

only vegetables, and play the dulcimer. Some are anarchists who worship the power of algorithms, play strange games, and infiltrate strange temples. Some are anarchists who see only the stars. Some are anarchists who see only the mud.

They spring from a single seed, no matter the flowering of their ideas. The seed is liberty. And that is all it is. It is not a socialist seed. It is not a capitalist seed. It is not a mystical seed. It is not a determinist seed. It is simply a statement. We can be free. After that it's all choice and chance.

Anarchism, liberty, does not tell you a thing about how free people will behave or what arrangements they will make. It simply says that the people have the capacity to make the arrangements.

Anarchism is not normative. It does not say how to be free. It says only that freedom, liberty, can exist.

Recently, in a libertarian journal, I read the statement that libertarianism is an ideological movement. It may well be. In a concept of freedom it, they, you, or we, anyone, has the liberty to engage in ideology or anything else that does not coerce others or deny their liberty. But anarchism is not an ideological movement. It is an ideological statement. It says that all people have a capacity for liberty. It says that all anarchists want liberty. And then it is silent. After the pause of that silence, anarchists then mount the stages of their own communities and history and proclaim their, not anarchism's, ideologies - they say how they, as anarchists, will make arrangements, describe events, celebrate life, work.

Anarchism is the hammer-idea, smashing the chains. Liberty is what results and, in liberty, everything else is up to people and their ideologies. It is not up to THE ideology. Anarchism says, in effect, there is no such upper case, dominating ideology. It says that people who live in liberty make their own histories and their own deals with and within it.

A person who describes a world in which everyone must or should behave in a single way, marching to a single drummer, is simply not an anarchist. A person who says that they prefer this way, even wishing that all would prefer that way, but who then says that all must decide, may certainly be an anarchist. Probably is.

Liberty is liberty. Anarchism is anarchism. Neither is Swiss cheese or anything else. They are not property. They are not copyrighted. They are old, available ideas, part of human culture. They may be hyphenated but they are not in fact hyphenated. They exist on their own. People add hyphens, and supplemental ideologies.

Liberty, finally, is not a box into which people are to be forced. Liberty is a space in which people may live. It does not tell you how they will live. It says, eternally, only that we can.

The Boston Anarchist Drinking Brigade

A slightly different version of this broadside originally appeared as an article in The Dandelion, Spring, 1980 and also appeared in a previous edition of Total Liberty Volume 3, Number 3, in 2002.

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VOLUME 5 NUMBER 4

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EDITORIAL

IT is not much of a milestone, but this is the twentieth edition of Total Liberty and 2007 marks the tenth anniversary since the first edition. Sadly the size of the readership remains much at the same level as it achieved within its first two years, that is around 200 to 250 persons at most. The influence which it exerts, even within the so-called anarchist movement in Britain, is negligible. Still the role of the magazine cannot hope to be that of reaching a mass audience or achieving a wide influence. Its role is to discuss and promote the values of an 'Evolutionary Anarchism', that is a practical, piecemeal and definitely non-violent vision of anarchism among those who share these values and aims, and also to project this discussion beyond these narrow confines wherever possible.

That anarchism as an idea still exists and continues to exert some level of influence within movements such as the peace movement and the ecology movement is an achievement of

sorts.

The various movements in which anarchists are active provide some level of outlet to a wider audience and to more practical effect than the anarchist ghetto which has its annual Jamborees in events such as the London Anarchist Bookfair, or smaller displays at regional book fairs such as the Manchester Radical Bookfair and the Norwich Anarchist Bookfair.

These events are in reality more like party conferences or perhaps fringe meetings at party political conferences. Where the differing activists come together, network, argue and very frequently disagree and fall out. In the case of the London Anarchist Bookfair there is a very wide variety of different 'anarchisms' present with often little agreement between them. Previous years have seen Anarcho-Christian groups such as the *Catholic Worker* group excluded. Last year saw a member of the *Libertarian Alliance* thrown out for the temerity of distributing some literature from a vacant table. Certainly it is possible to argue that he should have pre-booked a table with the organisers, and that as he had not booked or paid for a space they were within their rights to ask him to leave. However, the fact that he was so asked to leave reveals the inability of some anarchists to recognise that there is more than one interpretation of anarchism, and is depressing to say the least. There are normally a fair number of groups at anarchist events whose 'anarchist' credentials are doubtful and with which many disagree, but it would seem that Fundamentalist Islam and Fundamentalist Christianity have no monopoly on intolerance.

Jonathan Simcock

The choice between libertarian and authoritarian solutions is not a once-and-for-all cataclysmic struggle, it is a series of running engagements, most of them never concluded, which occur, and have occurred throughout history. Every human society, except the most totalitarian of utopias or anti-utopias, is a plural society with large areas which are not in conformity with the officially imposed or declared values. An example of this can be seen in the alleged division of the world into capitalist and communist blocks: there are vast areas of capitalist societies which are not governed by capitalist principles, and there are many aspects of the socialist societies which cannot be described as socialist. You might even say that the only thing which makes life livable in the capitalist world is the unacknowledged non-capitalist element within it, and the only thing which makes survival possible in the communist world is the unacknowledged capitalist element within it.

Colin Ward, *Anarchy In Action* 1973



Rights and Wrongs

The battle for rights - for individuals or more frequently collectives (such as 'trade unions' or 'the working classes') has been the focus of the left, including anarchists for the last two hundred years. Tom Paine's 1791 founding text of liberal democracy was called 'The Rights of Man', while his near contemporary Mary Wollstonecroft called for 'The Vindication of Rights of Women'. When not attempting to extend rights the left has been engaged in their defence as with the current campaign against the introduction of identity cards, for example.

The rights that people are entitled to and particularly whether they might be said to have natural rights has also been a dominant theme within Western philosophy from Plato onwards. Hobbes famously argued that only when humans existed in a state of nature did they have complete free will. To be free for Hobbes though meant the absence of law and a life that was "solitary, cruel, brutal and short". The chaos that pure freedom represented for him was reason enough for individuals to give up their autonomy by relinquishing authority to a sovereign body - either a monarch or the state.

As it turned out the battle for rights has been the primary reason for the growth of the state. The state - supposedly accountable to the people - is for liberals and Marxists alike the mechanism by which rights are determined, distributed and protected. If an established right is violated such as the right to private property (theft) or to a safe working environment (industrial injury) then it is the state, its police, judges, courts and prisons that redresses this abuse, not the individual or their community. Conversely if an individual feels that their rights have been violated but that 'right' is not enshrined in law and recognised by the state (for example being sacked for undertaking secondary picketing) then there is nothing the individual can do. We hand responsibility over to the state which decides what we can and cannot do. The battle for rights ultimately reduces our freedoms and authority.

It is important to remark that the need for the

state to be linked to its people through elections was an integral plank in Paine's argument for the protection of rights. He wrote "every man is a proprietor in government and considers it is a necessary part of his business to understand and above all he does not adopt the slavish custom of following what in other governments are called LEADERS".

Anarchists never swallowed this liberal clap trap. Bakunin argued that the state will always be controlled by a political elite primarily concerned with their own economic, social and cultural interests. This has turned out to be the case. Liberal democracy has done little to reduce the exploitation of the poor and vulnerable by the rich and powerful. Despite this in practical terms (by which I mean day to day activities, actions, campaigns and propaganda) many anarchists have concentrated their energy solely on the acquisition or more often the protection of rights. This is significant because rights are only one side of a coin. If anarchism is truly a revolutionary political project then we need to consider not just what rights individuals and collectives should have but also what responsibilities we have to other people, to other animals, to society as a whole, to the environment and to ourselves. This is a major challenge as modern capitalism increasingly robs us of our autonomy in so many aspects of our life. Marx worried about alienation at work. Capitalism and its social flip side modernity, now seeps into every aspect of life. Negotiating rights alone will not be enough for anarchists. In modern society the battle for rights has to be fought on the state's terms. If we play the state's game we are in danger of endorsing it or at least giving it credibility.

"The notion of obligations comes before that of rights" wrote the French philosopher Simone Weil in her most famous book *The Need for Roots* (1949). Weil was an original thinker who blended a belief in god with a passionate and active commitment to the rights of workers and peasants. Between August and September 1936 she fought under Durruti in Catalonia and was active among syndicalists in pre war France. "Rights are always found to be related to certain conditions. Obligations alone remain independent of conditions" she wrote.

It may seem that the 'notion of obligations' is a strange one for anarchists to consider, reeking somewhat of Blair's 'rights and duties', meaning too often, compulsion. Weil, with her concern for the welfare and happiness of the individual though, meant something different and non authoritarian. She believed that we have obligations towards other humans simply because we too are human, and that these obligations are inde-

pendent of time and space, unlike the notion of rights. What your rights are, for example, as a woman has a different meaning within a community dominated by religious belief than a secular society, although the concept of rights is likely to be evoked in both. It should be said that as anarchists we have a universal notion of the rights of women (and others) and so, unlike other leftists do not, for example, tolerate Islam's or other religions' oppression of women.

Weil believed that the greatest obligation was respect but also that obligations meant nothing if they were not expressed through helping others to meet their needs like the need for food.

There is much in her writing that anarchists might agree with including her observation that Marxism and socialism, rather than liberating the proletariat, ended up imprisoning everyone by turning the whole of society into factory drones or her view that "the need for truth requires that intellectual culture should be universally accessible and that it should be acquired in an environment that is neither physically remote nor psychologically alien" (from her Draft from a Statement of Human Obligations, 1962). The important point for this essay though is her observation that a focus on rights or for that matter power alone is not enough. It makes us passive. I have the right to vote. I have the right to the minimum wage. I have the right to free health care (in Britain). I have the right to join a trade union or not to join a trade union. The sum of these rights is not the active civil society and participative democracy that Paine envisaged and certainly not the foundations for the transformation of society into one based on anarchist principles of mutual aid and cooperation.

Too often the outcome of the quest for rights is the strengthening of the state or other authoritarian institutions and the weakening of individual authority and responsibility. This is at a time when people feel increasingly remote from each other and isolated. Modern society creates what the French sociologist Marc Auge describes as 'non space', "impersonal, soulless places such as motorways, shopping malls, airports; around which capitalism is increasingly organised and which people lose their identity and concept of space". The political process itself is rapidly becoming a 'non space'.

The watch words of anarchism are 'mutual aid' and 'co-operation'. We desire a society rid of hierarchies and authoritarian institutions like the church or state. Debates within libertarianism centre on what form a non hierarchical society should take and the means by which we should seek to achieve this desired way of being. Anarchist societies, whatever their form, will require

active citizens engaged with the political process and each other. Here and now anarchism's best bet is to focus on those projects that help shape such citizens.

I have long been involved in the struggle against fascism and the far right. This has taken many forms over the years but I have been concerned that too often a group of us will descend on a community, usually a working class estate, do our stuff and then disappear, rather than working within communities. Fascism has been most effectively countered when local people stand up for themselves. We should not seek to 'do for' but rather 'work with'.

Solely focusing on the battle for rights is a mistake. Revolutions through time have clearly shown this. Power is secured. Rights are partially renegotiated but fundamentally society does not change. People are not free. Arguing that we should focus on people taking more responsibility rather than passively waiting for some vanguard to grant them rights may not be popular but it is vital if we are to really achieve anarchism.

Richard Griffin

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Don't Be Anti Anything – Except Anti-Anti!

A rare event provoked this article. In December last year, amid much Christmas ramble, BBC Radio 4 had a programme hosted by Melvin Bragg, it was a discussion on anarchy. True, it was entirely in a historical context, but my old friend Peter Marshall made some cogent points. The thing which stuck in my mind was the description of Tolstoy (1828-1910, Count Leo) as a Christian anarchist. I have always found that description a bumpy oxymoron.

But should I oppose those Christians who call themselves anarchists, or those anarchists who call themselves Christians? Before answering that I have to resolve what my own position is, or should be. I used to think I was an atheist, that I did not believe in god or gods. But this poses a problem. If you declare yourself an atheist, you are still acknowledging that which you do not believe in. It (god in this case) becomes a thing in which you do not believe. Even if nobody believed in it, it would still be a thing in which they did not believe. Tricky. My answer was to become an *untheist*, this still leaves theism in the shadows, but I don't think that is so bad. It's an easier wrapped parcel of concepts to ignore.

If this mechanism is accepted, what does it mean for anarchists? Traditionally anarchists have opposed many things. The most usual is the authoritarian State, more recently the emerging Transnational Corporations and their de facto control over States via the World Trade Organisation, the WB, the IMF, the GATTs, and the GATS, have become an increasing focus of attention. Opposition to this later group of mutually supportive institutions will never be as straight forward as that to the decreasing power of the State. But in whatever we disagree with, does being an anarchist hold the same problem as being an atheist? I think it does, but for a more obvious reason.

Let's consider our traditional position, in opposition to authoritarian government, as practised by the State. How do we fit into this scenario? Lets consider the core of the set up with which we are familiar, representative parliamentary democracy. We will ignore for now such facts as; that this is

not democracy, and those elected could be considered as elected aristocrats (Rousseau). The point is that these set ups have two parts, 'government' and 'opposition'. We know that whichever you vote for you only get a government. Why? Because government and opposition (or position and opposition) form a symbiotic whole, they share thematic compatibility as one thing.

As one thing, any outside opposition to the whole which they form, only increases the size and power of the complete position which resist the new opposition. Something else goes on as well. Government and opposition within a parliament, acting as a symbiotic whole, refine both themselves and the whole which they generate. They exist in a state of co-evolution – true this may be, or have, taken them nowhere worthwhile. However, it does tend to make them better at what they do. And as a force opposing the whole of authoritarian government, anarchism will tend to have the same effect. It becomes part of the co-evolutionary dance with that which it opposes. *Plus la change . . .* as the French have it.

To break out of this pointless dance *anarchy* must become a freestanding concept. One not dependent on any relationship whatever with that which it may not agree with for its meaning, thoughts or actions. Thus it must focus on what it is for, not on what it is against. We have suitable concepts, and they must become embedded (subsumed by) in that of anarchy, so that when someone says "anarchy" today, what is meant will be obvious from the context. For example anarchy in the work situation means self governing co-operatives, money and trade in community means LETS, organisation by direct democracy and consensus, and so one.

The task confronting anarchy and anarchists is twofold. First, to create ways and means of living which avoid, or go around as Ibsen said (in *Peer Gynt*), so that what we disagree with becomes irrelevant to us. The Amish provide a good example, although we would not share their motivation. The second arises from the first. Who are the people (anarchists) who are actually going to do the doing? We can't all be propagandists, necessary though that will always be. Some of us must demonstrate anarchism by their positive deeds.

Colin Johnson

Language, British Royals and Plummy Accents

Writing in his column in *The Match!* Issue 104 Fall 2006 J V Landon commented on the use of the local Arizona Indian language, and the presence of English language words and phrases in a programme broadcast in that language on his local university radio station.

Not being a speaker of the Arizona Indian language in question, I cannot comment on his contention, that the language lacked the power to render even a simple rundown of community events. However, the use of what are called *loan words and phrases* from other generally dominant languages by a minority and subordinate language, is common, and loan words occur everywhere, including in the English language. These loan words in English derive from Latin, French, German, Hindu, and the Inuit language to name but a few.

At the last count, English contained approximately some 20,000 words of French origin. (for example: entrepreneur, rendezvous, café, restaurant, beef, poultry.) This is largely due to the influence of the French speaking Normans after the Norman conquest of 1066. Indeed during the early middle ages, English was reduced to being a second class language in England and was not used in Education, Church, Government or Courts where French and Latin reigned supreme. Even now, the words that the British Monarch uses to give her assent to Acts of Parliament are spoken in old Norman French. There are also a large number of words of Latin and Greek origin in English as well as more recent adoptions from the Indian continent (Bungalow, Char, Khaki) Inuit (Anorak, Kayak) among others. I use the term subordinate languages deliberately as such languages are often spoken by a conquered or oppressed minority and have in historically recent times been subject to a range of oppressive measures in a deliberate attempt to wipe out the language and culture of that group. For example Franco banned the use of the Catalan language in Catalonia after his victory in the Spanish Civil War.

In Britain the *Celtic* languages (Welsh and Gaelic) have suffered a long history of repression by the English State. In Wales following the conquest in 1282 and Henry VIII's Act of Union

English was decreed as the language of administration, law and justice in Wales. Despite this Welsh remained the spoken language of the majority of ordinary people in Wales right until the early years of the 20th century. Only after 1911 did the number of speakers start sliding from its highpoint of 1 million to the near 600,000 who claim to speak it today.

That Welsh had survived at all is arguably due to the worries of Queen Elizabeth 1st that the ordinary people in Wales had remained Catholic in sympathy following the protestant reformation, and were not able to understand the English language religious services or readings from the bible. Fearing that they might help the Spanish forces who threatened to invade (and who famously did try so to do in 1588), she commissioned a translation of the bible into Welsh. This was published in 1588; a later second revised version was produced in 1620. Thus by an irony the Welsh language survived because at one point in history it suited the interests of the British state to promote Protestantism through the medium of the Welsh language.

However, the brief period where Welsh was promoted by the British state was short lived. By the time of the Industrial revolution, and the rise of the British Empire attitudes towards the Welsh language had changed. Following a report by Church of England Commissionaires in the nineteenth century, an episode known in Wales as The Treachery of the Blue Books, the active suppression of Welsh in the school system began. Welsh speaking pupils were forbidden to speak Welsh in the schools. All classes were held in English and if a child was heard speaking the Welsh language they had to wear a wooden badge around their necks on a piece of string. The letters W.N. were carved on the badge. If another pupil was heard speaking the language the badge would be passed on to them. Whoever was unfortunate enough to be wearing the badge (known as the Welsh Not), was beaten at the end of the school day. At the same time the English establishment actively fostered the idea that Welsh was backward looking and was not the language to use if you wished to get on in life. This eventually convinced a substantial number of first language Welsh speaking parents not to



teach the language to their own children.

It is interesting that in Welsh language classes for adults across Wales and also in England, it is now possible to see hundreds of Welsh adults of retirement age attending classes to learn the language, of which in their own words, they were deprived during their childhoods in the 1930s and 1940s. In Wales in the 1960s the Welsh Language Society was formed, and in the spirit of the times, it used direct action to protest for the right to use the Welsh language in all aspects of public life. People refused to pay local taxes (Rates) unless official correspondence was bi-lingual, English-only road signs were destroyed following the local authorities' refusal to install bi-lingual road signs. Campaigns were held to establish Welsh medium primary and secondary schools. All these had some success and now when travelling about the communities where Welsh is spoken it is possible to see the effects. There are Welsh language schools, bi-lingual road signs; all official correspondence is bi-lingual. But despite all these *state sponsored* reforms the language remains under threat because of a number of factors. The most important being that English as a language is in such a dominant position world wide that it threatens the future, not just of minority languages, but perhaps of all other languages. The French Academy is famous for its opposition to the influence of English and American culture and language on the French language. The academy deplores the fact that English loan words and phrases have been adopted by French speakers words and phrases such as, le weekend, le sandwich, le Big Mac. However, no-one can stop this. All languages use loan words, and all languages change over time.

English culture worldwide is overwhelmingly monoglot; that is, most people in England, America, Australia and New Zealand speak only English. Much of the rest of the world is very different. In most European countries a sizable part of the population speak more than one language. It is the same in Africa and India.

When people only speak one language they often think that it is difficult to learn another; true enough if you are learning as an adult (it has taken me some 8 years to reach a reasonable level of fluency in Welsh) but if you learn as a child it is not. In cultures where more than one language is spoken children just 'soak up' the languages naturally. When I in Wales last year I met a group of people with Learning Difficulties. Two amongst them had the condition known as Down's Syndrome, yet they were both able to speak and to understand English and Welsh, which they had learnt as small children.

I would also argue that speaking and under-

standing another language gives a deeper understanding of other cultures. Dialects are particularly fascinating. Additionally I have learnt a lot about English through learning Welsh, I appreciate the subtlety of idioms more. I appreciate accents and the history of the English language.

Power and politics has played a big role down the years in the history of the English language. Even the plummy accent of the rich has been attributed to the alleged eagerness of the aristocratic classes to mimic the German accented mispronunciation of English as spoken by the Hanoverian Royal family during the 18th century.

It is important that languages other than English survive, not as museum pieces propped up by *state action*, but as living, thriving, developing languages. It is a part of the richness of human culture that I cherish. I do not wish to see a world where only English is spoken.

Jonathan Simcock

AN ANARCHIST CREDO

- **Anarchism** is not terrorism or violence and Anarchists do not support, aid or sympathise with terrorists or so-called liberation movements.
- **Anarchism** does not mean irresponsibility, parasitism, criminality, nihilism or immoralism, but entails the highest level of ethics and personal responsibility.
- **Anarchism** does not mean hostility toward organisation. Anarchists only desire that all organisations be voluntary and that a peaceful social order will exist only when this is so.
- **Anarchists** are resolute anti-statists and do not defend either "limited states" or "welfare states".
- **Anarchists** are opposed to all coercion.
- **Poverty**, bigotry, sexism and environmental degradation cannot be successfully overcome through the State. Anarchists are therefore opposed to taxation, censorship, so-called affirmative action and government regulation.
- **Anarchists** do not need scapegoats. Poverty and environmental destruction are not ultimately caused by transnationals, IMF, the USA, the "developed world", imperialism, technology or any other devil figure, but are rooted in the power to coerce. Only the abolition of coercion will overcome these problems.
- **Anarchism** does not posit any particular economic system but only desires that the economy be non-coercive and composed of voluntary organisations.
- **Anarchists** are not utopians or sectarians, but are sympathetic to any effort to decrease statism and coercion and the replacement of authoritarian relations with voluntary ones.

Larry Gambone



Islam and Anarchism by Brian Morris

Some years ago in the pages of *Freedom*, long before the religion of Islam became a political issue, I wrote a short note on the "Anarchists of Islam". I mentioned the fact that although politics and religion are intrinsically connected in Islam, there is a tradition of "rebel Islam", and that one particular sect, the Kharijites, were essentially anarchists believing that "power belongs only to God". There is also a saying of the prophet which suggests that the nearer one is to government the further you are from God. Yet in a recent issue of *Freedom* "Class War" stridently proclaimed that it is "proud" to be described as Islamophobic — expressing its Opposition not only to Islam but to all forms of religious expression. The term Islamophobia, it is worth noting, was first used by Islamic fundamentalists in Iran to describe Muslim women who refused to wear the veil. There are then many forms of Islam, as there are many kinds of anarchism.

Anarchism as a political tradition, has always held an ambivalent relationship towards religion, mainly because anarchists have long recognized — long before Paul Chambers — that religious ideas and practices may not only bolster state power and sustain systems of exploitation (as well as being institutions of oppression in themselves witness the Catholic Church) but also in certain contexts may serve as religions of revolt. Anarchists have therefore long embraced the dissenting traditions within Christianity, and have paid homage to the likes of Gerrard Winstanley, William Blake and Tom Paine. Indeed many anarchists have themselves adopted a religious metaphysic. Mention may be made of Leo Tolstoy, Nicolas Berdyaev, Aurobindo Bose (described in my "Ecology and Anarchism") Dorothy Day and Mohandas Gandhi).

It is in this context that the current issue of

"Anarchist Studies" (14/1) is of particular interest, for it brings to the fore the divergent attitudes that anarchists have expressed towards religion, and it explores, in particular, the relationship of anarchism towards Islam. The issue is focussed around a seminal paper written by its editor, Sharif Gemie. Entitled "The Trial of Fatima: Anarchists, Muslims, and the Monde Libertaire 2003-2005", the paper presents a critique of the ideas and attitudes expressed in the columns of Monde Libertaire. This is the weekly periodical of the Federation Anarchiste based in Paris. Evidently during the period 2003-2005 many articles in the periodical expressed an extreme hostility towards Islam, as well as supporting the French state in its legal prohibition of the wearing of headscarves by young Muslim women in French schools. Sharif Gemie points out that this prohibition is intrinsically linked to the French notion of *Laicete*, the ideal of a secular public sphere free of religious influence. In fact, he notes that among anarchists, a particularly militant strand of anti-clericalism developed in France, directed against the influence of the Catholic Church on schooling, and its frequent support for right-wing political causes. What troubled Gemie was that in a context in which the hegemony of the American empire was being justified through the use of anti-Islamic slogans, and the far-right were exploiting anti-Muslim sentiments, it was despairing to see anarchists expressing support for state repression. The universalism of the Enlightenment, to which the French anarchists continually appealed, had little to do with promoting human values or cross-cultural understanding, Gemie suggests; it only expressed a narrow, nationalistic, bunkered form of French particularism. It thus had more to do with identity politics than the radical universalism of the Enlightenment.

The remainder of this issue of "Anarchist Studies" is devoted to a number of discussion papers, all of which offer thoughtful reflections and observations on Sharif Gemie's critique of the French anarchists associated with Monde Libertaire. Only one of these contributors, Ronald Creagh, offers support for the French anarchists, emphasizing that in Islam no distinction is made between religion and culture, and stressing that the "Union of French Islamic Organizations" is indeed a fundamentalist organization. Sharif Gemie mentions this Union in his paper, denies that it is fundamentalist, even questioning the validity of the label used. A fundamentalist, I always thought, is someone who imposes on others their own religious dogma and moral edicts by means of state power or other forms of coercive violence (see *The Raven* 27 (pb 1994) for some interesting and informative discussions of fundamental-

ism). By this criteria the Union of French Islamic Organizations is indeed fundamentalist, declaring that the "Quran is our constitution". Also affirming that this organization is fundamentalist George Ubbiali who contends that any progressive form of politics must challenge such reactionary organizations. It is not a question, he writes, of denouncing Islam, but of repudiating all those currents within Islam which are incompatible with the progressive ideals of anarchism.

Many of the contributors emphasize that Islam is not a monolithic system, and like all religions takes many different forms. Thus, as both Paul Chambers and Beltran Roca stress, religion in certain historical contexts, and this applies equally to Islam, can be interpreted as a progressive force. This is hardly news. Anthropologists and Marxists have been stressing this for generations, emphasizing that religion may be an oppressive force upholding systems of power, as well as being a catalyst for revolt (see my book "Religion and Anthropology" 2006)

Harold Barclay, who has conducted anthropological research in Egypt, while acknowledging that Islam has traditionally been associated with authoritarian structures, notes in his response that the religion itself is highly decentralized, and regrets the tendency of some anarchists to view all things Muslim as intrinsically evil. Support for the state regulation of dress by some French anarchists, Barclay writes, is clearly contrary to anarchist theory and practice. But Barclay firmly denies that he is an "apologist for Islam".

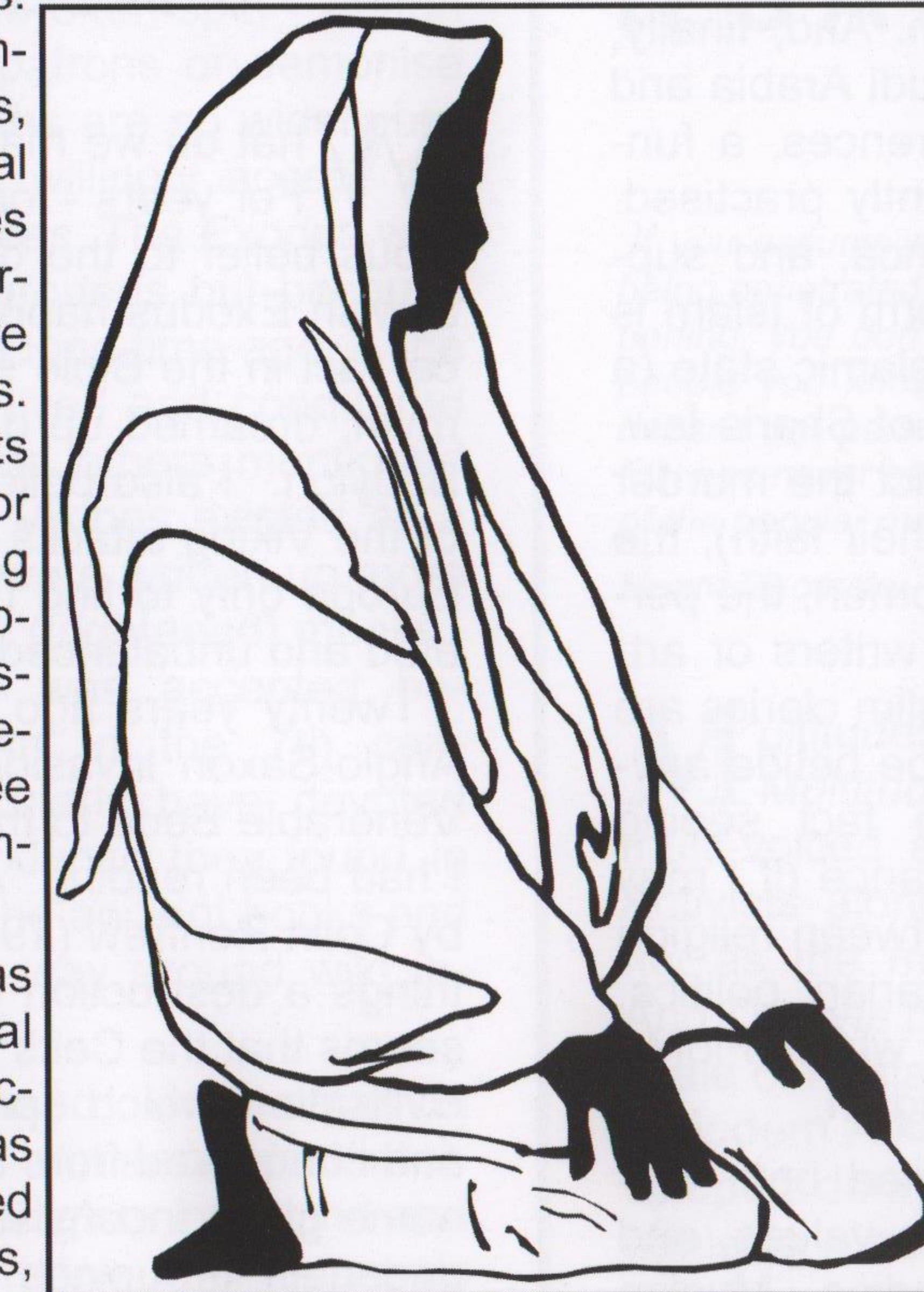
But in emphasizing the "polyvalence" of religion, and the fact that Islam contains, as he puts it, "a multiplicity of libratory elements", Beltran Roca almost ends up denying the reactionary aspects of radical Islam. Even though, throughout its history, Islam has always formed a symbiotic relationship with the state. Religion, Roca informs us, is not the "opium of the people". Yet again, throughout history religion, including Islam, has been largely an oppressive institution, supporting state power and all forms of authority and exploitation. There never was a tyrant who did not appeal to religion in some form to justify his position. Roca also has the quaint idea, that until

Foucault came upon the scene, anarchists recognized only coercive power. This represents a complete misunderstanding of the anarchist tradition, as I tried to show in my book on Kropotkin, which has a long discussion of Foucault ("Kropotkin: The Politics of Community" 2004). It is also worth pointing out that when Foucault described power as "productive" he was not referring to something benign and creative, but to forms of power exercised by the modern state and industrial capitalism - biopower, surveillance, discipline, governmentality, pastoral power. This

is the reason why, long before Foucault, anarchists were critiquing the "productive" modality of power called religion. What is important, however, about Roca's contribution is that although he makes some rather derogatory remarks about anarchism and the Enlightenment (following the academic fashion!), in fact - contradicting himself - he pleads that we must defend the values of the Enlightenment: liberty, equality and fraternity. Equally important, while emphasizing the importance of upholding cultural diversity — as does L. Susan Brown — Roca also stresses that cultural relativism if taken to extremes, can degenerate into a dangerous, reactionary force. Indeed, in spite of all the rhetoric about "difference" and cultural "identity", and the continual denigration of the

Enlightenment and universal values, one has to acknowledge that identity politics and the emphasis on "difference" has its dark side. This is manifested in fascism, racism, nationalism, ethnic violence and, of course, religious fundamentalism. It has always troubled me to see anarchists joining the ranks of De Maistre, Hitler and Mussolini in denouncing the radical values of the Enlightenment tradition.

What is troubling then, about the current issue of "Anarchist Studies", is that although it makes great play on the positive role of "diversity" and the progressive aspects of religion, specifically Islam, it completely underplays the reactionary and oppressive nature of religion. Yet in the 21st century religion is only rarely linked with radical politics; it is mainly linked with bigotry, intolerance and support for Oppressive regimes and reactionary and authoritarian politics. For example. In Sri Lanka Buddhism has become closely identified with the state and with Sinhalese national-



ism, leading scholars like Tambiah to write about the "betrayal" of Buddhism, for like anarchism, Buddhism has always expressed universal human values. Bush's regime in the United States, the most powerful state in the world, is bolstered and kept in power by a bigoted and powerful fundamentalist Christian lobby. This lobby is anti-feminism, anti-homosexuals, anti-ecology and anti-Darwin. Bush, like Blair, claims to have a hot line to God. Likewise, in India a militant and violent form of religious ideology, Hindutya, has been in the resurgence, a form of Hindu nationalism intrinsically linked to a nuclear state and the advocacy of free-market capitalism. And, finally, of course, in Islamic states like Saudi Arabia and Iran, whatever their doctrinal differences, a fundamentalist form of Islam is currently practised. Now widespread, especially in Africa, and supported by these states, a radical form of Islam is now afoot, one that envisages an Islamic state (a theocracy) and the implementation of Sharia law. Such a law sanctions by divine edict the murder of apostates (Muslims who reject their faith), the stoning or flogging of adulterous women, the persecution of homosexuals and any writers or artists who dare to criticize Islam; Muslim clerics are free to denounce secularism but woe betide anyone criticizing Islam. We are in fact seeing throughout the world an unholy alliance (if I may be allowed such an expression) between religion and both capitalism and authoritarian politics. These are the "sombre trinity" of which Flores Magon wrote - state, capital and religion.

Anarchism has always championed both universalism, the importance of human values, and cultural diversity. And in defending Muslim women against state repression and expressing solidarity with the oppressed, anarchists should not go to the other extreme and become apologists for religion. Still less, as Paul Chambers implies, should they become a "cheerleader" for the faith. Supporting individual Muslims in their struggles does not imply that we should adopt a religious metaphysic, nor that we should kow-tow, like the Socialist Workers Party, to radical Muslim clerics. We should repudiate both God (religion) and Mammon (capitalism).



Near Myths

What do we make of the authority of myth? For years - long after I had consigned religious belief to the dustbin - I accepted that the Jewish Exodus happened, that there was historical fact in the Bible story. There wasn't. It is a myth, dreamed up during the Jewish captivity in Babylon. I also believed in the bloodthirsty story of the Viking attacks on just about everywhere in Europe only to find that that was wildly exaggerated and unbalanced; distortion rather than myth.

Twenty years ago I started to think about the Anglo-Saxon invasion of England, dated by the Venerable Bede to the middle of the fifth century. I had been reading "Archaeology and Language" by Colin Renfrew (1987), which was among other things a destruction of the myth of the Celts. It seems that the Celts were not a great pre-Roman civilisation which spread from, possibly, Austria and conquered from Spain to Ireland; "they" are a name given inconsistently by Classical writers to uncertain groupings of unknown peoples living outside their experience. But if the people of Britain were not Celts, who did the Angles and Saxons conquer?

Could there be two peoples in Britain? There are two languages: Germanic in the east and Gaelic, the language spoken by Celts, in the West. These, it was agreed, were the outcome of two invasions. The received wisdom had it that all of Britain spoke a Celtic tongue, due to the Celtic invasion, until the Anglo-Saxons invaded and obliterated it in most of England.

That, I concluded, could not have happened. No invasion from Friesland and southern Denmark, starting around 450 AD, could have destroyed a people and their language in 150 years. The south and east of England were rich Roman territories with between a million and two million inhabitants. The Romans had not managed to impose their language in nearly 400 years; the Normans wouldn't; so the Frisians couldn't.

That meant that the language of England when a Frisian few arrived (as they did) must have

been that which was spoken during the Roman occupation and before it.

I have since found a rather difficult book, "The Origins of the British", by Stephen Oppenheimer, published in 2006, which establishes through genetics the general truth of my supposition; there is also work by Win Scutt on placenames which does so too. In spite of that, most popular histories, and probably most school books, will for a long time to come, present the Anglo-Saxon myth as true.

What does an anarchist make of this? Firstly, that myths in their origins are often spin - written to aggrandise the author's patrons or demonise his enemies. Secondly, myths are so widely believed because experts too willingly accept the value of ancient written sources. The Exodus was "true" not just on religious grounds but because the story was written down a long time ago. The "Celts" were a people who lived and conquered because Caesar, Tacitus and others mentioned them in their writings. The Vikings existed as a bloody horde because they were written up more or less as they happened by (frightened) monks. The Anglo-Saxon invasion was accepted because Bede wrote it down in the 7th century. Archaeologists particularly have devoted themselves to fitting the evidence they found in the ground to the stories in the ancient books and have managed to talk their way around wild inconsistencies and ugly misfits.

The myths are still being used. Israel depends on and is a battle-ground of archaeological interpretation. There are archaeologists in Ireland and France who simply won't deny their country's popular Celtic origins in public because it is too much a part of the national identity. Consider Braveheart! In the early 1990s the European Union staged a major exhibition on the Celts as a European civilisation; precursor and inspiration of today's pan-European Union, the last time Europe was allegedly united.

It takes a lot to replace myth with history because the experts who accept them are so highly regarded; they have been anointed with degrees and sanctified by the publication of articles and substantial books. Experts rule the world - and consider the state of the world. We should be wary of them and their truths within reason. There are plenty of academics chipping away at received wisdom and prejudice, but the popular mainstream cannot keep abreast of even a fraction of the developing knowledge. The best advice on most things intellectual, academic, ecological and scientific, and on all myths is, when in doubt, doubt.

Dick Frost



IT'S A M.A.D. WORLD

"If you assume correctly that whatever group you are in is being penetrated by the FBI when something serious is happening, you don't do it in a meeting. You do it with some people you know and trust, an affinity group, and then it doesn't get penetrated. That's one of the reasons why the FBI has never been able to figure out what's going on in any of the popular movements"

Noam Chomsky

Multitudes of Activists of Dozens, (M.A.D.). *Multitudes* because any free society will be multi-voiced and multi-varied. *Activists* because Activists alone recognise boredom and mediocrity as the most degrading of human qualities. And *Dozens* because the dozen is well within any scale of human meaning.

Modern Affinity groups (*grupos de afinidad*) developed during the Spanish Civil War as an organising model built upon the concepts of mutual aid. The idea has been adapted to suit a variety of political needs. It can be seen in feminism, anti-global, anti-nuclear and any number of protest actions. The concept is a simple one. Begin with one or two people. Make sure you know and trust each other. Learn each other's strengths and weaknesses. Everyone contributes.

The affinity group is the fundamental unit of any Free Society. It works from the premise that we are all social animals, all interdependent upon one another. Out there, on your own, you are a dead duck. Freedom, in any real sense, means that we become servants of the common good. Working within small groups opens up substantially different approaches to social life. Instead of tackling work or consumerism from an individual prospect the possibilities inherent within the affinity group are remarkably powerful.

Following the collapse of global Marxism the most disappointing aspect of contemporary Anarchism is that it never developed a way recognisably different from Marxist models of revolutionary

struggle. Instead, Anarchists seek meaning in class-struggle organisations. Many of which are little different from stereotypical revolutionary groups.

The great danger in all organisations is that the spirit that originally created them soon gets subsumed under a need to arrive at a unified orthodoxy. In doing so the organisation loses contact with the context of the everyday. Before long a system of administration kicks-in and we are witness to all the paraphernalia of bureaucracy: subscriptions, membership, meetings, mail-outs, exclusions. And, make no mistake, organisations are jealous masters. They encourage participation, indeed, demand it, but it demands one kind of participation – its own. The more integrated the member becomes the less free he or she is to express the self in other ways. From then onwards it's not long before organisations come to believe there should be the minimum of conflict between individual aspirations and the organisation's wishes.

The great fallacy of revolutionary organisation is a belief that the root of oppression lies in defective institutions. In demanding a set of new institutions it fails to address the need to change individuals. History is replete with descriptions of how institutional practices of the former society get carried across through the personalities of the revolutionaries.

On a more ominous level the real weakness of organisation - should they become effective – is that they are vulnerable to infiltration by agents of the state. We should never underestimate the state's ability to place people at the core of any organisation. They have been ruthlessly successful in such powerful organisations as the Miners and the IRA. In addition they carry the technology to bug and to accumulate vast amounts of personal data. Organisations are structurally vulnerable and the state has too many resources to bring to bear.

In contrast, Affinity Groups carry a considerably greater sense of internal security. Ensure that your entry requirements are solid. Know each other well before embarking upon a project. Such groups - and they go under a variety of names but describe the same concept; blocs, action groups, cells, collectives - constitute a vision of a workable future altogether more sane and harmonious than what we have at present. Based upon mutual aid and voluntary commitment the individual has a powerfully different impact on the social word.

The most fertile ideas are those that transcend established organisational traditions. As the fundamental unit of a free society the Affinity Group

subverts the authority of all organisational ideology. The basics are simple. Start with ones and twos. Meet regularly. Know your boundaries. Face up to everyday problems. Explore solutions built upon the noble concepts of responsibility, direct action, mutual aid and free association. Turned around in this way we learn to accept that we are the consequences – and not the causes – of the choices we make.

Peter Good



Strike, Occupy! Student Radicalism in London

When I last wrote an article for Total Liberty, I was at school. Now I am at university, and in London – hotbed of radicalism, home of Freedom Press, a fledgling Wobbly union, and more parties and splittists than a Monty Python sketch. Then there's the annual Anarchist Book-fair (a somewhat comical if well-intentioned event), at which one feels unwelcome if one is wearing anything other than leather or dungarees – thankfully, both Total Liberty and The Cunningham Amendment amongst others provide a welcome escape from the eager inaction of groups like Class War.

I want to try and shake us as a movement up. Currently, the radical left is completely irrelevant. We get together, sit in pubs, and talk revolution for a while before going our separate ways. We write earnest articles – much like this one, it has to be said – and produce pamphlets, posters, and other paraphernalia to try and get our point across. Yet we are manifestly failing to interest people.

This malaise is not, of course, confined to anarchism. It has struck at the heart of such venerable institutions of the British Left as the Communist Party (and all its offshoots). Our movement for social change, our drive for a better and more equal world for all, where we can be ourselves without fear or favour, has been sidelined and forgotten. We are caught up in pointless arguments about Spain in 1936, or Mahkno, or whether the First International and the propa-

ganda of the deed movement had any merit. Shockingly, no-one cares. Yet we persist in thinking that looking grubby (alternative) and ranting will convince your normal, average, everyday person that we're onto a good thing. Amusingly, this has proven not to be the case. Let me provide you with a small case study – to break into academicese for a minute – in the form of London's student radicals.

I am, it must be said, on the periphery of the radical movement. My friends are much more involved than I, although it is questionable if living in a squat and being able to quote Marx word-for-word counts as 'deeply involved'. At any rate, London students – particularly those at my institution, the London School of Economics – have a history of radicalism, with the current head of the Sociology department (one Professor Nicholas Rose) having occupied the campus in the 1960s. The LSE is the most political university or college in London. It is also a good example of the failure of the Left in general and anarchists in particular to capture people's imaginations. The LSE's Left is limited to a small group of around 20-30 undergraduates and a few postgraduates – out of around 8,000 students and another thousand or so staff – and its current crusades are as follows:

- The LSE needs to get its subcontractors to pay their cleaners the London Living Wage.
- The LSE needs to allow its students to hold a referendum on who is involved in running the university (this one came up after Sir Peter Sutherland, late of BP, was appointed to Chair of the Council, an arcane position apparently involving a lot of power).

That's it. The first campaign is, as far as I can tell, stymied by a bizarre condition whereby the campaigners, having taken a vote – three times! – on a course of action are then overruled by the leadership (one man) who get them to do something else. It has, however, been partly successful in that it has raised the issue of the appalling levels of pay that our university's cleaners receive to public view, and it has to some extent embarrassed the Director. The second campaign is entirely an internal issue, exercising a minority of students and which is opposed or ignored by a majority.

So, this is the best that the most politicised university in London can do. What of other universities? Surely they must have radicalised individuals? Well, yes, they do. Their contribution to London's radicalism is somewhat lessened, however, by their love of rhetoric. One student in particular set up an organisation called Students Against Students. It consists of himself and a friend, who

sit in the pub and talk theory. If you disagree with him, you are Wrong and also possibly a Reactionary with Trotskyist Leanings.

In fairness, I am being overly critical. There is much to praise amongst London's radical students. We are keen – those few of us who are involved – and we march. We sticker. We talk. We flyer. We poster, we organise, we discuss, we distribute, we go to meetings, shows, demonstrations and pubs. We are young and energetic, and yet we are ineffectual.

A case in point is the march against top-up fees organised by the National Union of Students, which a small anarchist bloc attended. This small block numbered some 12-20 people with a collection of flags whose impact on the march consisted of causing a mild stir at the beginning when we disrupted the NUS's careful planning and positioning of students by simply standing at the front of the march with our very nice banner (The University Is A Factory – Strike, Occupy!) and irritating Gemma Tumelty, head of the NUS, by handing out leaflets criticising her and the NUS for being useless. The police, for once, did not care. We then spent the next hour and a half walking around London shouting daft in-joke slogans. After the march, we went to the pub, without bothering to try and agitate the general mass of students.

During 2006's peace march against the Israeli assault on Lebanon, a small group of anarchists and associated ultra-lefties gave some police the run-around. An even smaller group of three people followed the march, flags flying, and had a frank exchange of views with some Hezbollah supporters. Again in 2006, there was the Sack Parliament protest, which was intended to storm parliament and shut it down! Suffering from a lack of sufficient publicity, the few stickers that were put up around London served only to warn the police, and some 800 officers were deployed against around 80-100 protesters who were duly corralled and defeated. On this occasion, the – rather young – black bloc arrived, made trouble, and then ran away when the police came after them. I suppose they'd call it a 'tactical withdrawal'. No wonder that one of the protestors described the radical movement as "free training for the police force."

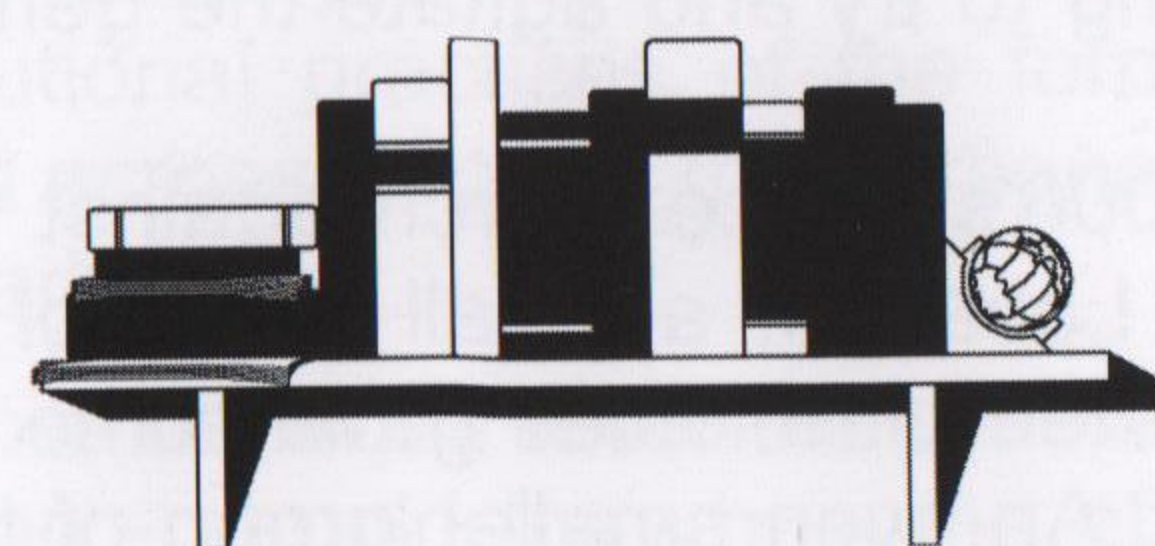
What came of these actions? Nothing. We neither increased our numbers, or garnered public support, or raised our profile, or indeed anything. Instead, we made ourselves feel good, perhaps, and had fun, neither of which are particularly bad. What I find hilarious is that we are proud of our sectarianism.

The fact is that the radical left, as evidenced by the student radicals (many of whom are, I

strongly suspect, on the path well trod by many in New Labour), is too fragmented and self-obsessed to achieve anything. The successes of the Living Wage campaign come from its working with the cleaners, and their unions. Its failures come from indecision, poor propaganda, and an inability to connect with ordinary students or people.

What is needed is unity – easier said than done. I ask only that radicals recognise that, despite our doctrinal differences, the parties of the left are all after a *just* society. Our means are different – the end is (roughly) the same. We need to recognise this, and begin to reach out, together, to the council estates, the middle-class town houses, and the Tories (syndicalism is a useful baited hook to hang in front of the conservative, I have found). We need to unify, and stop talking to ourselves. Talk instead to people at the bus stop. Talk to the barman; discuss the shop assistant's working conditions with her. Say hello to the middle classes – do this, and we will succeed. If we carry on as we are, a small group of student radicals clutching at idealised 1960s straws while the old hands look on, we will fail.

Patrick Cullen



Book Review

Barclay, Harold B. "Longing for Arcadia. Memoirs of an Anarcho-Cynicalist Anthropologist". Trafford Books, Victoria BC, Canada. Pbk, ix, 362pp, illus. ISBN 1-41205679-9. (Printed on demand, price varies.)

I expect many people have read at least one of Harold Barclay's books on anarchism and anthropology. Based equally on his own field work and that of others he has shown that even in the modern world there are still societies which are structured without a recognisable state form, and they work. They make for informative and entertaining reading and so it is interesting to read the story behind the fieldwork of the author of such works.

The sub-title suggests that the author has become something of a curmudgeon. In the sense that a curmudgeon is someone who opposes the world as it is, and is never satisfied with the progress being made to a better society, then the characterisation is unfair. I suspect Harold has been a curmudgeon all his adult life, if this book is anything to go by.

The book is arranged chronologically, starting, as one might suspect, with his childhood - not a particularly happy one, school days definitely not being the happiest days of his life, without it actually being a catalogue of abuse or disasters. His parental background was small-town protestant in New England and spent his early years living in a small farm on the edge of suburbia. By the time he reached his teens he had already developed an interest in politics and at the age of 13 was writing to the local newspaper putting forth his ideas for a new political party. By 1938, aged around 14, he was advocating the workers control and ownership of industry, non-intervention in overseas conflict, compulsory social security and the running of agricultural processing, distribution and marketing by rural co-operatives, amongst other policies

War loomed and young Harold, quite sensibly, wanted nothing to do with it, and ended up as a conscientious objector after leaving school to attend agricultural colleges. He saw out the war at various labour camps where he met with an interesting variety of other people resisting involvement with the war on both political and religious grounds. After the war he ended up taking a teaching course and undertaking some teaching but it proved not to his taste and he wound-up in 1949 attending Boston University to do an anthropology course, which he negotiated successfully, and also married his life partner, Jane, with whom he subsequently had 2 children.

There Harold embarked on what eventually turned out to be a successful academic career, initially in the United States and more latterly Canada, publishing both books and articles on anthropology, much of it based on his field work in Egypt and the Sudan. The accounts the author gives of the field trips undertaken for research purposes, show how difficult such research can be, as there are numerous language and cultural barriers to the observer understanding what is being observed (and in matters of gender, being able to observe at all.) He also describes the inevitable political infighting that occurs in academia, which seems to have most intense in the highly politicised 1960s and 1970s.

However, what really makes the book is not these accounts but his tangential excursions into his own beliefs, experiences and comments on the locals. Besides the anthropological field work, Harold and Jane have been inveterate travellers in their spare time as well. Harold has done all 51 states of the US of America and has travelled much of the world, something which continued into his retirement years. Being effectively a self-published book, the author has no editor breathing down his neck for what might be construed as

non-PC views of the world and its inhabitants. Not that Harold is racist, indeed he has championed a non-racist approach to anthropology, but equally he is rather fond of the sweeping generalisation, e.g. "I have noticed with other activities involving the British that the main focus is not enjoyment, but rather the following a lot of strict rules and regulations. This is what happens with British pony and horse type organisations." (p.97) Indeed he is quite happy to take a few pages out to explain what anarchism means to him, also very forthcoming about his family, one notes a distinct annoyance that neither of his children have had offspring, although in his take on the "meaning of life" at a rational level, it matters little. He is, however very proud of his daughter's academic achievements (she has a Ph.D., just like her Dad), but son Alan merely teaches creative writing and has yet to produce his first novel. He devotes several pages to the relationship he had with his horse, Coral, who sadly died a couple of years ago. The family's cats, barely warrant a mention in comparison, but then they are his wife's concern.

The book is rather let down in a couple of ways. Firstly the lack of proper proof reading means there's rather too many punctuation mistakes or unnecessary gaps — hopefully the text can be revised for future printings. The book also lacks an index, which makes finding anything a pain and one would have thought that an academic might have put a complete list of publications (articles and books) at the back for anyone wanting to read them — although he does mention most of his books somewhere in the text (apparently the Greek government found his book on "People Without Government" worthy of banning — they may have given us the word "Anarchy" but didn't want their people reading about it!) Another aside, Harold comment on the German language is quite droll: "That English may be a more efficient mode of communication is shown by the fact that the German edition took 293 pages ... while the English was only version was 162 pages."

Overall it makes for fascinating and entertaining reading. The large print size means that the pages fly by quite quickly and the strong narrative thread gives it enough structure to withstand his frequent digressions into life, the universe and everything. There's no price given on the book, and being print-on-demand I suspect it may vary with the cost of paper, exchange rates etc

A fitting testament to a life which, despite his own expectations, turns out to have been both worthwhile for himself and his family but for the rest of us as well.

Richard Alexander

Obituary

It was with sadness that I learnt of the death of Paul Lloyd, a steadfast supporter of Total Liberty magazine who died in December after a long battle against cancer. Paul was also generous in his support of a number of projects close to Total Liberty such as the Anarchist Information Network and the AIN advertising campaigns at election times such as that of 1997. On one occasion in 1997 he ventured out of London for a weeks holiday in Derbyshire which in addition to seeing the sights included a visit to a talk which I gave on Anarchism at the Scarthin Bookshop. Paul was a frequent caller on the phone when he would relate his latest exploits in distributing Total Liberty to friends and street people in West London, the latest demonstration he had attended or the latest film that he had seen at the West London Film Co-operative. He was a constant sender of newspaper cuttings from the Morning Star, a paper which he strongly supported and witty political postcards, and he was always willing to help on the Total Liberty stall at the Anarchist Bookfair. Paul's honest views and enthusiasm for anarchism will be sorely missed.

Jonathan Simcock

Anarchism Without Hyphens

There is only one kind of anarchist, Not two. Just one. An anarchist, the only kind as defined by the long tradition and literature of the position itself, is a person in opposition to authority imposed through the hierarchical power of the state. The only expansion of this that seems to me reasonable is to say that an anarchist stands in opposition to an imposed authority. An anarchist is a voluntarist.

Now, beyond that, anarchists also are people and, as such, contain the billion-faceted varieties of human reference. Some are anarchists who march, voluntarily, to the Cross of Christ. Some are anarchists who flock, voluntarily, to the communes of beloved, inspirational father figures. Some are anarchists who seek to establish the syndics of voluntary industrial production. Some are anarchists who voluntarily seek to establish the rural production of the kibbutzim. Some are anarchists who, voluntarily, seek to disestablish everything including their own association with other people; the hermit. Some are anarchists who will deal, voluntarily, only in gold, will never co-operate, and swirl their capes. Some are anarchists who, voluntarily, worship the sun and its energy, build domes, eat