question their environment and eat the forbidden fruit. Personally, I've always thought the serpent to be the anarchist, leading them away from a mindless type of existence.

But it is difficult to get people to see anarchism as a different and better way of living. Murray Bookchin has suggested that people are in a deep sleep and do not know it. They live caricature lives of anarchism, attempting warped versions of mutual aid and voluntary co-operation. The veil of government is insidious. Through it, anarchists look like warped, wild people, intent on upsetting an ordered existence for no better reason than we want chaos and power for ourselves. We would be seen as the undercurrents on the river. Come to the canal, there are no undertows!

A few years ago, because of open cast coal mining which had undermined the canal foundations, the Leeds and Liverpool canal breached the nearby River Calder, culminating in a large waterfall which totally encompassed the open cast site. It was almost like the ruling group, in its relentless and irresponsible pursuit of profit had undermined the area in which it worked and ultimately, to its own detriment. What we need is a cascade of information and knowledge, making it clear to people what the system they are so keen to uphold actually does to them. This has to be aim of anarchists: we will never destroy the canal – all we can do is to encourage people to leave it and head for the river. Easier said than done, but well worth the effort of trying.

Letters

Dear Editor

Takis Fotopoulos feels that I have misrepresented his book, "Towards an Inclusive Democracy", when reviewed it in the Summer '99 issue. However, T.F. has not properly answered my criticisms and I stand by them, excepting only the comments on the gift economy. I welcome T.F.'s confirmation of its usefulness, and apologise for my misreading of page 270. We are also united in rejecting Bookchin's post-scarcity economics.

It is good to see more contributions to the economics debate, but I do not have to agree with them, especially when the proposals are as far removed from established practice as are those of T.F. The scope and complexity of his book makes it difficult to review comprehensively, and I did make it clear that I had concentrated on his alternative economics. I thought that T.F.'s reply only confirmed his muddled thinking concerning the market and of the nature social/psychological structures.

T.F. must be confusing "Workers Councils" by Castoriadis with some other, maybe later work; based on Marx's Labour theory of Value, it hardly depicts what T.F! calls a "real market". Castoriadis wants to use "tokens", T.F. wants "vouchers" and Baldelli wants "credits". All three use economic planning via various assemblies, none use cash or market mechanisms. Such a viewpoint cuts across communist, collectivist and individualist positions, so the unpopularity of T.F.'s book is hardly surprising. That said, it and the others referred to are unique and should be read

What is surprising is T.F.'s suspicion of my part in some conspiracy against his work. I resent this, as well as his grotesque portrayal of my views as being comparable with those of the Labour Left. What rubbish! The Spring 2000 issue of Total Liberty, which carries T.F.'s reply also has an article of mine which links anarchist shortcomings in economics with sectarianism....depressing. Yours John Griffin

Dear Editor

Many thanks for the copy of Total Liberty. I have greatly enjoyed reading the magazine, and wish you all the best with the project. I was interested to note that you've plenty of women writing for Total Liberty - unlike most other anarchist publications. Jean Pollard's 'Everybody is an Anarchist' was spot on. I hope to find time in the next week to write a review article of

William Godwin wrote, "government cannot proceed but upon confidence, as confidence on the other hand cannot exist without ignorance. The true supporters of government are the weak and uninformed and not the wise. In proportion as weakness and ignorance shall diminish, the basis of government will also decay". It is here, at the level of information, that anarchists have to make themselves known. If the canal decays, it silts up, becomes overgrown and the walls eventually cave in; left to its own devices, the river still wanders wondrously across the land with all its attendant passengers of plant, fish etc. The canal is sterile; the river isn't. Let the flow begin!

Jean Pollard

The Match! (which you probably are familiar with), that you might consider publishing. But, at the moment, I have a bottle of Adnams 'Broadside' which needs some attention. However, I will stop on the way to the bottle to put a cheque in an envelope for past issues of Total Liberty.

Regards, Steve Cullen.

Dear Total Liberty Website

My heartfelt thanks for publishing that article by Theo Perkins from 1892. I'm at once consoled that no relevance has been lost in that time, and terrified that so much time has gone by with no net gain in apparent wisdom Love

S G Collins

Editors note. Printed Copies of Theo Perkins' Pamphlet; Political Duty: A Confession of Skepticism are available at £1.00 (cash only) including p&p via our Box EMAB address.

The TL website may be visited at http://freedom.tao.ca/totlib/index.html

Subscriptions to Total Liberty Magazine are £8.00 for 4 issues. Send cash or postal order only to: Total Liberty, Box EMAB, 88 Abbey Street, Derby DE22 3SQ.



Volume 2

Number 3

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EDITORIAL

The echoes of Seattle 1999 continue to spread around the globe. Here in the UK the Mayday 2000 protests, organised by an amalgam of various eco-protest, anarchist and left-socialist groups such as Reclaim the Streets etc. gave a platform for violent tactics by an unthinking minority. The trashing of the Whitehall branch of McDonalds and the spray painting of slogans on the

Cenotaph gave the tabloid damage, to preserving the newspapers and media plenty of | welfare state. Surely Anarchism scope for headlines portraying is about building the alternatives Anarchists as nothing but a group of mindless thugs and Governments and Corporate vandals. These headlines went | Capitalism? Surely we should be on for over a week and included | creating the practical features of such examples as Anarchists | a future Anarchist Society such Target the Queen Daily Mail as Housing Co-ops, small scale Tuesday May 2nd. All the old family businesses, Community stereotypes about anarchism Businesses, were brought out and re-used. Elsewhere in this issue Joe Peacott quotes the question published after the Seattle events in an editorial of The Economist (4 December 1999) "Why were there no anarchists among all those 'anarchists' by the way?" Peacott is right to point this out. The editor of The Economist seems to know more about the core of Anarchist political philosophy than many selfproclaimed Anarchists.

Anarchism is a political philosophy and movement opposed to the existence of governments and the state per se. Too many supposed 'Anarchists', marching alongside Leftists of varying persuasions, are calling for Government action on a host of issues ranging from banning fox-hunting and legislating new laws to remedy environmental | should not be afraid to do this.

Autumn 2000

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to the State, alternatives to Individual self worker employment, COoperatives, alternative currencies, Credit Unions, LETS schemes, the development of voluntary organisations.

Supporting the Statists' parties and their political agendas is not the way forward to a free society. Some veteran Anarchists such as Fred Woodworth editor of The Match! have even considered dropping the term Anarchist as it now attracts such opprobrium and misunderstanding. This is not a course of action Total Liberty agrees with. We should not give up the term Anarchist to people who do not appear to understand what Anarchism is really about. However, it is time Anarchists reasserted our own values and presented our own distinctly Anarchist political agenda. We

Where Are the Anarchists? **Bad Press Broadside #4**

4, 1999, issue of The events in Seattle in November, just the result of a failure to make asked the question, "Why were there no anarchists among all those 'anarchists', by the way?" The question is a reasonable one for an observer to ask. While many of those who protested (and sometimes more) in Seattle were genuine, thoughtful anarchists, who felt that their actions there advanced the cause of human freedom, they failed to put forth a specifically anarchist point of view or adequately distinguish themselves from other protestors, most of whom advocated government action as the way to improve the lives of working people and protect our natural-environment.

Unlike other advocates of social change, anarchists have historically opposed the existence of government and coercion. They have argued that free people are capable of organising their lives as they see fit without the supervision of government with its laws, police, and military, which favour those who have economic or political power at the expense of the vast majority of working people. However, in their press and their Seattle, London, Washington and criticised elsewhere have "globalisation" and international capitalism in terms hardly different from those of other protestors. They condemn "free trade," the WTO, the World Bank, and the IMF, but fail to present an anarchist alternative. The anarchists, by not presenting an explicit anti-government message, end up sounding like the nationalists and protectionists who lament the alleged decline of national sovereignty and advocate

n editorial in the December | continued government intervention | government message, the image of one's views explicit. Many people who call themselves anarchists are not opposed to using government as a means to promote the things they favour and see it as an acceptable and effective means of improving the lives of regular people. Noam



Chomsky, perhaps the best-known and most widely-read writer associated with the anarchist movement, frankly advocates a strengthening of federal power and the political involvement of working people. He believes that criticising the welfare state shows foolishness" for anarchists to criticise involvement in and support for statist politics. It is interesting that Chomsky's views have had such influence among anarchists, since the idea that supporting the united states government can somehow lead to a libertarian society resembles nothing so much as the argument of Marxists that the authoritarian socialist state they advocate will one day produce an anarchist-world.

In the absence of any anti-

in people's economic arrangements. | anarchists that most people seem to Economist, referring to the In some cases, however, this is not have come away with since the events in Eugene, Seattle, Washington, and London over the last year, is simply that of protestors who trash stuff and aren't afraid to fight cops. While property destruction and fighting cops are sometimes appropriate activities, they are not what makes an anarchist and do not promote an understanding of the anarchist critique of society among nonanarchists. It has been said that recent tactics on the part of anarchists have been worthwhile because they have brought attention to anarchists and have attracted new people to anarchist events and websites. But what are these people attracted to? Street fighting with cops and trashing the Gap or McDonalds, in all likelihood, not the idea of ridding the world of government and freeing up working people to choose for themselves where to shop, who to trade with, what kinds of food to grow and sell, and in general how to live their lives unencumbered by both corporate predators and politicians. It is not the conventional news media that are to blame for the new image of anarchists. On the internet public statements, this message is | contempt for poor people and that it | one can read anarchists happily often absent. Anarchist activists in is the height of "arrogance and recounting the actions of the black blocs as they confronted cops, "liberated" intersections, and smashed store fronts. The protestors in Washington chose to call themselves revolutionary anticapitalists, a label they share with Marxists of various sorts. In the lead-up to the April actions, there was no critique of government at all, just anti-corporate rhetoric that would appeal to any leftist. And in their press and internet discussions some anarchists even promote an anarchist politics of "municipalism"

with taxes, referenda, and all decision-making by various unions and committees which sound very much like local governments. It is hard to find any mention of government's role in creating and maintaining this horrid economic arrangement we all live under. While corporate capitalism is an enemy of working people, it could not wreak its havoc without the governments of the world to protect its privileges and promote its interests. The WTO is an organ of various governments that the participate in it, not a private anarchists enjoy fighting with are employees of the state, not the IMF, and are paid with money extorted | smashing up businesses of which

from working people. Prison they disapprove, instead of putting labourers in the united states and china are locked up and forced to work by government agents. Government polices, disempowers, and robs working people, enabling business owners, bankers, and landlords to dispossess them of the wealth they produce with their labour. Government preserves inequality and privilege and can never be the means of liberating people. This is the anarchist perspective, but it has been sorely lacking among anarchists of late. Many anarchists, apparently, prefer organisation. The cops so many to promote an image of themselves | bbrigade@world.std.com as anti-corporate activists who May, 2000 enjoy fighting with cops and

Black Attack: a reply from Chaz Bufe

I'll keep the reply to Bob Black's critique (Total Liberty Vol 2. No.2) of A Future Worth Living short for two reasons: 1) the issues he raises are so slight; 2) almost all of the issues he does raise are examples of the straw-man attack--Black attributes positions to me that I simply did not take.

To address the issues Black raises: 1) Black misrepresents what I've said concerning "the left." Black writes as if the left consists only of (and as if I'm promoting) Leninism. Historically, the left has consisted of a broad range of ideologies and movements (including anarchism), most of which have aimed at promoting an increase in human liberty in both its positive (equal access to resources) and negative (freedom from As well, constraint) aspects. anarchists have

such movements, and have helped to spread anarchist ideas in them. Today, for example, anarchists are active in the environmental, gay rights, and feminist movements. To pretend that the left consists solely of Leninism (and that anarchism is not part of the left) is inaccurate and misleading. And to pretend that anarchists should isolate themselves from such broader movements seems quite self defeating.

As for the discussion of the authoritarian conditioning process, Black deliberately distorts my position. He reduces it to a call for "therapy" (a term I never used) for the masses, and rather grandiosely adds, "I think revolution is the best therapy there is." This ignores the whole point of my discussion: Yes, revolution is needed, but why hasn't historically | it occurred? Why do they people |

forth a clear anti-statist position which would help others understand what makes anarchists and anarchy unique. It should come as no surprise, then, if people believe we advocate anarchy in its sense of disorder, instead of its alternative meaning of a libertarian world of free individuals and groups leading their lives in peace, without the burden of government on their backs.

Bad-Press, P.O. Box-3682, Kansas City, KS, 66103-0682, USA

participated in a broad range of put up with a grossly unequal distribution of wealth and income, in which a parasitocracy gleans the vast bulk of benefits? Why do they put up with government intrusion into their daily lives? Why do they put up with the demeaning grind of wage labour? One of the primary purposes of A Future Worth Living is to address such questions, and authoritarian sexual conditioning certainly seems to provide at least part of the answer.

> Black, in contrast, seems to find the answer in traditional Marxist materialism. He writes, "The everyday authoritarian conditioning imposed by state functionaries (including schoolteachers) is slighted, and that imposed by wagelabour is mostly ignored." Note the words "slighted" and "mostly." I acknowledge these (and other) influences which have been

exhaustively analysed by other anarchists--but I chose to address two important conditioning agents which have been largely ignored by anarchists and other leftists: religion most anarchists have (which ignored in recent years--and which, curiously, Black doesn't mention in his critique of my work) and sexual repression. These are important because they are the first conditioning agents to which children are exposed, almost from birth, and because their influence (especially during the first years of life) is almost all pervasive-24hour-a-day exposure to and control by religious, sexually repressed parents. Even after children reach school age, these influences (and media influence) remain dominant. Kids spend perhaps an average of 35 hours a week 35 weeks a year in school; most spend most of the rest of their time in their religious, antisexual, authoritarian families.

To ignore this conditioning and to pretend that only school and workplace conditioning is important is simplistic at best. Black might well ask himself why children fit so smoothly into the authoritarian educational environment, and why they fit so smoothly into the authoritarian workplace environment. I'm at least attempting to provide a tentative explanation for this--and Black attacks me for doing so, while providing no such has never learned the basic explanation himself (in his review, or in any of his works--at least those I've read).

Black next attributes to me the "swear[ing] off position of violence." This is misleading. violence inherently consider undesirable (because of the suffering it causes), but I nowhere state that it should never be used; though I do believe that it should be used only as a last resort. I also believe that it's incumbent to explore all possible nonviolent of social transformation means

before turning to violence, and that such non-violent means probably have a higher chance of success than "armed struggle." This is far different than "swear[ing] off violence," and; again, this is an example of Black's use of the strawman attack.



In the same section, Black states: "You can't achieve a non-coercive society through the use of coercion,' [Bufe] says. Since we have never achieved a non-coercive society at all, through coercion or otherwise, there's no way to verify or falsify this sweeping generalisation." This graphically demonstrates that Black anarchist lesson that means determine ends. Indeed, Black's actions (at least two instances of being a government informer, physical attack on an anarchist doing street theatre and an endless string of ad hominem attacks upon anarchists doing constructive work) clearly shows that he, like Communists, fascists, and other authoritarians has adopted as his guiding philosophy the belief that the ends justify the means. Which approach (means determine ends or ends justify the means) is more

likely to lead to a freer, healthier society? You decide.

Black finally attacks me for not discussing 19th-century communal experiments. If I'd been writing a book rather than a pamphlet, I'd certainly have done so. But, given the relatively restricted format of a pamphlet, I limited myself to discussing at some length principles upon which successful experiments could be based (while citing of these examples concrete action). principles put into Curiously, Black makes no mention of this relatively lengthy discussion. It's rather telling that in his unrelenting attack he couldn't find anything to criticise here, and that he felt compelled to attack what I didn't say.

Finally, I'd note that Black's analysis of A Future Worth Living is entirely, 100% negative and includes ad hominem attack. This clearly shows that Black's motivation in writing this review was based primarily in personal hatred (and perhaps jealousy). If Bob Black was really an anarchist rather than an amoral, sociopathic seeking personal egotist glorification and dominance through any convenient means, one strongly suspects that he'd devote the bulk of his time to attacking capitalism, religion, and the state rather than to attacking anarchists.

NOTE: Anyone interested in reading A Future Worth Living can find the unrevised edition at the See Sharp Press web site http://home.earthlink.net/~seesharp or at the Anarchist Library web site http://flag.blackened.net/daver/anarchism/

"History is written by those who survive, philosophy by the well-to-do; those who go under have the experience." W.R. Letherby

Liberty's Library **Compiled by Wendy McElroy**

course of Benjamin the ver periodical Liberty Tucker's (1881-1908), the subscribers were often regaled with 'recommended readings' -- in essence, the 'must' titles discriminating individualist tor a anarchist to have on his or her bookshelf.

The descriptions are Liberty's own, usually rendered on the last page of the issue where books were offered for sale through the Liberty office (Boston) and then Tucker's own bookstore (New York).]

Anarchism: Its Aims and Methods. By Victor Yarros. An address delivered at the first public meeting of the Boston Anarchists' Club and adopted by that organisation in its authorised exposition of its principles. With an appendix giving the Constitution of the Anarchists' Club and explanatory notes regarding it. 30 pages.

Anarchism or Anarchy? A Discussion between William H. Tillinghast and Benj. R. Tucker. Prefaced by an Open Letter to Rev. William J. Potter.

An Anarchist on Anarchy. An eloquent exposition of the beliefs of Anarchists by a man as eminent in science as in reform. By Elisee Reclus. Followed by a sketch of the criminal record of the author by E. Vaughan.

The Anarchists. A Picture of Civilisation at the Close of the Nineteenth Century. By John Henry Mackay. Translated from the German by George Schumm. A poet's prose contribution to the literature of philosophic and egoistic Anarchism. The author traces his own mental development in London amid the exciting events of 1887,--the manifestations of the unemployed, the rioting at Trafalgar Square, and the executions at Chicago. The antagonism between Communism and Anarchism sharply brought out. One of the world's great artists places his pen at the service of Anarchism. 315 pages.

Anarchists' March. Tune: Bjorne borganes Marsch (Finnish War Song). Words by J.Wm. Lloyd.

The Ballad of Reading Goal. By C.3.3.--Oscar Wilde. A poem of more than 600 lines, dedicated to the memory of a trooper of the Horse Guard who was hanged in Reading Goal during the poet's confinement there. An English classic. Cloth The Ballot. By William Walstein Gordak. A short poem illustrating the absurdity of majority rule. Printed as a leaflet, with an effective advertisement of Liberty on the back. Excellent for intervention of the State. By C.T.

propagandism. A Blow at Trial by Jury. By special jury law passed by the New York legislators in 1895. A speech mass meeting held at Cooper Union, auspices of the Central Labour Union, interest them in Anarchism.

Benj.R.Tucker. An examination of the delivered by the editor of Liberty at a New York, June 25, 1897, under the Typographical Union No.6, and other labour organisations. Distribution of this pamphlet among lawyers and legislators will tend indirectly to **Bombs**: The Poetry and Philosophy of Anarchism. By William A. Whittick. 187 pages.

Captain Roland's Purse: How it is Filled and How Emptied. By John Ruskin. The first of a projected series of Labour Tracts.

Causes of the Conflict Between Capital and Labour. By D.H. Hendershott. A 92-page pamphlet showing that all the wealth in the world consists of unconsumed wages earned by somebody, but that most of it is withheld from the earners through Interest, Rent, Profit, and Taxes. Citizen's Money. a critical analysis in the light of free trade in banking. By Alfred B. Westrup. 27 pages. Co-operation: Its Laws and Principles. An Essay showing Liberty and Equity as the only conditions of true cooperation, and exposing the violations of these conditions by Rent, Interest, Profit, and Majority Rule. By C.T. Fowler. Containing a portrait of Herbert Spencer.

Co-operative Homes. An Essay showing how the kitchen may be abolished and the independence of woman secured by severing the State from the Home, thereby introducing the voluntary principle into the Family and all its relationships. By C.T. Fowler. Containing a portrait of Louise Michel. Corporations. An essay showing how the monopoly of railroads, telegraphs, etc. may be abolished without the Fowler. Containing a portrait of Wendell Phillips.

The Dawning. A Novel. "Oh Heaven! Apollo is once more among the herdsmen of Admetus, and the herdsmen know not it is the Sun-God!" An octavo volume of nearly four hundred pages, bound in cloth.

The Fallacies in 'Progress and Poverty'. A bold attack on the position of Henry George. Written for the people, and as revolutionary in sentiment, and even more radical than 'Progress and Poverty' itself. By William Hanson. 191 pages, cloth.

A Female Nihilist. A thrilling sketch of the character and adventures of a typical Nihilistic heroine. By Stepniak, author of "Underground Russia".

The Financial Problem: Its Relation to Labour Reform and Prosperity. Demonstrating the abolition of interest to be unavoidable. By Alfred B. Westrup. 30 pages.

Free Political Institutions: Their Nature, Essence, and Maintenance. An abridgement and rearrangement of Lysander Spooner's "Trial by Jury". Edited by Victor Yarros. Chapters: I Legitimate Government and Majority Rule, I1. Trial by Jury as a Palladium of Liberty, 111. Trial by Jury as Defined by Magna Carta, IV. Objections Answered, V. The Criminal Intent, VI. Moral Considerations for Jurors, VII. Free Administration of Justice, VIII. Juries of the Present Day Illegal.

God and the State. One of the most eloquent pleas for liberty ever written. Paine's 'Age of Reason' and 'Rights of Man' consolidated and improved. It

stirs the pulse like a trumpet call. By Michael Bakounine. Founder of Nihilism and Apostle of Anarchy. Translated from the French by Benj. R. Tucker.

Henry George, Traitor. By Benj. R. Tucker. Proving that the leader of the Single-Taxers was a hypocrite and a coward in his sanctioning of the hanging of the Chicago Communists.

The Herald of Anarchy. English Organ of Anarchism. Seeks to destroy the authority and prestige of National Government as well as to combat all other forms of tyranny: advocates free access to the land, the abolition of national monetary laws and restrictions on credit, free contract, and free love. Published monthly at the Labour Press, 57 Chancery Lane, London, W.C., England.

Heroes of the Revolution of '71. A souvenir picture of the Paris Commune, presenting Fifty-One Portraits of the names are most whose men prominently connected with that great uprising of the people, and adorned with mottoes from Danton, Blanqui, Pyat, Proudhon, J.Wm Lloyd, Tridon, and August Spies. Of all the Commune souvenirs that have ever been issued this picture stands easily first. It is executed by the phototype process from a very rare collection of photographs, measures 15 inches by 24, and is printed on heavy paper for framing. Over 50 portraits.

Ideo-Kleptomania: The Case of Henry George. By J.W. Sullivan. The author offers evidence to show -- That Henry George took his doctrine bodily from Patrick Edward Dove. That academic authority has pronounced Henry George's arguments against Malthus simply those of William Godwin and Herbert Spencer, without a new thought added. That in his attack on the wagesfund theory Henry George but reemployed ideas already well-used in economic disputes, without giving credit to the thinkers with whom they originated. That Henry George entertains the peculiar belief that a writer may put ideas into print as his own, no matter how he comes by them. With Henry George's denial of plagiarism. One Hundred Pages.

Instead of a Book: By a Man Too Busy to Write One. A Fragmentary Exposition of Philosophical Anarchism. Culled from the writings of Benj. R. Tucker. A large, well-printed, and excessively cheap volume of 524 pages, consisting of articles selected from Liberty and classified under the following headings: (1) State Socialism and Anarchism: How Far They Agree, and wherein They Differ; (2) The Individual, Society, and the State; (3) Money and Interest; (4) Land and Rent; (5) Socialism; (6) Communism; (7) Methods; (8) Miscellaneous. The whole elabourately indexed. International Address. An elabourate, comprehensive, and very entertaining Exposition of the principles of the Working-People's International William T.(sic) Association. By Greene.

Involuntary Idleness. By Hugo Bilgram. An exposition of the causes of the discrepancy existing between the supply of and the demand for labour and its products. 119 pages. The Iron Law of Wages. By Hugo Bilgram. This pamphlet demonstrates that wages could not be kept down to the cost of the labourer's subsistence were it not for the monopoly by a privileged class of the right to represent wealth by money.

The Kreutzer Sonata. By Leo Tolstoi. Suppressed by the Czar. Translated by Benjamin R. Tucker. This novel is the boldest work yet written by the famous Russian author. Dealing with the questions of love and marriage, it urges a morality that is more than puritanical in its severity, while handling the delicate subject with all the frankness of the realistic school. In St. Petersburg and Moscow manuscript copies pass from hand to hand and are read aloud in literary circles. This book, so far as the central lesson to be drawn from it is concerned, is of a reactionary character, and should not be regarded as a part of Liberty's propaganda. Yet it is a work of interest, almost a masterpiece of art, a romance not without sociological importance. No lover of independent thought can fail to admire its rare unconventionality, the fearless way in which the author addresses polite circles upon a subject which they generally taboo[sic].

The Labour Dollar. By Stephen Pearl Andrews.

Land Tenure. An essay showing the governmental basis of land monopoly, the futility of governmental remedies, and a natural and peaceful way of starving out the landlords. By G.T. Fowler. Containing a portrait of Robert Owen.

Love, Marriage, and Divorce, and the Sovereignty of the Individual: A Discussion between Henry James, Horace Greeley, and Stephen Pearl Andrews. Including the replies of Mr. Andrews, rejected by the New York Tribune, and a subsequent discussion, occurring twenty years later, between Mr. James and Mr. Andrews.

Lysander Spooner's Pamphlets. Sold for the Benefit of the Spooner Publication Fund.

The undersigned [Benj. R. Tucker] has purchased from the heirs of the late Lysander Spooner all of his printed unpublished pamphlets and manuscripts, and proposes to sell the former to obtain means for the publication of the latter. The list given below indicates all of Mr. Spooner's works with the exception of five or six which are entirely out of print. Of some there are but three or four copies left, and there are stereotype plates of but few. Some may never be reprinted. Those persons who apply first will be served first. The pamphlets are catalogued below in an order corresponding closely to that of the order of publication.

The Deist's Immortality, and an essay on Man's Accountability for His Belief. 1834. 14 pages.

A Question for the Clergy. A four-page tract.

The Unconstitutionality of the Laws of Congress Prohibiting Private Mails. Printed for the American Letter Mail Company. 1844. 24 pages

Who Caused the Reduction of Postage? Ought He to Be Paid? Showing that Mr. Spooner was the father of cheap postage in America. This pamphlet embodies the one mentioned immediately before it in this list. 1850. 71 pages. The same, minus the first 16 pages, which consist of a preface and a letter from Mr. Spooner to M. D. Phillips, will be furnished at 50 cents.

Illegality of the Trial of John W. Webster. Containing the substance of the author's larger work, 'Trial by Jury', now out of print. 1850. 16 pages. *The Law of Intellectual Property*; or, an Essay on the Right of Authors and Inventors to a Perpetual Property in Their Ideas. Stitched in parts, but unbound. 1855. 240 pages. Price, \$1.25. Part I of the same, containing 166 pages, will be furnished at \$1.00.

Address of the Free Constitutionalists to the people of the United States. A refutation of the Republican Party's doctrine of the non-extension of slavery. 1860. 54 pages.

A New System of Paper Currency. Showing its outline, its advantages, security, practicability, and legally, and embodying the articles of association of a mortgage stock banking company... 1861. 122 pages.

Considerations for Bankers and Holders of United States Bonds. Showing that the author's system of paper currency cannot be legally prohibited or taxed, and that the legal tender acts and the national banking act are unconstitutional. 1864. 96 pages.

No Treason No.11. 1867. 16 pages

No Treason No.VI. Showing that the constitution is of no authority. 1870. 59 pages.

A New Banking System. Showing the capacity of the country for furnishing an enormous amount of loanable capital, and how this capacity may be made operative. 1873. 77 pages.

The Law of Prices: A Demonstration for the Necessity of an Indefinite Increase of Money. 1877. 14 pages.

Our Financiers: their Ignorance, Usurpations, and Frauds, Exposing the fallacy of the Inter-convertible bond scheme, and contrasting therewith some rational conclusions in finance. 1877. 19 pages.

Revolution: The Only Remedy for the Oppressed Classes of Ireland, England, and Other Parts of the British Empire. No.1. A reply to "Dunraven. This is the pamphlet of which the Irish revolutionary party distributed 100,000 among the British aristocracy and bureaucracy. 1880.

Natural Law, Or, the Science of Justice. A treatise on natural law; natural justice, natural rights, natural liberty, and natural society; showing that all legislation whatsoever is an absurdity, a usurpation, and a crime. Part First. 1882. 21 pages.

A Letter to Thomas F. Bayard. Challenging his right--and that of all the other so-called senators and representatives in congress--to exercise any legislative power whatever over the people of the United States. A Letter to Scientists and Inventors on the Science of Justice and Their Right of Perpetual Property in Their Discoveries and Inventions. 1884. 22 pages.

A Letter to Grover Cleveland on His Address, the Inaugural False Usurpations and Crimes of Lawmakers and Judges, and the Consequent Poverty, Ignorance, and Servitude of the People. 1886. 110 pages. Modern Marriage. By Emil Zola. Translated from the French by Benj.R. Tucker. In this, his latest story, Zola takes four typical marriages,--one from the nobility, one from the bourgeoisie, one from the petty bourgeoisie, and one from the working people,--and describes, with all the power of his wondrous art, how each originates, by what motive each is inspired, how each is consummated, and how each results. Money and Currency. By A.H. Stephenson and G.F. Stephens. The invention of money-the standard of value--government issues of money-the best currency--solution of the money question. Mutual Banking. Showing the Radical

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What is Freedom, and When am I Free? Being an attempt to put Liberty on a rational basis, and wrest its keeping from irresponsible pretenders in Church and State. By Henry Appleton. 27 pages. What Is Property? Or an Inquiry into the Principle of Right and of P.J. Proudhon. By Government. Prefaced by a Sketch of Proudhon's Life and Works, and containing as a Frontspiece a fine steel Engraving of the Author. Translated from the French by Benj. R. Tucker. A systematic, thorough, and radical discussion of the institution of property,--the basis, its history, its present status, and its destiny,--together with a detailed and startling expose of the crimes which it commits, and the evils which it engenders. 500 pages octavo. What's To Be Done? A Nihilistic Written in prison. Romance.



TT Tith the advent of lithographic journals, posters and postcards by 'dissing' the type back to its case after printing technology in the 1970s and the more recent spread of Desk Top Publishing equipment and software across the PCs of the world, you could be forgiven for thinking that the craft of letterpress, introduced to the English speaking world by Caxton in the late 1400s, and which formed the basis of printing technology over the following four hundred years was dead. You would be wrong.

In the English speaking world there are still many small and private presses carrying on letterpress work, and there are still a number of Anarchist craft printers, publishing books and

Jonathan Simcock

letterpress.

Here in the UK there are two printers whose work deserves especial mention. Peter Good, currently residing in Bradford, has produced two series of magazines, Anarchism Lancastrium being the first, being published during the 1970s and early 1980s. However, Peter has recently started a worthy successor to Anarchism Lancastrium with The Cunningham Amendment. Both these series of magazines are small, having been produced on an Adana 8" x 5" clam action, hand platen letterpress, using moveable lead type. The process of setting type in this way, printing each sheet individually and

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printing is agonisingly slow to those of us familiar with the speed and convenience of keystrokes on a PC. But Peter's design, graphics, and materials are imaginative and eye catching. The content, acid sharp, amusing and brain stimulating. He can be contacted at 1005 Huddersfield Road, Bradford BD12 8LP or direct by email at peter.good@lineone.net

Dennis Gould: author, poet and the antiquated performer uses equipment of a local letterpress workshop in Stroud, Gloucestershire to turn out his rants and poems on paper and card varying in size from postcards to large A1 sized posters.

Dennis's style is eclectic and anarchistic in the literal sense. Posters disobeying every traditional law of typographic style still capture a sense of spontaneity and imagination. His poetry just has to be read or heard to be appreciated. In the summer months he takes to the road around UK festivals to perform his poetry and distribute his printed poems.

In the USA there are a couple of names of note. First must come Michael Coughlin, of Cornucopia, Wisconsin who produces the Anarchist-Individualist magazine The Dandelion, which is now reappearing on a semiannual basis. The early numbers were printed lithographically but currently Dandelion is produced by letterpress on art-quality card and paper. The quality of printing Michael successfully emulates is that of the 1940s and 1950s Anarchist letterpress printer Joseph Ishill, who, working under the name of The Oriole Press, produced a number of Anarchist letterpress printing classics on machinery at his home. Many of these are now held in the Labadie Collection at Ann Arbor University in Chicago. Michael Coughlin is a worthy successor to Joseph Ishill having published a number of books himself. These include: a fine leather bound edition of Rudolf Rocker's Nationalism and an edition of Wendy Culture, McElroy's Liberty 1881-1908 Comprehensive Index, also A Voluntary Political Government: Letters from Charles Lane, edited by Carl Watner, Benjamin Tucker and the and Champions of Liberty: a Centenary

by Coughlin, Anthology edited Hamilton and Sullivan. Michael Coughlin can be contacted at PO Box 205, Cornucopia, Wisconsin 54827, USA.

Lastly, there is Fred Woodworth who has produced his journal The Match! since 1969. The Match! is mostly printed by Lithographic Press but sometimes with a few pieces of letterpress work in the process. Fred is an advocate of self-reliance when it comes to machinery and print technology. From the columns of the magazine it is clear that he is a firm believer in the type of technology which Colin Ward, writing in Anarchy in Action (available from Freedom E1-7QX) described as London 'transparent' (i.e. machinery without built-in obsolescence which technically competent person can repair and which should, with careful use and maintenance, last indefinitely.) Fred often relates in the columns of The Match! his latest triumph in acquiring and restoring a piece of antiquated but still useful print technology from the hot-metal and pre-computer technology eras. Items which he has often salvaged from scrap yards, bankrupt companies and similar sources. The pages of The with Match! enlivened are reproductions of wood-block lineengravings by Thomas Bewick and with illustrations of bizarre pieces of machinery and equipment whose use has gone the way of the dodo bird. The cover pages of The Match! are printed in colour by a process Fred has developed himself. Fred also produces

narchists know that were we living in an anarchist society, Leach individual would be able to fulfil their potential for the benefit of all. Despite this, anarchism is still seen as synonymous with "chaos" and people consider that any paternal ruling group is preferable to those who are seen to have loony ideas and be far-out revolutionaries. In this essay, it is intended to concentrate on looking at why people will cling to a system

The Canal Syndrome

which treats them like lapdogs pampered if they're part of the elite, kicked if not - steals from them, abuses, crushes and kills them and moreover, will challenge and ridicule those who would point their way out of the mire and condone any sanction of them by the ruling group. I have called it the Canal Syndrome.

It works like this: consider the two main waterways in this country: rivers and canals. Rivers do not owe their 10

another journal specialising in such machinery and contraptions. Fred is consistent in his rejection of He Government and the state. lambastes those Anarchists who use ISBN numbers on their published books and journals seeing this as surrendering to the State's control of printing by what amounts to a licensing system. His journal The Match! is an inspired rant against the evils of Government and the State, and contains such gems as 'Who the Police Beat', a regular watch and account of police brutality incidents across the USA, and 'The Crap Detector'. I have never found The Match! to be anything less than an amazing read. (Available from Post Press, 84b Whitechapel High Street, Office Box 3012, Tucson, Arizona 85702, USA. Cover price \$2.75 send cash or stamps only.)

> The value of the work of these individuals, is not just the sheer effort, patience and imagination that goes into producing beautiful works of the printers art, but also that they create a platform for the free expression of the imagination and a powerful voice for the ideas of Anarchism. More power to their respective elbows.

If any reader is aware of other Anarchist Letterpress printers please contact the author care of Total Liberty's address, or by email at ain@ziplip.com.

Printing Society, British The publishers of Small Printer magazine and a source of letterpress machines and equipment can be contacted via BPS membership Secretary Chris Green, Noddyshall, Rockshaw Road, Redhill, Surrey, RH13DB

existence to anyone; they are wild, uncontrolled, going where they want, flooding where they like, carrying a variety of wildlife, ever changing and evolving. In short, a river is a natural phenomenon, being an uninterrupted flow of water from source to sea. It will be subject to human interference of fishing, chemical input, shoring up its banks, spanning it with bridges, but by and large, it exists in spite of, not because of human involvement.

By contrast, the canal is purely a man-made feature: functional, recreational, safe, tidy and boringly the same. Only the surrounding countryside changes. A canal can be regulated, altered, filled up, drained out, cleaned, tidied, checked. But where does it go? In a straight line on a limited route, curtailed by those who control it. the canal was left without any rules or interference, it would silt up and decay. If the river was left alone, it would still continue and flourish. So one is subject to government control, whilst the other, despite any government intervention roams free and benefits from no interference at all. But a canal looks good – it has swans, ducks, a few wild flowers and grasses etc. It has all the apparent attributes of the real thing the river – but without any of the risks or nasty, unstructured banking. It is this illusion of the canal being seen as just as good as, if not better than, the river which marks the difference in anarchism and the world we inhabit. Anarchists go with the flow of the river; other people stick with the rigidity of the canal.

However, most people would consider themselves to be living a peaceable life where, given the opportunity, they will help their neighbours and strangers. But their idea of mutual aid and voluntary cooperation is within the narrow and rigid confines of a ruling system which allows them to exert such actions only whilst it does not affect or interfere with such a system. So we have people who will happily give money when a collecting box is pushed their way from, for example, the NSPCC. But ask them to care for an abused child or question why such abuse takes place in their society and they do not want to know. Think of the mawkish sentimentality of charity: people start up causes for the best of intentions – to help others – but in reality only nibbling at the surface and mostly relying on worship of finances to resolve the problems. Throw money at poverty, the NHS, overseas aid, without an understanding that it is the very society they uphold which creates these problems. It was always alleged that Mother Theresa of Calcutta (soon to become a Christian Saint, no doubt), never tackled the basic causes of the

poverty she sought to alleviate, nor question the Catholic Church's ideas on contraception, which might have improved the lot of the people she worked alongside. Throwing money at a problem without tackling its roots, is a typical feature of a capitalist society. Profit and its pursuit creates such problems; charity is expected to alleviate it and give a nice warm glow to those who partake.

The people are expected to behave, as the canal, in a specific way, designed to uphold the ruling structure, despite the fact that this interferes with the free flow of the individual existence and the environment it inhabits. As Emma "the people Goldman pointed out: forge their own chains and conspire with their masters to crucify their Christs".

But in looking at the symmetry of the canal, we can see that even that is illusory. The idea is that everyone knows where they are with it, unlike the river where dangerous currents operate, and steep and unsafe banking can be difficult for the unwary. But this symmetry is part of the insidiousness of government. Symmetry was part of the studies of the Pythagoreans. Their founder, Pythagoras of Samos was the same man who you will all recall was fleetingly referred to in mathematics classes at school – you remember his theorem about the sides of a triangle. In typical controlling fashion, we were not told the full story of his view of Pythagoras was a mathematics. philosopher and the study of mathematics in his day was a lot wider abstract quality. He founded a group known as the mathematikoi, men and women living a communal existence as vegetarians and with no personal possessions. They would not recognise today's rigid adherence to facts and figures and their type of mathematics, as they considered nature and the purpose of life, the sense of communion with a living, conscious universe to be part of scientific analysis. Numbers could be seen in the pattern of living things, be it in the arrangements of leaves on a stem to the patterns of sunflower seeds and the spirals of marine shells.

The point of this is that these philosophers of mathematics, living a libertarian existence 2,500 years ago (and not surprisingly being violently suppressed in 460 BC by the ruling party), was that their idea of an "ordered" life, depended on accepting the nature of existence. This is similar to anarchists view of the inherent peace and co-operation of human beings and that it is only the interference of government which severs people from each other, allowing government to intervene and impose, for its own ends, the rules and regulations we are now find in society.

But in terms of a fulfilling, individual life, this kind of "order" is sterile. It serves only to perpetuate the rigidity of the canal structure, not to see the growth and communion of the organic life. The Pythagoreans considered that if there were no symmetry, there would be no order, no predictability, nothing recognisable could happen or exist. But they also saw that perfect symmetry was not enough because with it, nothing could happen or exist either. So, the fact I don't turn into a crocodile when I walk down a hall reflects a symmetry; the laws of the universe don't change from one location to another. A similar symmetry exists for time: I don't vanish from one moment to another. But these symmetries are not perfect because everything is not quite the same when I walk down the hall, nor from one moment to another. This "broken symmetry" has to exist alongside perfect symmetry for there to be a dynamic.

The problem with government and its canal symmetry is that it seeks to split ranging – numbers had their own the two symmetries, harnessing its version of perfect symmetry to persuade people it can control the unpredictability of the broken symmetry "for your own benefit" and to protect them from the unknown. In essence, government intervenes and splits off the natural and balanced way in which people would live if left to themselves. Government throws a veil of conformity over people, embroidered with threats, sanctions and fears of the unknown. This is nothing new - the Christian church in controlling the people has used this ploy for years. Adam and Eve being thrown out of heaven having had the temerity to