new technical equipment that modifies the form of craft manufacturing and gradually displaces the craftsman from the production process. The industrial production mode modifies the manual processes and derives from the technical knowledge that the craftsman accumulated for many years.

All these changes cause a process of proletarianization that takes away from the worker the ability to control the production process and the worker becomes a replaceable piece in the production process.

The working class becomes a key piece of capitalist society, and even more so in productive capitalism. This productive capitalism bases all of its wealth creation solely and exclusively on the production capacity of the working class.

With the development of industrialization, a new worker emerges who stands out mainly for his job, and for his immediacy. And where the consumption capacity of it becomes an almost negligible element.

However, the development of industrial capitalism and new production methods force capitalism to maintain production in an uninterrupted manner and with mass production of merchandise.

It is at this moment that the working class becomes a crucial element of the consumer society, since capitalism revalues the consumption capacity of the working class in order to reintegrate it into capitalist society not only by exploiting its workforce, but by exploiting their consumption capacity. The working class will no longer be characterized solely and exclusively by its production capacity, but also by its consumption capacity in society.

This reintegration means turning the working class into something more than a productive subject, it will mean turning the working class into a consumer class.

It is at this time that new identities emerge that compete within the working class to seize control of class identity. The working class will no longer represent itself by its trade or by its production capacity, but rather by its consumption capacity, and the strong proletarian consciousness will be displaced by a new individual consciousness that allows it to adapt to new identities of the consumer society.

At this time, class consciousness and the links still existing in the working class are blurred, and compete for space with the working class identity, emerging new identities typical of the consumer society: users of services, clients of insurance companies, beneficiaries of a bank mortgage, homeowners, student of a university degree, etc. In this sense, the dispute over the space of consciousness in the consumer society has caused a rise in consciousness and identities typical of consumer capitalism, and has caused a fall in the working class consciousness so deeply rooted in productive capitalism.

It is at this time, that the working class has been dispossessed of its working class consciousness insofar as it has developed a contempt for proletarian culture, identifying itself with the values of the consumer society.

This moment has been crucial for the working class, because not only has it lost its class consciousness, but it has also lost meaning and real and effective function in capitalist society. Unlike the capitalist class, which only has the capacity to consume, the working class has an added value, it is the only one that has the exclusive productive license in the consumer society, and on the contrary, its consumption capacity is really very limited. On the one hand, he has lost consciousness of his productive need and has become engrossed in the mirage of his limited consumption capacity. It is at this moment in the development of consumer capitalism where organizations emerge that try to organize and defend the

rights of consumers and users in an attempt to organize the consumer society.

However, these organizations do not arise in the heat of the interests of the working class, they arise on the contrary in the heat of the interests of the consuming class, without taking into account the differences and the existing consumption capacity between the working class and the capitalist class.

It is at this moment that these organizations begin to have an important weight in the consumer society, because they are going to dispute an ideological terrain within capitalism in which they are only going to discuss that part of capitalism that cannot be allowed, that capitalism that violates the rights of the consumer class. However, capitalism's dream is that the productive process does not structurally depend on the

working class. That is why capitalism has gone directly to the automation of production, among many other reasons, but mainly because the machines - for the moment - do not wish for a workers' revolution. User and consumer rights organizations become a fundamental pillar of the consumer society, as they come to readjust consumer capitalism to institutionalize itself and to operate from a strictly reformist ideology. This strictly reformist ideology is rooted in the foundations of consumer capitalism, in an individualistic, corporate, nationalist mentality that not only builds the identity of the consumer society but also penetrates the ideology of social movements.

An important part of environmentalism has allowed itself to be influenced by these forms of institutional environmentalism, which aspire to curb capitalism in coexistence with it. Some of these organizations pin their hopes on the ability of the capitalist institutions and the State to put a stop to the ecological abuses generated by the capitalist system itself, and in many cases they also try to develop a feeling of individual responsibility among the working class in order to use their consumption capacity to curb the abuses of the same capitalist productive structure.

However, in no case is the working class referred to for its potential for struggle, which is not its limited capacity to consume, but its ability to stop production.

Moreover, the forms of boycott that the consumer society can use cannot cause a change in the forms of capitalist production, because it reinforces the role of demand, in the capitalist consumer society, because they do not profess a revolutionary path. In this sense, some products - only and exclusively - are exchanged for others, but the need to put an end to capitalism is not delved into, as a political and economic structure of unlimited growth, in a scenario of finite goods and raw materials. It is at this moment that a new form of capitalism emerges that seeks to recover the raw material, in an attempt to take advantage of every waste caused by capitalist barbarism and reintegrate it into the production chain. The development of this form of capitalism could be called without any doubt as "garbage capitalism" or "garbage economy", which consists of developing an

entire productive industry based on the use of garbage, as another raw material to reuse and recycle.

That is, to recover the waste produced by the industry and reintegrate it into the production chains. And above all, manufacturing products that, due to their characteristics, we could speak of them directly as garbage, or as waste produced to be quickly reintegrated. It is the industry of products that have become generalized as disposable objects. That they are used for a very short period of time, or that they will not even directly be used, therefore directly forming part of the garbage.

However, the dream of a zero waste economy is a fiction, capitalism not only generates solid waste for its production chain, through the reintegration of waste as raw material, it also generates a huge amount of gases and solids that are lost and those that are called unrecoverable. In relation to them, we are faced with the same dilemma. The working class has the responsibility to realize that its ability to fight is not in its ability to consume.

The working class does not have the capacity to change the capitalist forms of production solely and exclusively through the same demand force of capitalism. The capitalist ideology of the garbage economy defends the idea of closing a material circle between raw materials, the environment and the waste of capitalism, but this fiction is only a mirage that capitalist society feeds on.

Capitalism uses this fiction of the infinite circle of recycling to endow itself with a sustainable ideology, but the

truth is that there are many leaks, and unaccounted-for expenses that are not accounted for. Consumer activism, if you can somehow give a name to this form of struggle, is reformist and capitalist.

An important part of the environmental movement has focused on developing this ideology of taking advantage of capitalist garbage and trying to exploit the life of the garbage, turning it into raw material and trying to reintegrate it into the production process.

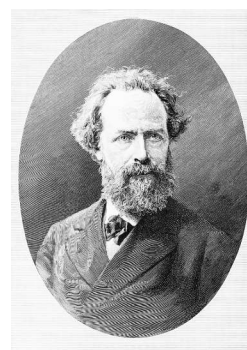
However, it is necessary for the environmental movement to recover the class dimension of the movement. The institutions of capitalism cannot stop the destruction of the environment, as long as the economy is governed by criteria that do not aspire to satisfy needs but rather interests and benefits, or if the state apparatus does not aspire to secure economic resources for war.

That is why anarcho-syndicalism has a very important role. It brings back awareness among the working class of the need for workers to associate and organize themselves under the principles of anarchism. Recover your specific productive dimension and the strength and control over production that allows you to reinforce your tools of struggle with which you can stop production and become aware that it is the working class that moves the world. There you can find the power of revolutionary environmentalism, to stop capitalism and its environmental destruction with the intention to make the revolution and build society on completely different basis.



L'HOMME EST LA NATURE PRENANT CONSCIENCE D'ELLE-MÊME

Élisée Reclus (1830-1905). Géographe, militant et théoricien anarchiste, communiste, membre de la Première internationale. Précurseur de la géographie sociale, de la géopolitique, de l'écologie et de l'écologisme. Auteur prolifique, il a écrit près de 200 articles de géographie et 80 articles politiques dans différents journaux, dont *Le Révolté* avec Pierre Kropotkine. Il est plus connu pour ses œuvres majeures: *La Terre* en 2 volumes, sa *Géographie Universelle* en 19 volumes, *l'Homme et la Terre* en 6 volumes, ainsi que *Histoire d'un ruisseau* et *Histoire d'une Montagne*.





Green Syndicalism

A Very Brief Introduction

Jeff Shantz
Canada, 2022

The exploitation of labor and the exploitation of land under capitalism have always been integrally connected - one does not occur without the other. From the violence of enclosures of commons, expanded across the globe through colonialism - ongoing acts that are the bedrock of capitalist property relations. Through the dispossession, displacement, and social control of the enclosed upon, in the service of capitalist property and labor markets. Violent expropriation of land, and the means of the sustenance of life, are the very conditions for forced production for profit. Labor is rendered exploitable by destruction of its conditions of autonomous survival.

The connected character of the exploitation of land and labor is shown forcefully in the fact that the industries most directly destructive of nature are also those which have been most dangerous and deadly for workers and for Indigenous people. Logging, mining, fishing, farming.

Ending the exploitation of one is not possible without ending the exploitation of the other. And yes, this includes landback for Indigenous peoples. Ownership of the earth in the pursuit of profit is the condition driving the destruction of nature and the destruction of planetary (including of course human) life. People are rendered as labor for sale and purchase when nature, their means of survival is.

A fundamental position of green syndicalism is that those working class, those exploited by capital in re/production and distribution and forced to survive through the labor market are crucially placed to end the dual exploitation of land and labor. This is so for a few key reasons.

The Potential Power of Workers

First and foremost, given their central position within the labor process, and place in workplaces, workers can directly stop harmful industrial practices. This is most obviously shown in the strike. By withdrawing and withholding their labor, workers make industrial processes

stop. They literally cease to operate. At the same time, given their knowledge of re/production processes, workers can halt or alter production in ways that do not raise secondary harms to nature.

Workers hold a potential power which when wielded, can be more directly and immediately impactful than the external or secondary actions of outside actors. Environmentalists picketing a plant or construction site, for example, will have less impact than the workers employed there picketing would have. So even the same action can hold more power for one group compared to another strictly because of their structural position within re/productive processes.

Workers' own concerns with health and safety (exposure to workplace contaminants, etc.) intersect with ecological concerns in very personal ways. So too do their concerns for community and family in areas affected by industrial processes at their workplaces. This can, despite rigid stereotypes to the contrary, make workers strong ecological allies.

Tactics

The power of worker strategy and tactics - as workers - derives from their special place within processes of re/production and distribution. The most powerful tactic on the whole is the strike - the refusal to do land and labor destroying work. The strike is the most potent direct action - stopping harm from happening and making it difficult or impossible for capital to continue them. It is not a moral appeal, request, or even demand - it is consequential action that achieves the intended aim directly, without the mediation involved in third party actions.

This depends of course on the level of rank-and-file organizing and capacity to stop scabs from being deployed or to block conservative union leadership from crafting deals with management. No tactic is deployed in a pure form and organizing is always itself an action. But even then, using scabs incurs a cost on capital.

Another key tactic is **sabotage**. The place of workers in

acts of sabotage can be crucial when we talk about green actions, because sabotage can have harmful consequences to natural environments, particularly where heavy industry is involved. Workers have a close familiarity and understanding of industrial processes they are involved in and how they can be sabotaged effectively in ways that are not destructive of nature. They also know the most significant break points to shut things down.

Workers, because of their placement and positionality also have access to industrial processes that environmentalists and others do not have and may not be able to gain. This access cannot be overlooked.

I have had numerous conversations with workers, going back to my days as an autoworker, who carry out sabotage within industrial plants to block harmful processes from happening (plugging drains, stopping effluent, disabling machinery with toxic exhausts, etc.). Sometimes it can be as innocuous in appearance as putting a part on the assembly line slightly improperly and ruining most of a shift of production (as I may or may not have done).

Blockades. Logistical workers have long histories of organizing blockades in support of community movements and against destructive ecological or social conditions. Perhaps the most prominent example recently has been the blockading by dockworkers of Israeli state shipping lines.

Boycotts. Workers can effectively initiate boycotts of harmful products, working with community members to take harmful processes or products out of operation. Insider boycotts against harmful materials or against materials that are sourced from ecologically or socially destructive origins or from dubious sources (apartheid companies, etc.) offer unique promise.

Ecological Reclamation and Reconstruction

Workers in specific industries will be crucial in reclamation and reconstruction activities in moving toward ecological futures. This is because of the unique knowledge they have of specific industries being ended or transformed or requiring clean up or restoration.

One example is the decommissioning of tar sands developments and the reclamation of ecologically devastated areas and wastelands that were created by tar sands development.

Organizing is always key. Because workers are uniquely placed to undertake and enact deep green social transformation does not mean they will, of course. Some workers are conditioned by capital to tie their supposed interests with the short term aims of the particular company or industry in which they work. And, under capitalism, when successfully selling your labor on the capitalist labor market is a prerequisite to survival, the threat of losing your job is a potent inhibition. And this can be, and is, manipulated toward anti-ecological ends. We have seen this in logging, tar sands, and pipelines. But we have also seen the opposite - workers allying with environmentalists and Indigenous activists to engage in eco-defense.

Organizing: A Start

So, some activities to get there. If you are in a union, you can make use of the opportunities and basic protections you have in order to create, expand, or redistribute organizing resources and spaces. There are some useful ways of doing so.

Flying squads. Flying squads are rapid response networks that can deploy quickly to take action, whether to assist with workplace pickets or to support community groups in actions like an eviction defense or squat or welfare office occupation supporting unemployed workers or Indigenous land defense. Flying squads require little more than phone lists by which rank-and-file workers can self-mobilize.

Working Groups. Workers can start class-based working groups within their union around community issues like those mentioned above. Examples from ones I have helped organize include anti-poverty working groups to support poor and unhoused working-class people and Indigenous solidarity working groups supporting active land reclamations.

All of these can access union resources to use in broader struggles beyond the workplace or contract. All while building the strength of less secured workers. One influential example is the green bans in Australia, strikes undertaken by the Builders Labourers Federation (BLF) and used to protect parkland and low-income housing.

These straightforward examples provide mechanisms to transfer union resources, which are properly understood as working-class resources, on a class-wide basis to community working class, including Indigenous and ecological, struggles. They also provide venues for educating and motivating fellow workers. The absolute joy I have seen among workers following flying squad actions cannot be properly expressed. It is literally transformative. It is a lighting of what could be called real class consciousness.

If you are not in a union—organize one. However, that might look. Reach out to other workers. The Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) are always a good option for organizing on a class struggle rather than a contract management basis. Active flying squads from unionized workers can help to put pressure on the boss.

Organize an autonomous flying squad bringing together unorganized workers, unemployed workers, migrant workers, and/or environmentalists. I helped organize an autonomous flying squad along these lines in Toronto and we were often the only outside workers presence at pickets of migrant workers who were outside traditional union structures.

One IWW example is that of IWW-Earth First! Local 1 in northern California, which brought together timber workers and environmentalists in a joint organizing effort based on the shared recognition that clearcut logging destroys vital ecosystems at the same time as it wipes out prospects for workers' livelihoods and communities in the long run. And in the longer run, threatens planetary survival for all but capital.



Capitalists, Global Warming & the Climate Justice Movement

*James Herod
USA, 2009*

The first part of this essay was originally written in December 2009 for the monthly Newsletter of the Boston Anti-Authoritarian Movement, #29, January 2010. A substantial postscript reviews developments since that time. For the purposes of this essay I will assume that the science that establishes that the earth is warming up is correct. This is what all participants to the Copenhagen conference believed, both inside the hall and outside in the streets. For a brief note on dissenting views, see Footnote [4].

The fifteenth meeting of the Conference of Participants (COP15) in the Kyoto Protocol took place in Copenhagen, Denmark, from December 7 to 18, 2009. The purpose of the conference was to wrap up more than two years of negotiations by representatives of all the world's governments to get a legally binding treaty for a new round of reductions in carbon emissions under the United Nations' Kyoto Protocol to replace the first round which was expiring.

So what happened? The United States sabotaged the negotiations by refusing to agree to any legally binding treaty, by refusing to commit itself to any significant reduction of its own carbon pollution, and by refusing to work through the U.N.'s open and democratic negotiating process, instead maneuvering behind the scenes in secret to strike a deal with a few select countries which was then sprung on the conference at the last minute. Naturally, the negotiations collapsed and the conference ended in failure, except for the United States, which outcome is obviously what it had intended all along. To understand the significance and probable consequences of this event some background will be necessary.

Amidst growing reports from the world's climatologists of alarming increases in temperatures worldwide due to increased levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere, a treaty was fashioned at the Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, in 1992, called the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change. To date, 192 nations have signed the treaty. The United States tried to obstruct this summit from its outset. The original draft of the treaty had to be greatly weakened and watered down before the United States would agree to sign on.

The same thing happened five years later in Kyoto, Japan, in 1997, where an addition to the Rio treaty was being negotiated to put some teeth into it through legally binding cuts in carbon emissions. Once again the United States was obstructive, refusing to cooperate, unless reductions in carbon emissions were handled through the market (the so-called "Cap and Trade, with Offsets"). Al Gore flew to Kyoto to negotiate this demand. The world finally agreed, just in order to get some treaty, but then the U.S. never ratified the Kyoto Protocol anyway.

Gore's presence at this crucial conference is significant. He had been for some time closely involved with Wall Street's efforts to create a market for carbon trading. In a brilliantly researched essay,[1] David Noble persuasively argues that there had been a split in the capitalist ruling class with regard to global warming. Its original response (and its propaganda) was to deny it. But then the financial elite realized that a lot of money could be made if carbon emissions could be commoditized and traded on the market. They launched a massive propaganda campaign to convince the world that global warming was real, that it was being caused by humans (by burning fossil fuels), and that capitalists could solve the problem through their normal market mechanisms. Global warming moved into the mainstream.

The purpose of the Kyoto Protocol was to reduce carbon emissions and thus cool the earth. The purpose of Wall Street is to make money. So far, Wall Street has prevailed, as was demonstrated again this December in Copenhagen. Twelve years after the Kyoto Protocol was signed in 1997 it is clear that the market approach, insisted on by the United States, has not worked. Carbon emissions have not declined in most countries; they have increased. Most climate justice activists totally reject Wall Street's scheme. They have produced detailed, empirical studies to prove that it hasn't worked.[2]

Yet we are in an extremely harsh time frame on this problem. If the science is correct, very substantial reductions in carbon emissions worldwide must be achieved in the next ten years, with the nearly total elimination of fossil fuels within the next twenty to thirty years. If the 2020 goals are not met, there is the danger that a tipping point will be reached, setting in motion irreversible warming trends, with the release of billions of tons of

methane gas presently trapped in the frozen tundra stretching across northern Canada and Siberia, and billions more tons trapped in nodules deep in the oceans, the loss of the oceans as a carbon sink as they become acidified, and the loss of reflected heat with the melting of the polar ice caps, glaciers, and Greenland's ice. The earth will become unrecognizable, and all life on it will be threatened.

What are the chances that the United States will change its policy anytime soon, in time to help stave off the tipping point? Virtually zero. Corporate control, especially by Wall Street and Big Oil, over the United States government is now nearly total, and is irreversible within existing institutional structures. The 40-year-old counter-revolution by neoconservative free market ideologues to make sure that corporate control was never threatened again, as it had been in the sixties, has been completely successful. It would take a revolution to reverse this, and there is no sign anywhere of that happening, certainly not in time.

Perhaps the other 191 nations in the treaty could just go ahead without the United States? Perhaps. But they could have (and should have) done that in Rio in 1992. Why didn't they? Why was the treaty watered down to accommodate the United States? They certainly should have gone ahead without the U.S. in Kyoto. Why did they cave in to U.S. demands for "Cap and Trade"? They most certainly should have done so this month in Copenhagen. But they didn't. They allowed one country, the United States, to sabotage the treaty, both procedurally and substantively. Whether the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change will survive at all is doubtful.

Well, aside from the fact that the United States is the biggest polluter in the world, and even though its empire is rapidly fading, it is still an enormously powerful nation. If a country is not its ally, it is most likely its enemy, and it can be utterly smashed, as has been demonstrated regularly in recent years in Yugoslavia, Iraq, Afghanistan, Somali, and (coming soon) Yemen.

In other words, what we are seeing in operation here (in the ability of the U.S. to dictate the terms of the treaty, and even scuttle it) is the world's structure of power, obviously. The conceptual framework being used to understand and discuss this power structure, however, both inside the convention halls and outside in the streets, is badly flawed. The world is not made up of "developed" and "developing" nations. Each of the 192 nations is not separately and autonomously passing through stages to development, with some just being farther along than others. The world is made up of imperial exploiting nations and exploited or neocolonial nations. In fact, most countries of the world are not on the road to development at all. They have been and are still being systematically and deliberately underdeveloped by the core capitalist countries.

Capitalists have caused global warming.[3] It is true that initially, and for some time thereafter, capitalists didn't know that they were doing this, but they could damn well see that they were destroying the environment, and they didn't care, and still don't, any more than they cared about the millions of people they were killing, and still are. Capitalists are not going to stop global warming.

Yet these ideas were missing in Copenhagen. Capitalists were there in full force (incognito of course), but capitalism, the concept, wasn't. The negotiations were taking place, as well as the protests against them, as if capitalism didn't exist (except for a few anti-capitalist banners in the streets, and speeches by the presidents of Bolivia and Venezuela, Evo Morales and Hugo Chavez). It is not useful at all to divide the world into rich and poor countries (as the Rio treaty does). Every nation, however poor, has a rich elite, which is more or less integrated into the global capitalist system. Representatives of these elites were meeting in Copenhagen, not independent governments. Their demand that the North pay its climate debt to the South is not really about stopping global warming. It's about getting the money and technology to develop. These junior partners of empire desire to become major players. Even their insistence on democracy and transparency is colored by this

desire. The first hurdle they must clear is simply to be admitted to the chambers where decisions are made.

This explains why the delegates to these conferences cannot devise effective solutions to the climate crisis. They are themselves part of the problem. Any government, after all, could, if it only wanted to, outlaw fossil fuels and enforce this law with its police and armies. There is no need to try to reduce carbon emissions through the market. They could simply be banned. This would be suicide for the capitalist class, however, of which national elites are a part, so it is never done.

Can global warming be stopped on the local level? No, it can not. Tens of thousands of towns and cities could do everything in their power to reduce their carbon footprints and it would not make much difference as long as the great engines of capitalist industry, agriculture, transportation, government, and military are still running.

Capitalists have caused global warming.[3] It is true that initially, and for some time thereafter, capitalists didn't know that they were doing this, but they could damn well see that they were destroying the environment, and they didn't care, and still don't, any more than they cared about the millions of people they were killing, and still are. Capitalists are not going to stop global warming. They are still, and always will be, bickering and jockeying and fighting amongst themselves for position, power, markets, resources, and profits. That's what they mostly do at these conferences. (Plus, thousands of corporate lobbyists descended on Copenhagen, flushed with cash, to add to the chaotic drama.)

We might have survived peak oil and the gradual disappearance of cheap fossil fuel energy. (Too bad peak oil didn't happen a couple of decades earlier.) That crisis would have been spread over several decades at least. We might have had as much as 50 years to make the transition to a less energy-intensive way of life (seeing that no combination of known alternative energy sources can begin to replace the energy we have been

getting from fossil fuels). We would at least have had a bit more time to try once again to get capitalists out of the picture, so that humanity could work together to build a new civilization, something that is impossible to do as long as capitalists control the world. There would even have been an outside chance that it could have been a sustainable, decentralized, democratic, and just social order that we created.

But this new crisis, this imminent "tipping point" for global warming, is another beast altogether. It is happening too fast. How can we possibly dismantle in just a decade or two the vast infrastructures capitalists have built - the billions of people living in crowded metropolises, having been driven off their lands and separated from their peasant farming and now totally dependent on agribusiness for their food and on oil and gas for heat and transportation?

In retrospect, it appears that our fate was sealed when our massive communist, socialist, and anarchist movements, which mobilized tens of millions of people, failed throughout the twentieth century to defeat capitalists. Now it seems that we may not get another chance.

Can the climate justice movement stop global warming? No, it can not. To do that it would have to be able to destroy capitalism. This objective, however, is hardly even on the agenda for most climate activists, and if it were they wouldn't have an inkling about a strategy for doing so. Hardly anyone does nowadays. If a movement can't even identify the root cause of a problem, how can it possibly solve it?

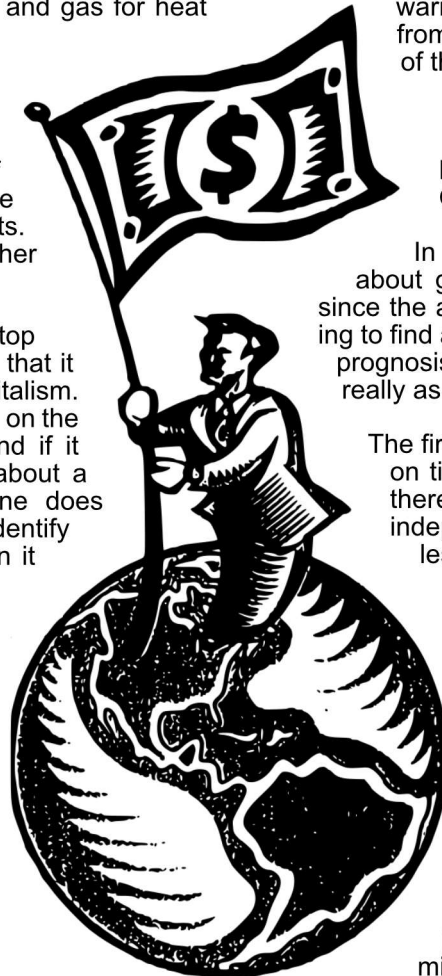
It was sweet, it's true, that climate justice activists made such an impressive appearance in Copenhagen. They put 100,000 people in the streets. They came from all over the world. They organized an alternative conference, the KlimaForum. They tried to make their voices heard. But they were viciously repressed, and, in the end, actually locked out of the conference hall.

There were dozens of groups and organizations involved, among which were : Climate Justice Action, Greenpeace International, Rising Tide International, Carbon Trade Watch, Camp for Climate Action, Friends of the Earth International, Mobilization for Climate Justice, 350.org, Rainforest Action Network, and Climate Crisis Coalition. There are hundreds of NGOs worldwide working on this issue.

Nevertheless, this movement is very short on money and power, and it is not massive (although it likes to pretend that it is). Its protests have no punch, as was noted by Naomi Klein when she said in Copenhagen : "They're laughing at us." There is not much muscle here to be coming up against a rich, deeply entrenched, historically seasoned, and powerful world ruling class. The slogans

are nice : "Our Climate is Not Your Business," "Change Trade, Not the Climate," "There is No Planet B," "Bla Bla Bla, Act Now," "Nature Doesn't Compromise," and so forth. But can they ever be more than just chants? I think not.

So what are our prospects? Realistically speaking, we are fucked. Ten, fifteen, or twenty years will go by in a flash. Business as usual will prevail. The oil, gas, and coal companies will not be reigned in. The lumber companies that are cutting down the rainforests for profit will not be stopped. Corporate-controlled governments will not take action. The sheer inertia of a worldwide capitalist civilization built on cheap fossil fuel energy will keep the vast machine grinding inexorably on until the tipping point is reached, after which the irreversible warming of the earth will begin in earnest from natural causes. That would be the end of the line for us.



Further Reflections on Stopping Global Warming

In my continuing study and deliberation about global warming during the five months since the above was written, I've mostly been trying to find a little wiggle room, a way out of the dire prognosis laid out in that report. Is our situation really as bad as I claimed?

The first thing I re-examined was the timelines on tipping points. How firm are they? Well, there are several tipping points, each with an independent timeline, but which nevertheless more or less converge. Here are the major ones. (1) Death or destruction of rainforests; (2) Ocean acidification; (3) Melting of snow and ice (glaciers, ice caps on Greenland and the Antarctic, sea ice on the Arctic Ocean); (4) Ocean warming; (5) Thawing of the frozen tundra across Siberia and northern Canada.

Let's take a look at these. Some scientists are now claiming that the rainforests are already at the upper limit of their tolerance for temperature increases. With further warming they might simply die, scientists say. In terms of loss of biodiversity this would be a colossal tragedy, but a tragedy also for global warming, because rainforests are a major carbon sink. They take CO₂ out of the air. If they die, they will start adding CO₂ to the atmosphere with the burning or rotting of dead trees and vegetation. Even if rainforests don't die, transnational lumber companies are cutting them down at a rapid clip, with the consent of national governments. We can't put a precise date on when they will be gone. It is not unreasonable, however, to say that if the present rate of deforestation continues, they will be gone in 20 to 30 years.[5]

The oceans are also a carbon sink, but they are becoming less so as they acidify by absorbing some of the excess CO₂ in the atmosphere. Ocean acidification is

already quite alarming. It's hard to say though exactly when the oceans will stop absorbing CO₂, but 20-30 years is not an unreasonable estimate.

The most imminent and very visible tipping point is the melting of the earth's snow and ice. This will significantly decrease the amount of sunlight being reflected back into space. Instead, the energy will stay on the earth heating up the oceans, soil, and atmosphere. Glaciers the world over are rapidly melting. The sea ice covering the Arctic Ocean is melting. The ice caps on the Antarctic and Greenland are melting. It is now believed that Greenland's ice sheet could disintegrate rapidly, in just a few decades, rather than in the century or more indicated by previous estimates.

Global warming will bring and is bringing with it drastic changes and hardships, like more severe weather, desertification, and rising sea levels. For the latter, for example, if all the snow and ice on earth melts, the sea level will rise by 250 feet. This will cause almost unimaginable suffering, destruction, and death, but is not in itself earth killing. What I want to hone in on here are the tipping points that will kill all life on earth.

It's clear what they are: warming of the oceans, and thawing of the frozen tundra stretching across Siberia and northern Canada. Why?

Because this warming will release billions of tons of methane gas trapped in the northern permafrost and in frozen nodules in the oceans (methane hydrates). (And methane is a more powerful greenhouse gas than carbon dioxide.) Once this process is fully underway it becomes self-perpetuating and is irreversible. There are no natural processes that could remove the gas from the atmosphere fast enough. The atmosphere will become poisonous. The earth will get very hot. All life will die. The earth will become like Venus.[6]

This is what we must fear. If carbon dioxide emissions are not stopped, the earth will continue to heat up. Carbon dioxide in the atmosphere is continuing to increase by 2 ppm (parts per million) per year. Thus in 20 years another 40 ppm will be added to the existing 385 ppm, which is already 35 ppm over the 350 ppm which is considered the maximum permissible for a stable climate. 425 ppm CO₂ might be enough to raise the earth's temperature another two degrees. So these last two tipping points could well be passed in twenty years, thirty at the most.[7] These dates are not absolutely firm, but seeing that all life on earth is at stake, we dare not gamble that we have more time. The permafrost has already started to thaw, releasing gas, and methane has already been observed bubbling up in the Arctic Ocean and elsewhere. Stopping this is our most urgent task.

Before returning to the question of whether or how

global warming can be stopped, let me set the scene a little more clearly with some pertinent facts. As most everyone now knows, carbon dioxide is the most important greenhouse gas, comprising 76.7 percent of the total. Of this, 56.6% comes from burning fossil fuels; another 17.3% comes from deforestation and rotting vegetation; and 2.8% from other sources. Other major greenhouse gases are methane at 14.3%, and nitrous oxide at 7.9%.[8]

So this is why the focus has been on reducing CO₂. Most of the CO₂ from burning fossil fuels comes from burning coal to generate electricity. Forty-one percent of electricity world wide is generated from burning coal (gas 20%, hydro 16%, nuclear 15%, oil 6%, renewables 2%).[9] Being new to the issue I found this surprising. I had assumed that most emissions came from burning oil (gasoline, diesel, kerosene) in cars, trucks, and planes.

Actually, transportation accounts for about half as many emissions as coal-fired power plants.



The breakdown of carbon dioxide emissions by sector of the economy is as follows, in descending order of size: energy supply 25.9 percent, industry 19.4%, forestry 17.4%, agriculture 13.5%, transportation 13.1%, residential and commercial buildings 7.9%, and waste and wastewater 2.8%.[10] So all the stress being put on greening residential and

commercial buildings while ignoring electricity generation, industry, and agriculture is seriously misguided.

Where, geographically, do CO₂ emissions come from? Again, there is a surprise, since everyone says that the United States is the worst polluter. This is not true, if Europe is taken as a whole (and after all they've been toting their European Union for some time now), and if we include Russia as part of Europe as it rightfully should be. Thus in 2008 China produced 22.1 percent of CO₂ emissions, with Europe at 20.7%, the United States at 17.9%, and the rest of the world at 39.3% (India 3.5%, Japan 4.1%). Historically (1751-2008), Europe is seen to be an even worse polluter, with 37.9% of cumulative emissions to the U.S.'s 27.2%, and China's 9.1%.[11]

These facts suggest a point of attack, and James Hansen has been focusing on it for some time: coal.[12] If the world would stop burning coal to generate electricity this alone would significantly reduce carbon emissions, perhaps enough so to slow global warming a bit to give us more time to get off fossil fuels altogether. We can narrow it down even further. If only the United States (with 614 coal-fired power plants, out of 2,300 world wide) and China (with 620 coal-fired power plants, with about 500 more due to come on-line in the near future) would stop burning coal this would be a big step toward reducing CO₂ emissions. But how likely is it that

these two nations, each with a rapacious and savage capitalist ruling class, can be pressured to do so? Not very damn likely, I'd say.

No, global warming is a global problem and requires a global solution. Even if the USA, Europe, and China, which together produce 60 percent of the world's total, all reduced their CO2 emissions to zero, that would still leave the 40% being produced by the rest of the world. That 40% might be enough to push us over the tipping points.

It seems unlikely also that coal could be separated out like this from the rest of the problem. If a global campaign could be organized and implemented to phase out coal, why not also work to get off fossil fuels in general at the same time? That would make more sense. But just to replace all coal-fired power plants in the world would take a stupendous amount of capital, involvement of all major governments, and agreement by a sizable chunk of the corporate and financial elite. There would have to be a world-wide coordinated effort to rapidly exploit, on a massive scale, all alternative sources of energy for the generation of electricity - wind, solar, geothermal, tides, heat pumps - and do this without building more dams or nuclear power plants. Such an international crash program does not seem in the cards at all. In fact, the opposite is happening. At least three dozen countries are in the process of building more coal-fired power plants.

The task of getting off all fossil fuels is even more daunting. It would require, in addition to clean electricity, massive energy conservation programs, abandonment of industrial agriculture in favor of sustainable organic farming, retro-fitting the world's cars and trucks for hydrogen or electricity and a drastic reduction in their number, massive investment in high-speed electric trains and other public transportation, severe curtailment of flying, resettlement of the countryside, stopping the destruction of forests, drastic reduction of energy use almost across the board, putting an end to waste and shoddy products, abandonment of unnecessary or frivolous industry, dismantling the world's military machines (which are among the greatest consumers of oil, especially the Pentagon), abolition of stock markets, defeat of the mammoth oil companies, and so forth.

Just to list these minimum required changes exposes how utterly incompatible they are with capitalism, for those who are even aware of capitalism, that is, and understand how it works. Capitalists have caused these human-made material realities we are living with - the roughly 800 million passenger cars and light trucks on the road (in 2007), the megacities (20 of them with a population of over 10 million each, another 26 with a population of over 5 million each), the fleets of jet planes, oil tankers, agribusiness, skyscrapers, industry, tourism, the huge government bureaucracies, massive dams, and so forth. Are capitalists likely to do an about face now and start to

dismantle all this? No they're not. They couldn't, actually (and remain capitalists, that is), because there is no profit to be made from dismantling all this infrastructure.

It's true that a small minority of capitalists are trying to make profit off global warming. They are building vast wind and solar installations, inventing hydrogen powered cars, converting millions of acres of farm land to the production of biomass, trying to create a market for carbon trading, and starting to build vast new power grids. When corporations and governments do get involved in trying to stop global warming, this is the direction they go in. They try to solve the crisis within the framework of capitalism. Even many of the most outspoken climate activists do this; that is, they are not anti-capitalist - James Hansen, George Monbiot, Bill McKibben, Al Gore, or Ross Gelbspan. Those few climate theorists who are anti-capitalist, mostly from a Marxist perspective, nevertheless think that the crisis can be solved with the aid of governments - Joel Kovel, John Bellamy Foster, Charles Derber. That is, they are anti-capitalist, but not anti-state. This is just to say that an anarchist perspective on the crisis is hardly in the discussion at all (but see Anonymous in the bibliography below and the recommended essays).

At least one head of state, Evo Morales, president of Bolivia, has clearly identified capitalism as the enemy, when he said "Either capitalism dies or Mother Earth dies." But as the head of a government he naturally doesn't think of attacking the state too, or representative government per se. According to one participant in April's climate justice conference in Tiquipaya, Bolivia, most of those attending (roughly 30,000 from 140 countries, with 40 governmental delegations) were anti-capitalists, but few were anti-state. Besides, Evo Morales is president of one of the poorest nations on earth. How much power does he have? Where are the

voices of the great European labor unions, the big UN agencies like the World Health Organization or the Food and Agriculture Organization, the global NGOs, the leaders of the world's Social Democratic parties?

At this point a conceptual clarification is necessary in order to grasp the scope of the problem and to begin to perceive the necessary solution. Capitalism is the name for an entire social order. It is not just an "economy." Thus, the international nation-state system is an integral part of capitalism, and has been from the very beginning. Capitalists took over the pre-existing state forms and turned them to

their own ends, integrating them into their project of accumulating capital. The ability to make profit from privately owned productive properties would be impossible without the legal framework provided by governments, backed by police and military violence. Businesses and governments are in bed together, and have been for the past five hundred years (profit takers + politicians = capitalism). Yet even when a few climate justice activists do admit that capitalism has to be destroyed in order to stop global warming, they fail to note

At this point a conceptual clarification is necessary in order to grasp the scope of the problem and to begin to perceive the necessary solution. Capitalism is the name for an entire social order. It is not just an "economy. [...] "An entire social order, a global civilization, organized on the basis of profit-mongering, must be defeated in the next twenty to thirty years or else we all die, not just human beings, but every living creature on earth. [...] Our only option now is Anarchy or Death.

that states do too. Except for anarchists.

Global warming, after all, is merely the end result of centuries of environmental ravaging by capitalists. They have been destroying the environment from their earliest days as the world's most powerful ruling class. Earlier civilizations did too, but not on such a scale, nor with such relentlessness, nor with a logic internal to their social system, nor with powerful industrial technology, nor were they global civilizations. Capitalists can't make profit without externalizing the environmental costs. It is foolish therefore to think that global warming can be stopped within a capitalist framework.

Once the true root cause of the climate crisis has been identified - the entire global social order known as capitalism - it is not difficult to map out the long-term solution. An entirely new civilization must be built. This will be a decentralized world without borders, without states, with production for use not profit, based on cooperation and mutual aid, without wage-slavery, money, or hierarchy, a self-governing global social order based on direct democracy. There is a very rich tradition of social philosophy - namely, anarchism (especially anarcho-communism) - which has been explicitly agitating for such a social arrangement for nearly two hundred years (but of course actual anarchist practices stretch back for millennia, and are world wide). There is no space here to describe in detail what such a civilization might look like or how it might be achieved. I must be content to refer the reader to the extensive anarchist literature. If anyone needs a leg up, they could consult my work, *A Bibliographical Guide to Anarchism in English* (2000), which is available on my web site at www.jamesherod.info. I need to update it with the considerable outpouring of new anarchist works during the past decade (most of which are probably listed in the AK Press catalogue, authors like Cindy Milstein, David Graeber, Peter Gelderloos, Brian Morris, and many more).

So this is the extraordinary task we (the world's ordinary people, all people, not just indigenous people) face. We must take decision-making away from the ruling class and restore it to our households, workplaces, and communities. An entire social order, a global civilization, organized on the basis of profit-mongering, must be defeated in the next twenty to thirty years or else we all die, not just human beings, but every living creature on earth. We no longer have the option of going back to barbarism and starting over ("socialism or barbarism"). That option has been eliminated by global warming. Our only option now is Anarchy or Death. This is a powerful incentive. This will be our last (and perhaps best) chance to break the stranglehold capitalists have had on us for five hundred years, to create a new society, and to save ourselves and life on earth.

Can this be done? Quite frankly, I don't see how. But we must try. It will require an unprecedented, massive, global anti-capitalist (including an anti-statist) movement. There are tentative signs that such a movement is emerging and gathering steam, as was perhaps indicated a bit by the climate conference in Tiquipaya, Bolivia last April. We all must do everything in our power to strengthen and build this movement. It is our only hope.

Notes:

1. David F. Noble, "The Corporate Climate Coup," posted on Global Research web site on May 4, 2007. (www.globalresearch.ca/PrintArticle.php?articleId=5568) I have since learned that David Noble doesn't believe in global warming, mainly because he doesn't trust peer-reviewed science. It is a weird, and I believe mistaken, position, at least for the case of global warming. See "Peer Review as Censorship: An Interview with David Noble," by Suzan Mazur. Posted on Counterpunch, February 26-28, 2010, at (www.counterpunch.org/mazur02262010.html)
 2. See for example Tamra Gilbertson and Oscar Reyes, Carbon Trading: How It Works and Why It Fails (Critical Currents, No. 7, November 2009). There is a rare (on the left) dissenting view about "Cap and Trade" by the well-known radical scholar Robin Hahnel. He believes that Cap and Trade could work if a few changes were made in the system, and he believes the left should support this because whether we like it or not the world is presently organized through the market and is likely to remain so for some time. So this is our best chance to get carbon emissions reduced, he argues. See his three-part essay on "The Left and Climate Change" posted on Znet on December 24-26, 2009. Part 1 is at www.zcommunications.org/has-the-left-missed-the-boat-on-climate-change-by-robin-hahnel-1
- By the way, there is a competing mainstream proposal to Cap and Trade, namely, Fee and Dividend. This proposal is supported by James Hansen, one of the first scientists to raise the alarm about global warming. He is the director of NASA's Goddard Institute of Space Studies. For a description of the proposal see James Hansen, "Cap and Fade," at www.commondreams.org.
3. One of the most uncompromising statements of the link between capitalism and the environmental crisis is the book by Joel Kovel, *Enemy of Nature: The End of Capitalism or the End of the World?* (Zed Books, 2007, second edition).
 4. As I understand it, originally there were only a dozen or two scientists challenging the global warming thesis, and they were obviously beholden to the fossil fuel industry. But now it seems that there are hundreds of independent climatologists who challenge the prevailing view. Some agree that warming has been taking place, but deny that this is being caused by increased levels of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere. They say it is because of normal cycles in the number of sun spots, and that the warming period we have been in will soon give way to cooling, probably just a normal cooling cycle, but possibly another "little ice age." Other climatologists say that the earth is not warming at all, but cooling, and they have data bases and charts to prove it. These claims are a little harder to swallow, seeing that all the glaciers are melting before our very eyes. A useful archive of papers on both sides of this debate, but with an emphasis on dissenting views, has been compiled and posted on the Global Research web site in Canada, at <http://globalresearch.ca/index.php?context=news&newsId=24>. Let's hope that these global warming deniers are correct, and that we will get a reprieve from the imminent climate catastrophe that we are otherwise facing. However, I no longer put much stock in the arguments of the climate skeptics. It seems to me that their theories have been thoroughly refuted by the leading climate warming scientists.
 5. The top ten countries with the largest net loss of forests, 2000-2005, measured in acres of forest lost per year, are: Brazil 7,667,689; Indonesia 4,623,322; Myanmar 1,151,506; Sudan 1,455,445; Zambia 1,099,614; Tanzania 1,018,070; Nigeria 1,013,127; Congo 788,263; Zimbabwe 773,436. See page 174 in Al Gore, *Our Choice*. Source: UN, FAO, *State of the World's Forests*, 2007. 6. See Chapter 10, "The Venus Syndrome," in James Hansen, *Storms of My Grandchildren*.
 7. For the original essay I had picked up the year 2020 from various reports and target dates circulating at Copenhagen. Upon further study, ten years is too early to expect tipping points to be passed. We have a little more time than that, but not much, perhaps 20-30 years.
 8. From a diagram on page 8, Ann Lappe, *Diet for a Hot Planet*. Source: International Panel on Climate Change, 4th Assessment, "Synthesis Report." 9. World Coal Institute, "Total World Electricity Generation by Fuel (2006)." On the web at www.worldcoal.org/coal/uses-of-coal-electricity. 10. From a diagram on page 10, Anna Lappe, *Diet for a Hot Planet*. Source: IPPC, "Synthesis Report." 11. From two diagrams on page 189, James Hansen, *Storms of My Grandchildren*. 12. See, for example, James Hansen, "Coal-fired power stations are death factories. Close them." *The Observer*, February 15, 2009.

Bookchin et le spectre de l'anarcho-syndicalisme

Pierre Bance
France, 2015

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Murray Bookchin accuse le syndicalisme et l'anarcho-syndicalisme, de n'avoir pas compris les ressorts du monde moderne. Ses textes relancent le débat sans nuance.

À l'heure où l'on apprend que les idées de Murray Bookchin [1] sur le municipalisme libertaire inspireraient tant les organisations kurdes de Turquie emmenées par le Parti des travailleurs du Kurdistan (PKK) et son chef Abdullah Öcalan que les combattants du Rojava en Syrie [2], il est intéressant, sur un site syndicaliste, de s'interroger sur ce que Bookchin pensait du syndicalisme.

Dans ses écrits antérieurs à 1992, on savait que Bookchin ne plaçait pas ses espoirs de transformation sociale dans le syndicalisme, encore moins dans l'anarcho-syndicalisme, la chose lui paraissant dépassée dans ses formes d'organisation et d'action comme dans son projet de société [3]. Sans mépriser la lutte ouvrière, sans non plus la cantonner dans un rôle secondaire, Bookchin la considérait comme un front de lutte populaire parmi d'autres. En 1992, dans une étude d'une trentaine de pages intitulée « *Le spectre de l'anarcho-syndicalisme* », Bookchin se lance dans une virulente critique de l'idée et ses prétentions hégémoniques [4].

L'accusation

Le réquisitoire de Bookchin pourrait tenir dans cette phrase :

« De fait, loin d'être surtout individualiste ou surtout dirigé contre une forme particulière de domination de classe, les moments de l'histoire ou l'anarchisme a été le plus créatif et le plus provocateur sont ceux où il se concentrait sur la commune plutôt que sur ses composantes économiques telles que l'usine et, au-delà, lorsque les formes d'organisation confédérale qu'il élaborait se sont basées sur une éthique de complémentarité plutôt que sur un système contractuel de services et d'obligations » [5].

Pour ce qui doit être rapporté à la théorie, l'anarcho-syndicalisme aspire « à l'hégémonie idéologique » sur l'hypothèse libertaire excluant toutes les autres

tendances anarchistes notamment le communalisme alors qu'il est de celles « *les plus repliées sur elles-mêmes* » [6]. Bookchin ne néglige pas les conflits de classes et le rôle que peuvent jouer les syndicats dans le règlement des problèmes économiques, mais il reproche aux anarcho-syndicalistes de remplacer « *la vision large d'un anarchisme communautaire, éthique, universaliste et antidominateur, aspirant à la liberté dans tous les domaines de l'existence, par leur propre vision limitée* » [7]. Avoir voulu être « *un équivalent à l'anarchisme lui-même* » explique peut-être que l'anarcho-syndicalisme « *n'existe plus dans le prolétariat* » [8].

L'anarcho-syndicalisme prétend aussi à « *l'hégémonie prolétarienne* » sur l'ensemble de la société [9] or, écrit Bookchin en 1990, les temps ont changé, la classe ouvrière « *s'est complètement industrialisée, au lieu de s'être radicalisée comme l'espéraient pieusement les socialistes et les anarcho-syndicalistes* », « *en tant que classe, le prolétariat est devenu le partenaire de la bourgeoisie et non plus sont antagoniste inflexible* » [10]. Il

Le hic vient de ce que Bookchin était ses points de vue avec des considérations historiques, théoriques, factuelles plus que contestables. Il affirme mais ne démontre pas ; fait preuve d'une grande ignorance de la théorie de l'anarcho-syndicalisme, de ses pratiques et de son histoire au point que le lecteur averti mettra en doute sa bonne foi.

Il est imprécis sur les concepts ; recourt à des postulats éculés pour asséner des jugements péremptifs ; se répète faute d'arguments.

estime que la classe ouvrière doit passer de préoccupations de classe à des préoccupations humaines : « *l'humanisation* » de la classe ouvrière, comme de tous les secteurs de la population, dépend de façon décisive de la capacité des travailleurs à dépasser leur sentiment d'appartenance à la classe ouvrière et à progresser au-delà de leur conscience de classe et de leur intérêt de classe, vers une conscience communautaire, celle de citoyens libres qui seuls pourront instaurer une société future morale, rationnelle et écologique » [11].

Cette idéalisation de la lutte des classes, à l'égal du marxisme, le conduit dans la même impasse parce que « *la lutte des classes va rarement jusqu'à la guerre des classes, et le militantisme social explose rarement en révolution sociale* » [12]. L'anarcho-syndica-

lisme adhère à « *une approche economiciste* » de l'histoire : le capitalisme dans sa recherche du profit s'étouffe à force de centralisation de ses moyens de production et finit par exploser sous la pression de la classe ouvrière organisée [13].

Sur ces bases théoriques, le contrôle ouvrier du lieu de travail se fait aux dépens de l'assemblée générale des citoyens de la commune. Il génère un égoïsme ouvrier, un patriotisme de l'entreprise qui conduisent à la renaissance du marché et de la concurrence. Bookchin donne comme exemple la Confédération nationale du travail (CNT) qui, en 1936 en Catalogne, en prenant la direction des usines, aurait entravé l'autogestion par les assemblées populaires. L'expérience de la collectivisation se serait dissoute en une nationalisation voire « *un néo-capitalisme ouvrier* » [14],

Par la suite, l'anarcho-syndicalisme n'a pas su s'inscrire dans le monde moderne, il s'est marginalisé en ne voyant pas venir les « *questions transclassistes totalement nouvelles qui concernent l'environnement, la croissance, les transports, l'aviation culturelle et la qualité de la vie urbaine en général* » mais également « *les dangers de guerre thermonucléaire, l'autoritarisme étatique croissant et finalement la possibilité d'un effondrement écologique de la planète* » [15]. Il a ignoré des questions vitales devenues aussi importantes que le rapport salariat-patronat pour la contestation des structures hiérarchiques, telles les luttes « *basées sur la race, le sexe, la nationalité ou le statut bureaucratique* » [16].

Présenter comme cela, Bookchin livre de vraies interrogations, émet une opinion discutable mais alimentant le débat sur la modernité du syndicalisme et du communisme. Peut-on faire l'impasse sur la concurrence entre l'assemblée populaire de la commune et l'assemblée des travailleurs dans l'entreprise [17] ? Qui contestera la quasi disparition de l'anarcho-syndicalisme malgré sa résurgence maintes fois annoncée [18] ? Le hic vient de ce que Bookchin était ses points de vue avec des considérations historiques, théoriques, factuelles plus que contestables. Il affirme mais ne démontre pas ; fait preuve d'une grande ignorance de la théorie de l'anarcho-syndicalisme, de ses pratiques et de son histoire au point que le lecteur averti mettra en doute sa bonne foi. Il est imprécis sur les concepts ; recourt à des postulats éculés pour asséner des jugements péremptifs ; se répète faute d'arguments [19].

La défense

Dans l'ouvrage *Anarcho-syndicalisme & anarchisme*, l'article de Bookchin est suivi, en réponse, de trois plaidoiries autorisées. Marianne Enckell, animatrice du Centre international de recherches sur l'anarchisme (CIRA) [20], lui règle son compte en trois pages :

« *Nous avons ici un texte de Murray Bookchin bien discutable, naviguant entre l'anachronisme, la confusion sémantique et la polémique abusive...* ». « *C'est chercher mauvaise querelle aux anarcho-syndicalistes que de leur attribuer pour seul objectif le contrôle ouvrier de la production* » [21].

Marianne Enckell atténue la peine par une observation qui conserve, à ce jour, toute sa pertinence :

« *L'auteur n'est pas seul en cause : il témoigne d'un problème socio-culturel plus général, de différence des structures d'organisation et des cultures ouvrières entre pays latins et anglophones* » [22].

Daniel Colson, universitaire et libertaire [23], et Jacques Toublet, militant du Syndicat des correcteurs de la Confédération générale du travail (CGT) [24], détaillent. Le premier explique à Bookchin ce que fut réellement « *l'ouverture humaine des expériences anarcho-syndicalistes* » au sein de la Fédération des bourses du travail de Fernand Pelloutier [25]. Jacky Toublet s'afflige de voir un militant qu'il respecte procéder à « *l'éreintement complet de l'anarcho-syndicalisme* » : « *cette attaque contre l'anarcho-syndicalisme est d'une violence de ton et d'une malveillance égale à celle adoptées par les sectes d'ultra-gauche et les marxistes-léninistes à l'encontre de... l'anarchisme* » [26]. Lui aussi revient sur les bourses du travail et habilement les inscrit dans le schéma du municipalisme libertaire :

« *La Bourse du travail était conçue par les anarchistes syndicalistes comme une municipalité populaire, ouvrière, dressée en face de l'hôtel de ville de la république bourgeoise* » [27].

Quant au fait que le syndicat n'aurait que des préoccupations économiques avec pour finalité l'hégémonie des producteurs, Toublet rétablit une vérité dont on s'étonne que Bookchin ne l'ait pas connue puisqu'elle fait l'originalité du syndicalisme révolutionnaire comme de l'anarcho-syndicalisme :

« *Les anarcho-syndicalistes n'ont pas négligé la commune ; au contraire, ils en ont fait un des deux éléments indispensables à la disparition de l'État politique* » [28], l'autre étant le syndicat pour la production et la distribution des biens et services.

Ces citations touchent au cœur la méconnaissance de Bookchin de la théorie syndicaliste révolutionnaire, plus encore de celle de l'anarcho-syndicalisme si l'on doit les distinguer [29]. De la méconnaissance aussi de l'histoire de la CGT des origines. Ces défaillances nuiront à la diffusion de ses idées. Si l'on excepte l'épineuse question, pour les anarchistes, de la participation aux élections municipales comme stratégie [30], son municipalisme libertaire, en première analyse, s'approche du syndicalisme révolutionnaire si bien qu'on peut se demander s'il ne réinvente pas quelques grands principes élaborés à la fin du 19^e siècle et au début du 20^e [31]. Bookchin aurait avantageusement clarifiée, enrichie et fortifiée sa proposition s'il était allé voir de plus près ce que fut la CGT française comme la CNT espagnole plutôt que de dénigrer l'une et l'autre sans un examen approfondi car, que ce soit les bourses du travail en France ou les collectivisations en Espagne, leur œuvre constructive reste mémorable et jamais égalée dans leur radicalité.

[1] Qui est Murray Bookchin? Voir l'encadré page 30

[2] Pierre Bance, « Bookchin, les kurdes et l'anarchie », Un Autre futur, 15 décembre 2014 (<http://www.autrefutur.net/Bookchin-les-Kurdes-et-l->). [3] C'est en 1948 que Bookchin se mit à douter de la potentialité révolutionnaire du syndicalisme alors qu'ayant participé aux négociations chez General Motors pour mettre fin à une longue grève, les travailleurs durent accepter les propositions de l'entreprise. « Selon lui, les transformations apportées au sein du monde industriel depuis la Seconde guerre mondiale ont changé à tout jamais le rôle historique de la classe ouvrière » (Vincent Gerber, Murray Bookchin et l'écologie sociale, précité note 1, page 26).

[4] Dans Murray Bookchin, Daniel Colson, Marianne Enckell, Jacques Toublet, *Anarcho-syndicalisme & anarchisme*, Lyon, Atelier de création libertaire (ACL), 1994, 130 pages. L'article de Bookchin est page 7. Brochure disponible auprès d'ACL (<http://>

www.atelierdecreationlibertaire.com/Anarcho-syndicalisme-et-anarchisme.html?var_recherche=Bookchin).

Le texte de Bookchin peut se trouver sur internet, par exemple sur le site Le Cri du dodo (<http://lecriudodo.blogspot.fr/2011/08/le-spectre-de-lanarcho-syndicalisme-par.html>).

La version originale en anglais : « The ghost of anarcho-syndicalism », est sur le site Institute for social ecology, 6 novembre 1992 (<http://www.social-ecology.org/1992/11/the-ghost-of-anarcho-syndicalism/>).

- [5] Page 11.
[6] Page 8.
[7] Page 17, voir aussi page 30.
[8] Page 22, « équivalent » est souligné par Bookchin.
[9] Page 26. Sur cette issue, Bookchin souligne qu'anarcho-syndicalisme et marxisme s'accordent.
[10] Murray Bookchin, Une société à refaire. Vers une écologie de la liberté [1990 pour la première édition en anglais], préface d'Antoine Robitaille, traduction de l'américain par Catherine Barret, Montréal, Écosociété, « Retrouvailles », 2e édition en français, 2010, 302 pages, citations pages 198 et 199. Déjà en 1980, dans un article intitulé, « Anarchism : past and present », Bookchin écrivait : « Vus globalement, l'anarcho-syndicalisme, le proudhonisme et le bakounisme, appartiennent à un passé révolu. Je le dis, non pas parce qu'ils manquent de cohérence et de sens idéologique [...] mais simplement parce qu'ils parlent d'époque faisant partie de l'histoire ancienne », cité par Vincent Gerber dans Murray Bookchin et l'écologie sociale, précité note (1), page 147.
[11] Page 32.
[12] Page 25, les mots « guerre » et « révolution » sont soulignés par Bookchin.
[13] Page 26. Bookchin fait, là aussi, un rapprochement avec le marxisme.
[14] Page 20 et suivantes. Bookchin pour mettre en cause la CNT reprend l'expression « néo-capitalisme ouvrier » de la page 246 du livre de Gaston Leval, Espagne libertaire 36-39. L'œuvre constructive de la Révolution espagnole (Paris, Éditions du Cercle, Éditions de la Tête de feuilles, « Archives révolutionnaires », 1971, 400 pages). Sur cette même page, Leval explique que le « néocapitalisme ouvrier, une autogestion à cheval entre le capitalisme et le socialisme [...] ne se serait pas produit si la Révolution avait pu s'accomplir intégralement sous la direction de nos syndicats » et conclut que : « ces insuffisances [...] n'ont pas empêché un fait d'une importance immense : les usines tournèrent, les ateliers, les fabriques produisirent sans patrons, sans capitalistes, sans actionnaires, sans haut personnel directorial ». Ce « sous la direction de nos syndicats » détruit la plaidoirie de Bookchin et discrédite son appropriation du témoignage de Leval. Bookchin appelle aussi le « néo-capitalisme ouvrier », le « capitalisme collectif » dans un entretien accordé en 1996 à Janet Biehl pour son livre Le Municipalisme libertaire. La politique de l'écologie sociale (Préface d'Annick Stevens, 2e éditions française, Montréal, Les Éditions Écosociété, 2013, 206 pages, citation page 180).
[15] Ces citations sont tirées de la page 10 d'un autre article de Murray Bookchin, « Le municipalisme libertaire. Une nouvelle politique communale ? », extrait de From Urbanization to cities : toward a new politics of citizenship (Londres, Cassell, 1995, 279 pages), traduit par Jean Vogel et lisible sur le site Écologie sociale.ch (http://www.ecologiesociale.ch/images/stories/articles/Le_municipalisme_libertaire_une_nouvelle_politique_communale.pdf)
[16] Page 9. « Lutte contre le statut bureaucratique » doit s'entendre aussi comme lutte contre la domination exercée par les bureaucrates au sein des syndicats, anarcho-syndicalistes compris.
[17] « La municipalité, par son assemblée de citoyens, exercerait le contrôle et prendrait les grandes décisions concernant ses usines, et élaborerait les politiques qu'elles doivent suivre, toujours dans une perspective civique plutôt que professionnelle » (Entretien accordé à Janet Biehl, précité note 14, page 179).
[18] C'est le côté millénariste des anarchistes, leur certitude que l'anarchisme est bien increvable et que l'anarchie, un jour, se réalisera, aussi « que le moment ne lui a jamais été aussi favorable ». L'auteur de ses lignes n'échappe pas à la prophétie, si c'en est une, du moins à ce travers, si c'en est un. Sur ce site : « Pour un projet anarchiste de la convergence », Un Autre futur, 14 septembre 2012 (<http://www.autrefutur.net/Pour-un-projet-anarchiste-de-la>) ; « Organisons la convergence pour un autre futur, Un Autre futur, 30 avril 2013 (<http://www.autrefutur.net/Organisons-la-convergence-pour-un>).
- [19] Évidemment après la lecture de cet essai, on peut avoir des doutes sur la qualité des critiques que Bookchin porte à d'autres courants de pensée, notamment à l'écologie profonde, sa bête noire, bien plus que l'anarcho-syndicalisme (Murray, Bookchin, « Commentaires sur "l'écologie sociale profonde" de John Clark », Democracy and Nature, volume 3, n° 3, 1996, traduit et annoté par Jean-Manuel Traidmond pour Réfractations, n° 2, « Philosophie politique de l'anarchisme », été 1998, page 25 [<http://refractions.plusloin.org/spip.php?article267>] ; dans le même numéro, en écho, un texte de John Clark, « Une écologie sociale », non daté, traduit par Alain Thévenet, page 55 [<http://refractions.plusloin.org/spip.php?article269>]). Il est vrai, que la critique de John Clark, philosophique, biocentrique, apolitique, mystique même, laissera perplexe plus d'un anarchiste, davantage encore un anarcho-syndicaliste.
[20] Page 71, « Diversité des cultures syndicales ». Sur Marianne Enckell, Le Maitron (http://maitron-en-ligne.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article154911&id_mot=28).
[21] Page 72.
[22] Page 72. Les anarchistes européens sont souvent choqués par les points de vue de Noam Chomsky par exemple. Bookchin aussi d'ailleurs, mais par une phrase qui entre néanmoins dans la considération de Marianne Enckell : « La gauche pousse si loin la sottise que quelqu'un comme Chomsky qui se dit anarchiste, veut renforcer ou du moins soutenir l'État centralisé [des États-Unis] contre les demandes de "dévolution" aux gouvernements des États, comme si l'État centralisé pouvait être utilisé contre les compagnies [capitalistes], qu'il a toujours fini par aider ! » (Entretien avec Janet Biehl précité note 12, page 163). L'anarchiste latin ne verra pas trop en quoi il y a un intérêt théorique à mieux considérer un État confédéré que l'État central comme le fait Bookchin.
[23] Page 35, « Anarchisme et anarcho-syndicalisme ». Sur Daniel Colson, Wikipédia (http://fr.wikipedia.org/wiki/Daniel_Colson).
[24] Page 75, « Considérations sur l'anarcho-syndicalisme ». Sur Jacques Toublet, prématurément disparu, Le Maitron (http://maitron-en-ligne.univ-paris1.fr/spip.php?article154086&id_mot=28).
[25] Page 53 et suivantes.
[26] Pages 75 et 76.
[27] Page 78. Jacques Toublet évite le terme d'anarcho-syndicalistes qui eut été un anachronisme le mot n'existant pas à cette époque. Daniel Colson parle d'un « mélange de mairie, de maison du peuple et de cathédrale » (page 55).
[28] Page 86.
[29] Même si, aujourd'hui, on a tendance à utiliser indistinctement et certainement à tort, les mots anarcho-syndicalisme et syndicalisme révolutionnaire, Bookchin ne s'embarrasse par de la distinction qui doit, au moins, être maintenue dans l'étude historique.
[30] Jacky Toublet s'interroge : « Murray Bookchin suggérerait-il que les libertaires auraient dû axer une part essentielle ou importante de leur action de transformation sociale vers la conquête des municipalités sans intermédiaire, grâce au suffrage universel ? » (Page 89).
Pour développer et installer le municipalisme libertaire, autant que sur la participation aux élections locales, Murray Bookchin compte sur l'investissement des structures municipales tels les comités de quartier ou sur la création directement par les citoyens d'assemblées populaires pour faire pression sur la municipalité, voire pour la doubler sans ignorer les risques de la création d'un État potentiel quand ces communes autogérées se fédèrent (Se reporter à l'entretien avec Janet Biehl précité note 14, pages 192 et suivantes).
[31] Tel John Holloway qui réinvente l'anarchisme à partir des écrits marxistes (Pierre Bance, « John Holloway, comme une ombre d'anarchie », Un Autre futur, 29 mai 2012, <http://www.autrefutur.net/John-Holloway-comme-une-ombre-d>). Autant, Holloway, bien qu'il revendique sa bonne foi par méconnaissance de l'anarchisme, apparaît comme un usurpateur, ce qui n'a pas échappé aux anarchistes en France, autant Bookchin, autodidacte « d'un tempérament peu conciliant », semble piquer une colère qui l'égare (Citation de Karel Bosko cité par Vincent Gerber, Murray Bookchin et l'écologie sociale, précité note 1, page 20).



Murray Bookchin (1921-2006)

est né à New-York dans une famille d'immigrés juifs de Russie. D'abord ouvrier dans la métallurgie, il s'engage dans le syndicalisme et le marxisme. L'attitude du marxisme orthodoxe durant la guerre d'Espagne l'oriente vers le trotskisme. Dans les années 1950, il rejette peu à peu le marxisme et le syndicalisme pour, dès 1952, s'intéresser à l'écologie et se rapprocher de l'anarchisme. Il reprend des études d'électronique. Durant les années 1960, il continue son militantisme anarchiste tout en participant à la Nouvelle gauche américaine; il construit l'idée d'écologie sociale : par nature, le capitalisme et l'État s'oppose à l'idée de société écologique. En 1969, il est professeur à l'Université Alternative U à New-York. En 1971, il part dans le Vermont et trouve en 1973 un poste de professeur en technologie et écologie au Goddard College (Vermont) où il enseigne la technologie et l'écologie puis au Ramapo College (New Jersey) pour des cours de théories sociales. Il fonde, en 1975, avec l'un de ses élèves, l'Institut pour l'écologie sociale tout en poursuivant son militantisme écologique. À compter des années 1980 et jusqu'à la fin de sa vie, pour structurer l'écologie sociale, il conçoit le municipalisme libertaire en germe depuis longtemps dans ses écrits : la commune autonome, la fédération des communes permettront d'avancer vers une société communiste libertaire où la liberté de chacun se développera en harmonie avec les autres et la nature. Avec le temps, Bookchin s'affiche de plus en plus comme un critique acerbe de ceux qui empruntent une autre voie que la sienne, ce qui l'isolera. Sa dénonciation du syndicalisme et de l'anarcho-syndicalisme en est l'exemple. Sept ans avant sa mort le 30 juillet 2006, malade, désespéré par le manque de sérieux des mouvements anti-autoritaires, il annonce sa rupture avec l'anarchisme et son adhésion au « communalisme » sans changer le fond de ce qui restera le municipalisme libertaire.

Pour plus de détail, sur la complexité du personnage... et de ses idées, lire : Vincent Gerber, Murray Bookchin et l'écologie sociale. Une biographie intellectuelle, préface Jean-François Fillion, Montréal, Les Éditions Écosociété, 2013, 182 pages

Pour consulter les travaux de Bookchin disponibles en français, se reporter à la liste établie par le site Écologie sociale.ch qui en met un certain nombre au téléchargement <http://www.ecologiesociale.ch>

Anarchism & Social Ecology

A Critique of Murray Bookchin

Graham Purchase
USA 1993

Murray Bookchin has deservedly emerged as a major thinker and writer in the late 20th century; and he is widely respected as one of the most important anarchist theoreticians of our time. His ideas about the relationship between social ecology, anarchism, and trade unions thus merit our close attention.

Although Bookchin has become openly hostile toward unionism and anarcho-syndicalism - and in fact to any class-based analysis - this has not always been the case. Some of his earlier writings on these subjects, though deeply critical of syndicalism, contained insightful comments upon the value of traditional anarcho-revolutionary theory and practice. The best example of his earlier thinking is found in his essay, "Self-Management and the New Technology," published in 1980. Here Bookchin argues that the syndicalist conception of the central role of factory or workplace in a future anarchist society reflects an overestimation of the liberatory potential of large-scale industrial activity. He rightly claims that the factory system has destroyed the craftsman and the artisan, and has degraded the dignity of work, through its reliance on mass production:

Of the technical changes that separate our own era from the past ones, no single device was more important than that of the least mechanical of all - the factory. Neither Watt's steam engine nor Bessemer's furnace was more significant than the simple process of rationalizing labor into an industrial engine for the production of commodities. Machinery, in the conventional sense of the term, heightened this process vastly—but the systemic rationalization of labor to serve in ever-more-specialized tasks demolished the technical structure of self-managed societies and ultimately of workmanship—the "selfhood" of the economic realm.

True craftsmanship is loving work, not onerous toil. It arouses the senses, not dulls them. It adds dignity to humanity, not demeans it. It gives free range to the spirit, not aborts it. Within the technical sphere it is the expression of selfhood par excellence—of individuation, consciousness, and freedom. These words dance throughout every account of well-crafted objects and artistic works.

The factory worker lives merely on the memory of such traits. The din of the factory drowns out every thought, not to speak of any song; the division of labor denies the worker any relationship to the community; the rationalization of labor dulls his or her senses and exhausts his or her body. There is no room whatever for any of the artisan's modes of expression—from artistry to spirituality—other than an interaction with objects that reduce the worker to a mere object. [...] Marxism and syndicalism alike, by virtue of their commitment to the factory as a revolutionary social arena, must recast self-management to mean the industrial management of the

self. [...] Both ideologies share the notion that the factory is the "school" of revolution, and in the case of syndicalism, of social reconstruction, rather than its undoing. [Both] share a common commitment to the factory's structural role as a source of social mobilization. [...] The factory not only serves to mobilize and train the proletariat but to dehumanize it. Freedom is to be found not within the factory but outside it.

Bookchin concludes that the factory system, the foundation of industrial syndicalism, is intrinsically authoritarian and dehumanizing. The syndicalists, he feels, have confused the factory, "the realm of economic necessity," with the "realm of social freedom," or community, and the liberated city. Contrary to the syndicalist vision, the factory should never be regarded as the locus of political action and freedom. In Bookchin's view, only the re-emergence of a nonhierarchical and economically just social existence will guarantee liberty and prosperity. He further argues that the coal-steel-oil technology upon which the factory system is based is no longer viable due to resource depletion.

Bookchin contends that solar, wind, and other renewable energy sources are most efficiently utilized on a local basis. An economic infrastructure consisting of a large number of small work shops, producing individually crafted tools from local, non-polluting power sources, would replace the industrial manufacturing system of the past. The factory is obsolete; it no longer belongs even to the realm of necessity—environmental determinants having rendered the factory system of industrial production ecologically, and thus economically, redundant.

Bookchin makes some valid points in this penetrating essay. For example, the pictures of thousands of workers—heads held high and anarchist banners in hand, marching out of row upon row of factories—that have until recently adorned our anarcho-syndicalist journals, exhibit a singular inability to appreciate the scope of both the ecological crisis and the emerging, global ecological consciousness. The reasons for this important oversight are historical and practical, not theoretical. At the end of the 19th century, a century that witnessed rapid industrial development, marxists and socialists regarded the eco-anarchist ideal of ecoregional self-sufficiency and town/country balance as too utopian or, alternately, as indicative of a backward-looking, pre-industrial ideology. In turn, anarchists saw fit to downplay the environmental aspects of their vision, and anarcho-syndicalists continued to focus upon establishing industrial democracy inside the factory, to some extent ignoring the wider ecological components of the anarchist tradition. Unlike marxists, however, anarchists have always shown interest in the proper relationship between industry and ecology—an early and famous example being Kropotkin's *Fields, Factories*

and Workshops. Given our current ecological crisis, Bookchin is quite correct in stressing the importance of restoring anarchist theory's focus upon appropriate technologies and ecologically integrated communities.

Bookchin's essay was, however, written over a decade ago and, with the other essays in *Towards an Ecological Society*, it bridges the two phases of his writing and thinking: Bookchin the Anarchist-Ecologist of the 1960s and '70s, and Bookchin the Social Ecologist of the 1980s and '90s. (Notably, Bookchin the Social Ecologist is far less kind to anarchism and unionism than he could be.) His two pamphlets, *Ecology and Revolutionary Thought* and *Towards a Liberatory Technology* (both written in 1965 and reprinted in an anthology of his writings entitled *Post-Scarcity Anarchism*), are succinct and easily understandable statements of the ecological-anarchist viewpoint. In these early pamphlets as well as in his two later books (*The Limits of the City*, 1974, and *Toward an Ecological Society*, 1980), Bookchin updated and enlarged upon many social-ecological ideas found in the works of past utopian and anarchist thinkers—notably Charles Fourier, Peter Kropotkin, and Elisee Reclus. He clearly and convincingly showed that, with its non-centrist and non-hierarchical prescription for a stateless order, anarchism is the only social philosophy capable of ensuring the long-term survival of our species and our planet.

Since the end of the 1970's Bookchin has been expounding his ecological philosophy, "social ecology". Although none of the basic tenets of Bookchin's social ecology are incompatible with anarchism, in his more recent works he mentions anarchy only in passing. Nevertheless, many things that Bookchin has to say are relevant to anarchists. This is especially true of his extended discussions of the role of patriarchy in creating a hierarchical, exploitative and anti-ecological social system—an issue that was underplayed by Peter Kropotkin and Emma Goldman in their analyses of the evolution of human authoritarian structures.

Bookchin's explicit rejection of the need for working class organization and trade unionism, however, signifies a widening philosophical gap between social ecology and the dominant trends in modern anarchism. Indeed, Bookchin seems to reject any form of class analysis. In the most accessible of his recent works, *The Modern Crisis*, he mercilessly attacks anarcho-syndicalism, the IWW, and unionism. Because its proponents insist upon class analysis and believe in the revolutionary importance of the industrial proletariat (even though modern anarcho-syndicalists consider almost all productive persons— from housewives, to service workers, to factory workers— as part of the proletariat) anarchism, like marxism, seems to Bookchin just another tired, old, irrelevant socialist philosophy:

The politics we must pursue is grassroots, fertilized by the ecological, feminist, communitarian and anti-war movements that have patently displaced the traditional workers' movement of half a century ago. Here the so called revolutionary ideologies of our era -socialism and

anarchism - fall upon hard times. Besides, their "constituency" is literally being "phased out." The factory in its traditional form is gradually becoming an archaism. Robots will soon replace the assembly line as the agents of mass industrial production. Hence future generations of industrial proletarians may be a marginal stratum marking the end of American industrial society.

The new "classless class" we now deduce is united more by cultural ties than by economic ones: ethnics, women, countercultural people, environmentalists, the aged, unemployables or unemployed, the "ghetto" people, etc. It is this "counter-culture" in the broadest sense of the term, with its battery of alternative organizations, technologies, periodicals, food co-operatives, health and women's centers, that seems to offer common resistance to Caesarism and corporatism. The re-emergence of "the people" in contrast to the steady decline of "the proletariat" verifies the ascendancy of community over factory, of town and neighborhood over assembly line. The hand fits the glove perfectly— and clenched it makes the real fist of our time.[2]

Exactly what sense are we to make of such sweeping dismissals of several centuries of sustained resistance to the encroachments of capital and state by ordinary working people? Anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists have, to my knowledge, always emphasised the need to foster community, and have never made the absurd claim that society could be "organized from the factory floor." It is simply wrong for Bookchin to claim that anarcho-syndicalism (let alone anarchism as a whole) has emphasized the historical destiny of the industrial proletariat at the expense of community and free city life. Anarchists have always emphasized that the primary unit of anarchist society should be the free, ecologically integrated city or town— how else could one hope to organize social life in the absence of the nation state? And just why wouldn't unions and workers' cooperatives— be they comprised of bakers, grocers, bus drivers, postal workers or daycare workers— be the natural, logical bodies within which ordinary working people would coordinate the economic and industrial life of their city? Members and potential members of trade unions and industrial unions are not just "the proletariat"; they are, rather, real people— feminists, peace activists and ecologists included. They join together to organize their trade or service in a spirit of equality, peace and cooperation.

Observing today's decline in manufacturing and heavy industry in his own country, Bookchin fails to appreciate the well-known fact that capitalist manufacturers have moved offshore. Rather than give in to workers' demands for higher pay and better conditions, capitalists in America and Australia have chosen to move their industrial plants into "newly industrializing" countries in Latin America, Southeast Asia, and elsewhere. In some of these countries, the state/capitalist push to industrialize has led to the mass exploitation of labor at near starvation wages, and the appalling abuse of female and child labor. The American union movement, long ago usurped by conservative elements (with the active aid of the government), has done very little— both in the U.S. and

abroad - to combat these trends, and most Americans rightly perceive it as ineffective and outdated. Meanwhile, workplace organizers in Indonesia and Latin America regularly "disappear" or receive long prison sentences. Millions of people, including children, slave in sweat shops in these "newly industrializing countries," and, in doing so, undermine the wages and conditions in the "industrialized world." Capitalists insist that labor costs are too high at home, and call for working people to accept lowered wages and degraded working conditions in order to retain jobs and to compete with offshore enterprises. Virtual slave labor overseas is thus being used to manipulate workers and undermine the effectiveness of unions at home, while fledgling union movements in developing countries are ruthlessly suppressed.

Near instantaneous satellite communication and accounting technologies have allowed the industrialists to move their operations into the more stable areas of the Third World; increased transport costs are handsomely compensated for by negligible labor costs. Because anti-syndicalist anarchists fail to look beyond their own shores, they lack an appreciation of this global capitalist strategy designed to destroy working class organization. The industrial working class is indeed declining at home, but the mass proletarianization of, for example, the rural villagers of Northern Thailand, who are moving south to work in the new factories, is increasing. Meanwhile, world population continues to increase, and nearly everyone wants a TV and a car, while everyone needs can openers, clothes, cooking utensils, and other necessities. Because it is the working class who produce such items, it follows that, even given the trend toward automation, worldwide the industrial working class is increasing, not decreasing. The virtual outlawing of unionism in Indonesia should provide anti-syndicalist anarchists with ample evidence of the fact that the capitalist state will go to almost any lengths to prevent worker organization.

Developments within the service sector are also foolishly overlooked by Bookchin and other critics of industrial unionism. Hamburger slingers and supermarket personnel may not be industrial workers in the traditional sense, but they are certainly exploited workers. As jobs in manufacturing and heavy industry move offshore, large numbers of adult women (and increasing numbers of displaced adult male workers) are joining 14-to-17 year-old youths in jobs in the light industrial, clerical, and service sectors. Unfortunately, the adults are too desperate, and the teenagers too naive, to be easily organized. As new or existing unions begin to seriously undertake the task of listening to and organizing these workers, encouraging trends are emerging in the service sector that certainly should not be overlooked by anarchists.

So, although, thankfully, millions of people are no longer forced to claw at rocks with crude picks in the bowels of the Earth in order to make a living, I fail to see why Bookchin is confident that the *worker* is obsolete. If work itself is obsolete, how are the majority of our population - people who are not managers or well-educated professionals - going to support their families? How is anyone going to travel or phone another city in Bookchin's ideal world of liberated, self-sufficient city-communes unless we can construct, install, and repair the roads, railways

and telephone cables? People will always want to send letters and packages to each other, and thus a postal service will always be necessary (and, if we ever colonize other planets, even more necessary!). Economic and industrial life are unmistakably global in nature; the idea that one could organize an intercontinental railway network from one commune or city alone is as absurd as the proposition that one could organize social life from the factory floor.

Industrial and service sector work is hardly likely to disappear, indeed, 60% of the United States adult population does such work. Anarchists simply state, realistically, that, in the absence of capitalism and the nation state, most workers will organize (or continue to organize) to control the work that they choose to perform for the good of themselves, their city, their ecological region, and humanity. Most anarcho-syndicalists do not have tunnel vision; anarcho-syndicalism is a humanistic cluster of ideas that embraces decentralized self-government in all aspects of human social life - the free city, the agricultural cooperative, the household, the hobby group, *and* the workplace.

Bookchin is more constructive when he points to "the Green network" as providing a new and significant springboard to revolutionary transformation. Over the past 30 years, individuals and groups of people connected by nothing other than a love of the Earth have begun putting their philosophies into action. Local groups of horticulturalists growing native trees for free distribution, organic food cooperatives, forest action groups, and a plethora of specialized ecological journals, have been bringing together people of all races, classes, and ages. The local, popular, and decentralized nature of this Green networking represents a powerful and non-centralized force for social and ecological change. At the more radical end of the Green network one finds people who care deeply about the environment, but who have become disillusioned about the ability of the state/capitalist order to solve the urgent ecological problems of the day. This group has set out to save the planet by any reasonable means - legal or otherwise. They have flung themselves in front of bulldozers, whaling ships, and logging trucks. Their antics and exploits have captured the popular imagination, and they have had some success in saving portions of the wilderness from destruction.

But due to the lack of a significant working class power base, the efforts of radical environmentalists have resulted in few lasting victories. They are not getting their message across to their potentially most powerful allies - unionists and unorganized working people. Indeed, many of these people feel alienated from environmentalists' direct-action tactics, which appear to them to mock productivity and the American Dream, which they are often still striving to attain for themselves.

Inspired by a vision of a more just and equitable society, working class organisations have opposed capitalism and the State for centuries. The fact that these two forces are not only unjust and authoritarian, but also extremely environmentally destructive, only confirms the inherent wisdom of centuries of radical working class organization. The heroic resistance of working class organizations to state-sponsored capitalist exploitation represents a long and bloody history involving the use-

less murder and ruthless torture of millions of ordinary people, whose only crime was to attempt to protect their families, communities, and natural resources from being sacrificed for the short-term benefit of the rich and powerful. Radical environmentalists, in contrast, are relative newcomers to the art of organized resistance, and have yet to digest the hard historical fact that the institutions of state-sponsored exploitation cannot be defeated without the commitment of large sections of the majority of our population - that is, the poor and working classes - to the Green cause.

The tragic lack of communication between eco-activist groups and unions has deprived the ecology movement of an effective power base. It has led, for example, to the absurd situation in Australia of Green activists fighting with rank-and-file members of woodworkers' unions, whose members are unaware that gross corporate mismanagement, not latter-day conservation efforts, is the true cause of forest depletion and job loss. There is a lesson for both Greens and workers alike in these absurd showdowns - that the real enemies are the greedy and short-sighted institutions of capital and state, not our near-individually powerless fellow citizens. Both parties would be better served by joining together and working towards a grassroots, revitalized and ecologically informed union movement which, if not capable (for the time being) of overthrowing the forces of the rich and powerful, would at least be able to resist the worst excesses of the present order. That the welfare of working people is intimately dependent upon a healthy environment is an undeniable fact, and both ecoactivists and unionists should try to improve their communication and to find common ground.

In advocating craftsmanship on the one hand, and large industrial plants run by robots on the other (in *Towards a Liberatory Technology*), Bookchin seems to contradict himself. He has never to my knowledge endorsed any kind of anti-technological viewpoint, which makes his anti-union stance all the more puzzling. How is one to design, manufacture, and recycle the environmentally friendly eco-technologies to which he so frequently refers without utilizing the skills and resources of industrial workers? Although working people now form the backbone of our profoundly destructive oil-steel-coal industrial culture, their proven skills could also turn munitions factories into wind generator manufacturing plants, and our agri-business wastelands into productive farms. The wise ecologist recognizes the need to move away from large-scale industrial activity, but knows that our present factories are the places, in cooperation with research institutions, that should begin to design and manufacture the eco-friendly technologies of tomorrow. A successful end to this period of transition and technological readjustment clearly cannot be achieved without the cooperation of the industrial workforce.

Bookchin goes on to insult American anarchists and trade unionists of the past. "*These immigrant socialists and anarchists* [presumably referring to such people as Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, and the Haymar-

ket martyrs] were largely unionists rather than revolutionary utopians" and had little understanding of America's democratic traditions. If the American people had ignored the "narrow" and "class-based" ideologies of these anarchist and socialist foreigners, and instead upheld the individualistic values of the American Constitution, concretely enshrined in the small town meetings of New England, an authentic American radicalism could, in Bookchin's view, have taken firmer root, and a decentralized vision of a free American republic could have become a reality:

Irish direct action, German Marxism, Italian anarchism and Jewish socialism have always been confined to the ghettos of American social life. Combatants of a pre-capitalist world, these militant European immigrants stood at odds with an ever-changing Anglo-Saxon society [. . .] whose constitution had been wrought from the struggle for Englishmen's rights, not against feudal satraps. Admittedly these "rights" were meant for white men rather than people of color. But rights they were in any case-universal, inalienable "rights" that could have expressed higher ethical and political aspirations than the myths of a "workers party" or the day dream of "One Big Union," to cite the illusions of socialists and syndicalists alike. Had the Congregationalist town-meeting conception of democracy been fostered [. . .] and the middle classes been joined to the working classes in a genuine people's movement instead of being fractured into sharply delineated class movements, it would be difficult to predict the innovative direction American social life might have followed. Yet never did American radicals, foreign born or native, ask why socialist ideas never took root outside the confines of the ghettos, in this, the most industrialized country in the world.[3]

Groups of peace protesters and environmentalists singing songs outside nuclear bases cannot by themselves be an organizational basis for sustained national resistance to the state/capitalist system. Unless the telephones, railways, and other vital industrial systems continue to function from the moment the state/capitalist order begins to crumble, Bookchin's ideas will remain nothing but a pipe dream.

Again, what sense is one to make of such comments? Bookchin accuses American radicals of the past of having a "ghetto" outlook, yet it is precisely this group of people—"ethnics," "unemployables," and "the 'ghetto' people"—whom Bookchin identifies in

a passage quoted above as representing the new revolutionary "classless class" of people who will somehow organize the cooperative suburban communities of the future social ecological order. Ironically, it was the "ethnic," "unemployable" and "ghetto people" of the 19th and early 20th centuries, of whom Bookchin speaks so disparagingly, who led the movement to form unions, leading ordinary working people to fight for One Big Union.

Moreover, the specific organization to which Bookchin refers, the Industrial Workers of the World or IWW, was not, as he suggests, unappealing to "native" Americans. Rather, it was brutally and systematically smashed by the combined forces of federal and state military and judicial might. Many IWW organizers—and the members they signed up—risked life and limb and had little stake in the comfortable, middle-class vision of small town life of which Bookchin speaks.

Finally, in embracing unionism, anarcho-syndicalists do

not, as Bookchin claims, have some naive or mystical faith in the ability of working class culture to save the world. They do not share the marxist vision of a workers' paradise; they merely say that if we want to create a more balanced and equitable world, a good place to start is in the workplace.

Groups of peace protesters and environmentalists singing songs outside nuclear bases cannot by themselves be an organizational basis for sustained national resistance to the state/capitalist system. Unless the telephones, railways, and other vital industrial systems continue to function from the moment the state/capitalist order begins to crumble, Bookchin's ideas will remain nothing but a pipe dream. Nor is the bringing together of millions of workers—in unions—in a general strike an end in itself, rather, it is the best vehicle for producing a movement that is capable of resisting military and economic monopoly, and, ultimately, of replacing the present order.

This is not to say that the industrial system which has led our planet to the brink of catastrophe need not undergo radical change, but rather that while it must undergo profound change, this does not mean that industrial unionism should disappear. On the contrary, an ecologically informed and regenerated union movement could do much to initiate the needed transformation. The boycotting of environmentally damaging substances and industrial practices, an insistence upon safe and healthy working conditions, the production of socially necessary goods and services based on need rather than profit, and a de-emphasis on demands for high wage increases in favor of more workplace democracy, are all issues capable of realization by traditional means. Strikes, walkouts, sit-ins, and sabotage would undoubtedly bring about changes in our industrial infrastructure more quickly than environmental legislation and any number of health food stores. The Green Ban in Australia, for example, is the name given to the successful refusal of dockworkers and transportation workers to handle environmentally harmful cargo. In fact, the failure of the Green movement to get its message across to ordinary workers and union members has resulted in significant damage to Greens, working people, and the environment.

Further evidence of Bookchin's attempt to distance himself and his theory of social ecology from the mainstream of anarchist thought can be found in his recent book, *The Philosophy of Social Ecology* (1990), in which he attempts to provide a philosophical basis for his social ecological theories. Unfortunately, the rich ecological content of anarchist philosophy is largely unacknowledged. Bookchin deals only briefly with anarchism's traditional focus on natural models of non-hierarchy and noncentrism. Instead, Bookchin presents us with an intellectual history of the development of social ecological thought, devoting many pages to Diderot's "sensibilities" and Hegel's "concept of spirit at the expense of Kropotkin's ethical naturalism and Reclus' bioregionalism—concepts which, at least in the case of Kropotkin, contain important ethical insights that seem to have contributed significantly to the develop-

ment of Bookchin's own thinking. *The Philosophy of Social Ecology*, subtitled *Essays on Dialectical Naturalism*, directs readers who wish to find out more about the philosophical basis of social ecology and ecological ethics to study the notoriously cloudy pages of Hegel's *Phenomenology of Spirit*.

The reasons for Bookchin's disillusionment with the organized anarchist movement must remain a matter for speculation. A generous explanation of his objectives is that he wishes to produce an ecological alternative that does not scare people off by using the emotionally loaded and popularly misunderstood term, "anarchy," meanwhile integrating into a broadly anti-statist framework the anarchistic ideas floating around in the peace, environmental, and feminist movements. If this is indeed

his intention he has, in my opinion, been quite successful. His theory of social ecology is presented in a rational and secular format that permits meaningful dialogue with subscribers to other bodies of thought.

To be fair, Bookchin does acknowledge the influence of anarchist theoretician and geographer Peter Kropotkin in all of the above-mentioned works. However, he does so only in passing, and certainly exhibits no real desire to deal with Kropotkin's thought in the detail that it deserves.

The themes with which both Bookchin and Kropotkin deal are, of course, not new; the battles between nature and the profit motive, freedom and tyranny, and liberty and authority, have been with us since the beginning of human society, and neither Bookchin nor Kropotkin originated the anarchist position. Nonetheless, with the important exception of his analysis of the development of patriarchy, all of the basic components of Bookchin's social ecological vision—diversity, decentralization, complementarity, alternative technology, municipal socialism, self-sufficiency, and direct democracy—are found in the works of the great anarchist thinkers of the past. Elisee Reclus and Peter Kropotkin both advocated a global federation of autonomous and ecologically integrated cities and towns. Bookchin has done us the service of updating these ideas and presenting them in modern form.

However, to take all the major ecological insights of anarchist theory and practice and dress them up in a socialist-feminist cum neo-hegelian garb, and then go on to more or less claim them as his own is reprehensible. And to actively misrepresent the movement from which these ideas originally came is an intellectual outrage.

1. *Towards an Ecological Society*, by Murray Bookchin. Montreal: Black Rose Books, 1980, pp. 123-126.
2. *The Modern Crisis*, by Murray Bookchin. Montreal: Black Rose Books, ch. 4.
3. *The Modern Crisis*, chapter 4.

Murray Bookchin

Throwing the baby out with the bathwater Review essay

Iain McKay
USA, 2009

Murray Bookchin, *Social Ecology and Communalism*. Eirik Eiglad (editor). AK Press, 2007.

This collection of four essays contains the last works of Murray Bookchin. As such, it is of interest to all greens and radicals. Eirik Eiglad, the editor of the journal *Communalism*, provides an introduction and end piece to the book. Of the four essays, the first three were written when Bookchin still considered himself an anarchist.

The first, "**What is Social Ecology?**" is a good introduction to Bookchin's ideas and is useful for those unaware of his important contribution to libertarian ideas and ecological politics. The second and third are okay, although the third does present (I think) a psychological clue of why he broke with anarchism.

The second essay ("**Radical Politics in an Era of Advanced Capitalism**") is unremarkable, although Bookchin makes the important point that cities can be politically decentralised institutionally... despite their large structural size and their internal interdependence. Indeed, how well they can function if they do not decentralise structurally is an ecological issue of paramount importance, as problems of air pollution, adequate water supply, crime, the quality of life, and transportation suggest...

The third, entitled "**The Role of Social Ecology in a Period of Reaction**", ends with the apocalyptic conclusion that "should the darkness of capitalist barbarism thicken to the point where this enterprise [social ecology] is no longer possible, history ... will indeed reach its definitive end." Given that few anarchists were remotely convinced by Bookchin's "libertarian municipalism," it does not take much of a jump to conclude that anarchism it-

self is contributing to this "darkness." As such, anarchism itself must be denounced, otherwise the worse will happen. However, disagreeing with Bookchin need not contribute to this darkness in the slightest.

It is the last (and longest) essay, "**The Communalist Project**", that is of most interest to anarchists. The last article he wrote, it explains why he rejected anarchism

and explains his alternative (what he terms "communalism"). As the introduction notes, Bookchin publicly broke with anarchism in 1999, and subsequent works were increasingly marred by petty and inaccurate attacks on anarchism and queasy attempts rewrite his own history – both of which are reflected in this final work. Thus we find him noting that "I myself once used this political label, but further thought has obliged me to conclude that, its often-refreshing aphorisms and insights notwithstanding, it is simply not a social theory." Given that he was an anarchist for most of five decades, it took him an uncharacteristically long time to have "further thought" on such a key aspect of his politics!

Now "eco-anarchism," a term once used by Bookchin to describe his own ideas, becomes a "simplistic ideology" equated with "primitivism, austerity, and denial." Suffice to say, compar-

ing Bookchin's criticisms of anarchism to what anarchism actually stands for we find that his previous position was a more accurate one and his post-anarchism of 1999 easily refuted by looking at Bookchin's early works, which is not a pleasant position to be in for any thinker.

Bookchin calls his new position "communalism," arguing that [n]one of the professedly anticapitalist ideologies of the past – Marxism, anarchism, syndicalism, and more generic forms of socialism – retain the same relevance that they had at an earlier stage of capitalist develop-



ment and in an earlier period of technological advance. Nor can any of them hope to encompass the multitude of new issues, opportunities, problems, and interests that capitalism has repeatedly created over time.

While applauding the desire to make radical politics relevant to today's world, it can be fairly said that Bookchin does not do this. By rejecting anarchism, the inherent reformism and impracticalities of his favored means of social change become glaringly obvious.

For example, Bookchin states that his new ideology's "most important goal is clearly spelled out in a conventional dictionary definition." Communalism, according to *The American Heritage Dictionary of the English Language*, is "a theory or system of government in which virtually autonomous local communities are loosely bound in a federation." Bookchin then quibbles over this definition in a footnote, stating that what is "so surprising about this minimalist dictionary definition is its overall accuracy" before, ironically, "tak[ing] issue" with its "virtually autonomous" and "loosely bound" because they "suggest a parochial and particularistic, even irresponsible relationship of the components of a confederation to the whole." Yet getting rid of those words does not leave much: "a theory or system of government in which local communities are in a federation." Which says nothing – many would even say it described the United States of America.

Not that this notion is particularly new. Kropotkin discusses "communalism" in *Words of a Rebel*, stating that the next revolution would be "communalist" but also "communist." He contrasts communist-anarchism to this by stating that while the "communalist" would seize the town hall before letting the masses expropriate property, the anarchist would abolish both at the same time. Indeed, his critique of the Paris Commune contained in that anthology could have been written with Bookchin's post-anarchist politics in mind – particularly given the latter's use of the Commune as an example of this approach. As will be seen, Bookchin's attempts to distance "communalism" from anarchism not only fail but show the limitations of his own politics in comparison to it.

Rejecting and revising the past

What is particularly galling is the re-writing of Bookchin's own history. Thus he pronounces that "Anarchism has often been confused with revolutionary syndicalism" without mentioning that he himself pointed to the similarities of syndicalism with Bakunin's ideas. The "bitter antagonisms between anarchists and syndicalists have a long history" is noted without bothering the reader with the awkward fact that, previously, he had sided with the anarchists and their opposition to the narrowing of the libertarian vision and struggle syndicalism implied. Similarly, the CNT-FAI becomes "a truly confused organization" rather than the high-point of libertarian proletarian organization it had been previously. He seems to seriously have come to conclude that it was only "somewhat confused anarchists" who coexisted with the revolutionary syndicalists in the CNT, a product of "verbal confusion rather than ideological clarity"!

Somewhat ironically, he repeats the communist-

anarchist critique of syndicalism (as best expressed by Malatesta), arguing that "as invaluable as the general strike may be as a prelude to direct confrontation with the state," their "limitations are striking evidence that, as episodic forms of direct action, general strikes are not equatable with revolution" – a position, it should be noted, most syndicalists have held for some time. His new-found appreciation of syndicalism also entails him down playing the role of anarchists in creating revolutionary syndicalism, stating that "Georges Sorel and many other professed revolutionary syndicalists in the early twentieth century expressly regarded themselves as Marxists and even more expressly eschewed anarchism." Yet Sorel played no role in creating syndicalism, simply commenting on an existing movement (and he noted the key role of anarchists in creating syndicalism, a tactic, which, as Malatesta put it in 1907, "the syndicalists, forgetting the past, call new, even though it was already glimpsed and followed, in the International, by the first of the anarchists"). Only in Britain, America and Italy was syndicalism notable for the presence of Marxists (the product of the reformism of social democracy). In Italy, it was these Marxist-syndicalists who became fascists while the anarchists increased their influence in the USI before being repressed by their former colleagues. In Britain and America, these Marxist-syndicalists generally became Communists.

In another staggering rewriting of his own history, Bookchin states that in the late 1950s, when anarchism in the United States was a barely discernible presence, it seemed like a sufficiently clear field in which I could develop social ecology. ... I well knew that these views were not consistent with traditional anarchist ideas.

Which explain his repeated writings in which he defended his anarchist ideas against those who claimed otherwise! These, significantly, extended well into the 1990s and so to state that "[t]oday I find that anarchism remains the very simplistic individualistic and antirationalist psychology it has always been" is revisionism of the worse kind. He even turns his back on his own leftist past, arguing that the revolutionary Left ... frankly erred profoundly when it took a so-called 'internationalist' position and refused to support the Allies (their imperialist pathologies notwithstanding) against the vanguard of world fascism, the Third Reich.

That the Second World War was an imperialist war was obvious, with the Allies happily tolerating fascism as long as it did not enter its sphere of influence – a fact confirmed when fascists were placed into positions of power by the victorious Allies in place of alternative social organizations created by partisans. It should also be noted that, at the time, Bookchin was a Trotskyist and so, presumably, supported Stalinist Russia against fascist aggression (and so the Trotskyists, as anarchists noted at the time, violated the "internationalist" position).

Authentic anarchism?

Echoing countless Marxists, Bookchin now believed that anarchism "represents in its authentic form a highly individualistic outlook that fosters a radically unfettered lifestyle, often as a substitute for mass action." He noted

"the peasant-craft 'associationism' that lies at the core of anarchism," arguing that it "is far better suited to articulate a Proudhonian single-family peasant and craft world than a modern urban and industrial environment." Yet as he himself argued in volume 2 of *The Third Revolution*, anarchism, like socialism in general, evolved as society itself changed as the capitalist economy developed. This was reflected in Proudhon, for example, who increasingly brought to the fore the need for workers' associations for non-artisan workplaces. Bakunin and Kropotkin built on these changes in both "Proudhonian" politics and the wider economy, and by the 1870s, mainstream anarchism was communist-anarchism.

Part of the problem, apparently, is that anarchists do not actually know what anarchism really is. "Regrettably," he wrote, "the use of socialistic terms has often prevented anarchists from telling us or even understanding clearly what they are." Given that he considered himself an anarchist for over four decades, he seems to be generalizing from his own experience. Luckily, we now have Bookchin (or at least his ghost) to inform us that we are "individualists whose concepts of autonomy originate in a strong commitment to personal liberty rather than to social freedom, or socialists committed to a structured, institutionalized, and responsible form of social organization." In fact, "anarchism represents the most extreme formulation of liberalism's ideology of unfettered autonomy." He could have saved himself a lot of wasted energy if only he had read Hal Draper's (or any other clueless Leninist) nonsense on anarchism, which asserts the same.

Sadly for Bookchin this is simply not true. Anarchists like Bakunin and Kropotkin were dismissive of the claims of bourgeois individualism, or classical liberalism (as he was once aware, writing in "Social Anarchism or Life-style Anarchism" that "Bakunin often expressed his opposition to the individualistic trend in liberalism ... with considerable polemical emphasis"). In fact, the "most extreme formulation of liberalism" is right-wing "libertarianism" whose adherents happily proclaim this fact and who are most definitely not anarchists (even if some of them try and appropriate that label) as they are staunch supporters of hierarchical structures (most obviously, wage labor). They dismiss the anarchist critique of private property and the social hierarchies it produces and, in general, support the state (either in minimal or privatized form) to protect the "unfettered autonomy" of the boss against his wage slaves and the landlord against his tenants. Unsurprisingly, in the past, Bookchin called these the "so-called libertarian (more accurately, proprietarian) right."

Communalism ("in contrast to anarchism") is based on "decision-making by majority voting as the only equitable way for a large number of people to make decisions." "Authentic anarchists," apparently, argue that this is "authoritarian and propose instead to make decisions by consensus." Yet who are these "authentic" anarchists who propose "consensus" decision-making? It is not to be found in Proudhon, Bakunin, Berkman or Goldman. Kropotkin mentions it once, when discussing the Russian peasant community. Were these not "authentic" anarchists?

If Bakunin or Goldman are not "authentic" anarchists, who is? Perhaps those "extreme" adherents of liberal-

ism, the right-wing "libertarians"? Yet consensus is not to be found there either. Murray Rothbard happily supported the autocratic power of the property owner over their wage slaves and tenants, seeing "hierarchy" as one of the "institutions necessary to the triumph of liberty" (raising the question of what part of "an-archy" was hard to understand). He was against majority voting, but only because it was egalitarian and did not reflect wealth inequalities. Instead, he favored majority rule in terms of shares held in a company – with mere workers or tenants having no say if they had none.

So it appears these "authentic" anarchists do not exist in reality. This is unsurprising, as anarchists are generally fluid in their vision of decision-making. In some cases, consensus may be best, in others majority decision-making is acceptable. On the question of minority rights, again, the context is important – in some situations, majorities are acceptable (for example, deciding to strike); in others there is a right, even a duty, for the minority to ignore the majority. For example, when the majority of German Social Democrats decided to support their state in the First World War, it was wrong for the minority to go along in the name of party discipline and majority rights. All this is, surely, simply common sense and requires no need to make a fetish of the dubious notion that the majority is always right?

Bookchin's position was increasingly problematic, as can be seen when he argues that the anarcho-communist notion of a very loose 'federation of autonomous communes' is replaced with a confederation from which its components, functioning in a democratic manner through citizens' assemblies, may withdraw only with the approval of the confederation as a whole.

Yet the right of secession is fundamental to liberty. The freedom to associate implies the freedom not to associate. Looking at the most basic level, the commune, does this mean that citizens cannot withdraw without majority approval? How free is a society which requires its members to gain permission to move communes or workplaces? And if the individual can associate freely, why should this be denied the communes they are part of? And how would this be enforced? Would the confederation take up arms against the rebels in order to, Rousseau-like, "force them to be free"?

It is, therefore, ironic to read Bookchin state that Communalism as an ideology is not sullied by the individualism and the often explicit antirationalism of anarchism; nor does it carry the historical burden of Marxism's authoritarianism as embodied in Bolshevism.

As he was once aware, a love of individual freedom does not equate to "individualism" (an ambiguous term which hides a multitude of interpretations). Equally, refusing to base your politics on free association does raise the "burden" of the authoritarianism required to hold a confederation together.

Anarchism and Direct Democracy

Bookchin does, of course, try and present evidence to back up his claim. Kropotkin, he writes, "rejected demo-

cratic decision-making procedures" and quotes from Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets: "Majority rule is as defective as any other kind of rule". Yet quick consultation of the page in question shows that Bookchin has ripped that sentence utterly out of context. It was, in fact, a dismissal of representative democracy, the notion "that it is merely stupid to elect a few men and to entrust them with the task of making laws on all possible subjects." Moreover, again on the same page, Kropotkin counterposes federal organization based on congresses of mandated delegates to representative democracy.

Somewhat ironically, Bookchin asserted that the "sections" of the French revolution were "the authentic motive forces of the Great Revolution and conscious agents for the making of a new body politic," before stating that "they were never given the consideration they deserve in the literature on democracy, particularly democratic Marxist tendencies and revolutionary syndicalists." This "is dramatic evidence of the flaws that existed in the revolutionary tradition." Here omission plays its part, as he was surely aware that Kropotkin discussed these at length in his *The Great French Revolution*, concluding that "the Revolution began by creating the Commune [...] and through this institution it gained [...] immense power." It was in these popular assemblies that "the masses, accustoming themselves to act without receiving orders from the national representatives, were practising what was to be described later as Direct Self-Government." And so "the principles of anarchism [...] already dated from 1789, and that they had their origin, not in theoretical speculations, but in the deeds of the Great French Revolution." For Kropotkin, it was a truism that "the libertarians would no doubt do the same today."

Significantly Kropotkin noted that these communes were not created by standing for elections, but were "made from below upward, by the federation of the district organizations; it spring up in a revolutionary way, from popular initiative." That is the crux of the issue, as few anarchists are opposed to popular assemblies. The critique of Bookchin's "libertarian municipalism" was precisely that it was tied to standing in elections to create these bodies, i.e., it was hopelessly reformist in orientation. This flawed perspective explains his most obvious contradiction. He asserted that communalists "do not contend that a Communalist society can be legislated into existence," before, on the very same page, admitting that they "do not hesitate to run candidates in municipal elections who, if elected, would use what real power their offices confer to legislate popular assemblies into existence. These assemblies, in turn, would have the power ultimately to create effective forms of town-meeting government." So, apparently, a communalist society can be "legislated into existence" after all. And what is the difference between the "popular assemblies" and a "town-meeting government"? How do they differ and why should the "popular assemblies" hand over their power to them?

Ultimately, though, I take no pleasure in showing up Bookchin's contradictions and personal revisionism. It is a shame that he ended such a fruitful political life by writing such rubbish. Hopefully, his post-anarchist work (along, of course, with his silly "libertarian municipalism" fetish that became his undoing) will be ignored in favor of his real, important and still relevant contributions to libertarian theory.

Then there is the top-down approach, with adherents of Communalism mobiliz[ing] themselves to electorally engage in a potentially important center of power – the municipal council – and try to compel it to create legislatively potent neighborhood assemblies.

Surely we do not need permission to create popular assemblies, any more than did the French sections or the popular clubs of 1848 and 1871? Strangely, given that it was written in 2002, this essay makes no mention of the popular assemblies created in Argentina. These fit into the anarchist vision of social change, but not Bookchin's.

Given the reformist nature of their creation, it seems doubtful that Bookchin would be proved right when he argued that "the new popular-assemblyist municipal confederations will embody a dual power against the state that becomes a source of growing political tension is obvious. Either a Communalist movement will be radicalized by this tension and will resolutely face all its consequences, or it will surely sink into a morass of compromises that absorb it back into the social order that it once sought to change." In reality, the municipal

council is part of the state and cannot become an effective "dual power" to it, and any radicals using elections will, like so many others before them, "sink into a morass of compromises" that this tactic produces. The fate of the German Greens and Social-Democrats applied to local elections just as much national ones.

The tyranny of structurelessness

Without naming her, Bookchin repeats some of feminist Jo Freeman's arguments in her classic

essay "The tyranny of structurelessness." We find him writing that a serious libertarian approach to leadership would indeed acknowledge the reality and crucial importance of leaders – all the more to establish the greatly needed formal structures and regulations that can effectively control and modify the activities of leaders and recall them when the membership decides their respect is being misused or when leadership becomes an exercise in the abusive exercise of power.

Bookchin presents the usual stereotype of anarchists being against structured organizations, arguing that [f]reedom from authoritarianism can best be assured only by the clear, concise, and detailed allocation of power, not by pretensions that power and leadership are forms of 'rule' or by libertarian metaphors that conceal their reality. It has been precisely when an organization fails to articulate these regulatory details that the conditions emerge for its degeneration and decay.

It would be churlish to point out that Bakunin raised the issue of union assemblies combined with the use of mandates and recall as a means of restricting the power of union leaders over their members and placed these at the heart of his vision of social revolution! As such, an awareness of the need to organize in order to "control"

delegates has existed within "inauthentic" anarchism for some time. Equally churlish would be to point out the logical contradiction in his position. After all, for Bookchin these "leaders" are meant to be mandated delegates, not representatives. If the "leaders" are allocated "power," then they can decide on behalf of their electorate, and, as such, they are not delegates. He cannot have it both ways, arguing that these "leaders" should have "power" while maintaining that they are mere delegates. The problem every organization faces is that the "leaders" start to act on behalf of the membership, i.e., that they exert power over them rather than implementing their mandates. Anarchists have aimed to reduce that tendency, with varying degrees of success, so to suggest we are ignorant of this need is staggering.

Bookchin argued that "[i]ronically, no stratum has been more insistent in demanding its freedom to exercise its will against regulation than chiefs, monarchs, nobles, and the bourgeoisie." Unmentioned is their equally "insistent" demands that those subject to their "will" follow the "regulation" that implies! After all, the bourgeoisie have always been keen on asserting "the manager's right to manage" and resisting any attempt by workers to resist the kind of "freedom" that translates into the many following the orders of the few. Equally, the "stratum" of trade union and party "leaders" has always been keen to accumulate power within their organizations, modifying the regulations to secure that power and limit rank-and-file participation as much as possible. Formal structures can, and have been, used to secure that aim, a fact which Bookchin overlooks.

Ultimately, contra-Bookchin, "power and leadership" can easily be forms of "rule," especially if there is an "allocation of power" which helps turn delegates into representatives. As much as Bookchin is right on the need for clear organizational structures, this need is precisely to reduce the "allocation of power" to a minimum and ensure that power rests in the hands of those affected by decisions rather than a few (democratically elected) "leaders," who are a government in the usual sense of the word.

Municipalize the economy?

Bookchin turns his fire on industrial self-management, repeating his long-standing (and basically correct) critique that we "must also avoid the parochialism and ultimately the desires for proprietorship that have afflicted so many self-managed enterprises, such as the 'collectives' in the Russian and Spanish revolutions." This involved a "drift among many 'socialistic' self-managed enterprises ... toward forms of collective capitalism that ultimately led many of these concerns to compete with one another for raw materials and markets." Yet it is not clear that his proposed solution would automatically eliminate this problem: its aim is not to nationalize the economy or retain private ownership of the means of production but to municipalize the economy. It seeks to integrate the means of production into the existential life of the municipality, such that every productive enterprise falls under the purview of the local assembly, which decides how it will function to meet the interests of the community as a whole.

It would be churlish to note that the Spanish anarchists organized rural communes precisely as Bookchin recommends, and, moreover, these could and did express "collective" selfishness just as much as the self-managed workplaces. As with the urban collectives, the anarchists involved had to combat these tendencies. The CNT was aware of this and consistently fought it, arguing for socialization rather than the compromise of "collectivization" which the revolution had produced. So it should be stressed that these developments came as no surprise, then as now, as anarchists have long argued that creating a libertarian communist society cannot be achieved quickly or simply.

Any attempt to transform society, therefore, will be marked by mistakes and narrow, and ultimately, self-defeating interests expressing themselves. Attempts to get around these with institutional fixes are to be avoided, though. In "revolutionary Russia" it was precisely these tendencies which were used by the Bolsheviks to concentrate economic power into the hands of the state, effectively ending workplace freedom and replacing it with state-appointed managers implementing (or, more correctly, trying to implement) the decrees of bureaucrats made in ignorance of local conditions within the centralized state machine. Yes, the "desires for proprietorship" of individual collectives were apparently ended, but they were replaced by the far worse "desires for proprietorship" of a bureaucracy. Given that the problems Bookchin rightly pointed out about individual workplaces can be expressed by individual communes, we simply cannot glibly assume that his solution will work as easily as he suggested.

Communalist confusions

Channelling Engels' infamous diatribe "On Authority," Bookchin asserted that "anarchists have long regarded every government as a state and condemned it accordingly – a view that is a recipe for the elimination of any organized social life whatever." For Engels, any organization implied "authority"; for Bookchin, it came to imply "government," and so collectively making your own decisions is confused with letting a few rulers make them for you. It does feel like he is playing with words when he tries to explain his new position:

While the state is the instrument by which an oppressive and exploitative class regulates and coercively controls the behavior of an exploited class by a ruling class, a government – or better still, a polity – is an ensemble of institutions designed to deal with the problems of consociational life in an orderly and hopefully fair manner. Every institutionalized association that constitutes a system for handling public affairs – with or without the presence of a state – is necessarily a government. By contrast, every state, although necessarily a form of government, is a force for class repression and control.

Which is what Marxists habitually assert against anarchists, namely that any form of social organization created in a revolution is a "state" regardless of its name. It seems as pointless to note that collective decision-making is no more a "government" than a "state," unless you wish to term any form of association a "government," regardless of how it is organized. Thus, by

Bookchin's logic, even Stirner's "Union of Egoists" would be a "government." The key factors, surely, are whether it is freely joined and self-managed within it. If so, it is an abuse of the language to describe an organization as a "government" if it is not hierarchically structured ("the word 'State' ... should be reserved for those societies with the hierarchical system and centralisation," Kropotkin correctly argued). Otherwise the term becomes so widely applicable as to become meaningless.

Then there is the issue of social change. Bookchin distorted Colin Ward's arguments (without mentioning who he mocked, of course) that "the good society ... exists beneath the oppressive burdens of civilization like fertile soil beneath the snow." That Ward is simply noting that anarchistic trends exist in every society is hardly controversial; nor does it imply, as Bookchin asserted, that we do not need to "proactively create" an anarchist society, that "we would simply let the snow above it melt away." That he felt the need to do this hatchet job is sad. After all, few anarchists would disagree with the notion that we should "try to build lasting organizations and institutions that can play a socially transformative role in the real world." That has been the standard libertarian position from the start. To paraphrase Bookchin from his early days, the question is how we organize, not whether we do or not.

Equally bizarrely, Bookchin asserted that "a case can be made that many of the ideas of social and economic reconstruction that in the past have been advanced in the name of 'anarchy' were often drawn from Marxism." Which would have come as a surprise to Bakunin, but perhaps he was not an "authentic" anarchist. Given that Proudhon had raised the ideas of workplace self-management, federalism, communes and mandated delegates long before Marx praised their application in the Paris Commune, we can more truly state that a far stronger case can be made that many of the ideas of social and economic reconstruction that in the past have been advanced in the name of "Marxism" were often drawn from anarchism. This becomes extremely clear when Lenin's State and Revolution is compared to the ideas Bakunin was arguing for from the mid-1860s to his death, as pointed out by Bookchin in "Listen, Marxist!" nearly 40 years previously!

The crux of the matter is expressed in his account of the Spanish revolution, where "the Spanish syndicalists (and anarchists) revealed only a minimal capacity to understand the situation in which they found themselves after their victory over Franco's forces in the summer of 1936 and no capacity to take 'the next step' to institutionalize a workers' and peasants' form of government." This flows from his new found distinction between "government" and "state," not to mention a complete confusion between power over oneself and power over others (which suggests that Bookchin's statement that "[a]bove all, Communalism is engaged with the problem of power" is less than accurate).

What is also apparent is the utter lack of context in Bookchin's account. Like the Leninists, he presents the decision to collaborate to flow purely from the claimed limitations in anarchist theory rather than the situation they faced. This may have been discussed in the original appendix to this essay, which is not included in this book, but here we are left with glib idealism which roots

the decisions made in the heads of the anarchists, misled by their own ideology. That said theory urged the destruction of the state and its replacement by a system of workers' councils is left as unmentioned as the reasons why this was not done undiscussed.

The limitations in Bookchin's analysis can be seen when he writes of the "anarchists' disdain for power" while at the same time quoting Bakunin on how the new social order could be created "only through the development and organization of the nonpolitical or antipolitical social power of the working class in city and country." The Russian, Bookchin stated, "expressed the typical view of [anarchism's] adherents"! So much for Bookchin's prized "coherence"! It should also be noted that Bakunin was not "rejecting with characteristic inconsistency the very municipal politics which he sanctioned in Italy around the same year." In fact, in that instance Bakunin urged his friends to stand for Parliament, not municipal office. However, this inconsistency should not cloud his real contribution to revolutionary theory, namely this vision of social change:

the Alliance of all labor associations ... will constitute the Commune ... there will be a standing federation of the barricades and a Revolutionary Communal Council ... [made up of] delegates ... invested with binding mandates and accountable and revocable at all times ... all provinces, communes and associations ... [will] delegate deputies to an agreed place of assembly (all ... invested with binding mandated and accountable and subject to recall), in order to found the federation of insurgent associations, communes and provinces ... and to organize a revolutionary force with the capacity of defeating the reaction ... it is through the very act of extrapolation and organization of the Revolution with an eye to the mutual defences of insurgent areas that the universality of the Revolution ... will emerge triumphant."

The question is, surely, why the CNT-FAI did not pursue this "next step," this vision of social organization at the heart of anarchism. To blame a theory when that theory was not implemented seems, on the face of it, unconvincing, and so best left to Marxists.

Class Analysis

Finally, there is the class analysis he inherited from Leninism, leading him to repeat his identification of "working class" with industrial workers rather than all wage slaves. "Contrary to Marx's expectations," Bookchin wrote, "the industrial working class is now dwindling in numbers and is steadily losing its traditional identity as a class." Yet wage slavery is just, if not more, as predominant today as in the era of "proletarian socialism," which Bookchin argued ended in the 1930s. And like Leninists, class becomes transformed into a perspective rather than an objective position within society: "The traditional proletariat, upon which syndicalists and Marxists were overwhelmingly, indeed almost mystically focused, into a largely petty-bourgeois stratum whose mentality is marked by its own bourgeois utopianism of 'consumption for the sake of consumption.'" While their "mentality" may be "petty-bourgeois," their "stratum" is still working class. Durruti, for example, no more became "petty-bourgeois" when he became an anarchist

than Marx became a "proletarian" when he wrote "The Communist Manifesto."

That class consciousness seems to be at a historical low is an issue which needs to be addressed and fixed, along with the other negative impacts of capitalist society on individual development. As such, Bookchin was right to state this "by no means excludes it [the traditional proletariat] from a potentially broader and perhaps more extensive conflict of society as a whole against capitalist social relations." Yet it seems to be, as with anarchism, he threw the baby out with the bath water. Still, his confusions and limitations on class analysis and struggle do not impact his focus on oppression, as well as exploitation:

Hierarchy, today, is becoming as pronounced an issue as class – as witness the extent to which many social analyses have singled out managers, bureaucrats, scientists, and the like as emerging, ostensibly dominant groups.

Not that anarchists before Bookchin did not notice social hierarchies, far from it. For anarchists, oppression is as important as exploitation, as he was forced to admit. ("From anarchism, it draws its commitment to antistatism and confederalism, as well as its recognition that hierarchy is a basic problem that can be overcome only by a libertarian socialist society.") So it is not only social ecology which presents "a coherent vision of social development that intertwines the mutual impact of hierarchy and class on the civilizing of humanity." One of Bookchin's many contributions to anarchism was to link this to ecological issues, that "we must reorder social relations so that humanity can live in a protective balance with the natural world."

Sadly Bookchin is not around to reply to these points. I doubt he would have agreed with this analysis, particularly as they draw upon his own works. He did not seem to take criticism easily, which undoubtedly helped make the debates in the 1990s worse than they had to be (although the responses to Bookchin's "Social Anarchism and Lifestyle anarchism" did not seem designed to provoke comradely debate).

Suffice to say, his account of anarchism and its flaws is inaccurate and petty and does his memory no favors. The valid core of his argument, the need for communal organizations, is lost in his anti-anarchist diatribes; nor is it helped that this need has long been recognized in anarchism and placed in a revolutionary context missing from his version. Ultimately, though, I take no pleasure in showing up Bookchin's contradictions and personal revisionism. It is a shame that he ended such a fruitful political life by writing such rubbish. Hopefully, his post-anarchist work (along, of course, with his silly "libertarian municipalism" fetish that became his undoing) will be ignored in favor of his real, important and still relevant contributions to libertarian theory.

Still, during the time he considered himself an anarchist, he contributed immensely to our movement and its ideas. Even at his worst (and his post-1999 work was, at times, terrible) he is worth reading. AK Press should be praised for publishing this book, for it allows anarchists to question their politics by looking at Bookchin's critique, flawed as it is. If we can learn from and clarify our own ideas by doing so, then even this last work by Bookchin will be of some value, although not as much as reading Post-Scarcity Anarchism or Toward an Ecological Society.



Que l'État soit une monarchie ou une république, qu'il soit fondé sur une autocratie ou sur une constitution nationale, son rôle reste le même. [...] L'État ne peut être que ce qu'il est : le défenseur de l'exploitation des masses et des privilèges sociaux et le créateur des classes, des castes privilégiées et des nouveaux monopoles. Quiconque ne reconnaît pas ce rôle de l'État ne peut comprendre quoi que ce soit à la véritable nature de l'ordre social actuel et, conséquemment, est incapable de suggérer à l'humanité de nouvelles perspectives pour son évolution ultérieure.

- Rudolf Rocker
Anarcho-syndicalisme: Théorie et Pratique, 1938

Anarcho-Syndicalism

Technology and Ecology

Graham Purchase

Australia, published in Canada, 1995

In an anarchist society, the absence of centralized state authority will permit a radically new integration of nature, labour and culture. As the social and ecological revolution progresses, national boundaries will become cartographical curiosities, and divisions based upon differences in geography, climate and species distribution will re-emerge. This essay addresses the question of what role unionism will play in these changes.

First, it seems obvious that telecommunications, transportation and postal networks all require organization which extends far beyond the individual ecological region, and activities like road building between communities require cooperation beyond that of individual locales. Thus, a return to a community-based lifestyle need not and cannot imply a return to the isolation of the walled medieval city or peasant village.

Anarcho-syndicalists (that is, anarchist unionists) argue that the best way to address such needs is for the "workers of the world" to cease producing for capitalist elites and their political allies. Instead, they should organize to serve humanity by creating not only communication and transportation networks, but industrial, service, and agricultural networks as well, in order to ensure the continued production and distribution of goods and services.

Yet there are many people in anarchist and radical environmental circles who regard anarcho-syndicalism with distrust, as they mistakenly identify it with industrialism. They argue that global industrialism has been responsible for centralized organization and environmental destruction. They view industrialism as necessarily based upon mass production, and the factory as inevitably involving high energy use and dehumanizing working conditions. In short, critics believe that providing six billion people with toilet paper and building materials (let alone TVs, VCRs and automobiles) necessarily involves large-scale, mass production techniques ill-suited to ecological health - regardless of whether capitalist leeches or "free" workers are running the show. Industrialism, it is argued, is an environmental evil in and of itself; it is only made slightly more destructive by the narrow, short-term interests of capital and state. Such critics argue that technology has likewise outgrown its capitalistic origins, and has taken on a sinister and destructive life of its own.

I am not unsympathetic to this argument. That children and adults alike spend hours on end surrounded by deafening noise and blinding lights in video arcades, in an utterly synthetic technological orgy, is ample evidence of our species' sick fetish for non-organic, superficial plea-

tures. The regimentation of the work day, and the consignment of leisure and play to half-hour television slots interrupted by nauseating commercials, is nothing short of the industrial robotification of human nature - an alarming process that has led many to argue that humanity should abandon the industrial and technological revolutions altogether. They further argue that we should return to small-scale, minimally industrial technologies that utilize simple devices such as the hand loom. Given the enormously destructive effects of today's industrial system, such a course may ultimately be the only path open to humanity. At this point, however, simply abandoning our cities and our technologies and hoping that our species will somehow return to a small-scale, pre-industrial existence appears both unlikely and reckless.

Worker Control

In recent years, there has been a revolution in the distasteful discipline of "personnel" management. For, example, "experts" are declaring a new day in industrial relations because bosses now eat in the same canteen as the workers in some industries. In the past, when the bosses seemed to be distant figures, the inequities of the class/wage system were obvious to all. But, if the bosses exercise with the rank and file in the company gym, they are perceived as "really just some of us." In such circumstances, workers tend to forget the 10- or 20-to-one pay differential, company car, and handsome retirement scheme that comes with being the boss. One example of this new type of "personnel management" is found in Australia, where there has been much fuss recently about a "harmonious, happy" outfit which "allows" employees to set their own wages, holiday arrangements, and production quotas. No wonder the boss is happy with this arrangement; s/he no longer has to go to the trouble of working all this out for them. Letting the workers spend their time figuring out the fine details of their own wage slavery is touted as the pinnacle of modern management techniques. (Not only would the employees be much better off financially if they sacked the boss and shared all the profits among themselves, their work would become a richly human experience instead of a dehumanizing and unrewarding one.) Merely by providing a semblance of an egalitarian work environment, modern management has dramatically increased production and minimized sabotage. Imagine the efficiency and satisfaction that would result if this appearance of worker control were turned into a living reality.

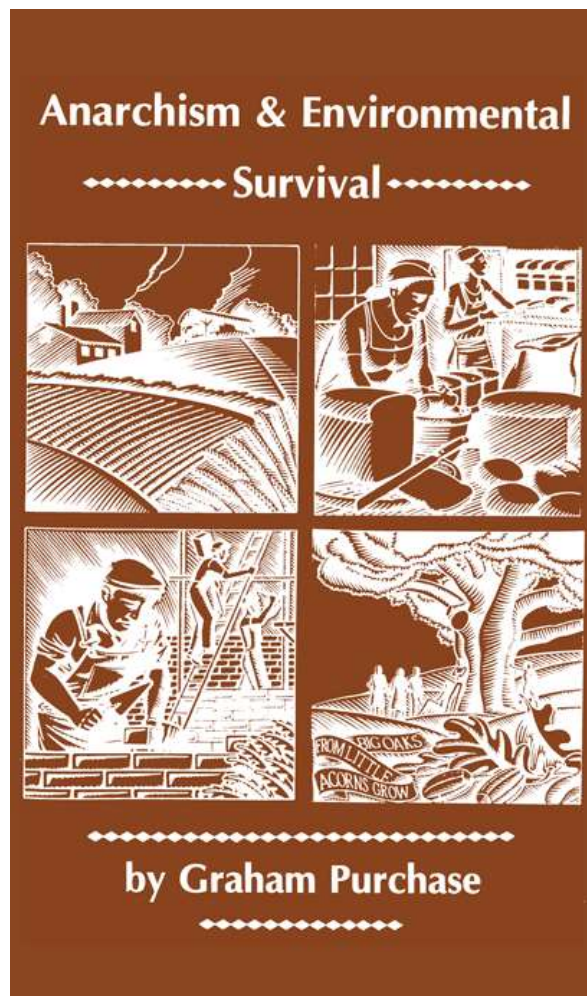
Efficiency and Self-Sufficiency

Although the local, small-scale production of manufactured items should be encouraged in every ecological region, it would be absurd to expect that every village, town or region would produce its own can openers, razor blades, nails and windmill blades. Even if it were possible for craftspeople in every community to produce these products and thousands like them, this would surely involve an enormous waste of time and energy. No one wants to suffer the noise and clamor of the factory and be a slave to the machine, but neither do most people want to make their own nails and rope by the methods traditionally employed by village blacksmiths and rope makers. The hellfire and brimstone of the factory floor on the one hand, and hours of tedious, mind-numbing weaving on the other, are not desirable alternatives to the wire cutter and the mechanical loom, respectively. There is simply no good reason to reject industrial workshops as a means for producing the wide variety of manufactured items that are required in our daily lives.

Only certain regions have the ores necessary to the production of iron, steel, copper and aluminum, and even if the manufacture of the many items made from such ores were carried out in each local region, it would still require a transport network to get the ores there in the first place. In adopting the ecoregionally self-sufficient community as the basis for a future anarchist society, we must not blind ourselves to its real limitations. In the absence of intercommunal worker associations for the provision of transport, communication, and basic articles of consumption, the anarchist vision is reduced to an absurd and unworkable utopia. Although we may justly assert that many items such as bread, food, energy, building materials *ad infinitum* should, and in many cases could, be produced by the inhabitants of each city-region, insisting upon a concept of total self-sufficiency, as anti-syndicalist anarchists are apt to do, is unrealistic and dogmatic.

No one wants to spend their whole life in the factory or workshop, but everyone needs nails, transportation, or rope at some time. It would only be fair that all people spend a few hours every week helping to provide these useful products in co-operation with their fellows. Machines do help us make these things more easily; people only become slaves to their machines because

they are slaves to their bosses and to a wasteful, growth-oriented economy. If there were no useless bosses who collect the profits but do no work at the machines they own or oversee, and if production did not always have to be increased to fuel an ever-expanding, growth-oriented consumerism, then it is doubtful that any of us would have to work more than a few hours per week. Those who are by temperament "workaholics" could spend their time improving upon, and experimenting with, products or projects of their choice.



Primitivism and Technophilia

Looking back toward the Stone Age or forward toward some post-industrial techno-utopia is equally pointless. Primitivists long for a quick fix from a (largely imagined) glorious past, while technophiles long for the quick fix in an idealized future - when the way out of the present mess probably entails an imaginative mixture of Neolithic community and selected technologies. For example, the use of non-renewable oil and coal resources during the past two centuries is undoubtedly ill-suited to the ecology of our planet, but so would be the Neolithic firewood hearth, were it to be used by Earth's six billion people today. (In time, all non-renewable energy sources will of necessity be superseded by renewable ones such as wind and water.)

Capitalism and a Clean Environment

But, returning to the present industrial/technological nightmare, it seems evident that new technological priorities tend to produce changes of emphasis in the realm of so-called pure science. Biology

was, until quite recently, seen as a "soft" science compared to the "MM" and more "logical" sciences of inorganic chemistry and physics. This is now changing, and the study of molecular biology is at the forefront of contemporary intellectual and popular interest. Botany, biology and biochemistry are emerging as the main sciences of a second industrial age.

Every day, natural products are being discovered that can take the place of the outdated, chemical synthetic materials of bygone eras. It is now possible to envision a time when every item of industrial manufacture presently associated with environmental destruction cars, fuels, oils, aircraft, plastics, computers, etc. - is constructed with materials that have been harmlessly extracted from nature, and which can in turn be harmlessly and quickly re-absorbed by nature.

Industrialism is, however, beginning to partially reform itself. (Of course, environmental reforms under capitalism will succeed only to the extent that they are compatible with the profit motive.) Even our capitalist bosses cannot escape skin cancer and oil slicks while they sun themselves at their exclusive beach resorts; and many people no longer wish to buy or use environmentally unsound products. The capitalists, ever watchful of the market, have become increasingly aware of this fact; those companies which have presented a superficial "Green image" while persisting in unsound practices have on the whole been "found out," and are beginning to regret their dishonesty. Green journalism has created a better informed and extremely angry public which will no longer be easily fooled by transparent corporate tactics. Capitalists now fully appreciate that a Green image with genuinely Green products behind it will translate into big dollars and huge profits in the future.

Capitalists are not the only segment of our population undergoing Green-inspired change. Everywhere in the world inventors, scientists, engineers and botanochemists are becoming inspired by the vision of a greener world, and the number of new and potentially environmentally safe processes and products multiplies with every passing day.

Consumerism and Environmentalism

Industrialism is not inherently anti-ecological, and the strength of Green consumerism will almost certainly ensure that the resource base for many of the manufactured products that we consume must and will change for the better. But the individualistic mass consumer culture which has grown up around the industrial system is another matter. If people continue to insist upon having three cars and individually owning every conceivable appliance and convenience, then things are unlikely to get very much better.

No environmentalist wishes to see many millions of acres of land devoted to the monocultural production of maize or palm oil in order to provide bio-fuels for our cars. But neither syndicalism nor, indeed, industrialism, requires capitalism's promotion of "growth" and individualistic over-consumption. For example, syndicalists are committed to providing extensive public transport networks and other basic utilities on a non-profit basis for the benefit of all; and the provision of utilities or public transport using manufactured industrial products in no way requires the destructive and profit-oriented consumer culture of the present day. It might take X number of acres of biomass to power an electric railway, but it would well take 100 times that much to fuel the number of privately-owned automobiles which would transport a similar number of people as the train. It might take Y amount of natural fiber to provide seating for all that train, but it might take 100 times that much to outfit all of those cars. While it might be possible to grow enough biomass or fiber on small lots in a large number of small, organically diverse farms to support the train, the attempt to produce 100 times that amount to support the cars almost inevitably implies the need for extensive monocultural production - with all the degradation of wilderness and soil that such farming methods entail.

Capitalists are committed to growth-oriented consumerism; it does not matter much to them whether they are selling natural or artificial products so long as people keep buying and consuming more and more. As a consequence, more and more of the available land is being given over to producing more and more products for individual consumption. Syndicalists, on the other hand, understand the need for the communal consumption of industrial resources. They understand that a well-constructed trolley line might last 100 years and transport millions or even tens of millions of people in its lifetime. Once a railway or trolley line is built, there is no inherent requirement for growth. Chances are, one line from point A to point B will be all that will ever be needed; there probably will be no need to construct another, let alone 20 or 30 of them. The point is that syndicalists are not interested in growth or profit, and their concept of industrialism must not be confused with the profoundly destructive consumer culture of contemporary capitalism.

Anarcho-Syndicalism and Environmentalism

Only time will tell whether human technology and society can co-evolve successfully with nature. Neither the "primitivists" nor the "technophiles" can read the future, but I am convinced that neither alone holds the answer. That we can simply dismantle the industrial and technological revolutions and return to small-scale tribal communities seems even more naive a proposal than some old-fashioned anarcho-syndicalists' view that workers self-management alone will bring about the "free society." The idea that a workers' paradise could simply be built upon the shoulders of global capitalism is simply preposterous. The large-scale, centralized, mass-production approach that developed with capitalism, idolized by many Marxists, was, unfortunately, never seriously challenged by either the union movement or by anarcho-syndicalists. The wider anarchist movement, however, has always distrusted large-scale, wasteful industrial practices and deplored the regimentation involved in work and the factory system, and has placed its faith in the self-governing, environmentally integrated community. Anarcho-syndicalists should review the intellectual insights of the broad anarchist movement to a much greater extent than they have. Otherwise, anarcho-syndicalism will become just another tired, 19th-century socialist philosophy with an overly optimistic assessment of the liberatory potential of mass industrial culture.

Nevertheless, it is only through organizing our fellow wage-earners, who have the least to gain from the continued functioning of global capitalism, that we can build any lasting challenge to the state and its power elite. The traditional methods of syndicalism, such as the general strike, could bring the global mega-machine to a complete standstill overnight. No other group can achieve this, because wage-earners, and especially the growing army of service workers, represent the majority (at least 60%) of the adult population. Once the people wrest the industrial and service infrastructure from the hands of the elite, we can do what we will with it. Maybe the majority of workers will choose to dismantle their factories and abandon their fast-food restaurant chains, committing industrial mass manufacture to the dustbin

of history; or perhaps they will elect to develop new, more localized versions of their industries. Of course, unless anarchists persuade their fellow workers to organize themselves to resist and eventually eliminate the current state and corporate coercive apparatus, this whole discussion is so much pie in the sky. This is the most compelling reason why an environmentally sensitive and rejuvenated anarcho-syndicalist movement represents one of the most practical methods of halting the destructive advance of the state and the mega-corporation.

The worldwide nature of pollution provides more reason for international workers' organizations. Even though governments have achieved some successes in controlling pollution, these successes have been sporadic and limited. For example, the Montreal protocol appears to have been successful in slowing the continued production of ozone-depleting chlorofluorocarbons, of CFCs. These chemicals are, however, mainly produced by only six companies, and we should not be too optimistic about the possibility for global co-operation between capitalists and national governments on environmental issues. (The failure to do anything about "greenhouse" gas emissions shows the near-total lack of environmental concern of those in power.) Although CFCs were first synthesized in 1894, they were not used industrially until 1927. Had they been used beginning in 1894, we may not have had an ozone layer left to protect. We are told that, after a period of thinning, the ozone layer will most likely begin to repair itself. But what other long-term or irreversible industrial damage is occurring without our being aware of it?

The industrial system as we know it may indeed be causing such damage, but what do anti-syndicalist anarchists propose to do about it? Even if humanity decided to give up industrialism altogether and return to a craft economy, global co-operation among the industrial workers of the world would be necessary to implement that decision — via a permanent, worldwide general strike. In the absence of a grassroots and anarchistically inspired workers' movement that could mount a sustained opposition to industrial capitalism, such a course does not even present itself as a possibility. Anti-syndicalist anarchists, if they are sincere in their desire to abolish the industrial system, should as a matter of logic talk with working people, persuade them to accept their point of view, and then help organize them to implement it. Neither capitalists nor unorganized, unaware workers will abandon their factories and consumerist habits. And, as long as there are industrial capitalists — and no massive international opposition to them — industrialism as we know it will assuredly remain.

Means and Ends

It is true that we may ultimately discover that most technology, and even the industrial system itself, is inherently environmentally destructive. It is even possible that many of the new eco-technologies that seem to offer hope may turn out to have unforeseen side effects, and that humanity will be compelled to give up modern technology altogether. But, if this happens, it must be an organic process. Its starting point, one would

hope, would not be simply to smash up the machines, dynamite the roads and abandon the cities, beginning again at "year zero" — as Pol Pot attempted to do in Cambodia. The only non-authoritarian way in which the "year zero" can come is for the people to decide unanimously to destroy their factories, stores, highways, and telephone systems themselves. If this happens, there would be nothing anyone could or should do to stop them. But starvation, dislocation, chaos and violence would almost certainly be the immediate result of such reckless actions, leading to dictatorship, horrendous suffering, and political and social passivity in the long run. (And even if primitivists would, by some miracle, convince a majority of our fellow citizens to discard science and technology, would that give them the right to force the rest of us to submit to their will?)

The everyday needs of humanity are enmeshed in the continued functioning of the industrial machine. One cannot simply smash up the life-support system and hope for the best. Instead, it must be carefully dismantled while new methods and practices are developed. If we are to achieve an eco-anarchist society, workers must wrest power from their employers, after which the goal should be production of socially necessary and environmentally benign goods. Once people are no longer forced to produce useless consumer goods and services, it is likely that every person will work only a very few hours per week — leaving people with much more time to devote to their own interests and to their communities. By eliminating the parasitic classes and reducing industrial activity to the production of basic necessities, a huge amount of human energy would be released. The reconstruction of the eco-regionally integrated human community from the corpse of the state could thus commence in an incremental way, ensuring that basic human needs would be effectively met while retaining the positive aspects of the industrial infrastructure. Each of us would have to continue to work a few hours per week to keep the industrial machine minimally functioning while we made changes.

If, in the face of sustained efforts to reduce its adverse effects and to integrate it with the local eco-region, the industrial system still proved to be an environmental menace, then humanity would, one hopes, have had the time to explore new ways of life suited to meeting its basic needs without industry as we know it. Industrial syndicalism is one relatively bloodless way of doing away with the state/capitalist elite, and of allowing construction of an anarchist society; it may or may not have a place in the creation of an ecologically sound way of life, but it is a sure method of returning economic and industrial power into the hands of the people. Anarchists — be they industrial-syndicalist, technophile, or neo-primitivist — thus have no program other than to bluntly declare that it is the people who must decide their own social and environmental destiny.

Of course, the question remains of whether industrial syndicalism is the only, or most satisfactory, anarchist method of reorganizing the distribution of goods and services within communities. What we can be sure of is that the individualistic mass consumerism of the current state/capitalist system is quite ill-suited to the health and sustainability of life on Earth.



L'histoire de deux mobilisations

Les camionneurs sud-asiatiques construisent la solidarité de classe, le "Convoi de la liberté" construit le fascisme

Jeff Shantz
Canada, 2022

À la fin du mois de janvier et au cours des premières semaines de février 2022, la capitale de l'État canadien, Ottawa, habituellement endormie, est devenue le centre de l'attention internationale lorsque des milliers de camionneurs et leurs partisans se sont rendus dans la ville dans le cadre d'une mobilisation d'extrême droite appelée "Convoi de la liberté 2022". Qu'une force d'extrême-droite aussi importante puisse occuper le centre-ville d'une grande ville pendant des semaines a suscité l'inquiétude des résidents ainsi que des observateurs et a donné le coup d'envoi à de nombreuses questions et débats parmi les anarchistes, les gauchistes et les travailleurs en général. Quelle était la composition du convoi? Étaient-ils réellement issus de la classe ouvrière? Que dit la mobilisation sur les échecs des syndicats et de la gauche politique? Quels types d'organisation sont nécessaires pour contrer la croissance de l'extrême droite au Canada au cours des dernières années? Au moment où le Convoi de la liberté organisait et menait à bien son occupation, d'autres mobilisations de camionneurs de la base avaient également lieu, ciblant des entreprises spécifiques et formulant des revendications et obtenant des victoires qui profitaient directement aux camionneurs, sans que les médias n'y prêtent attention. Ces mobilisations de camionneurs ont été organisées par des camionneurs

d'Asie du Sud (principalement Punjabi) et elles constituent des modèles convaincants d'organisation de la base et de solidarité communautaire, ainsi que de véritables réponses de la classe ouvrière aux questions soulevées par le Convoi de la liberté.

Un spectacle routier d'extrême-droite

Le Convoi de la liberté 2022 a été lancé ostensiblement comme une protestation contre l'obligation vaccinale du gouvernement pour le passage des frontières. En cours de route, il s'est transformé en appels plus généraux à la "liberté personnelle" et à la "liberté individuelle", contre le "mondialisme" et la "tyrannie" du gouvernement libéral de Trudeau. Très tôt, il a été observé que les principaux organisateurs du convoi avaient des liens étroits et de longue date avec des organisations et des réseaux d'extrême-droite et ouvertement fascistes qui se sont développés au Canada au cours des dernières années. D'éminents organisateurs du Convoi ont laissé sur les médias sociaux des messages ouvertement suprématistes, anti-migrants, islamophobes, transphobes, homophobes et antisyndicaux. Un compte GoFundMe

de soutien au convoi a été créé par deux personnes ayant des liens importants avec des groupes d'extrême droite et fascistes. BJ Dichter a pris la parole lors du congrès 2019 du Parti populaire du Canada, un parti d'extrême-droite et anti-immigration. Dans son discours, il a ameuté la foule avec des diatribes sur les dangers des "islamistes politiques", et a affirmé que le Parti libéral est "infesté d'islamistes." Dans un rapport du Toronto Star, Dichter a été cité comme ayant déclaré : "Malgré ce que nos médias corporatifs et nos dirigeants politiques veulent admettre, l'entrisme islamiste et l'adaptation de l'islam politique pourrissent notre société comme la syphilis." L'autre organisatrice de GoFundMe est Tamara Lich, une responsable du parti de droite Maverick en Alberta. Un autre organisateur du convoi, Pat King, a été impliqué dans le mouvement d'extrême-droite des Gilets jaunes [la version Canada], qui a organisé un précédent convoi à Ottawa en 2019 et a épousé des vues racistes de "remplacement des blancs (anglo-saxons)", suggérant que les blancs sont systématiquement remplacés par des personnes de couleur par le biais de politiques migratoires planifiées. King a pris la parole sur Facebook pour déclarer : "La seule façon de résoudre ce problème, c'est avec des balles". Le convoi a également des liens directs avec le groupe néofasciste Soldiers of Odin (SOO), une formation de combat de rue qui a été impliquée dans d'autres mobilisations récentes de l'extrême-droite, y compris des attaques contre des rassemblements antiracistes et des personnes non logées et leurs alliés. Jason La-Face ("LaFaci"), un administrateur de site web et l'organisateur du convoi du Nord et de l'Est de l'Ontario avec Canada Unity, est le vice-président des SOO. Pendant leur séjour à Ottawa, de nombreux symboles d'extrême-droite ont été aperçus parmi les participants au convoi. Il s'agissait notamment de drapeaux nazis et confédérés, ainsi que de symboles plus obscurs de groupes néo-fascistes, comme le drapeau de Three Percenter. Il y avait également des pancartes comparant l'obligation vaccinale à l'Holocauste. Pour mettre en contexte, il convient également de souligner que les précédentes mobilisations du mouvement des Gilets Jaunes, aligné sur le mouvement des convoyeurs, visaient en fait les travailleurs en grève pour leur faire subir des violences. Comme je l'ai écrit dans une analyse pour The Bullet, les Gilets jaunes ont essayé de briser une grève des membres d'Unifor à la raffinerie Co-Op en 2019. Ce sont les formes de "solidarité" dont font preuve les participants au convoi (solidarité pour les patrons). Voilà le type de "mouvement de la classe ouvrière" dont il s'agit.



NAUJAWAN SUPPORT NETWORK

La composition de classe du convoi

Bien que le Convoi de la Liberté se soit présenté comme

une action de camionneurs, beaucoup se posent des questions sur l'origine de classe des participants. Il s'agit notamment de savoir si les chauffeurs appartiennent à la classe ouvrière, s'ils travaillent dans le cadre d'un rapport salarial ou s'ils sont des propriétaires-exploitants petits bourgeois. Des questions ont également été posées sur l'implication des propriétaires de sociétés de camionnage. En toute honnêteté, il est impossible de répondre à ces questions sans une enquête systématique sur les camionneurs et des informations confirmées sur leurs contrats de travail, leur propriété, etc. À titre anecdotique, des entretiens ont eu lieu avec plusieurs propriétaires d'entreprises de transport routier qui participent ou soutiennent le convoi. L'un d'entre eux est Ben Peters, propriétaire d'ADT Transport à Leamington, en Ontario, près de ma ville natale, qui gère une flotte de 13 camions transportant des moules à injection sur des plateaux pour l'industrie automobile. Il affirme que son entreprise a été "grandement touchée" par les nouvelles restrictions en matière de vaccination, de tests et de mise en quarantaine et affirme que de nombreux chauffeurs d'ADT ont choisi de ne pas se faire vacciner.

Rick Wall est propriétaire de Richland Transport à Reinfeld, au Manitoba, une flotte de 30 camions, pour la plupart des propriétaires exploitants, qui transportent des ponts ouverts de part et d'autre de la frontière entre les États-Unis et le Canada. M. Wall se définit comme un "homme craignant Dieu" et un "fier Canadien". Il a demandé que les restrictions soient levées, en utilisant le langage des libertés individuelles : "Tout le monde en a assez que nos droits et libertés nous soient retirés. Nous pensons qu'il est temps pour nous de se lever". Lui

aussi affirme que les propriétaires-exploitants ne veulent pas se faire vacciner. Il n'est pas du tout surprenant que les propriétaires de ces entreprises de camionnage se préoccupent uniquement de leurs propres profits, et non de la santé et de la sécurité des travailleurs. Si leurs camions ne peuvent pas franchir la frontière parce qu'un chauffeur n'est pas vacciné, ils perdent leurs bénéfices. Il y a aussi la question du financement du convoi. Avant d'être suspendu par GoFundMe, pour violation des règles relatives à la violence, le compte avait recueilli plus de 10 millions de dollars de dons, dont la plupart provenaient de donateurs anonymes (l'un d'entre eux a atteint 215 000 dollars). Une partie importante de cette somme provenait de donateurs américains. De même, des personnalités de premier plan de la classe dirigeante ont apporté un soutien substantiel, notamment Donald Trump et Donald Trump Jr. ainsi qu'au moins un membre républicain du Sénat américain du Texas. Nul autre que Ted Cruz a pris la parole sur les médias sociaux pour fustiger le maire de Vancouver pour ne pas avoir accueilli un convoi de solidarité avec le Convoi de la liberté dans cette ville. La plateforme américaine de

médias sociaux Gab, qui soutient Trump et a été associée à la promotion de l'antisémitisme et d'autres opinions d'extrême droite, s'est engouffrée dans la brèche de GoFundMe et a proposé une sorte de solution de contournement pour ceux qui souhaitent continuer à faire des dons au Convoi de la liberté. Rarement une action se réclamant de la classe ouvrière n'a recueilli autant de soutien vocal de la part de personnalités de la classe dirigeante.

Répétons-le, ce n'est pas une grève sauvage

Bien que certains gauchistes auto-proclamés affirment que le Convoi de la liberté est une grève sauvage et qu'il devrait être soutenu, rien ne le prouve. Premièrement, aucun employeur n'a été touché, aucun n'a même été identifié comme cible. Bien qu'il puisse y avoir des grèves sauvages politiques contre les politiques gouvernementales, ce n'est pas le cas ici. En fait, les cibles les plus négativement touchées par le convoi ont été les travailleurs. Et elles ont été visées par la violence. Les travailleurs de la santé ont été menacés et intimidés, tout comme les travailleurs des services locaux. Incroyablement, dans une véritable démonstration de culpabilisation des victimes par l'État, les hauts fonctionnaires ont émis des avertissements suggérant aux travailleurs de la santé de ne pas s'habiller comme tels en public et que les gens retirent leurs masques dans les quartiers proches de l'occupation des camions. Deuxièmement, et c'est le plus important, le Convoi de la liberté n'est pas une action collective des travailleurs dans ou à travers les lieux de travail. Les grèves sauvages sont des actions collectives de travailleurs plutôt qu'une agglomération d'actions individuelles aléatoires. Si un ou deux travailleurs de plusieurs lieux de travail différents décident individuellement de rester à la maison, cela ne constitue pas une grève sauvage. Les camionneurs ont exprimé des inquiétudes quant à savoir qui organise le convoi et pourquoi. Un camionneur de l'Ontario, Tom Chevvers, a déclaré qu'il y a un problème avec la politique de toute cette affaire. De son point de vue : "Je suis vaxxé. C'était mon choix. Je n'aime pas que beaucoup de mes collègues camionneurs ne puissent pas travailler régulièrement à cause de leur choix, mais je ne suis pas là (dans la manifestation) aujourd'hui parce que je ne suis tout simplement pas d'accord avec le fait qu'une personne que je n'ai jamais rencontrée reçoive plus de 4 millions de dollars. Cela va mal se terminer et beaucoup de personnes réellement et légitimement concernées vont se faire avoir, peut-être sans pouvoir rentrer chez elles". Un autre, Jeremy Ivany, un camionneur de l'ouest de l'Ontario qui conduit des camions depuis 14 ans, a qualifié le convoi d'inconvénient majeur. "J'ai suivi la procédure, je me suis fait vacciner et pourtant ces clowns au volant bloquent la circulation, la frontière, les voies d'urgence. Pour prouver quoi? Parce qu'ils exigent d'avoir satisfaction? Vous ne faites pas la différence, vous faites une scène." Notamment, le Convoi de la liberté n'a pas soulevé, et encore moins orienté l'attention publique qu'il a obtenue, envers les nombreux problèmes réels auxquels sont confrontés les camionneurs, dont beaucoup ont été aggravés avec la COVID. Il s'agit notamment des conditions de santé et de sécurité, des heures de travail, du vol de salaire et de l'absence de

rémunération adéquate des heures supplémentaires, du temps non payé par les expéditeurs et les destinataires, de l'absence de stationnement sécuritaire, des conditions routières dangereuses et des pauses et installations sanitaires sur les routes du Nord et des régions rurales. Ces problèmes sont graves et coûtent aux camionneurs leur vie et leur gagne-pain. Pourtant, le Convoi de la liberté est resté silencieux sur ces questions et ne les a pas soulevées parmi ses nombreuses demandes – pendant qu'ils étaient sous le feu des projecteurs ils préféraient radoter aux foules leurs discours décousus au sujet des vaccins, des conspirations de QAnon, d'une tyrannie non spécifiée et des "holocaustes" du COVID. En guise de note finale sur le sujet, on pourrait ajouter, au sujet des vaccins en tant que problème des camionneurs, que selon l'Alliance canadienne du camionnage, plus de 85 % des 120 000 camionneurs canadiens qui traversent régulièrement la frontière canado-américaine sont vaccinés. Ce chiffre correspond au nombre de Canadiens de 5 ans et plus qui sont entièrement vaccinés, soit 82 % au moment de la rédaction du présent article. Et parmi les travailleurs qui ont été impliqués, il y a une certaine similitude démographique dans le convoi qui ne reflète pas la diversité des camionneurs - ils sont en grande majorité blancs (ce qui n'est pas surprenant étant donné leurs fondements suprématistes blancs). En particulier, le convoi ne reflète pas la grande proportion de camionneurs sud-asiatiques dans l'industrie. Alors que le Convoi de la liberté a accaparé beaucoup de temps et d'énergie dans les médias, il existe des groupes de camionneurs sud-asiatiques qui se mobilisent également, sur la base d'actions directes, pour répondre aux besoins non seulement des camionneurs mais aussi d'autres travailleurs précaires, des membres de la communauté, de migrants et d'étudiants. Alors que le convoi subit la pression, le réseau de soutien Naujawan met en lumière des formes significatives d'organisation de la classe ouvrière et de construction de relations - de solidarité de la classe ouvrière.

Les camionneurs d'Asie du Sud et le réseau de soutien Naujawan : solidarité de la classe ouvrière

Pendant que le Convoi de la liberté suscitait l'attention et les commentaires internationaux, une autre mobilisation de camionneurs, composée de camionneurs de la classe ouvrière, était occupée à combattre les patrons et à soutenir les travailleurs précaires. Et ce, avec une attention médiatique minime et bien peu de discussions au sein de la gauche sur ce que cela signifiait pour l'organisation dans le contexte actuel. Ces camionneurs représentent une partie importante des camionneurs au Canada, une section de travailleurs ostensiblement sous-représentée dans le Convoi de la liberté. Les données du recensement canadien des 25 dernières années montrent que, dans l'ensemble, près d'un camionneur sur cinq (17,8 %) au Canada est d'origine sud-asiatique. Les chiffres sont plus élevés dans les grandes villes. À Vancouver, les migrants sud-asiatiques constituent actuellement la majorité (55,9 %) des chauffeurs, tandis qu'à Toronto, les chiffres sont similaires, soit 53,9 %. Ils font partie des travailleurs les plus malmenés de l'industrie. Ils sont victimes de vols de salaire; de mauvaises classifications

d'emploi; de conditions d'emploi abusives; d'assignations à des camions mal entretenus; et bien sûr, de racisme.

Dans une récente mobilisation de solidarité de classe, des camionneurs sud-asiatiques de Brampton, en Ontario, se sont organisés en tant que membres du *Naujawan Support Network* (NSN) pour mettre fin à ces abus et à d'autres pour les travailleurs dans une gamme d'industries allant du camionnage à la restauration. Le groupe a commencé en 2022 en ciblant Gagandeep Dhaliwal, le propriétaire de Canadawide Logistics, pour vol de salaire. Selon la NSN, Dhaliwal doit à 10 anciens chauffeurs plus de 40 000 dollars de salaires. Ils l'ont également accusé d'insulter les familles des travailleurs et la religion sikh. Le jour de l'an, ils ont mené leur action jusqu'au domicile du patron pour lui demander de payer les chauffeurs. Ils ont également remis en mains propres des lettres à deux employeurs exigeant le salaire de trois chauffeurs. Cette action fait suite à celle d'octobre 2021, au cours de laquelle NSN a aidé un travailleur du secteur de la restauration à lutter contre Al-Madina Halal Meats, qui avait retenu son salaire. Ils ont organisé une action à l'extérieur d'Al-Madina qui a permis au travailleur de recevoir les 8 879 dollars de salaire qui lui étaient dus. NSN a également soutenu des étudiants internationaux sur des questions d'éducation et d'emploi. Ils innovent en matière de tactiques et de solidarité entre les travailleurs de tous les secteurs d'activité et ciblent des employeurs spécifiques de manière à faire pression littéralement sur eux. L'association efficace des médias sociaux et de l'action directe offre des possibilités de mobilisation rapide de la lutte des classes, à l'instar des réseaux de brigades volantes, au-delà des lieux de travail ou des secteurs spécifiques et en dehors des structures syndicales formelles. Ils construisent un pouvoir collectif. Et ils ont été efficaces en peu de temps. Depuis juillet 2021, NSN a récupéré plus de 60 000 dollars de salaires volés. Ceci, plutôt que le Convoi de la liberté, montre un moyen d'aborder certains des problèmes auxquels sont confrontés les membres de la classe ouvrière dans le contexte du COVID et au-delà. Des brigades volantes, des groupes de travail, des réseaux d'action directe d'entraide et de défense communautaire, rassemblant les travailleurs au-delà des divisions industrielles, du lieu de travail et de l'emploi. Le bon vieux syndicalisme, pourrait-on dire.

Conclusion

Il y a certainement de nombreuses raisons d'être très en colère en ce moment, alors que les gouvernements et le capital ont manœuvré pour intensifier l'exploitation des travailleurs, restructurer l'économie au profit du capital, et transférer des milliards de dollars de richesse vers le haut. Le Convoi de la liberté n'est pas une réponse de la classe ouvrière. Il ne fait que renforcer les forces de réaction qui divisent et affaiblissent les communautés de la classe ouvrière déjà assiégées. Plutôt que de se demander comment entrer en contact avec ceux qui sont attirés par le Convoi de la liberté (en particulier les propriétaires) malgré sa base évidente et ouverte d'extrême droite - comme le font maintenant certains membres de la gauche - nous devons nous orienter vers les personnes de la classe ouvrière qui ont été et sont

les plus négativement affectées par la COVID. Pour être clair, cela signifie les travailleurs noirs, indigènes et migrants - les mêmes travailleurs qui sont également la cible d'agressions de la part du soi-disant convoi des travailleurs. Les travailleurs du secteur des services, les travailleurs indépendants et, oui, les travailleurs de la logistique. Les travailleurs précaires. Ceux qui ont enduré des conditions horribles dans les fermes et les lieux de travail de l'industrie alimentaire, où certaines des plus grandes épidémies de COVID ont eu lieu. Nous pouvons commencer, ou développer, sur le modèle du NSN - en faisant un travail de solidarité pour obtenir directement ce dont les travailleurs ont besoin auprès des employeurs ou des propriétaires qui ont utilisé la COVID pour exploiter davantage les travailleurs et les locataires et les rendre plus précaires en vue de la "reconstruction". Nous pouvons également intensifier nos efforts dans la construction de brigades volantes - des équipes d'intervention rapide pour soutenir la classe ouvrière, affronter les patrons, les propriétaires et les bureaucraties gouvernementales. Il s'agit de mettre en place une aide mutuelle collective pour soutenir les personnes qui souffrent en ce moment, mais aussi pour renforcer les luttes à venir sur une base plus durable. Les syndiqués de la base doivent intensifier leurs efforts pour sécuriser et libérer les ressources syndicales qu'ils ont eux-mêmes collectivement construites - les ressources de la classe ouvrière - et les arracher au contrôle des bureaucraties syndicales et à la gestion limitée des contrats. Pour certains, l'une des véritables histoires de la COVID a été l'action inefficace de nombreux syndicats dits sociaux (Unifor, SCFP, par exemple) alors que la situation de la COVID s'aggravait, décimant les communautés de la classe ouvrière. Il est intéressant de noter que différents groupes *ad hoc* se sont rassemblés à Ottawa pendant les semaines d'occupation des convois afin d'assurer des patrouilles de sécurité pour les travailleurs de la santé, les voisins noirs et autochtones, les personnes homosexuelles et handicapées - ceux qui étaient visés par les participants du convoi. Autre exemple en temps réel, des groupes de personnes relativement petits se sont rassemblés à Vancouver pour bloquer un convoi qui tentait d'entrer dans la ville, en signe de solidarité avec le convoi de la liberté. Ces contre-actions ont été organisées rapidement sur les médias sociaux, à partir d'un canal peu évident - une discussion Reddit. Dans la plus pure tradition vancouveroise, beaucoup ont apporté des vélos qui ont servi de mini-barricades. Et cela a fonctionné, bloquant le convoi avant qu'il ne puisse atteindre sa destination, les hôpitaux voisins. Imaginez que des réseaux de brigades volantes permanentes soient formés et puissent être mobilisés rapidement pour diverses actions de défense et de renforcement de la communauté. Ce sont là des infrastructures potentielles de résistance. Des lieux pour construire et étendre la résistance anticapitaliste et antifasciste et pour fournir les bases d'offensives durables et proactives (plutôt que réactives) pour l'avenir.

Tendances anarchistes dans la révolution soudanaise

*Mutasem Agra
Soudan, 2022*

En décembre 2018, aux cris de « paix, liberté, justice », un soulèvement populaire généralisé avait embrasé le Soudan, contre le dictateur Omar Al-Bashir qui faisait régner sa terreur islamiste depuis 30 ans. Après 4 mois de mobilisation populaire continue (blocages, émeutes, occupation de la place Al-Qyada au cœur de Karthoum), les militaires renversèrent Al Bashir en avril 2019, instaurant un Conseil Militaire transitionnel, depuis renommé « Conseil de souveraineté », composé de militaires et de hauts fonctionnaires du gouvernement précédent ainsi que de civils représentant la bourgeoisie.

Ce mouvement de la bourgeoisie pour rétablir l'ordre et empêcher toute révolution réelle ne calma pas les manifestants, organisé dans des Comités de Résistance de quartier, auto-organisés et sans chefs, et qui continuent de réclamer que le pouvoir soit remis intégralement aux civils sans négociation. Même le massacre de centaine de manifestant le 3 juin 2019 sur la place Al-Qyada ne calma pas la révolte des soudanais.

Le 25 octobre 2021, les masques sont tombés : un coup d'Etat militaire a mis fin à la farce du « Conseil de souveraineté » civilo-militaire.

Depuis les manifestations continuent et sont réprimés dans le sang avec la plus extrême brutalité. Le 30 décembre, alors qu'une marche sur Karthoum était organisée par les Comités de résistance –auquel participent nos compagnons anarchistes soudanais, la police a de nouveau tiré dans la foule et pourchassé les manifestants dans les rues avec des pick-up équipés de mitrailleuses. Il y a des centaines de blessés, au moins 4 morts et de nombreuses personnes restent encore disparues.

Nous [CNT-AIT France] livrons ci-dessous la traduction d'une analyse de ce mouvement, relayée par des compagnons anarchistes du Maroc, qui nous semble pertinente et importante pour le mouvement anarchiste international. Le caractère auto-organisé de la révolte au Soudan fait écho au mouvement des *cacerolazos* en Argentine il y a 20 ans, qui avaient initié un nouveau cycle de lutte dans le monde. (<http://cnt-ait.info/2021/12/23/argentine-bilan>).

Le multiplication des mouvements dans le monde qui "fracassent les vieux moules idéologiques en mettant en pratique deux nouveaux atouts (qui seront désormais ceux de la lutte de classe internationale): la démocratie directe, le rejet des institutions étatiques", c'est à dire l'assembléisme ainsi que le refus de la représentativité

et du spectacle, loin du post-modernisme occidental tant à la mode dans les cercles universitaires, ne peut que réjouir les anarchosyndicalistes que nous sommes...

Quelle que soit l'issue de ce mouvement, les révolutionnaires du Soudan et en premier lieux nos compagnons Anarchistes ont déjà enclenché un processus irréversible de transformation culturelle et idéologique de la société soudanaise.

Les insurgés du Soudan ont besoin de notre solidarité. Envoyez des messages à l'Ambassade du Soudan pour dénoncer le pouvoir militaire et affirmer votre solidarité avec la révolte au Soudan.

Des compagnons de la CNT-AIT France

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J'écoutais Al Jazeera interviewer plusieurs hommes sur les événements au Soudan. L'homme qui représentait la voix du groupe Al-Burhan a déclaré que les manifestations n'étaient pas pacifiques. La seule preuve qu'il a donnée à l'appui de sa déclaration était la participation d'anarchistes à des rassemblements.

Cette affirmation était une démonstration d'ignorance et de mensonges des excuses de la philosophie politique qui, il y a quelques jours, affirmait que les dirigeants du Parti communiste Soudanais étaient ceux qui avaient brandi des drapeaux et des slogans anarchistes.

Les anarchistes n'ont pas une vision unifiée de l'utilisation de la violence pour atteindre des objectifs révolutionnaires. Certains d'entre eux croient que l'État et le système capitaliste ne peuvent être renversés que par la résistance avec des outils violents, et certains d'entre eux sont doués pour casser des vitres et des voitures et allumer des incendies, et ils ont été impliqués dans des assassinats célèbres à travers l'histoire.

Mais beaucoup des lumières et de pionniers de la pensée anarchiste préconisaient des moyens pacifiques et s'opposaient à l'utilisation de moyens violents. Les anarchistes anti-violents notables incluent – pour n'en nommer que quelques-uns – Noam Chomsky, Howard Zinn, Henry Clark, Bertrand Russell, un proche associé des anarchistes, et le romancier glorifié Léon Tolstoï qui a soutenu que l'anarchisme a le devoir d'être non-violent car elle est, par définition, opposée à la coercition et aux relations de pouvoir. Parce que l'État est violent par nature, l'anarchisme déterminé doit être également pacifiste.

De nombreux anarchistes pacifistes ont été influencés

par les philosophies d'Henry David Thoreau et leurs idées se sont cristallisées dans une école appelée anarchisme pacifiste, une école de pensée qui préconise l'utilisation de formes de résistance non violentes et non violentes dans la lutte pour le changement social et rejette le principe de la violence, qu'il considère comme une forme de formes de pouvoir (autorité) sont donc en conflit avec les grands idéaux anarchistes tels que le rejet de la hiérarchie et de la domination.

La trahison des mouvements armés soudanais envers la révolution et le peuple du Sud-Soudan n'a surpris aucun anarchiste, même si elle a embarrassé l'éventail des libéraux et des gauchistes qui les avaient auparavant soutenus.

Il est certain que la révolution soudanaise qui fait actuellement rage (instinctivement, inconsciemment) a adopté une ligne anarchiste forte avant même l'apparition des drapeaux anarchistes dans les rues des villes soudanaises. Pour ne donner qu'un exemple, les Comités révolutionnaires et les Comités de quartier, qui sont le cœur battant de la révolution, suivent les meilleures traditions d'organisation anarchistes.

Les anarchistes ont toujours appelé à des comités révolutionnaires indépendants et décentralisés. Alors que les anarchistes soutiennent que de tels comités doivent toujours se coordonner et coopérer étroitement, ils doivent éviter de créer une direction hiérarchique centralisée.

L'absence de hiérarchie entre les comités et un organe central et saisissant est ce qui distingue les principes d'organisation anarchistes des autres écoles du socialisme.

La raison pour laquelle les anarchistes rejettent l'autorité centrale est leur croyance fondamentale que le pouvoir en soi, sous quelque forme que ce soit, est la principale source du mal dans la société et que la trahison réside dans l'ADN du pouvoir, et pour cette raison ils évitent de produire des relations autoritaires ou hiérarchiques dans leur les organisations et les efforts collectifs pour changer.

Une autre raison pour laquelle les anarchistes rejettent l'autorité centrale est leur conviction que le centralisme affaiblit et étouffe l'impulsion révolutionnaire et rend l'organisation fragile, ce qui signifie qu'il est facile ou du moins possible pour l'ennemi de saper les efforts révolutionnaires en soudoyant, intimidant, emprisonnant ou même tuant des dirigeants: frapper la tête et le corps meurt ou devient paralysé pendant un certain temps ou plus longtemps. La tendance anarchiste a rendu difficile la défaite de la révolution soudanaise et a confondu Al-Dish, Al-Kayzan, Al-Damaji, Al-Khawaja et Al-Qahteen.

Parmi les comités de quartier ou les comités révolutionnaires, il n'y a pas de dirigeants que l'on puisse acheter, intimider ou emprisonner pour paralyser l'énergie de la rue. C'est précisément pour cette raison que le gouver-

nement n'a pas eu recours à des arrestations massives pour réprimer la révolution, car il sait que l'arrestation de centaines ou de milliers de personnes n'arrêtera pas la révolution, et il n'y a pas de personne indispensable parmi les révolutionnaires, ni père protecteur et ni imam moderniste, prêt à faire don de sa personne sans quoi la nation s'égèrera en son absence et mourra.

Les anarchistes croient que les preuves empiriques soutiennent leur concept théorique de la meilleure façon de s'organiser. Ils déclarent que les révolutions les plus réussies de l'histoire moderne ont suivi la tradition de décentralisation anarchiste consistant à éviter un leader ou une présidence centralisée ou hiérarchique. Les révolutions les plus réussies de l'histoire moderne ont évité la centralisation et les structures hiérarchiques, y compris le mouvement noir pour les droits civiques aux États-Unis, qui a changé les relations raciales non seulement en Amérique mais dans le monde entier. La même chose s'applique à la révolution féministe qui a changé l'histoire et la société et n'avait pas de chef, pas de papa (désolé pas de maman), pas de centre, pas de présidence, pas de vache sacrée.

Il convient de noter que les mouvements des droits civiques et féministes étaient complètement pacifiques et que le pacifisme n'était pas un obstacle à leur changement du cours de l'histoire humaine. Mais dialectiquement parlant, c'est la nature décentralisée de l'organisation anarchiste qui rend la révolution riche, vibrante et difficile à vaincre, mais elle présente également des défis de coordination difficiles et dangereux en l'absence desquels il est difficile de maximiser les fruits.

Il est important d'avoir une coopération active et étroite entre ces centaines de comités pour coordonner le travail de la résistance et formuler un programme clair et positif et planifier de manière réaliste sa réalisation. Ce besoin de coordination est essentielle pour fixer des objectifs à court terme et élaborer une réflexion sur comment les atteindre.

L'essentiel est que les fondations de l'organisation anarchiste rejettent le centralisme, mais encouragent les révolutionnaires à se mettre en réseau et à établir des mécanismes solides pour coordonner l'action révolutionnaire sous une direction collective soumise à la responsabilité immédiate de ses bases dans chaque comité.

Il est possible d'y parvenir en sélectionnant des délégués pour chaque comité pour contacter les délégués des autres comités, afin que des délégués de la ville (Khartoum) en sortent pour réseauter avec les délégués des autres villes (Omdurman et Bahri) et ainsi de suite afin d'atteindre un organisme fédéral national couvrant toutes les villes et villages du Soudan.

Traduction CNT-AIT, relue par Tafayete Tanarkite
افكشغف افالار



AUX ORIGINES DU 1^{ER} MAI LES MARTYRS DE CHICAGO

Texte : MLT & Dessins : OLT



Un meeting se tient au Haymarket Square de Chicago le 4 mai 1886. Les orateurs anarchistes Albert Parsons, August Spies et Samuel Fielden soutiennent la revendication de la journée de huit heures pour les travailleurs. Les « Chevaliers du Travail » viennent de lancer une grande campagne de mobilisation afin d'obtenir ce droit. Les manifestants commencent à se disperser lorsque les forces de l'ordre chargent. Une bombe explose parmi les policiers, ceux-ci tirent alors sur la foule.



Louis Lingg



Michael Schwab



Samuel Fielden

Huit militants anarchistes sont arrêtés : Auguste Spies, Samuel Fielden, Oscar Neebe, Michael Schwab, Louis Lingg, Adolph Fischer, George Engel et Albert Parsons. Jugés, ces huit accusés sont condamnés à mort. Les peines de Schwab, Fielden et Neebe vont être commuées en prison à perpétuité. Les trois hommes seront graciés le 26 juin 1893.



Oscar Neebe



Albert Parsons



August Spies



George Engel

Le vendredi 11 novembre 1887, Parsons, Spies, Fisher et Engel sont pendus. Lingg s'est suicidé en prison. Le 1^{er} mai devient Journée internationale des travailleurs en souvenir des « Martyrs de Chicago ».



Adolph Fischer

Journal Liberté Ouvrière

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