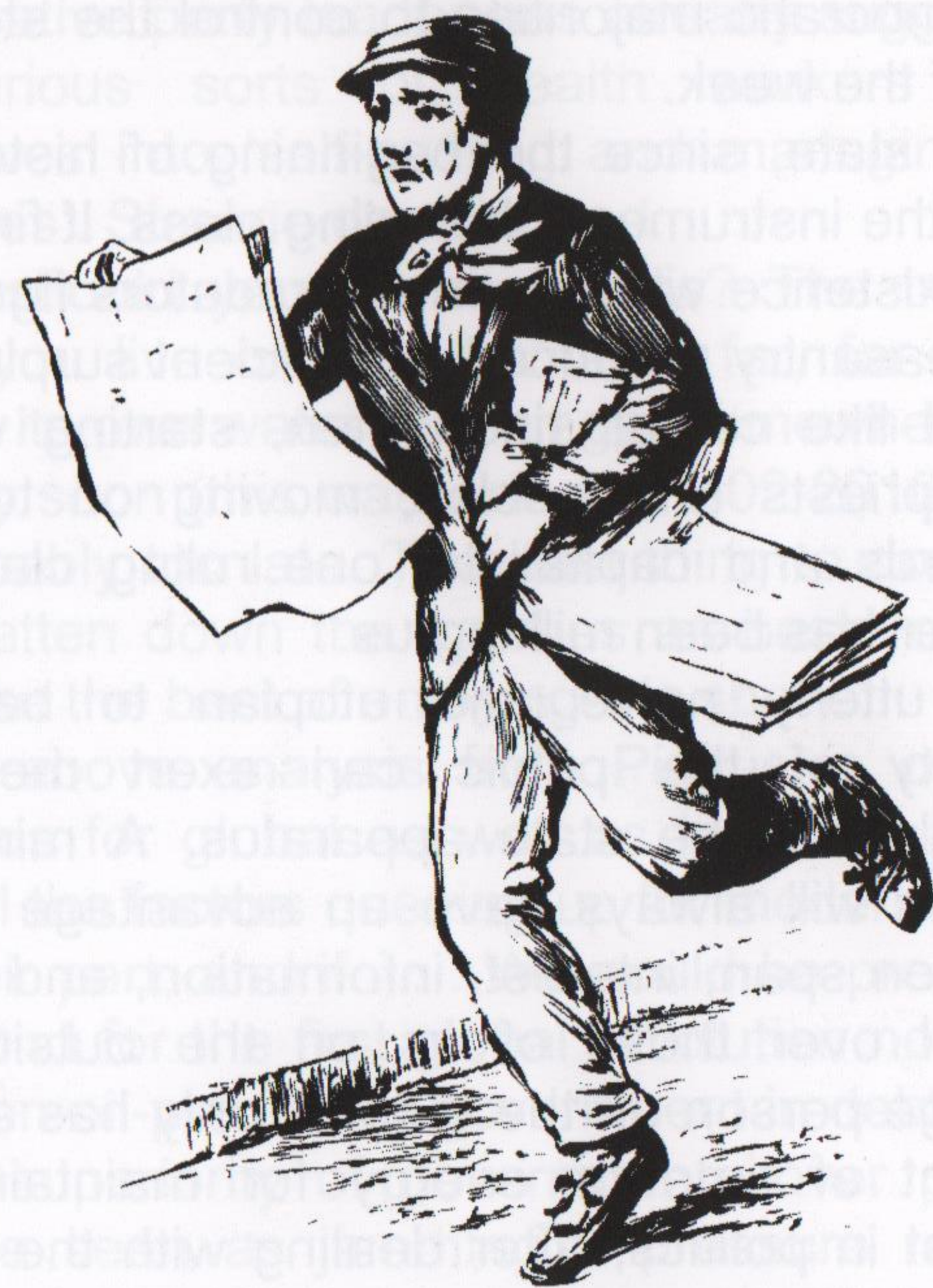


state will be smart enough to see it as in their self-interest to take good care of us so they can get more work out of us. That's essentially what happened in the New Deal. The so-called "progressive" policies of the 20th century were brought about, not by democratic pressure (as in the Art Schlesinger received version of history), but in the interest of one faction of the capitalist elite.

So anything done by the state to make our lots more bearable will be done, not because the state is "all of us working together," but as a side-effect of plutocratic and managerial elites pursuing their own self-interest. Apparently the same people who cannot be trusted in the economic sphere become fully trustworthy when they're sitting in the "executive committee of the ruling class." May the liberals' illusions rest kindly on them.

Kevin Carson

RECOMMENDED JOURNALS



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FREEDOM: from Freedom Press, in Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX.

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ANCHORAGE ANARCHY is an occasional publication of the BAD Press, an anti-government anarchist project. It is edited by Joe Peacott. Subscriptions are available for \$1 per issue. BAD Press can be reached at P0 Box 230332, Anchorage, AK 99523-0332, USA

THE LIBERTARIAN ALLIANCE publish a range of Broadsheet type leaflets from a Libertarian viewpoint on a wide range of topics. Their address is The Libertarian Alliance, Suite 35, Lansdowne Rd, Mayfair, London. UK

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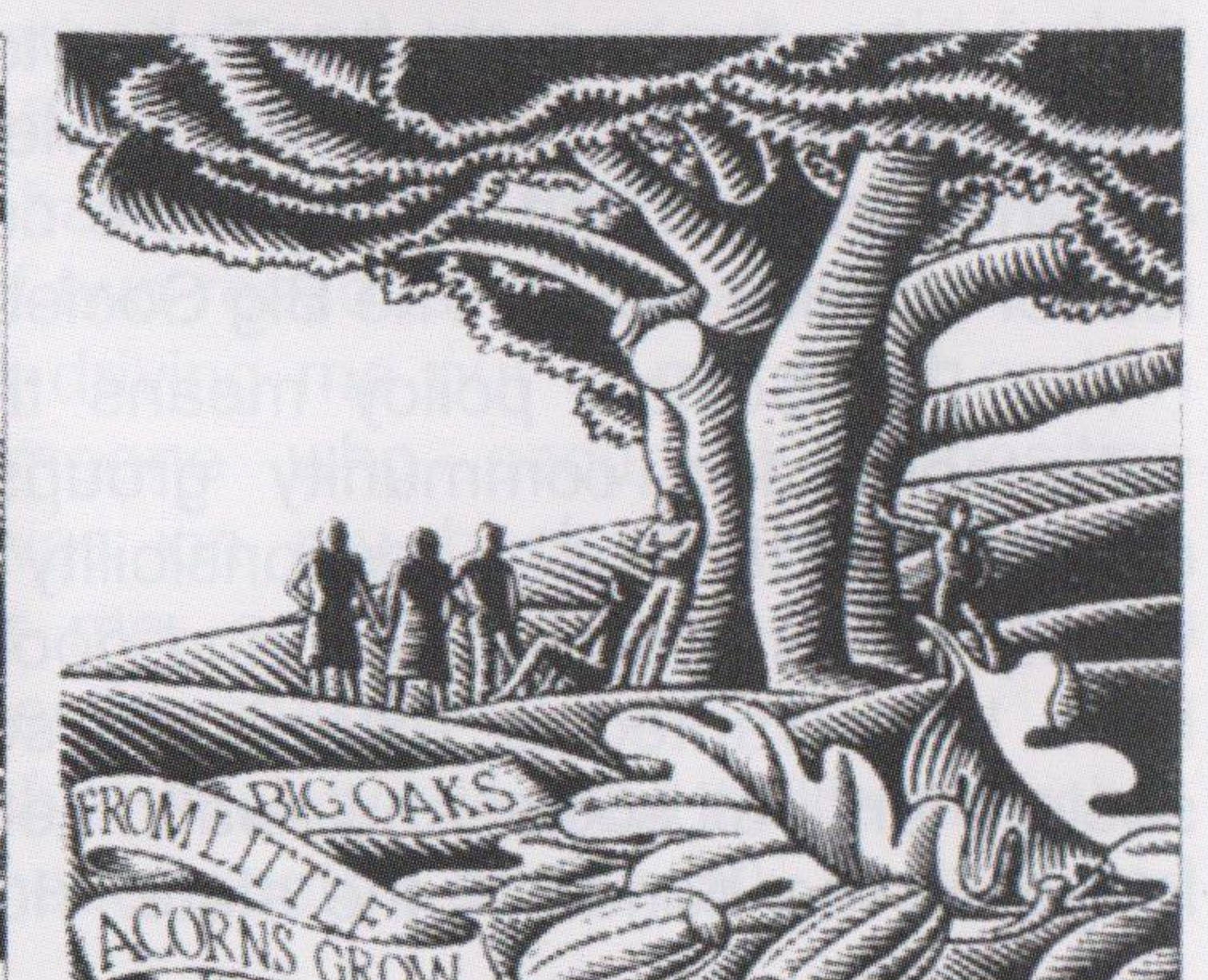
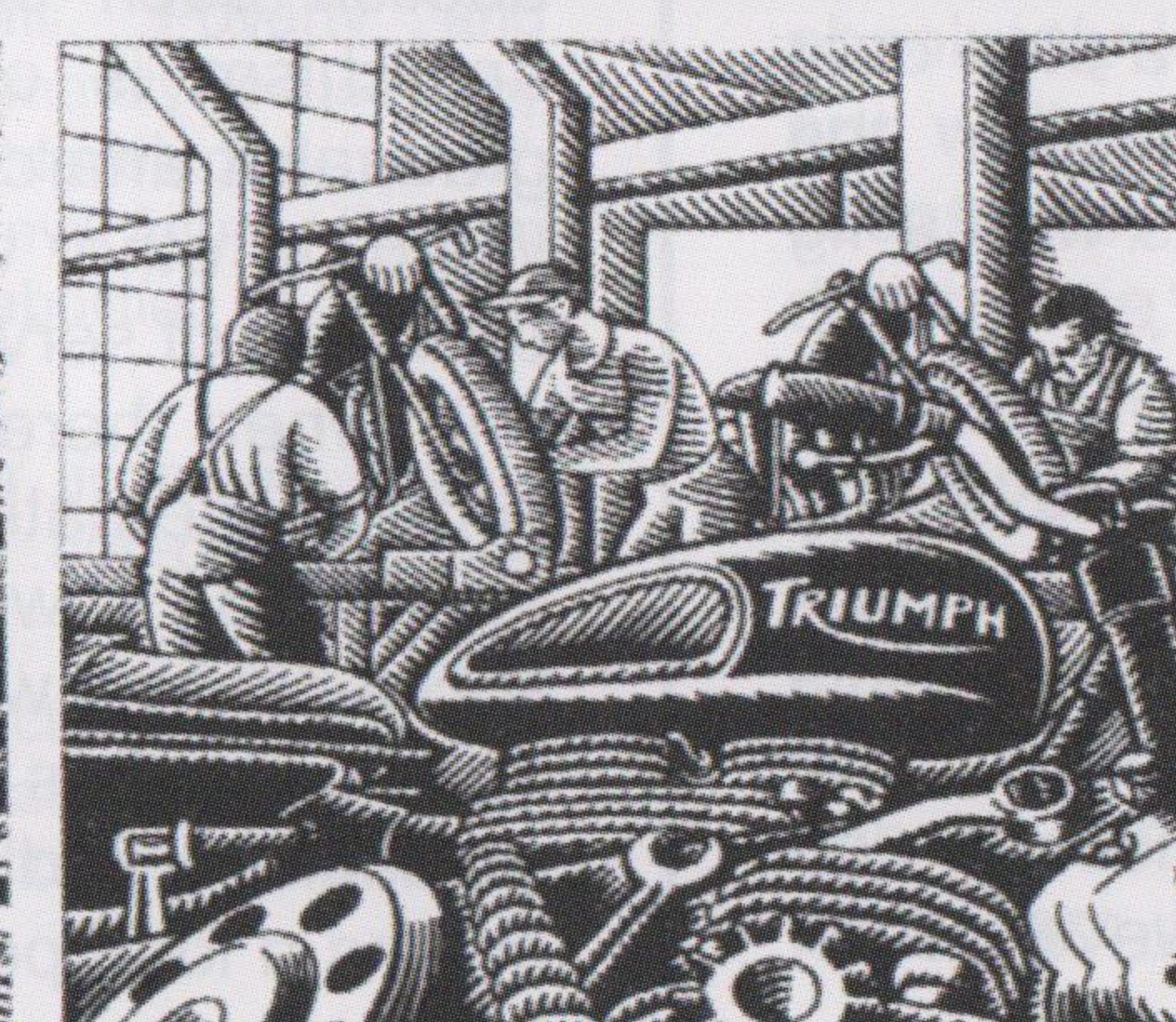
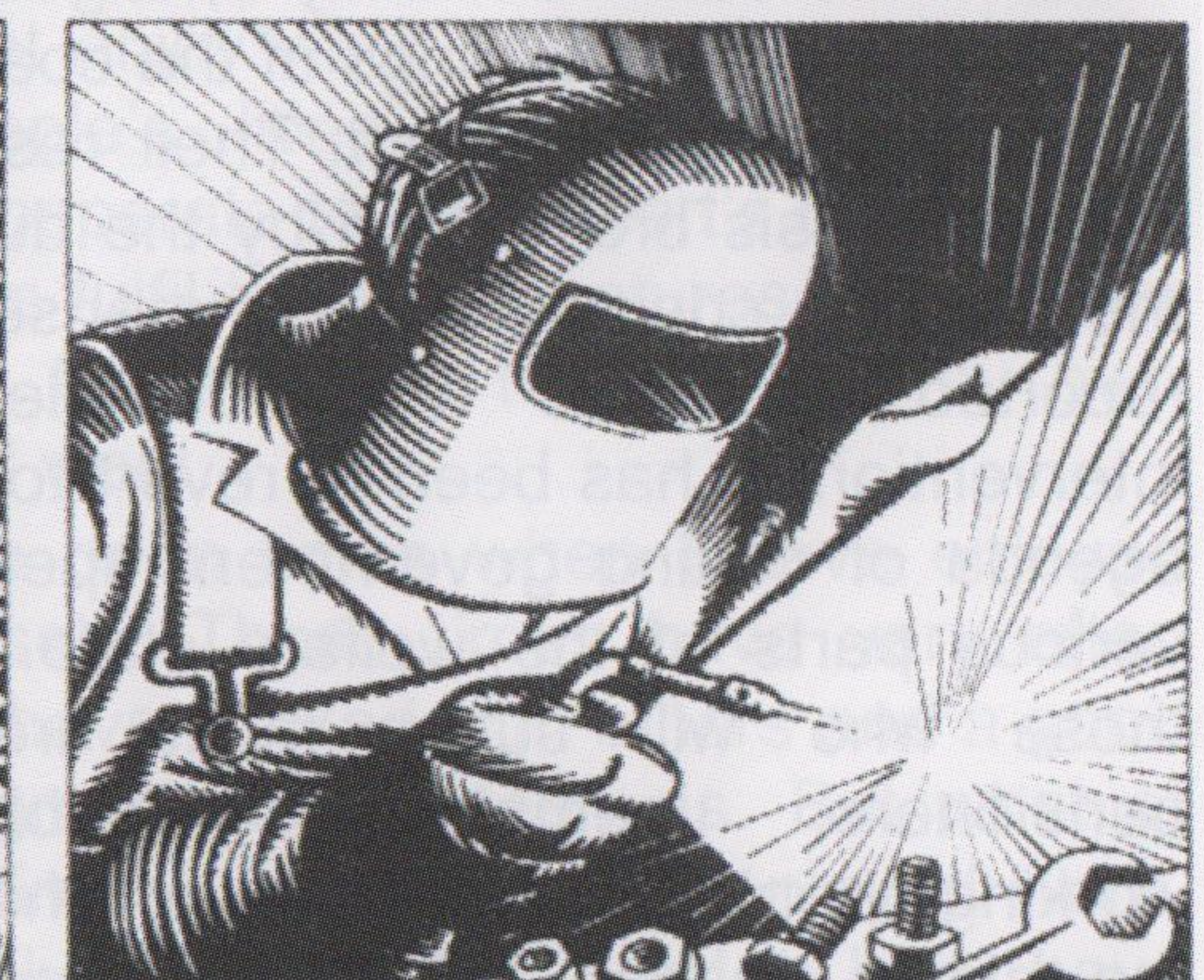
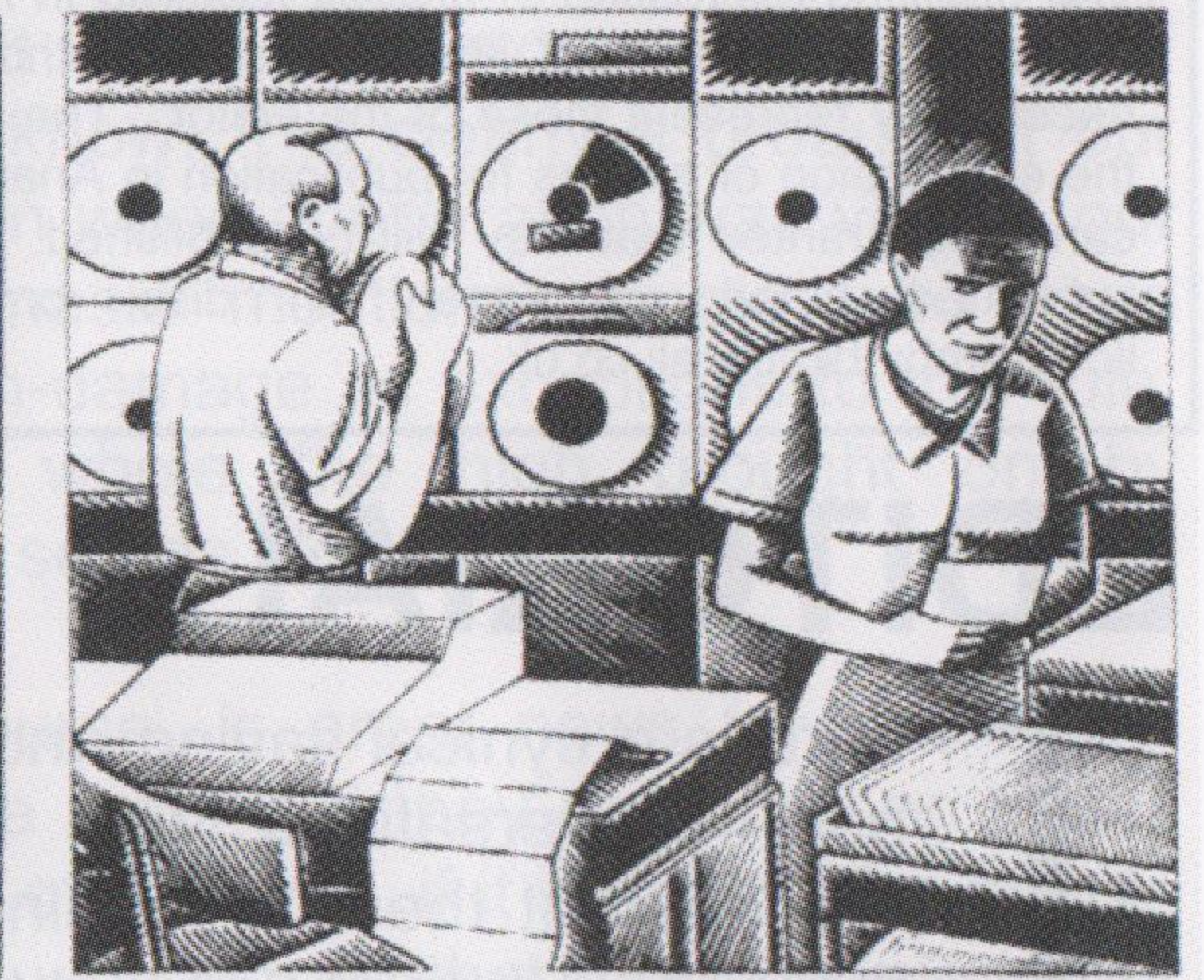
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ANARCHIST VOICES

A JOURNAL OF EVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

VOLUME 7 NUMBER 3

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ANARCHIST VOICES MAGAZINE

incorporating

Total Liberty Magazine Volumes 1- 6.

The opinions expressed in articles featured in Anarchist Voices magazine are those of the individual authors and do not necessarily represent those of the editor. The editor welcomes the submission of articles for publication in Anarchist Voices but cannot guarantee that they will be published. Articles can be submitted typed on paper, on disc, or via email to loegrambyth@tiscali.co.uk.

EDITORIAL

There is a cynical saying, much quoted in pub conversations and newspapers, namely that there is nothing new under the sun. Certainly one gets a sense of déjà vu at the outpourings of the coalition Liberal-Conservative government. Their response to the financial crisis brought on by the dual causes of the banking crisis and the immense and under reported expenses of a decade of military interventions has been to revert to the old Tory agenda of cutting government spending on the various parts of the welfare state. Once again those who will suffer most are the poor, pensioners, unemployed, disabled people, working people both manual and white collar, and the middle classes. This is the same coalition of opponents who brought the Tories to a stop over the Poll Tax in 1990-1991. Meanwhile the government is trying to cover the cuts with a fig leaf of a policy called 'The Big Society'.

The Big Society policy means that charities, volunteers and community groups are being encouraged to take up responsibility for running a variety of services. All well and good, anarchists have long wanted to extend the scope of 'civil society' until all social and health services are no longer in the hands of the state. However, such

services, if they are to be effective and comprehensive in their scope, need resources in order to function. Very few national charities at present are entirely funded from voluntary giving. There are some; The National Royal Lifeboat Association, various Mountain Rescue services and a number of the Air Ambulance services, but these are a tiny minority. The majority of health and social issues charities in the UK receive funds from the state, grants, tax relief and contracts. Passing over services to the third sector, now rebranded as The Big Society, may not be as cheap or as effective an option as the Tories hope.

There are additional flaws in the policy. As many a local voluntary group has found, volunteers are in fact hard to come by. Often in a given locality the same familiar faces are seen again and again on various committees, running different campaigns and services. The same 'movers and shakers' are active and there is often a surprising level of apathy among people to undertake voluntary activity beyond the ordinary activities of family, work and immediate circle of friends. This is not surprising given the demands on people. These days within most families both parents need to work full to finance rent, mortgage, the demands of giving an acceptable standard of living to their children. Retired people may have more time but not the health to join in such voluntary activities.

The Big Society policy of the government is in effect, the beginning of a process of dismantling the welfare state, including Health and Social Care, leading to a combination of private sector, social enterprises and charity and voluntary provision. It is likely to result in a patchy and inadequate level of services as charity and voluntary groups will not operate everywhere, while the private and social enterprise sectors will only be able to operate in geographical areas where it is possible to make a profit.

Anarchists have often spoken of building the new society within the shell of the old. Certainly, given the levels to which people are reluctant to move away from state based health and social services it would be unwise and impossible to abolish such provision overnight. Incremental anarchism is one description of the type of gradualist anarchism advocated by the late Colin Ward. In other words we move away from State provision of services on a case by case basis and only when there are adequate community / civil society alternatives. This means more than just the handful of worker co-ops, housing co-ops and social centres which currently exist. This is one of the reasons why *Anarchist Voices* supports gradualism and is opposed to revolution. It also means a long period of hard work, education and

persuasion.

However peaceful they may be at the start, revolutions have only rarely ended peacefully. Even in the aborted revolution of Paris 1968, much quoted by anarchists, who often pose the question 'what if?' in the context of what might have been achieved had the 'revolution' been pushed further. The reality was that President De Gaulle had regiments of troops and tanks ready and waiting to intervene. Paris '68 could only too easily have turned into a bloodbath similar to Hungary '56 or Prague '68.

Gradualism may be a long term approach, but it is a practical approach and one which can be advocated in our present society without rendering one liable to accusations of utopianism or of extremism. If anarchism is to have society wide influence it needs to be able to appeal to all strands of opinion, and all social classes. The 'traditional' class struggle, Marxist influenced and revolutionary version of anarchism has never, in Britain, been able to do that. Until the anarchist movement adopts the gradualist approach it will remain marginal and unable to have any effective influence within society in the British Isles.

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".

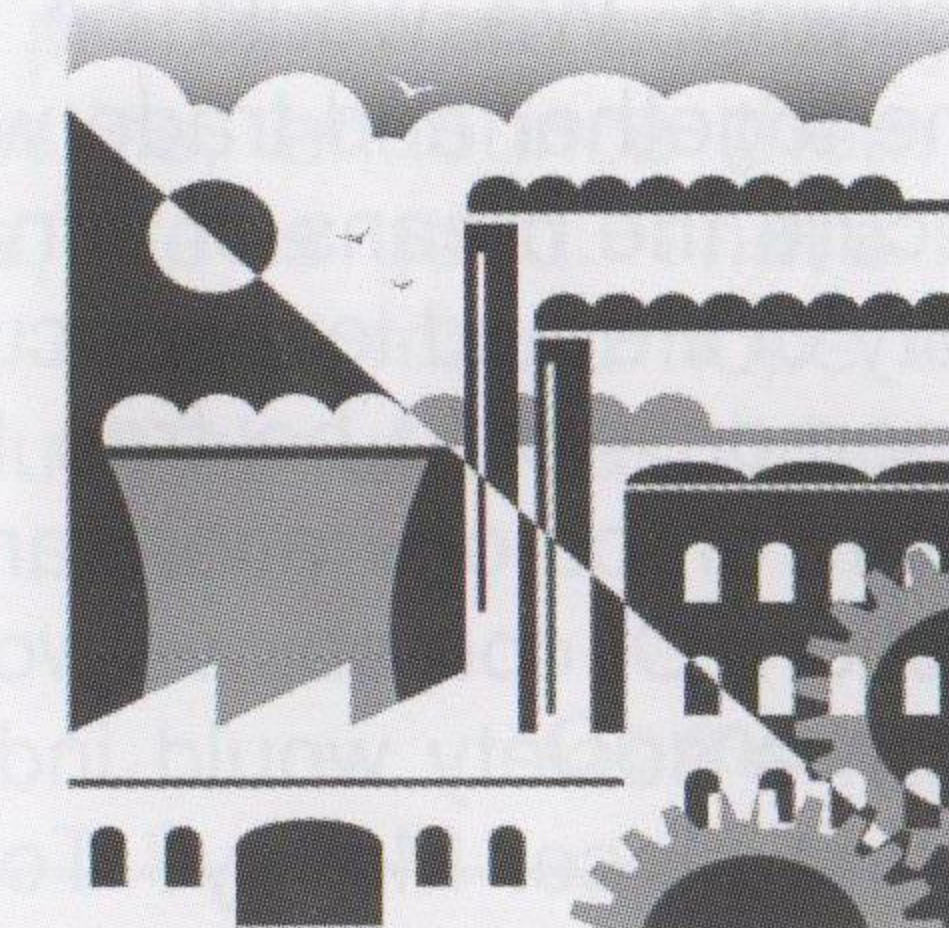
Anarchists are opposed to all coercion.

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.



THE NEW HEROIN

While reading a book by the neuroscientist, Antonio Damasio, I was intrigued to learn of experiments which have shown that cooperation with others floods the brain with dopamine and brings on a high - rather like heroin. This, I think, is a quite remarkable discovery. Of course, I have found from my own experience that working with others can be highly enjoyable, but I had never stopped to ask myself why? Now I know. It is clearly a product of our early evolution when cooperation was vital to our survival. Damasio mentions people who have suffered brain-damage as exceptions to this rule, but on the whole the high brought on by cooperation seems to be a pretty universal phenomenon.

This, of course, is great news for anarchists and one more argument they can draw on to sell anarchism to others. Yet, if it is natural for people to cooperate, why is it so that most people in our society do not enjoy work? After all, work is one area in people's lives where they can get together to cooperate to their heart's content and in the process fulfil their own natures. To answer this question I shall have to draw on my own experience of work.

There have been times when I have enjoyed work immensely. Those times have very often been when I have worked with others and a good feeling has grown up between us. But what of those other times when I haven't enjoyed work, when, not only have I not enjoyed it, but I have absolutely loathed it and, as a result, said fuck it and walked off the job. When I look back on such occasions, I have to admit that it was probably due to one of two reasons: a) because it was so boring it was driving me out of my mind and b) because someone who occupied a position above me was on my back and making life miserable for me, and my walking off was my way telling them to stuff it.

In an anarchist society - leaving aside anarcho-capitalism whose tenets I don't really understand

- we would no longer have bosses. That almost goes without saying. We would be free to co-operate or come together and trade what we had produced to secure the means of survival as well as a good quality of life and level of culture as we saw fit. Each person would be free to enter (or leave) this realm of co-operation and trade at their own discretion. Of course, we would have to ask what in such a society would induce people to work in the first place. Money? Tokens which people could exchange for whatever they wanted? A highly co-ordinated system of barter? Or could the whole thing eventually be run according to the idea that work creates the opportunity for people to come together and co-operate in a way which floods the brain with dopamine and brings on a high. In other words, will work, which in our society we detest so much, become 'the new heroin' and therefore addictive? The possibility should not be discounted.

In order for this to happen, however, all those negatives which we presently associate with work - boredom, fatigue, power-obsessed supervisors and managers constantly on our backs, pressure from competitors and the ensuing stress it produces and much else besides will have to be dealt with. The key, of course, will be co-operation and the freedom each person will have to determine its aims in conjunction with others.

Richard Livermore

THE CUNNINGHAM AMENDMENT

JOURNAL OF THE EAST PENNINE ANARCRISPS.

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Doreen Frampton SRN

MULLAHS:

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MIKE WAITE - CONTINUITY

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MR ARNOLD - FINANCE

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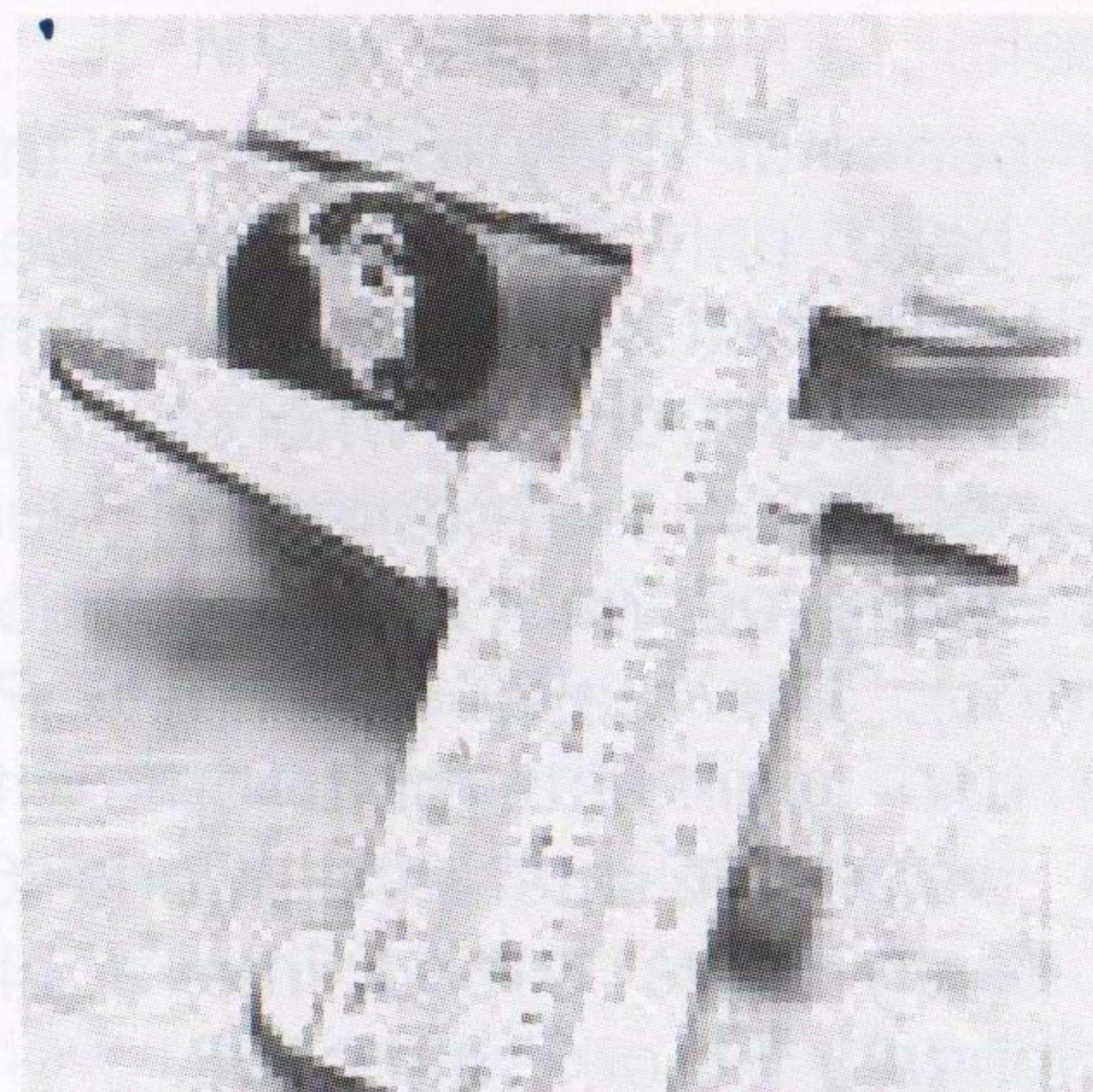
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Tyre Gauge Science

There it was again. Waiting for my unsuspecting eyes was a little corner ad from Exxon Mobile in the Wall Street Journal. It looked innocuous enough and it even came with one of those chemistry symbols, the type with balls connected to one another by those straight arms that make us think of molecules. We saw those nifty sketches back in high school and college. I have no idea whether molecules look like those images, but whenever I see such a sketch I am transported back to the chemistry lab and that marvellously mysterious science that generally made no sense to me.

But, as I was saying, there was that official looking sketch done up in blue ink accompanied by a blue ink headline, some copy in black ink and then the company's logo splashed out in red ink along the bottom.

The question posed by the ad? "Can properly inflated tyres really make a difference?"

Here we go again! I remember during the past dismal election one of the contenders pushed tyre gauges as a way to help solve America's "energy crisis." Well, here Exxon was joining in the inflate-your-tyre charade, going one step further and dressing it up with official-looking statistics. Sure enough, we can save 700 million gallons of gas every year in America if we will just properly inflate our tyres. Now I have to hand it to those people. It forever amazes me that so many of the statistics and "facts" we are handed come in such handy, round numbers. I could drive my car an awful lot without stopping for a refill if I had that much gas. Then I thought about the political big wigs flying around here and there in their government planes. Bet they suck up a good share of such imagined savings in just one or two takeoffs and landings. But I am not to be distracted by such thoughts.

There we have it, 700 million gallons. Just believe it because sure as the earth is spinning

we have it from Exxon that the statistic is solid. Now let me see, just how would one arrive at that "fact?" I have been trying to imagine just that and keep scratching my head in wonderment. I guess we might start with guessing how many cars, trucks, motorcycles, SUVs and lawnmowers Americans own and actually operate during the year. Then, I guess, we assume (that's modern science, at least the kind we are dealing with here, I guess) that a certain percentage of them have underinflated tyres. A wandering question comes to mind at this juncture: what percentage of uncooperative citizens might have over-inflated tyres on their rigs, just to throw off the science of calculating America's tyre inflation statistics? Scratch that notion because it simply muddies the water of pure science. But by how much are the tyres underinflated? I guess they aren't completely flat because that would throw all the calculations off and make for lots of work for tyre shops, but are they just a teeny, tiny bit underinflated or a whole bunch? And are all four tyres (in the case of motorcycles, just two tyres, unless, of course, they have a side car, which tyre must also be taken into consideration) underinflated, or just one or two or three of them? And then do we assume all the tyres are equally underinflated? And then comes the issue of how hot the roads are that the tyres are running over because it seems to me that hot roads and flat tyres create a whole lot more drag and gas consuming than do muscular tyres on snow-covered highways and that might be another factor to crunch into the calculations. So now we have all those things to consider, but we are far from being out of the thinking stage. Keep your science hats on.

How many miles do people actually drive? Now that would seem to me to be an awfully, awfully large number, maybe more than my desktop calculator can squeeze in. Could we imagine there might be just a little more guess work going into arriving at this number and that some portion of it might just be prone to error? After all, good science must allow for variables beyond our control or ability to determine.

So now we push the "on" button of the calculator and start crunching numbers. This is the fun part of the exercise because everything is made up anyhow and we can simply reach whatever conclusion we wish to arrive at to get the sure-as-God statistics we can announce to the good citizens in the land.

So Exxon puts down our money, tells the Journal what to print, and there it is: modern "science" on parade. Exxon can pretend it is an oil company that is concerned about "the environment" and that it is doing something to

encourage people to be green. With happy hearts the world's problems are so easily resolved. Just invent statistics, announce them far and wide, and, presto, life is good. That's America today. It's all part of that magic hope and change we heard so much about. Doesn't it feel just so right?

Michael Coughlin
Cornucopia, Wisconsin

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Going Native

Devotees of identity politics, including some anarchists, seem incapable of viewing themselves and others as individuals. Instead, they feel the need to classify people according to some arbitrary characteristic(s) they share with others. And they believe that having done so, they have acquired some important information about a person, which prescribes how they are and/or should be viewed and treated by others.

One of the many categories into which advocates of this approach place certain people is that of native or indigenous. Like many words, these terms are open to interpretation, but currently they are generally taken to describe people who are descended from those who settled certain areas or countries before the arrival of other groups. Additionally, the designation is most commonly used to describe people whose ancestors suffered in some way at the hands of later arrivals. Now if this way of classifying people were simply a means of clarifying and interpreting the historical record, it would be harmless at worst, and perhaps even helpful in looking at the evolution of human society.

However, in the world of identity politics, much more is read into such terms and concepts. While it is clearly the case that many people who are considered native in the united states are disadvantaged in all sorts of ways, focusing on their indigenusness has not, in most cases, remedied the problems they face. It has, however, supplied the ideology and justification for pressuring governments to take action. While such state interventions are supposedly designed to benefit all members of the aggrieved group, they inevitably work to the advantage only of a few "leaders" and the (usually non-native) lawyers and politicians involved in their implementation and management. Such government initiatives simply substitute a new set

of problems for the old, if they change anything at all.

This is how it works. Once people are labelled native or indigenous (or aboriginal or first nations) they are then believed to have some special status, based both on historical entitlement to a certain region and the ill treatment received by their ancestors. An assumption is made that since someone's ancestors suffered at the hands of someone else's ancestors, the misfortunes of the descendants are directly attributable to that ancestral suffering. The descendants of the historical oppressors are then believed to owe something to the descendants of the historical oppressed. And once such a debt has been identified, it must be paid.

Although such ancestral inequities are impossible to rationally and fairly reckon and settle, attempts have been made to do just that, and the example of the outcome of such settlements in the united states should be cautionary. The "native" Americans who were supposed to benefit from such schemes have essentially become wards of the same state that perpetrated or allowed so many of the injustices of the past. Government action has resulted in such institutions as the Bureau of Indian Affairs, the Indian Health Service, and the Alaska native corporations (created by the Alaska Native Claims Settlement Act), none of which could exist without continued government money and intervention. These are notoriously authoritarian, corrupt, and wasteful organizations that aggrandize those who run and work for them, commonly non-"native," but bring little to the people they were allegedly set up to serve. Life on most reservations and many Eskimo and Indian villages remains difficult at best, and gruesome at worst. And the health care provided in the segregated facilities administered or funded by the Indian Health Service is widely acknowledged to be inferior to that provided elsewhere.

Reliance on flawed government programs to fix social problems is not the only problem generated by an identity-based approach to the problems of contemporary "aboriginal" people. Another barrier to remedying the situation of Indians, Eskimos and Aleuts in the united states is that romantic myths about historical lifestyles persist and impede changes that would likely bring more benefit than harm. Under the guise of preserving traditional culture, attempts are made to maintain struggling communities that began in a much different world and society and no longer work. People pretend that residents of bush Alaska live a traditional aboriginal lifestyle while the reality of modern village life is anything but.

People have snow machines, televisions, "western" food, modern weapons, cell phones, and welfare payments, but the pretence, both in and outside the bush, is that they are maintaining an old-fashioned subsistence way of life. Although the small villages of Alaska and the reservations of the lower 48 are ill-suited to meeting their residents' needs and fulfilling their desires, incentives and barriers are created to dissuade people from moving into cities and towns in order to preserve "native" cultures whose social and political structures have little in common with historical ways of living in the Americas.

People considered native are stereotyped and patronized. There is a persistent myth that life before contact with European invaders and migrants was blissful and peaceable despite the clear evidence that pre-1492 life in the Americas, like everywhere else in the world, included war, mistreatment and subordination of women, slavery, ethnic hatreds, human-wrought environmental change and all manner of unpleasantness. And despite the fact that the world they live in now hardly resembles that of their ancestors who truly lived off the land and sea, modern Eskimos and Indians are often seen as somehow more in touch with nature and the environment than people of other ethnicities.

When discussing global warming, for instance, science is now sometimes supplemented by native "wisdom." Elders in the arctic regions are consulted for their opinions about how weather has changed over their lifetime. Of course their input is of value, but whatever wisdom they have to offer is not related to their being indigenous. People who live off the land or oceans, even to a limited extent, may well have important information to share about the environment. But although this should logically apply to black and white farmers as well, I have yet to hear of scientists interviewing them and incorporating their "wisdom" into their theories of climate change. In fact when non-native people express disbelief in global warming because it doesn't fit their perception of how their local weather has changed, their views are commonly dismissed as subjective and without scientific value.

But how have Indians, Aleuts, and Eskimos gained from these assumptions? They are frequently seen not as modern, capable, savvy people who can cope in the modern world. They are almost considered historical curiosities, childlike, primitive, unsophisticated folk who are in unfortunate straits because they can't keep up with and function in the evil modern world which has lost touch with nature and the verities of the past. Embracing such a nonsensical view of

people leads to an expectation and acceptance of failure and a reliance on the welfare state. Native politics, like all forms of identity politics, encourage an ideology of victimhood and dissuade individual initiative.

All of which begs the question of what makes someone a native to begin with. Technically, the only place where people are indigenous is a small area of eastern Africa. From there, the ancestors of everybody else migrated to virtually all corners of the earth. Even most of those who are considered native Africans either are or are descended from people who migrated from their place of origin to another part of the continent where they were not aboriginal.

In the case of the Americas, the category of indigenous or first nations gets even more murky and difficult to define. It is well-established that the descendants of modern "native" Americans did not all arrive at the same time. So in fact, many natives have no claim at all to being indigenous, since there were people already in north America when their ancestors arrived. Their ancestors may have arrived here earlier than Europeans did, but they surely have no claim to being aboriginal. But if these non-indigenous people are commonly considered native, why not those descended from European, African, and Asian immigrants who arrived perhaps 400 or 500 years ago?

Ultimately, from a libertarian perspective, none of this matters. The problem with the migration of Europeans and later arrivals to the Americas was not that non-American people wished to live in a place that could obviously support a much larger population that it had in 1492, but that the new arrivals and the governments they brought with them treated the earlier occupants abominably. Had the newcomers sought and arrived at a mutually acceptable and fair understanding about how to live together with those already here, the world would have been, and would now be, a different place. But obviously that is not how things worked out.

It is particularly ironic to me that anarchists give any importance to people's claim to indigenusness at all, except, as mentioned above, as historical information. People should be viewed and treated with exactly the same respect and consideration, whatever their ethnicity, origin, colour, whatever. That has been the historical anarchist view of people, and the view that underlies the call of most libertarians for the elimination of barriers to the free movement of people across state-defined borders now. If people should be free to live where they choose as long as they violate no one else's equal freedom, it matters not how far back some

residents of an area can trace their ancestry.

It seems contradictory for anarchists to oppose the expulsion of Roma people from France and support the migration of African people to Europe, but to fuss about whose ancestors were where first when it comes to the "fourth world." All that matters is whether someone's freedom is violated, justly-acquired property improperly taken, or life and livelihood attacked or threatened. If the descendants of the first (or early people) to arrive somewhere are treated badly or live in poor conditions, these problems should be confronted and eliminated, not because they have some unique group claim, but simply because they are people who are suffering from unjust treatment. Not only has labelling and categorizing people in order to accord them some special status failed as a method of bringing about justice for native people, it is inconsistent with the anarchist argument that each person is a unique individual whose freedom should remain inviolate, whatever their physical characteristics or historical origin. And that is the only ethical basis for human interaction.

Joe Peacott

Lancashire's Forgotten Genius: Allen Clarke Finally Gets His Recognition

He wrote over twenty novels, corresponded with Thomas Hardy and Tolstoy, and his writing was loved by tens of thousands of Lancashire mill workers. His dialect sketches sold over a million copies and his book on the cotton industry helped to win the campaign against child labour in the mills. His humorous sketches about life in Lancashire's factories and mines probably helped to win more people to Labour's cause than the more weighty polemics of his contemporaries. Yet today, Allen Clarke – or his pseudonym Teddy Ashton – is little known even in his native Lancashire.

A new book aims to redress this. *Lancashire's Romantic Radical: the life and writings of Allen Clarke/Teddy Ashton* is both an introduction to his life, spanning the years 1863 to 1935, and an outline of his work covering the novels, plays and short stories, poetry, political and philosophical writings – and his love of cycling. He was an environmentalist decades before the term was invented, wanting to 'dust the soot off the petals of the Red Rose'.

Allen Clarke was born in Bolton in 1863 and went to work in the mills at the age of 11. He fought his way into journalism after working as a pupil teacher. He set up Lancashire's first labour newspaper in 1890 – 'The Labour Light'. He settled in Blackpool in 1905, becoming Lancashire's most well-loved writer, with a penchant for humour with a radical cutting edge. Clarke's newspaper 'Teddy Ashton's Northern Weekly' was read by thousands of cotton workers and their families who loved his 'Tum Fowt' dialect sketches. He wrote lovingly of the Lancashire moors and of the Fylde countryside, which he christened 'Windmill Land'.

He promoted the work of many working class Lancashire writers who came together in Rochdale in 1909 to create the body which became the Lancashire Authors Association. Clarke was the first Chairman.

Allen Clarke was one of the most fascinating figures in Northern literature – he wrote over 20 novels, published a weekly newspaper, wrote poetry, philosophy and children's sketches. His book on the cotton industry – "The Effects of the Factory System" was translated into Russian by Leo Tolstoy. His book on spiritualism and philosophy, "The Eternal Question", was admired by Sir Arthur Conan Doyle. *Lancashire's Romantic Radical* introduces a new generation of Lancastrians to Allen Clarke's life and work. Much of what he had to say about life, politics and the environment are as relevant now as they were in his own time.

Paul Salveson

At the Apothecary

Our discerning female readership, and not a few of the chaps I would venture to suggest, may be interested to learn of the cutting edge advice offered to women by the English physician John of Gaddesdon (1280-1369) on how to avoid venereal disease. He advised that a woman who had just had coitus with a 'leprous man' could avoid infection if, immediately afterwards, she 'jumps, runs backwards down the stairs, induces sneezing by inhaling pepper, tickling the vaginal membranes with a feather dipped in vinegar. Then, she must wash her genitals with a decoction of roses and herbs boiled in vinegar'.

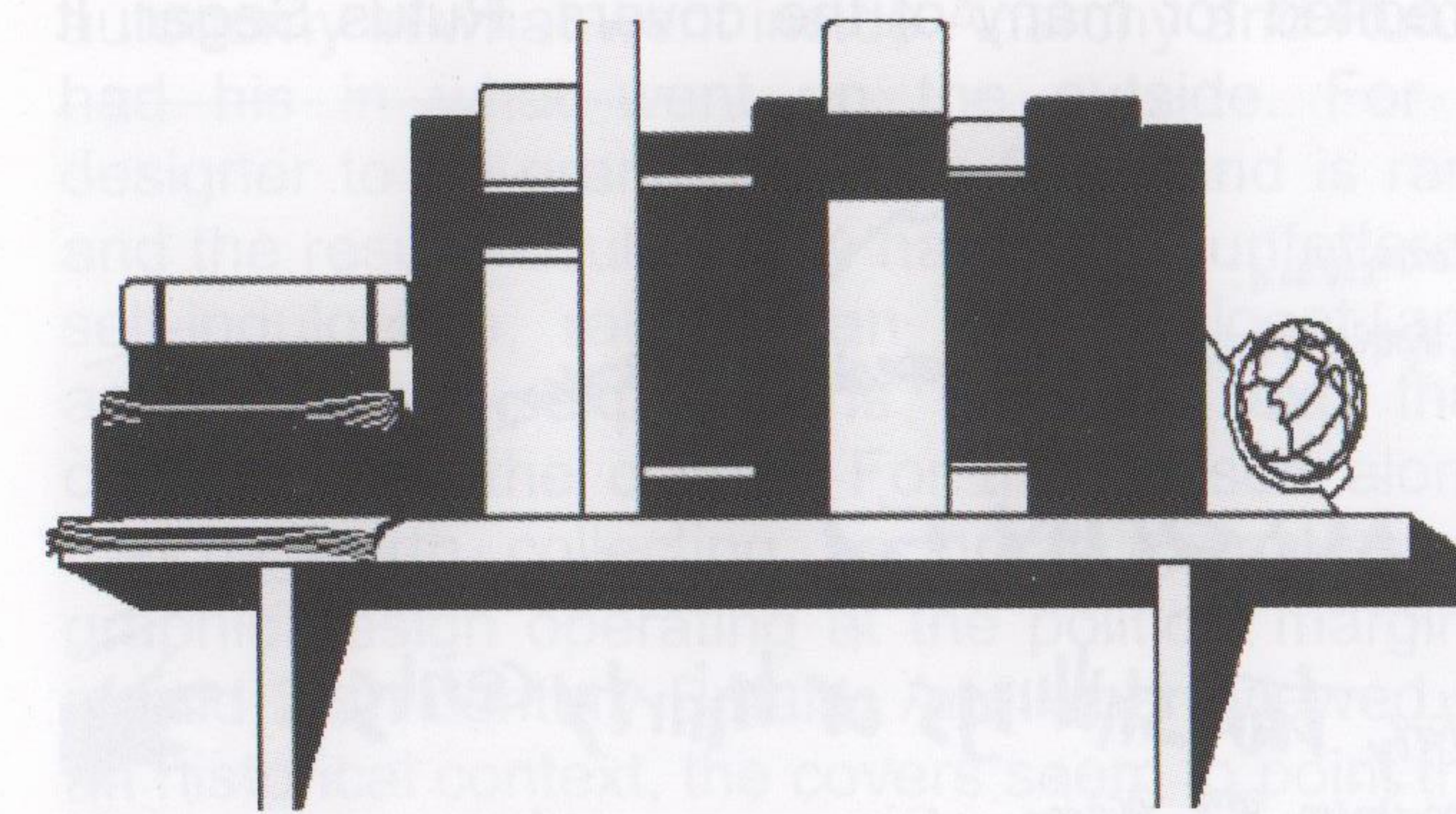
It certainly goes to make less inexplicable the contents of the average party political manifesto at election time don't you think? All the more so when one considers that the principal objection

raised in this household to the admittedly bawdy suggestion of a 'historical re-enactment for purely educational purposes' was the necessity to run down the stairs backwards!!

Lest our male readership feel excluded, I should also comment on a contemporary of John of Gaddesdon, one Gerard de Berri (1298-1368) who stated that the 'virile member suffers through copulation as a result of corrupt seminal fluid or a poisonous humour.' If this is indeed your problem, then washing with mercury quenched in spittle is advised.

Archie Odgers

*Source: - The Bishop's Brothels by E.J. Burford - a truly enlightening read.



Book Review

Other Ways of Living

Siberian Education, Nicolai Lilin, Canongate, £12.99.

One is well advised to consider the forthcoming revolution with a sense of scepticism if not caution. The fantasy that the workers will one day arise and overthrow the bourgeois is largely based on imagery drawn from the art forms of Soviet Realism. Equally, the notion that once capitalism is finally defeated a free society will automatically blossom in its place, must be greeted with similar reserve. Following a general uprising, it is more likely that a coalition of power-seeking Marxist abbreviations (with promises of the new temporary state withering away) will start setting up committees. And before the barricades are even dismantled, departments of secret police will be recruited and out on patrol. Calls for further freedoms become re-classified as opposition.

I am no political fortune teller. I am not a believer in abstract analysis of future events. What strikes me as more realistic is that there will be no "after-the-revolution" scenario. It is more

profitable to accept that the forces for freedom and the forces for servitude will always be in a state of conflict. The idea that some utopian consciousness might pervade across a widespread community is simply absurd. What we can perhaps best hope for is a Janus-faced region: One that looks outwards with a defensive and detached attitude, but inwardly is both supportive and creative to its own.

Such a setting is described in Nicolai Lilin's engaging book. Lilin examines the world of Siberian Urkas, a community of people lodged within the tiny republic of Transnistria. From the perspective of the official world the Urkas are no more than self-organised bandits. For centuries they carried a reputation for high-jacking merchants and government forces. Robin Hood did something similar in Merrie Olde England. And like Robin's men, the Urkas kept to a powerful moral code and accepted only the mutually-established authority of their own community. It's easy to romanticise the Urkas but Lilin digs deeper than knee-jerk assumptions.

The Urkas, he says, were highly dismissive of the materialism of Russia's gangster-capitalism and their Western counterparts. He frames their lives within an Eastern Orthodox-derived form of Anarchism. They hold that their own community and moral intent are sacrosanct, and those that seek power and material gain are inherently weak and evil. For the Urka, a principle moral standing is to "respect all living creatures". A category, alas, which does not include "policemen, people connected with government, bankers, loan sharks, and all those who had the power of money in their hands and exploited ordinary people." Conversely their culture places great value on loyalty, the elderly, women, children and disabled people.

Lilin argues that if the values of the Urkas had been our own global ones we would not now be undergoing yet another greed-led economic recession. Nor would we be ripping our environment apart or decimating the various species that attempt to survive the spewing chemicals and noxious gases. Wall Street, Chinese bankers and much of Western media only urges us to seek a world geared towards regulation and endless economic growth. Against this unremitting message it is not difficult to argue that we live within a failing world order. Perhaps the spark that kicks off a revolution is that we may be forced to learn from the values of such community-based societies like the Urkas. Let us hope it is not too late.

Lilin carries an obvious pride in his description of the Urka world. Yet it is Russian gangster-capitalism that is making savage in-roads into

this noble culture. Seemingly the power of Coca-Cola, satellite pornography and the ethos of MacDonalds is able to destabilise the most intransigent of traditions. The Serbian Urkas are perhaps the great anti-heroes of twitter-times. One of the last band of heroes standing up to vestiges of a mind-numbing conformity. You will be hard pressed, Lilin concludes, to find their code of ethics in our own criminal ghettos (or boardrooms for that matter).

In the end the real battle will take place - not in a cosmic encounter of abstractions - but in the skirmishes of everyday life. There can be no "free society", only a series of "freedoms achieved." For freedom is an uncertain entity and soon exhausts its energy and begins to measure itself out in comfort and habituation. Revolutionary freedom does not coalesce into institutions but can only work within communities of mutual aid and creativity. Ways of living must be built that are fundamentally different from those we have come to accept as the norm before the great Mother Earth gives us no choice. Small ethical affinity groups will guide us naturally into larger revolutionary projects. We would do well to learn from Urka culture before it too becomes swallowed up by materialism.

Doreen Frampton

A work in progress

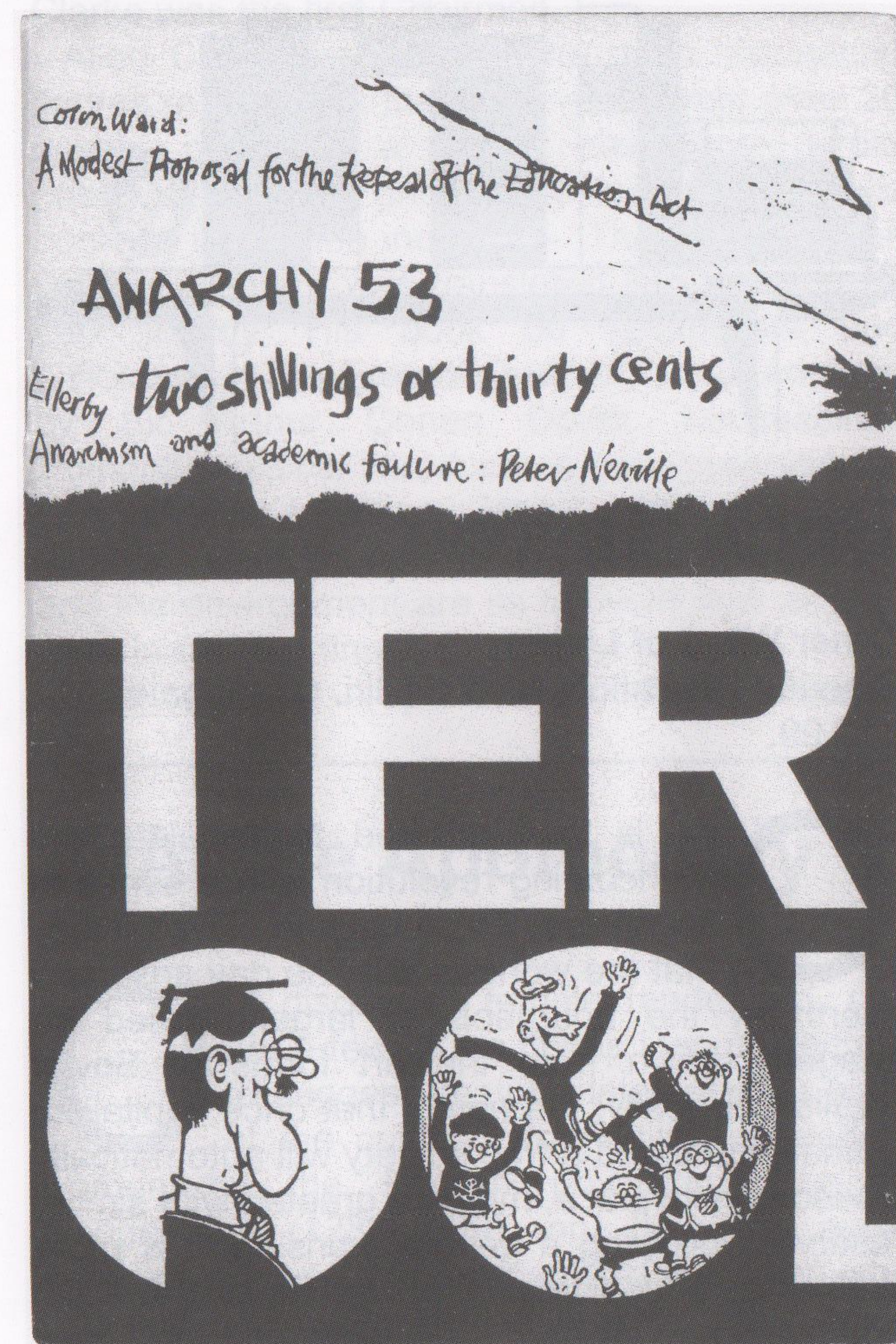
Anyone attending the Colin Ward memorial day at Conway Hall in London earlier this year may have seen, at the back of the hall in amongst the display of photographs, drawings and magazines, a few old copies of Anarchy: a journal of anarchist ideas. Anarchy was a monthly journal published by Freedom Press in London during the 1960s. It was created by Colin in 1961 and edited by him until 1970. Sitting alongside these gems was an A5 book with a plain yellow cover. This book was (and is) a work in progress – the first draft of a picture book devoted to the cover designs of Anarchy – and Colin's memorial day was the first time the project had been shown in public.

I am a graphic designer and reader of anarchist theory. I first came across Anarchy while searching for second hand anarchist literature on the internet. One evening I stumbled upon a small lot of Anarchy on eBay. I bid on them and – sad to say without much competition – won.

A few days later they arrived in the post. The first thing I noticed, even before opening the envelope, was their size; they were a lot smaller than I'd expected. I assumed from the picture in

the listing that they were A4 – like the later 1970s incarnation of Anarchy – when in fact they were much more compact, being closer to A5. And the cover designs, each one wildly different from the last, were amazing to see in the flesh with bold, flat colours on the soft, ageing uncoated paper. Some designs were photographic, others typographic or illustrated – as far as I could see there was no pattern to it. This is what surprised me most. Knowing that the four copies I had were part of a succession fuelled my curiosity, I wanted to know what the others looked like. It made me want to collect them all.

In between searching the web for copies for sale, I looked for information on Anarchy. But there was little out there on the journal and next to nothing to be found on the designer credited for many of the covers, Rufus Segar. It



wasn't long before it occurred to me, if I couldn't find any information on Anarchy, let alone the covers, then why don't I do something about it?

That's when the project began, in October 2008. I started by getting in touch with Rufus. I wrote to him and told him about the idea; a book of Anarchy covers. He was flattered, but a little bit baffled by my interest in his work. Then, armed with a contact sheet of all the covers and a list of

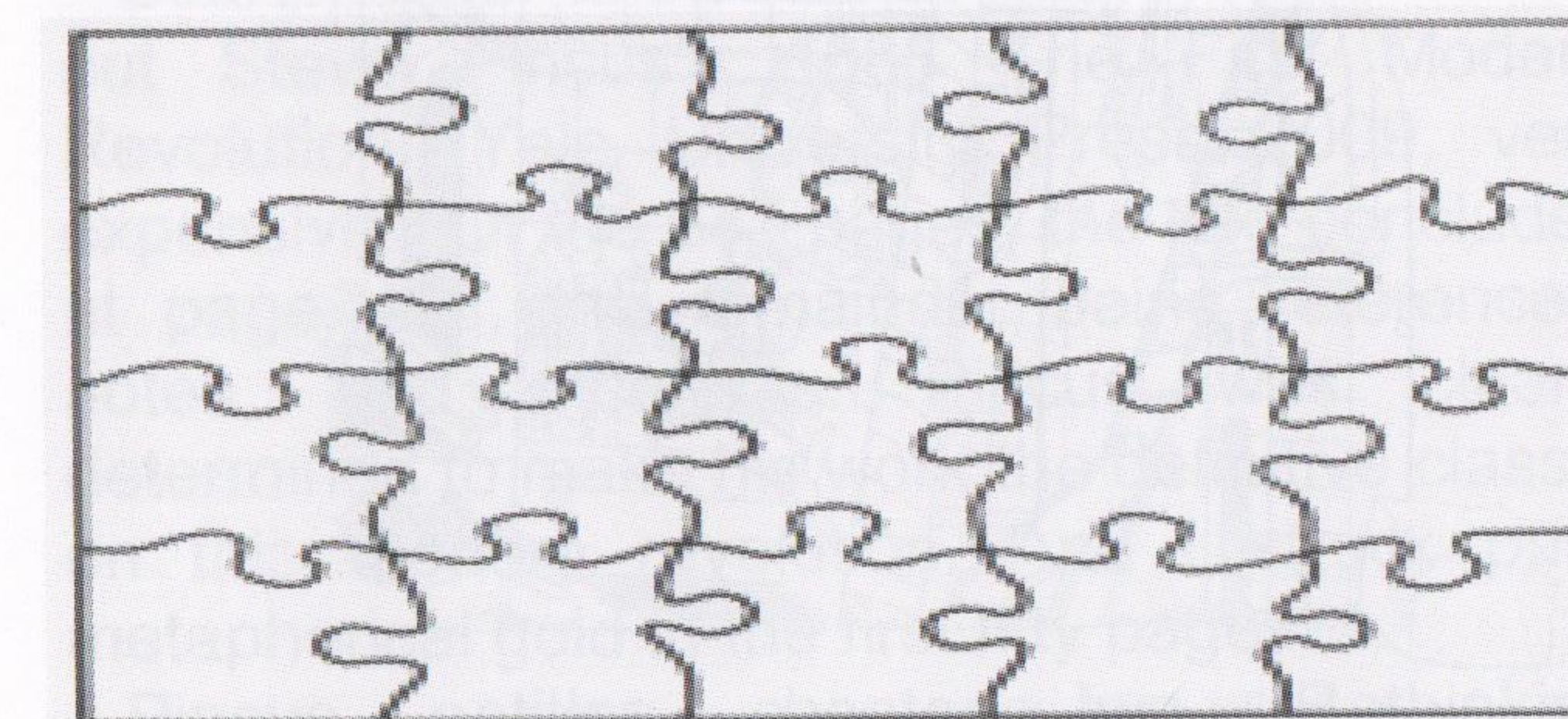
questions, I went to meet him and recorded an interview. Now that I had some words and pictures to work with I could begin putting together a book.

Two years later and after many late nights writing emails, letters, making transcripts and scanning covers the idea is starting to take shape. The bound first draft on the table at Colin's memorial day was an object that can be held, looked at and sent to prospective publishers to try and interest them in a book with the snappy title AUTONOMY The cover designs of Anarchy: A journal of anarchist ideas 1961-70. But why bother, what's so good about the covers? For me it's this, the relationship between Rufus as designer and Colin as de facto client was clear and simple; Colin had absolute autonomy in what went inside Anarchy and Rufus had his in what went on the outside. For a designer to be granted such a free hand is rare and the results could easily have been unfettered self-indulgence, rather than the intelligent and artistic visual expressions of the text that characterises the covers. For this reason alone they're worth collecting as great examples of graphic design operating at the political margins in mid 20th century Britain. And when viewed in an historical context, the covers seem to point the way forward, towards the raw, cut and paste design aesthetic of the punk movement in the 1970s; a look that has become – in the mainstream at least – synonymous with the word anarchy ever since.

Anarchy had a small circulation; no more than 2,800 copies were sold of the most popular issues, but those it reached remember it well. Many of the people I spoke to at Conway Hall recounted happy times discovering Anarchy all those years ago. The covers are just one small ingredient of what made the journal unique but because they're so eye-catching they have the potential to attract attention and introduce a whole new generation to Anarchy. After all, they caught my attention didn't they?

Daniel Poyner

The project would not have been possible were it not for the help and encouragement of Rufus Segar, Harriet Ward and their families.



Political Illusions

Much has been written about the expenses scandal that first hit the headlines in May 2009. We, 'the public' were regaled with stories of MPs' claims for porn films, duck houses, moat cleaning, 're-designated' second homes, and the subsidising of property development. All these, and many more besides, ran alongside my personal favourite - the renting out of homes, which revolved around a number of MPs who claimed for their "second home" whilst they were, in fact, renting other homes in their possession. These rented out homes were, in most cases, third properties (nice!) In one particularly case (that of Elliott Morley), the Daily Telegraph alleged that a "second" home was rented to another MP, Ian Cawsey, who then, it is alleged, promptly claimed the rental back on his own expenses.

All very interesting and, at a certain level, deliciously amusing, but at no stage did the outrage extend beyond the immediate claims of wrongdoing and the specific individuals involved. Few mentions were made that this latest scandal was just the latest in a long line dating back to the very inception of the Parliamentary institution itself. Given the extent and degree of the corruption involved, is it not surprising that no questions at all were asked, at least that I am aware of, as to whether or not politicians might for some reason be inherently wicked and corrupt? Do they comprise a group of wholly unsuitable individuals, attracted and motivated by the bright lights of power and privilege - or, and rather kindlier, are the majority more or less ordinary people seduced by illusions, misunderstandings, and business-as-usual? In short, outside of the usual fringe suspects, no-one thought to question the role of the real villain of the piece, the historical institution itself, its causes and its effects, its truly dismal history, its gigantic, malevolent scope, its inefficient and

counterproductive operation.

The much hyped General Election has now been and gone. Out has gone communitarian 'New Labour' to be replaced with communitarian Con-Lib-Dem. Great!! All the pre-election talk of new brooms, new chapters, new beginnings and fresh starts is revealed to one and all to be, surprise, surprise, so much hot air. But why would anybody with even a cursory knowledge of history really have expected anything different? Having kept their heads down for a few months, many of our venerable 'lawmakers' now feel sufficiently emboldened to openly question the hastily introduced revised expenses system. Don't laugh, but evidently it's 'inefficient and intrusive', and even as I write, suggestions are being made that new methods of milking the 'expenses' cash cow have already made their first hesitant, and inevitably denied, appearance. "Prolong a 'debate' past 1am and claim up to £130 per attendee for staying in a hotel" is the claim.

It is all very, very hard to grasp is it not? When one continually prays to a god for an end to floods or epidemics and the floods and epidemics get worse, one has a choice. Conclude there is no god and look elsewhere for a solution, or just pray some more and hope for the best. But just how long can any institution and those who inhabit it continually fail to make good on its and their claims, 'promises' and stated intentions, and remain a tenable and realistic option? Just how bad do things have to be before a majority, or at least a very sizeable minority decide enough is enough? Just how is it that so many people continue to decide that the best option is to 'pray some more' at the ballot box despite the overwhelming evidence that to do so is utterly futile?

A book recently published in the United States seeks to answer some of these questions. 'Six Political Illusions' by James L. Payne, aims to shed light on just why so many who appear to genuinely oppose government repeatedly return for what inevitably results in more of the same. Payne identifies six principle illusions that remain, in spite of how widely disgraced politicians and government in general have become, as accepted by the vast bulk of people. If the book does nothing else, it outlines clearly what opponents of the State are up against in clear and simple terms. Ultimately, all must be addressed by opponents of the current status quo, and proved by example to be what they are, illusions. They are outlined as follows: -

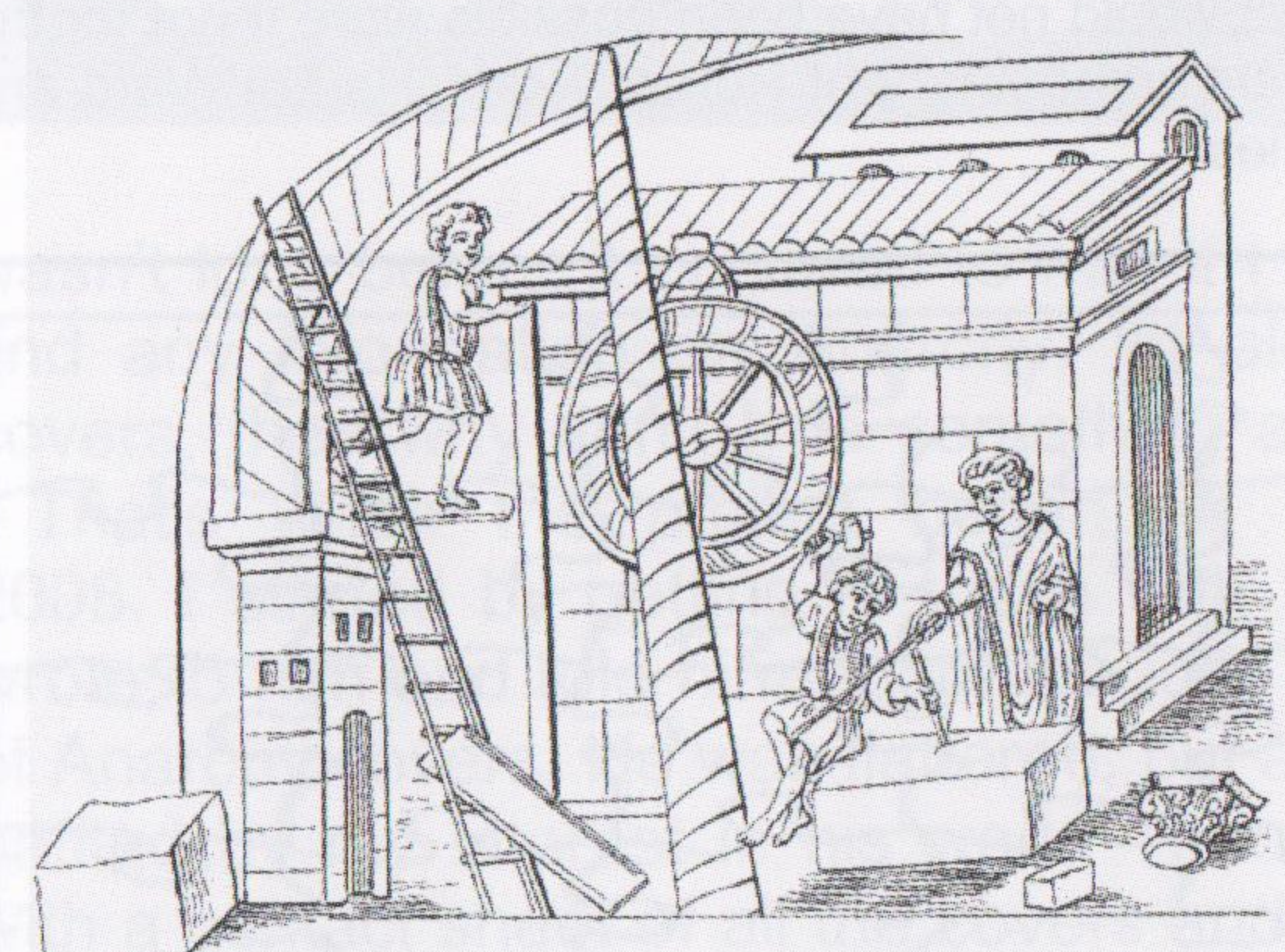
- The Philanthropic Illusion - the idea that government has money of its own to give to

worthy causes and deserving individuals.

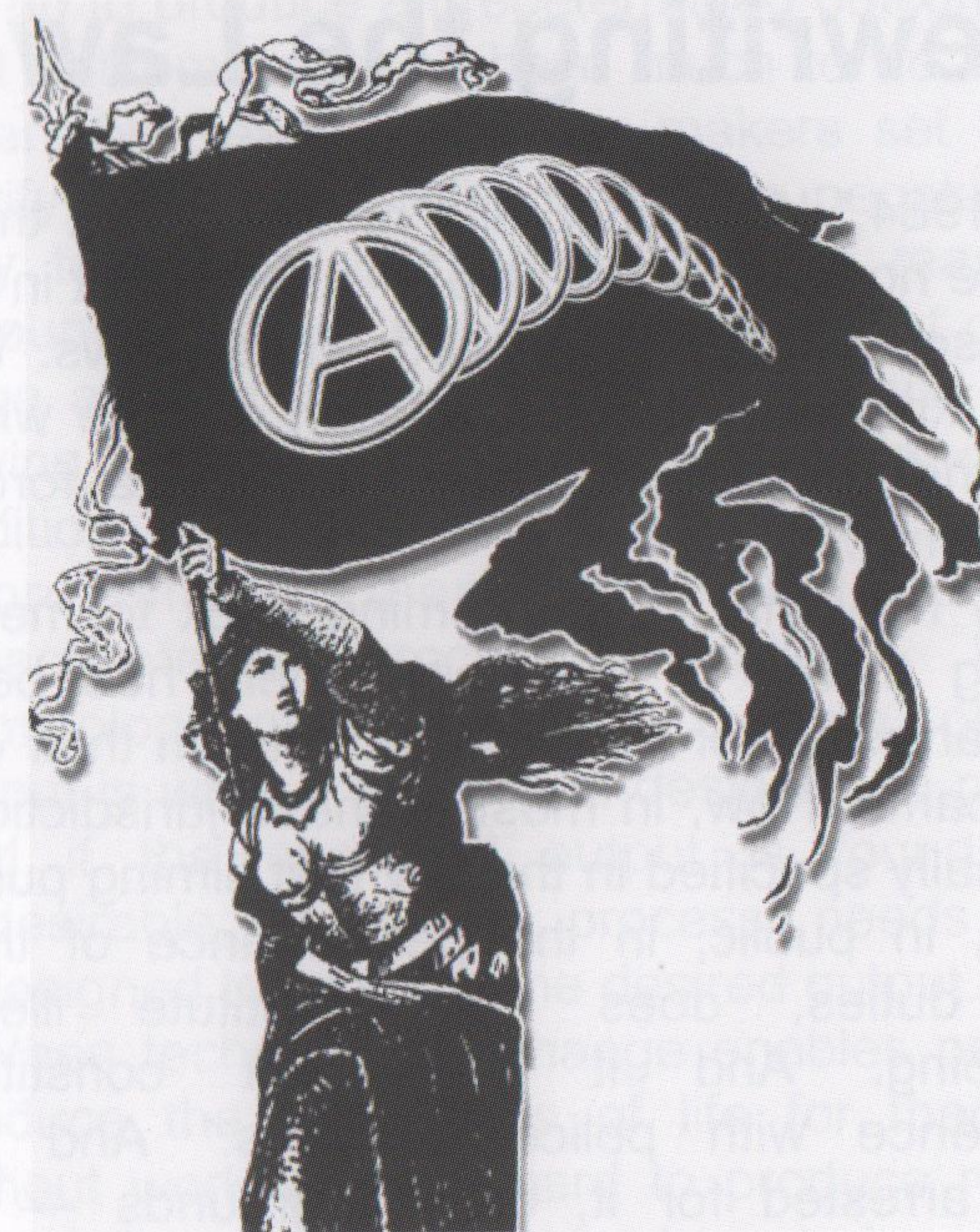
- The Voluntary Illusion - the belief that government implements its decisions through cooperation and reasoned agreement.
- The Illusion of the Frictionless State - the belief that government can transfer resources with negligible overhead cost.
- The Materialistic Illusion - the belief that money alone buys successful policy result.
- The Watchful Eye Illusion - the belief that government is wiser and more responsible than the public.
- The Illusion of Government Pre-eminence - the belief that only government can solve pressing social and economic problems.

Payne himself believes that whilst very large numbers of people, still possess an inchoate loyalty to government, it's a transparently irrational and exhausted loyalty. He believes that the loss of faith in government and politicians must, in the long run, lead to its weakening. It is surely implausible, he argues, that a major institution can thrive century after century while the populace views it with scorn. I for one, hope he is right, and the sooner the 'implausibility' of the State is recognised en masse the better. What is certainly without question however, is that history bulges with examples of illusions that were finally seen for what they were, usually transforming society in the process. From the god like status of the pharaohs in ancient Egypt to the collapse of the power of the Roman church in Western Europe to the collapse of the USSR in the East - all were systems built on illusions. The good news is that all ultimately failed.

Peter Wraith



10. Building a city. Miniature, Codex Vaticanus of Virgil.



Revolution

It is traditional for anarchists to yearn for revolution. We are emotionally drawn towards revolution because it carries the idea of freedom, but this desire is counterbalanced by the possibility of violence. The usual repository for such ideas, in Britain's past at least, was 'class war'. I do not intend to go down that route, nor into a discussion of violence or the ethics of its use.

I want to examine not what causes revolution, but the nature of the trigger that sets it off. To do this it will be necessary to delve into history. Whilst I accept Hegel's (1770-1831) axiom: "History teaches us that people have never learnt anything from history", I hope I may be wrong this time. When considering past episodes of revolution, we are usually presented with the front and centre of the main drama, but very little else.

Each revolution tells a different upfront story, but what actually starts them? Is there a range of primary triggers? Is every one different? Do they all work in the same way or are there identifiable common features? Or could it just be that the common features they share make them all the same?

Searching for answers, I found myself checking out Steve Pincus's 1688 The First Modern Revolution (Yale University Press 2009, very expensive.) Of the 647 pages, the text concludes at page 486, the remainder being references, notes, and etceteras. Pincus was clearly determined to make his work the definitive classic on this modern revolution. And I struck pure metaphorical gold in the first fifty pages!

Pincus entitles chapter two 'Rethinking

Revolutions'. As well as noting that revolutions are relatively rare and distinctive events, he states that class conflicts are incidental to revolutions, considering that they more constitute a structural and ideological break from the previous regime (er . . . isn't that a revolution?) I suspect he means 'within the same State'. OK, but what of the trigger?

Apparently revolutions do not occur when a modernising force sets itself against the traditional order. It is more complicated than that. The new order, industrialisation, for example, tends to establish itself by slowly sliding over the old order (the landed gentry), creating a different form of stable co-existence. Revolutions only occur when the State has set itself on a modernising course - they always happen when things appear to be getting better. But State modernisation cannot occur without prior economic and / or social modernisation, yet that itself is not the causal trigger.

But it can bring us to the common trigger point: "Revolutions are the (often violent) working out of competing State modernisation programmes" (page 36, my emphasis.)

In this context State modernisation often includes the following: efforts to further centralise, to bureaucratise power, the stressing of the military, and programmes to accelerate economic growth. Add social dimensions, measures designed to change the shape of societies, as well as expansion of the means and methods used by the State to gather information, and we have arrived. Pincus notes, "State modernisers almost always deploy the same rhetoric of creating 'new beginnings' that we normally associate with (traditional) revolutionaries. They insist that they are initiating a necessary fundamental change from past models of governance." No need to tick the boxes.

We have got to discard our concept of revolution as being a little local difficulty. Even the biggest revolutions, those of Russia or China, did not have a truly global effect - that is why they are known by their local names. But as every system in the world tightens up, as it includes everyone and becomes interdependent, the effect of a perturbation in one or another could become more pronounced and important.

If Pincus is right, most of the world is getting ripe for revolution. Should we cheer? After due consideration I have decided not to celebrate. In a world that has purposely sought globalisation for the rich, wherever revolution is triggered the response is likely to be global. The gross participants will be the urbanised masses, sensitised by relative conditions, and the rural poor, driven by absolutes. When you've got nothing, you've got nothing to lose, as suicide

bombers demonstrate almost daily.

Britain already has a pre-stressed military. The opposing modernisers could be, on one hand, those seeking to reform parliament and make its role appear relevant once more, and on the other, those seeking to reform the banking system by stopping payment of millions in bonuses and the printing of money. The actual thing that pulls the trigger could be Argentina fighting for oil around Las Malvinas, China worrying about Taiwan, or Greeks losing their pensions. Any slight tear in any system could do it.

It would be very tempting to cheer at the disruption of the State authority trying to find and identify itself, or at the bleeding heart of capitalism, with the money changers, the stock shufflers, and the casino bankers finding themselves worthless. But we should realise that the food chains will probably be subject to worse disruption by a revolution. If you live somewhere like overcrowded Britain, the scale of fatality will be enormous if the ships don't arrive and the trucks stop rolling.

It may be small comfort to see anarchist ideas being rolled out this time round. Our Conservative party leader has already suggested that various sorts of health workers form themselves into 'self-owning and managing co-operatives'. Strange days indeed.

What should you do about this? The truth is unless you live on enough land, far, far away, that has its own water, or can get somewhere like that very soon (this was written 21-02-2010), you are probably too late. The best thing to do could be to batten down the hatches as best you can and make the best of enjoying the show.

If the above analysis from Pincus is correct, and holds for global as well as local situations, and if all the factors queuing up for modernisation play their part, and if . . . We could be preparing the ground for the first global revolution now – is every non-oil-producing government in debt? The military superiority of governments over people could be seen as jamming a pressure release valve on a boiler; sooner or later it will blow up, and the longer it takes the worse it will be. As governments struggle to hold things together in a world far too complex for them to understand, the revolution could have already begun.

Colin Johnson

Rewriting the Law

In "1984," Winston Smith reflected that there were no laws in Oceania — at least not in the sense of uniformly applied, written laws. You just knew you'd committed an offense when you found yourself doing ten years in a forced labour camp.

Funny how that keeps coming back to me. A recurring theme in the news lately has been people arrested for recording arrests on their cell phone cams. Now, in most of these jurisdictions it's formally specified in the law that filming public officials, in public, in the performance of their public duties, does not constitute illegal wiretapping. And it does not constitute "interference with police business." And yet they're arrested for it, on the grounds — as stated by the cops — that they're engaged in illegal wiretapping and interference with an arrest. If you can afford a civil liberties lawyer, afford the risk of losing your job and getting blacklisted by employers, and are willing to spend time in lockup, you might possibly be able to fight it out in court and beat them. But the fastest way to get brutally taken down and arrested — regardless of what "the law" says — is to expose the cops to public scrutiny.

There's no written law anywhere that defines carrying more than a certain amount of cash as a criminal offense. But if a cop pulls you over and finds a large sum of cash on you, you'll almost certainly "civilly forfeit" your money for fitting the profile of a drug dealer.

But even when the laws and the rules are objectively enforced at any given time, if you figure out some way to come out ahead despite adhering to them, the people in charge will change the rules just as soon as they notice.

A good example is card-counting — the technique used by idiot savant Dustin Hoffman in "Rain Man" to beat the house. Card-counting isn't cheating, and isn't violating the casino owners' rights in any objectively definable way. It isn't even violating any previously defined rule. It's just using your eyes and your brain, and making deductions from what you observe. But if you start winning too much, the guys behind the security cameras will start bird-dogging you for any sign that you're counting cards. And if they think you're doing it, out you go.

I've argued that people who "work hard and play by the rules," so beloved of Soccer Mom politicians, are suckers. When you play by the rules, the house wins — because the rules are mainly designed to benefit the people who make the rules.

The whole point is that the rules, the law, are

set up to produce a predetermined outcome. And that outcome doesn't have much to do with the ostensible reasons the rule-makers set forth to justify their rules. When working people find a way to subsist comfortably with a reasonable amount of labour, without having to first obtain a huge amount of investment capital, and without having to work to support a ruling class in addition to themselves, that's what the Quality Improvement theorists would call an "unacceptable process variation." In the terminology of W. Edwards Deming, observed output is what a process is designed to produce. And if the observed output is found to be undesirable, then the process needs to be redesigned to produce the desired output.

When technological change enables people to produce the necessities of life for themselves without working extra hard to produce rents for the privileged, then the rules have to be rewritten. Hence increasingly draconian "intellectual property" laws, designed to overcome the imminent threat abundance poses to the privileged classes' extraction of rents from artificial scarcity.

Regardless of the stated "public interest" intent behind economic regulations, the real effect of most of them is to mandate artificially high capital outlays or overhead costs in order to undertake production, and to put a floor under the minimum number of hours a person has to run in the hamster wheel to obtain a good or service.

If you're not working to feed a useless eater, the system has failed.

The good news is that, no matter how harshly the laws are ratcheted upward to suppress the technologies of abundance, technological developments are also making them easier and easier to evade. For thousands of years, we've found the rules irrelevant to protecting our interests because they've rewritten them as often as necessary to keep that from happening. But that's about to come to an end. They're about to find the rules, for the first time, irrelevant to their own need for controlling us. The producing classes, like Samson, will break the bands of "the rules" as a man would break a cord of tow.

Kevin Carson

Who's being naïve?

It's quite common for mainstream liberals to dismiss as "naïve" and "utopian" the anarchist vision — all varieties of anarchism, not just market anarchism — of a society governed by voluntary associations between free people. Without the state to prevent it, society and the

economy will be dominated by the savage, combative, greedy and self-centred.

But if anything is naïve and utopian, it's the view of the state as something that protects ordinary people against big business. If the liberals' implicit Hobbesian view of human nature is correct, rather than my Kropotkinian view, then we're all doomed in any case.

So it's utopian to believe that the ruthless people in charge of businesses will be restrained from making those businesses bigger and bigger at the expense of their competitors, or the ruthless rich will be restrained from getting endlessly richer and richer at the expense of a progressively poor working class and disappearing middle class, by the simple removal of entry barriers and the presence of unfettered competition. But apparently, in the mainstream liberal view of the world, it's not utopian at all to believe that simple procedural rules and paper restrictions can prevent the state from being controlled by the same ruthless people for their own ends.

Frankly, in terms of gritty realism, I'll put my belief in the power of market competition to restrain business against their belief in the power of democratic majorities to control the state, any day of the week.

The state, since the beginning of history, has been the instrument of a ruling class. It first came into existence when human predators figured out the peasantry produced a sufficient surplus to be milked like cattle; since then, starting with the king, priests and nobles, moving on to feudal landlords and capitalists, one ruling class after another has been milking us.

It's utterly naïve and utopian to believe a majority of the public can exert meaningful control over the state apparatus. A minority of insiders will always have an advantage in time, attention span, interest, information, and agenda control over those of us on the outside. The average person on the outside only has a limited amount of time or energy for maintaining an interest in politics, after dealing with the primary issues of work and family, friends, and local community. But for the elites that control the state, politics IS a major part of their daily work and social life. Can anything be matched for sheer naïve optimism with the belief that, in the long run, we can maintain a higher degree of vigilance over the functioning of the state than they can?

If the state exists as a level of economic control by which a ruling class can profit, you'd better believe the most savage, combative, greedy and self-centred will always have a leg up in gaining control of it. Our only hope, in that case, is that the self-centred savages who gain control of the

