

reader can formulate a better alternative, or a different time-scale, he should do so. The interesting thing is that they have re-invented an older vision of the future. Back in the 1890s three men, equally unqualified as share-holders in Utopia Limited, formulated their prescriptions for the physical setting of a future society. William Morris, designer and socialist, wrote *News from Nowhere*; Peter Kropotkin, geographer and anarchist, wrote *Fields, Factories and Workshops*; and Ebenezer Howard, inventor and parliamentary shorthand writer, wrote *Tomorrow: A Peaceful Path to Real Reform*. Each of these blueprints for survival was more influential than its original readers could have supposed, though less than its author would have hoped. Morris's vision was totally irrelevant for the twentieth century, but his picture of post-industrial, decentralised, state-free Britain in the twentieth century, certainly makes sense for the new ecologically-aware generation, while any American will recognise the force of his back glance at the future of the United States: 'For these lands, and, especially the northern parts of America, suffered so terribly the full force of the last days of civilisation, and became such horrible places to live in, that one may say that for nearly a hundred years people of the northern parts of America have been engaged in gradually making a dwelling-place out of a stinking dust-heap...'

Howard's legacy is of course the new towns: his immediate purpose was to mobilise voluntary initiative for the building of one demonstration model, confident that its advantages would motion a large-scale adoption of the idea of urban dispersal in cities, or what the TCPA calls 'a many-centred nexus of communities'. Lewis Mumford notes that 'By now, our neotechnic and biotechnic facilities have at last caught up with Howard's and Kropotkin's intuitions. Howard's plan for canalising the flow of population, diverting it from the existing centres to new centres; his plan for decentralising industry and setting up both city and in within a rural matrix, the whole planned to a human scale, is technologically far more feasible today than it was.

Colin Ward

(Reprinted from *Anarchy in Action*, Chapter 14  
First published by George Allen & Unwin 1971)

#### ANARCHIST VOICES VIDEO PROJECT

A website featuring short video films of Anarchists talking about their practical projects and their vision of Anarchism.

The site also hosts a page with back issues of *Total Liberty* magazine available for free downloading in pdf file format.

<http://anarchistvoices.wetpaint.com>

## Recommended Journals

**THE MATCH!** A Journal of Ethical Anarchism; Post Office Box 3012, Tucson, Arizona 85702 USA \$2.75 Send cash or stamps only.

**GLOBAL TAPESTRY:** A journal celebrating Anarchism and Poetry £2.40 per issue. Subscription £9.00 UK (cheques payable to DA & R Cunliffe) available from Spring Bank, Longsight Road, Copster Green, Blackburn BB1 9EU

**THE VOLUNTARYIST:** P O Box 1275, Gramling SC 29348 USA. Edited by Carl Watner. \$20.00 for six issues.

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

**IMAGINE:** A sceptical journal of philosophy and politics. \$3.50 or subscription \$5.00 from P.O. Box 8145, Reno, NV 89507 USA

**ANY TIME NOW:** Anarchist decentralist magazine edited by Dick Martin with regular contributions from Larry Gambone. Subscription by donation to ATN, Affinity Place, Argenta, B.C., Canada (VOG 1BO)

**READERS DIGRESS!** An irregular freesheet for the irregular mind. Available from: Reader's Digress, 15 Dartington Walk, Leigham, Plymouth, DEVON PL6 80A

**THE CUNNINGHAM AMENDMENT** The Journal of the East Pennine Anarcrisps. Dedicated to revolutionary acts of joy and irreverence in a world increasingly weighed down by sterile bureaucracies. Send donation (suggest £1.00) to 1005 Huddersfield Road, Bradford BD12 8LP West Yorks.

**THE DANDELION** (Individualist Anarchist) Subscriptions are \$9.00 to people outside the USA. Available from Michael Coughlin, Post Office Box Number 205, Cornucopia, Wisconsin 54327 USA.

**THE INDIVIDUAL** published by the Society for Individual Freedom, 6 Swan Terrace, Hastings TN34 3HT

**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

## Subscriptions to Anarchist Voices

For 4 issues UK £8.00 regular, £5.00 Concession. USA \$20 Send cash or UK cheques payable to J Simcock, 47 High Street, Belper, Derby DE56 1GF. Back issues 2-20 also available at 50 pence plus p&p.

# ANARCHIST VOICES

A JOURNAL OF EVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM

INCORPORATING TOTAL LIBERTY MAGAZINE VOL. 1 - 6

VOLUME 7 NUMBER 1

AUTUMN/ WINTER 2009 £1





# CONTENTS

Editorial by Jonathan Simcock .....	Page 2
An Anarchist Credo .....	Page 2
What Do You Expect? By Larry Gambone .....	Page 3
Anarchism & Quietism by Richard Livermore ..	Page 4
Anarchist Catering Services by Peter Good .....	Page 5
Cream Teas, Steam Trains and Anarchists by Richard Griffin .....	Page 6
Power by Colin Johnson .....	Page 7
CD Review by Chris Butler .....	Page 9
Operation Glencoe and the Thursday Plotters by Steve Booth .....	Page 10
IT Column by Padi Phillips .....	Page 11
Objections to Anarchism by Michael E Coughlin .....	Page 13
Anarchy and a plausible Future By Colin Ward .....	Page 16
Recommended reading .....	Page 16
Subscription Details .....	Page 16

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 [lloegrambyth@tiscali.co.uk](mailto:lloegrambyth@tiscali.co.uk). Contact 07709 238680 for mail address details.

## EDITORIAL

**T**HIS edition marks something of a re-launch under a new title. This is partly to bring the magazine into line with the website *Anarchist Voices* which is a sister project of the magazine. It is also partly to reflect what the magazine has become, namely a forum or platform for a number of varying anarchist voices to express their opinions and tell of their projects. Thus the editorial policy will not be different from that of its previous version *Total Liberty*. *Total Liberty* had supporters and detractors, though the latter rarely took the trouble of communicating their views directly to the magazine but tended to hide behind anonymous tags and non-de-plumes on a number of web-based chat rooms and forums. So despite the anticipated objections of such faceless and nameless critics *Anarchist Voices* will provide a platform for a wide breadth of the Anarchist movement and will therefore feature articles from Mutualists, Individualists, Green Anarchists, Social Anarchists and even the occasional article from Anarcho-

capitalists and other views with which many readers of Anarchist Voices may disagree. It is the view of this journal that Anarchist ideas can appeal to a much wider section of people in the differing communities within the British Isles, and therefore the journal hopes to continue featuring the views of Anarchists involved in community level constructive projects such as co-operatives and community businesses, housing co-ops, work co-ops, persons making an independent living, allotments, LETS schemes and practical steps which build community and independence. Anarchist Voices will not revisit tired sectarian debates nor support cheer leading for violent tactics which are only likely to alienate potential sympathisers among the wider community outside of the Anarchist ghetto.

## 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.



## What Do You Expect?

**W**AR, impending economic collapse, poverty and economic crisis. All things unfolding as they ought. What a horrible thought, but bear with me.

Go back about a hundred years ago to the period 1890 – 1910. Consider what the average person thought and how they acted upon these beliefs. Children were raised and taught with violence and fear. Women were considered inferior to men and all races and ethnic groups were classified in a hierarchy of worth. Sexuality was repressed, the natural world held in contempt and authoritarian religions with all their attendant evils dominated the lives of the masses.

The average person lived a life dominated by delusions in the form of prejudices, religious and pseudo-scientific claptrap. To live a life of delusions is to be insane. People who refused to live according to these crazy fantasies; anarchists, socialists and free thinkers, were persecuted, a tiny despised minority attacked by press, pulpit and parliament.

Ultimately, the beliefs and practices of the majority were the result of a society divided into classes and the dominant class subjugating the subordinate class through the state. As such, these delusions were authoritarian and manifested in practice as physical and emotional abuse. All but the children of a small enlightened minority were abused from birth. This systemic abuse included the ruling classes, whose child rearing practices and pedagogy were cruel in the extreme. Women, people of colour, and working class people in general, were subject to degradation throughout their entire lives.

Individual families who suffer abuse pass the effects, if not the abusive practices, down from generation to generation. What applies to individuals applies to humanity as a whole. Even if the delusions and cruelty are not always repli-

cated from generation to generation, the negative effects of this authoritarianism will be felt for a very long time. We are faced with a population, which even after a hundred years, remains emotionally damaged, and will therefore act in ways contrary to its true interests. The popularity of fascism in the 20th Century should thus come as no surprise.

Positive changes did occur in these last hundred years, in no small part due to the despised minority. Brutal child rearing practices and cruel pedagogy were challenged, a healthier attitude toward nature, the body and sexuality slowly made its way. Overt racism is no longer popular in polite circles and gender equality has made great strides. Attempts by neo-liberal reactionaries to roll back these positive changes have not succeeded. While still a minority, people with a humane and democratic approach to life make up a significant number, perhaps a third of the population.

While consciousness has changed for many people, the changes have not run deep enough to transform the system we live under. Wars are still fought, consumerism is rampant, the environment is threatened as never before and poverty is increasing. Only a minority now believe in the crazy delusions of the past, but the majority remain traumatized. Like individual abuse victims, they find it difficult to be motivated, as they are without hope. Many are in a state of denial (climate change is a fraud or technology will save us). If we had another hundred years, the views of the "enlightened third" would become those of the overwhelming majority, but we don't have that much time.

Exploitation requires domination and hence the engendering of an authoritarian consciousness. This in turn, creates a traumatized population which replicates and internalizes its repression. The rulers and their ideologies have been so successful in emotionally crippling the populace that it may inadvertently lead to our collective downfall. We are living in the era of the complete decadence of the class-based system. Six thousand years of hierarchy and authority have reached their natural limits. If the mass of the population does not break with capitalism and the state, institute a sane, humane and democratic economy and politics, the Great Die-Back scenario that some environmentalists speak of, may become a reality. The next 30 years may well be make or break for the human race.

Larry Gambone

( Larry Gambone lives in Canada and is a veteran contributor to English language Anarchist journals. He has a Blog bearing the name Porcupine Blog see <http://porcupineblog.blogspot.com/> and is also a publisher, see Red Lion Press website [www.geocities.com/vcmtalk/redlionpress.html](http://www.geocities.com/vcmtalk/redlionpress.html) )



## Anarchism and Quietism

**A**S an anarchist, I sometimes ask myself whether anarchism, as an anti-authoritarian philosophy, can play an active part in the shaping of the world around us. After all, if anarchists cannot take hold of the 'reins of power' and directly dictate events from above, what influence can they possibly have? That's the question I'd like to deal with here. Is anarchism necessarily a quietistic philosophy? Some anarchists would say no, but I think it's a question at least worth the asking.

Before I attempt to answer it for myself, I want to briefly develop an idea I touched upon in my Clash of Civilisations piece in the final issue of Total Liberty. In that article I used the metaphor of the stone thrown into a pond creating waves which eventually subside. In an earlier Total Liberty piece called The Primal Wound, Larry Gambone advanced the idea that states grew out of a process of conquest and domination in which peaceful agrarian populations in Old Europe and the Old Middle East were overrun by nomadic Kurgan herding peoples who had developed a much more aggressive warrior-culture. This doesn't of course explain the emergence of states elsewhere, but Gambone is right in my opinion to suggest that states did not emerge as a result of simple evolutionary processes. They were rather the after-effects of a cataclysm more akin to that of the asteroid which killed off the dinosaurs. The metaphor of the stone thrown into the pond and the waves subsiding is not therefore a far-fetched one. The important difference is in the time-scale: in the case of the pond the waves take only minutes to subside, while in the case of the cataclysm we are talking about here, it is more like thousands of years.

If you throw a stone into a pond and make waves, that has no effect on the composition of the water in the pond. It is still H<sub>2</sub>O. Likewise, human nature doesn't alter just because people have been conquered. In very little time, it reasserts itself against the effects of the conquest. Just to take one example, masculine deities are softened and feminine ones re-emerge, although they are now in a subordinate position. The former civilisation, in other words, begins to reappear to counter the harsh barbaric rule of the conquerors. And this civilisation even effects the conquerors themselves. In time, of course, once the 'waves' have fully subsided, things will return to what they were before the conquests took place and the normal evolution of societies can continue where they left off. It's only a question

of time, a question of stepping back and patiently waiting for the outcome of a process which is already in motion. As anarchists, in fact, we have no other choice. We are not in the business of conquering state-power to hurry the process along; the most we can do is raise people's awareness of the process itself.

This is one of the ways in which anarchism might seem quietistic. But, of course, we are still human beings acting in our own human spheres. If we are attacked, we retaliate; if we disagree with something, we argue against it; if we have a future to fight for, we fight for it against those who try to deprive us of hope in that future. This is part of the human nature I was talking about earlier and that human nature is not quietistic. We don't just step back and let things unravel in their own merry way. So that, even if we don't intervene as outsiders, like a vanguard political party, we are nonetheless part of the process of what is unraveling. By struggling in our everyday lives to better our lot on a day to day basis, we come together naturally with those we have things in common with and fight on a common front. And we do this not so much to impose our will on reluctant others, but to stop others imposing their will on us in order to frustrate our own objectives. In other words, to return to our metaphor, the pond actively, not passively, reasserts itself and eventually subdues the waves produced by the stone. And we do likewise, by living our lives to the fullest possible extent and resisting those who, for reasons of their own, would rather we passively succumbed to their rule. In the end of course, this might result in a revolutionary confrontation with the powers that be. On the other hand, it might not. I have no crystal-ball. The important thing is that we continue living our lives in the way our desires determine. As anarchists, this might mean that we have to stand back and let things unravel, but as human beings we cannot.

Richard Livermore

## ADVERT

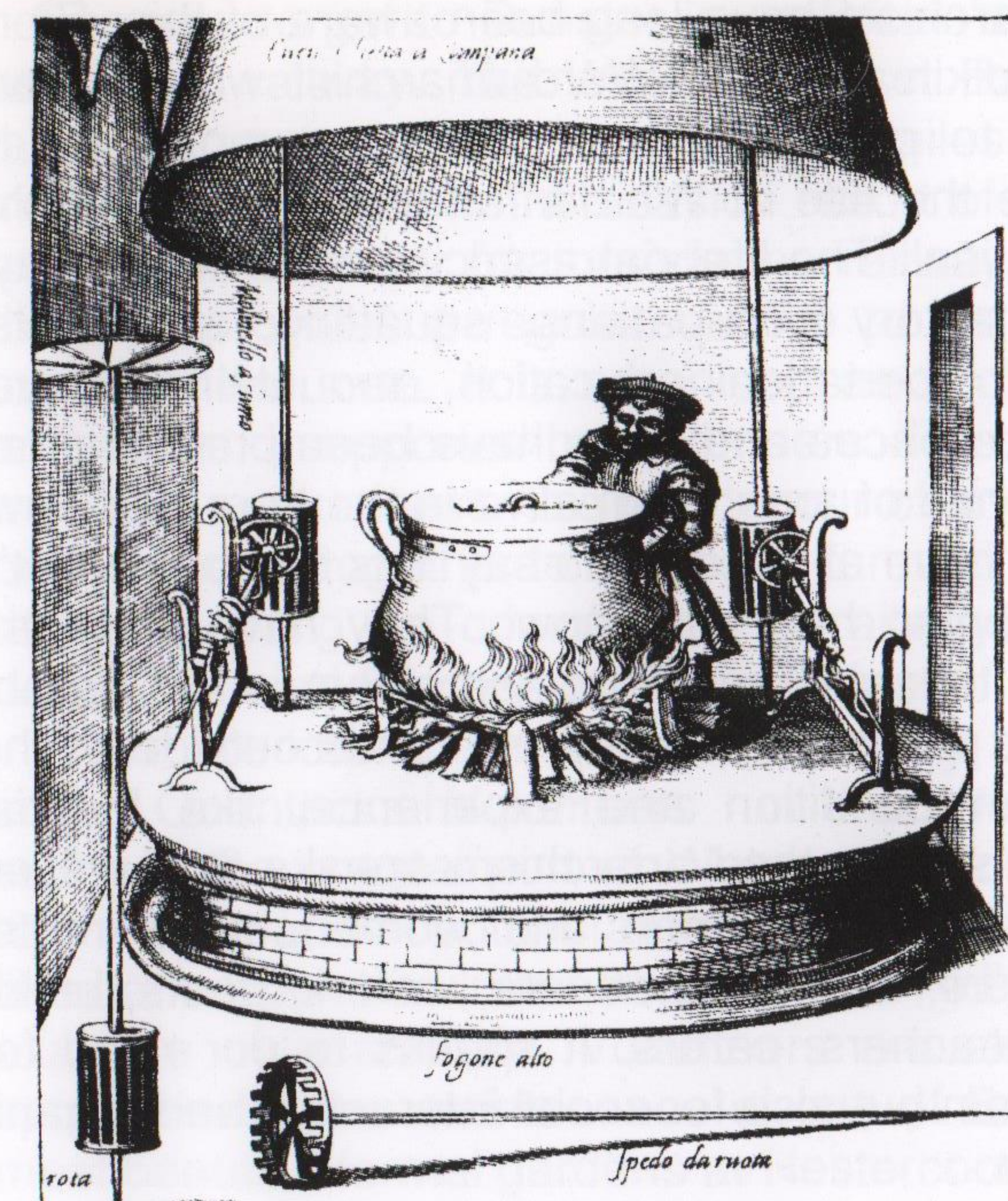
**GLOBAL TAPESTRY: A journal celebrating Anarchism and poetry**

**£2.40 per issue.**

**Subscription £9.00 UK**

**(cheques payable to DA & R Cunliffe) available from Spring Bank,**

**Longsight Road, Copster Green, Blackburn BB1 9EU**



## ANARCHIST CATERING SERVICES

The Strange Story of Jean Crones

**W**ANTED - for attempted homicide, Jean Crones, about 24 years old; 5 feet 7 inches tall; 150 pounds; dark, crisp, bushy hair, brushed back; pale complexion; high cheek bones; piercing look. When greeted he always smiles. Continually smiles when talking and when so smiling shows a depression on both cheeks and chin. When last seen wore a dark suit and gray overcoat, and he may wear a cap or soft hat. A great reader. Very quiet, neat in appearance and usually travels alone. Born in Urdingen or Cologne, Germany. Speaks French, German, and English with a German accent.

February 1916. Chicago. Father George Mundein was a young and highly ambitious Catholic priest. He had powerful business connections coupled with prodigious fund-raising abilities. The Church in Rome was most impressed when he gathered enough money together to erect Chicago's impressive-looking Cathedral. It still stands to this day. Accordingly, Mundein was rapidly promoted to be the youngest Archbishop in the history of the Catholic Church. An arrogant protégée, Mundein was addicted to the adulation and pageantry that went with his new position.

On the evening of 10th February a grand civic reception was held in his honour. A guest-list of over 300 included leading businessmen, politicians, church dignitaries and Chicago's A-list

celebs were invited. Trumpets sounded the National Anthem, and, after prayers, the guests were seated for dinner.

And then it happened. Two spoonfuls into the chicken soup and it all went horribly wrong. The diners began springing from their seats, clutching their stomachs, and staggering from their tables noisily throwing up upon all and every thing.

A physician guest quickly realised what was happening. The chicken soup had been laced with poison. He immediately made up an emetic of mustard and water and hurriedly administered a mouthful to all those who had chosen the soup. His prompt first-aid ensured that every guest was to survive the ordeal. The poisoner had not fully researched his homework. He had underestimated the number of guests and had failed to make the arsenic of sufficient potency.

It didn't take long to identify the culprit. Jean Crones had taken on a temporary kitchen help job. Staff reported he had disappeared from the kitchen sometime as the soup was ladled out. When police raided his bed-sit they found a full-scale laboratory with test tubes and bottles of various chemicals. Worse, the room was stacked with Anarchist literature. Emma Goldman's Mother Earth was much in evidence. The police particularly highlighted an edition that commanded "Don't Submit".

Crones was not to be found. The press went into hysteria. Headlines warned of an impending Anarchist revolution. Known Anarchists' addresses were raided. Arrests were made. Wanted posters appeared across the country. Police press statements spoke of impending plots to bomb churches and destroy government buildings. The public were urged to contact the police about anything suspicious.

Every thoughtful and decent Anarchist would think Crones would have gone to ground. But he didn't. He opened a correspondence with The New York Times. He freely admitted to his deed, justifying it by saying there were 1,000's of hungry unemployed people tramping the winter streets of Chicago while the gentry were dining on caviar from money earned on the backs of the poor.

Further letters outrageously contradicted the police press releases. There was no dynamite, he claimed, no arms to be found in his room. He ridiculed the nationwide dragnet and claimed to have walked through Chicago's police headquarters and had even chatted to detectives. He gate-crashed another civic dinner being held in Buffalo and his face, among the guests sipping champagne, was to be found on the society page in the next day's paper.

Crones face was thus posted across the whole of the USA with a reward of \$10,000. Yet Crones



delighted in strolling around city centres and exchanging pleasantries with local cops. His audacity and bravado seemed to work as his shield. He continued to taunt the authorities. The New York Times published further letters. Crones said the wealthy wine-drinkers at the banquet who slobbered over their fancy dinners were unscrupulous agents of the capitalist system. He wished them all – the church, the politicians, the army, the police, the businessmen – to suffer a well-deserved punishment.

Jean Crones was never apprehended. The dragnet gradually eased off. Crones disappeared into obscurity. It was said he had been protected by comrades in California and was believed to have died sometime in the mid-twenties. Archbishop Mundelein became a Cardinal. The Chicago police never forgave the Anarchists. Right up to Mayor Daly's Convention in 1968 the cops deliberately targeted Anarchist Black Flags in their baton-swinging assault on the convention demonstration.

Peter Good

Bruns, R. A., *The Damndest Radical*, University of Illinois Press, 1987.  
The New York Times Archive. Online.



## CREAM TEAS, STEAM TRAINS AND ANARCHISM

One of the challenges you face as an anarchist is trying to convince non-anarchists that what you believe in is realistic, practical and feasible. Pointing out what is wrong with the world we live in is not enough. For anarchism to continue to grow, for it to become a living movement and for there to be a real prospect of lasting change people need to be able to see that mutual aid and co-operation work.

Anarchists have long been aware of this. From Kropotkin to Colin Ward anarchist writers have tried to provide real everyday examples of, to quote the title of Ward's famous book, 'Anarchy in Action'. The lifeboat association, children playing, factory occupations, squatting, allotments, punk, libertarian education, mountain rescue, public spaces and more have been presented as evidence of anarchism alive in the here and now. They have allowed us to say 'this can be real, it's happening here and now'. They have strengthened the argument that anarchism is not an abstract philosophy, one that stands outside of the human condition and experience, like Marxist Leninism. Instead anarchism speaks to our lived experiences as men and women, as parents, partners, lovers, gardeners, writers, poets, builders, teachers, carers. It speaks to our need for freedom but also for social interaction and organisation.

Anarchism is first and foremost a political philosophy rooted in reality and you do not need to look far to see it. While anarchism might not be everywhere there is a large amount of it about. This is not to say all those who organise along anarchist principles would call what they do anarchist. Most members of allotment associations for instance do not describe themselves as anarchists and in fact probably have a pretty negative view of anarchism, but yet they self organise and cooperate with little or no help from the state.

Anarchism can be found in the most surprising places.

The Quantocks are tucked between the Cotswolds and Exmoor in the West Country. Named after a rib of hills jutting inland from an ancient fossil rich coastline, the Quantocks are as quintessentially English as you can get. Stone churches, thatched cottages, winding country roads, cider, hedge rows, tea shops, manor houses, arable fields sweeping down to the rapidly eroding cliffs - it is little wonder that this was the countryside that inspired Coleridges' and Wordsworth's romantic poems. It also happens to be where I went on holiday this year.

The village of Dunster is like something out of a Hollywood set. It's got a castle, a water mill (which still grinds flour), medieval buildings and a big Norman church. If you go to the church you might notice a big iron gate set in a wall next to it. The gate leads to a small but perfect walled garden. The garden was bought and is maintained collectively by the villagers. No state institution, no civic body, no capitalist corporation were involved in producing and maintaining this space. Just the villagers. They don't charge people to go into it. It is just there to be enjoyed. An "act of senseless beauty" to quote peace activist Anne Herbert.

One way to get to Dunster is on Britain's longest steam railway. The West Somerset Railway takes just over an hour to run the 20 miles or so from near Taunton to the seaside resort of Minehead. While mainly for tourists the railway none the less provides a regular service to the main towns in the area. It is organised as a charity, and run and supported by volunteers. This is not transport as business, this is a labour of love that brings people together to organise, run and maintain something as complex as a railway. Who needs National Express or Virgin Trains?

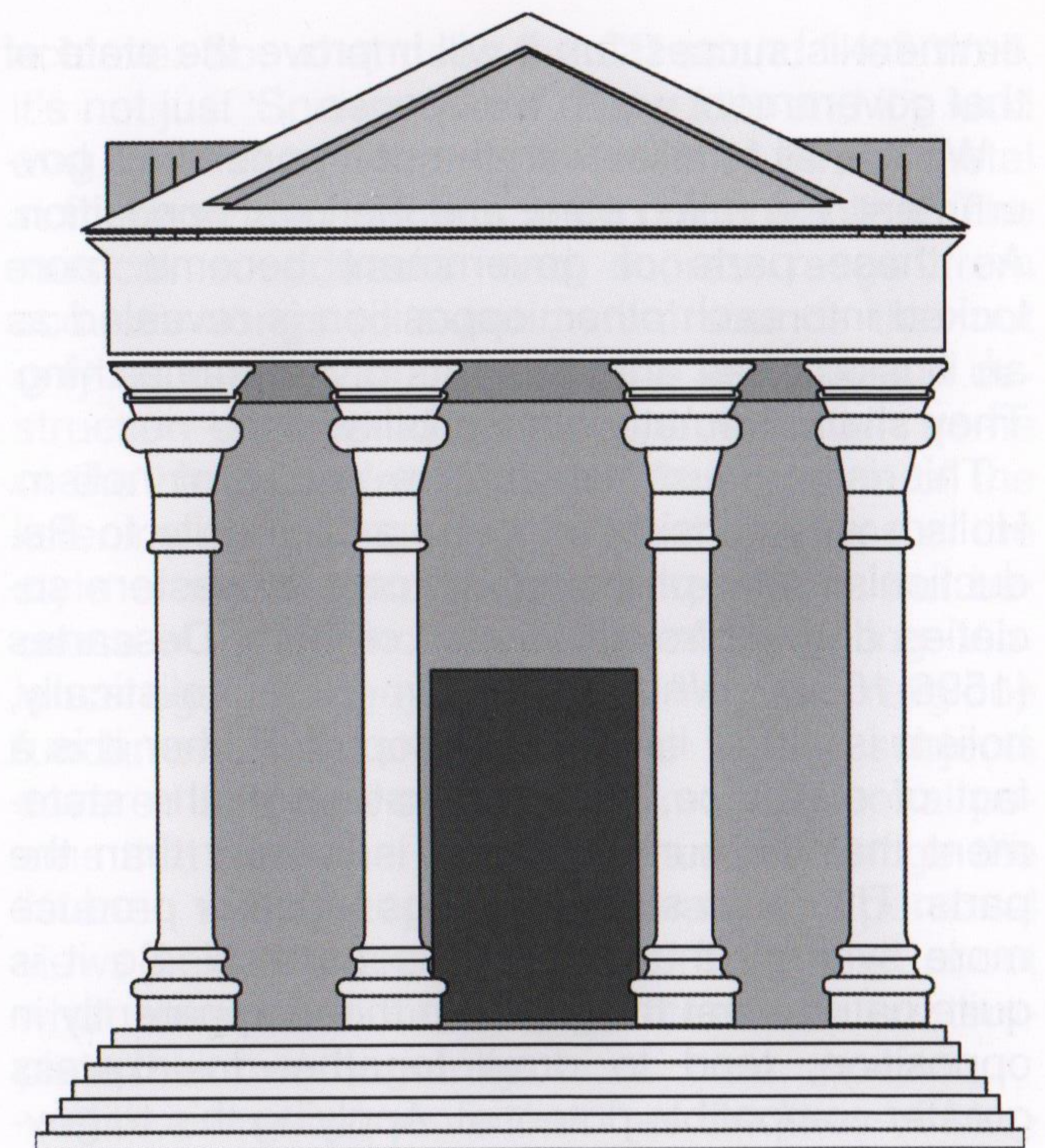
There are lots of examples of voluntary activity in the Quantocks. Volunteers run the town museum in the coastal port of Watchet, which also has a lifeboat. Kropotkin famously pointed to the lifeboat association in his book 'Mutual Aid' as an example of anarchism. Volunteers are also responsible for the maintenance of one of Britain's most beautiful formal gardens at Hestercoombe.

You cannot move in this part of the country for places selling cream teams. The best one I had was in a village near the coast. It was run from someone's house and on the sunny day I was there people sat in his back garden. He made the scones and poured the tea and chatted to you while you ate, in my case; between an apple tree and his (full) washing line. I'm not sure whether the Inland Revenue were aware of this rather haphazard venture or whether it followed the appropriate health and safety legislation but who cares!

While undoubtedly beautiful there is, of course, a harsher reality to rural living for many in the country. Minimum wage jobs, poor public transport, fuck all to do and no amenities. Few villages, for example, have a shop, pub or post office. Fed up with having to travel miles to buy a pint of milk in one Quantock village locals decided to do something about it. They set up their own "not for profit" local food store. Staffed by volunteers, partly stocked with donations and homemade produce the stall meets people's needs. The shop itself is on land donated by the local pub and was built by local people out of reclaimed wood.

A world organised under anarchist principles seems a long way away at the moment. The image of anarchism amongst the wider population, while improving, is still a negative one. People stuck very firmly in our capitalist here and now find it hard to visualise a different way of being. That's why it is good to remind ourselves that anarchism is already amongst us and maybe there might just be a bit more of it in the countryside than on the factory floor.

Richard Griffin



## Power

In their core belief Anarchists have always carried forward the consolidated analysis of the founding fathers. This is that the imposed authority of government deprives us of our essential freedom. This means that local societies throughout the world are prevented from self-organisation that would allow the better values of humanity to emerge. Although in more recent times other elements have been adopted to provide compatible working arrangements around this core belief, we have held to the essential political implications of this initial belief.

Politics, the means of organising society, has therefore been the principle area of Anarchist activity. This has been abetted by the modernist belief that there is a science of politics. One could debate the degree to which Anarchism has been aided by such science but I think this would be a pointless waste of time, since no such real science exists. Government, however, does exist in the sphere of politics. We should recognise that if we enter that sphere our entrance does not liberate us, it effectively confines us.

Further, in fixing our minds on the ills which arise from government activity, I believe Anarchism becomes the agent of its own failure. We deprive ourselves of a deeper understanding of the phenomena we oppose and fall into the trap inherent in all opposition. To state this simply, opposition refines and improves that which it opposes. To the degree that our opposition to gov



ernment is successful, it will improve the state of that government which we oppose.

We are all familiar with the components of government, the ruling party and the loyal opposition. As these parts of government become more locked into each other, opposition is revealed as an illusion: they are elements of the same thing. They share thematic compatibility.

This is an illustration of the nature of holism. Holism was considered to be an opposite to Reductionism, the philosophical core of western societies derived from the work of Rene Descartes (1596-1650). Whilst one can think holistically, holism is not of itself a philosophy. Rather it is a fact of existence, best understood in the statement that the sum of things is greater than the parts. That is to say that things together produce more synergy than they do separately. So it is quite natural that things, even those apparently in opposition, tend to draw together to express greater compatible potential. Applying this to government, this allows it to lift and adopt ideas from those who enter its sphere whilst retaining the freedom to reject the body which generates them.

If we have grown beyond the sphere of politics and reject the wholesomeness of opposition, where does that leave us? True, we have evolved many alternative social mechanisms such as consensus decision making and co-operative industrial structures, and we have provided energy to warn of dangers, for example in our participation in anti-nuclear movements and resistance to the institutionalisation of natural processes such as birth and death. These, and all those not mentioned, are expressions of our freedom which have value beyond that expression. Where I feel we have lagged behind since our inception is in the areas of thought, of analysis, of perception. Ultimately this has hindered our accomplishment, not only of the aims we have set ourselves, but in our understanding of those aims themselves.

For instance, we oppose government and imposed state control, but have we paused to ask ourselves 'What is government?' Perhaps because of the nature of the sort of the beings we are, we have been too concerned with deciding what we are, and the nature of our thoughts and feeling – we must never forget we are emotional animals, not matter how logical, rational, or reasonable we like to think we are.

I will answer the question. Government is the expression of a institution. All institutions are human-generated entities. To some degree we all have a blind spot which allows us to accept a world populated by institutions. If pressed on the subject, we are likely to believe that they exist to fulfil human need. Wrong. This is not their primary function; this is their own growth and sur-

vival. In evolutionary terms we are accelerating towards the time when institutions will close. Those inside will tend to survive while those outside will tend to perish.

As Anarchists, we regard all institutions, those bodies upon which conventional humans as well as us are vitally dependent, as our enemies. Given that institutions are ubiquitous global bodies, and as such appear insurmountable, what can we do? The recent world wide credit crunch shows that banks which at one time seemed bullet-proof forms could fail, and because they are closely interdependent with governments they can rely on them for their survival, unlike the coal miners who were far away and allowed to fail. In understanding the nature of institutions, we have taken the first step towards deeper understanding of our universal enemy, but we need to go deeper (as philosophers would put it).

In confronting institutions, what are we dealing with? Can institutions be considered as life forms? They meet the generally accepted criteria for life forms. They are conceived as legal persona which makes them separate forms, albeit dependent upon transitional humans. They go through processes of growth and change; they exchange energy and materials with the environment; and they can give existence to successive forms of their own kind. They can be subject to dramatic sudden death, or re-absorption from their environment by other forms. Apart from the nature of reproduction practised by most complex biological life forms, it is difficult to see what characteristic of life they lack.

If we understand the nature of the life blood of these systems, this may reveal weaknesses which we could exploit. The common factor which they all depend on is power. By forming the structures as they tend to, they synergise and focus this power to fulfil their objectives, whether this be to subdue people or to market aspirin.

The source of the power is the largely emotional desire of those who seek 'position' rather than 'function' for the expression of their individual human content. A current example of this ongoing desire is easily found. You may know that Britain is far behind Germany in the individual generation of small amounts of electrical energy, particularly by use of rooftop photoelectric panels. Why? We have the technology, we have the same needs in the age of global warming. The answer is our civil servants. Blocking micro-generation maintains their position and power derived from opting for giant coal or nuclear energy.

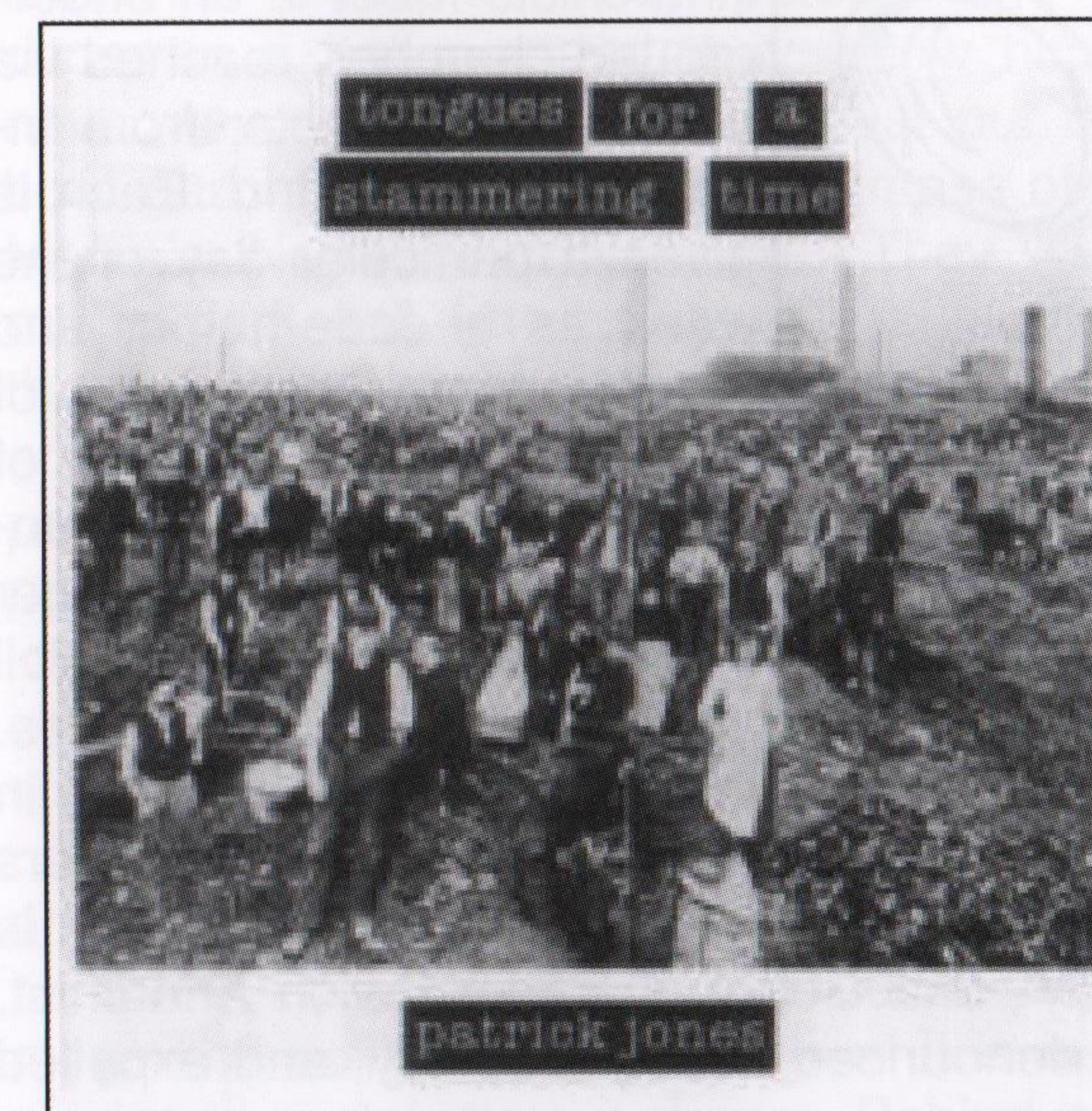
But what is the nature of power? We know much about its expression, what of it of itself? We know the brain can be persuaded to produce many substances which affect the mind, indeed

some, like the endorphins induced by physical exercise, can become addictive. That is how we should think of power. No substance related to it has been identified – perhaps because it has not been sought. It could be an addiction generated by the activity of the mind itself. Whatever, it can be the most powerful drug humans experience. The most common form is that expressed by a man dominating a woman. Fortunately, the forms expressed by such as Hitler, Stalin, and Mugabe are rarer.

All this exemplifies Lord Acton's axiom: 'All power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.' The majority of Anarchists know that one, but have tended to treat it as a statement of the status quo or the obvious. I believe it is the ultimate root source of the results Anarchist wish to change. How? I haven't got a formula to offer you. Becoming aware of the reality is a good first step. But maybe power could be used to corrupt itself . . .

Colin Johnson

## CD REVIEW



Patrick Jones: Tongues For A Stammering Time

THIS CD was the complete opposite of what I expected. It doesn't matter what I expected and it's not to say that I was disappointed, just that I put the CD into the player perhaps thinking I was going to hear some solo singer-songwriter angst - but I was surprised to say the least. Patrick Jones is a poet for those not in the know like me. And a playwright too. And his works are controversial, provocative, expressive and gritty but with a beauty that only someone so good at their craft can

achieve. So, what does the CD sound like? Well, it's not just 'Spoken Word'. It's subtle and it's loud and it's folksy and there's even some thrash metal in there so don't expect me to pigeonhole it. The musical soundtracks and scores range from acoustic songs to experimental sounds that not only accompany but capture the brutality and destruction considered so thoughtfully within some of the harsh subject matter. I found some of the listening a challenge, not so much because of the style of music accompanying the poems but because of the unflinching nature of the writing. Violence against men, the war in Iraq and religious fundamentalism are just some of the subjects covered amongst some of the most personal poems that push the boundaries and challenge the listener, whilst keeping the intimacy and personal views held to make the listener both think about what they have heard and afterwards contemplate their own humanity.

With a musical score that has the likes of Martyn Joseph, Billy Bragg and a couple of the Manic Street Preachers involved, you know the music has not been added as an after-thought but carefully considered to contribute to the listeners experience of the poems. It was the less experimental scores that were music to my ears though, and the likes of Amy Wadge adding flesh to the bones of Jones' words to give a different interpretation to Jones' Mankind. And a sampled voice of Thatcher on The Healing House, before the unmistakable guitar sound of Billy Bragg creeping in to bring the song/poem to its conclusion, again served as an example of how to add poetry to music, and of how to make a CD of 'spoken word' interesting, innovative and exciting whilst losing nothing of the thoughts expressed. Me, I checked out [www.patrick-jones.net](http://www.patrick-jones.net) and read some of the poems silently to myself. And I recommend you do that yourself if you are able. Then get the CD and hear Patrick Jones read them in his own accent.

Chris Butler

Patrick Jones: "Tongues For A Stammering Time" is released on Anhrefn Records (Anhrefn 022)

### **Anchorage anarchy**

Is a semi-annual publication of BAD Press, an anti-government anarchist project

and is edited by Joe Peacott.

Subscriptions are available for

\$1 per issue

You can reach BAD Press at

PO Box 230332

Anchorage, AK 99523-0332, USA

[bbrigade@world.std.com](mailto:bbrigade@world.std.com)



# Operation Glencoe and the Thursday Plot

**B**ack on Friday 20th March, ahead of the G-20 conference at the Excel Centre in the London docklands, the media announced that 'Reclaim The Streets', the 'Wombles' and other violent anarchist groups were re-forming, with the intention of disrupting the event. The same stories were repeated in the Sunday papers. With the row over the excessive bonuses given to the Bank executives who caused the recession, it was feared that a group 'Bank Bosses are Criminals' were out to exact revenge, and another calling itself 'G-20 Melt-down'. Following this, there were other scare stories. A police 'Operation Glencoe' was set up to protect the conference, and to counter these groups.

Although the conference took place on April Fool's Day, some of this hype paid off, when people attempted to drive an old Saracen armoured car into the city of London. In front of the cameras, the window of a bank was also broken by an angry mob. 122 people were arrested. At the time, the conference was billed as Gordon Brown's greatest moment, and he was portrayed as the saviour of the world. Every reader of Total Liberty will remember, however, that the worst violence came when Ian Tomlinson, a newspaper seller not involved with the protest, was knocked down by riot police, and died. Other films of police brutality were also posted on You-Tube, and as a consequence, a large number of complaints about police brutality were made, and the police technique of 'kettling' protesters has been called into question.

Where were the super-violent 'Wombles', the G-20 Meltdowners and the rest? They melted away into the mist. But they will be back, whenever the next big protest in London takes place. The problem of Anarchism in the media is part of a wider problem, that of Anarchism in general culture. Anarchism in newspapers, anarchism in BBC2's Newsnight, anarchism in the Daily Mail – it is all of a piece, a familiar and oft repeated pattern. So, to try to get the long perspective, I thought I would look at literature. Here, has Anarchism ever had a good press? Three books published over a hundred years ago suggest not: 'Princess Cassamassima', by Henry James, (1886), 'The Secret Agent' by Joseph Conrad

(1906) and 'The Man Who Was Thursday', by G K Chesterton (1908).

There isn't space in AV to look at all three, so I'll concentrate on one. G K Chesterton (1874 – 1936), a Roman Catholic author, is perhaps best known for his 'Father Brown' stories. In 'The Man Who Was Thursday: A Nightmare' he tells the story of Gabriel Syme, a poet who is recruited into an elite squad of detectives, dedicated to opposing Anarchists. Chesterton does not set out exactly what he means by 'Anarchism', but in his mind it appears to be a secret society, and its character is synonymous with 'dynamiter' and 'madman'. Upon being recruited, he is interviewed by the leader of the anti-Anarchist squad, who hides, rather like the people who originated the reports about the G-20 Meltdowners, in a darkened room in the basement at Scotland Yard. The mission confronting the dynamiters will be dangerous, and the Leader tells Syme "I am sentencing you to death."

The Central Committee of Anarchists meet in an underground chamber, reached via a descending table, from inside a Chiswick Inn. Each is given a particular day of the week as a code-name, and Syme has the alias of 'Thursday'. The President of the Anarchists is called Sunday, and is terrifyingly larger than life, somewhat like a troll or hobgoblin, a djinn perhaps.

His face is like the terrifying Mask of Memnon in the British Museum. Almost at once, Syme fears that he has been rumbled; however it is 'Tuesday', aka Gogol, the fake Polish Anarchist, who is denounced as a police spy, and expelled from the group.

There is no substantive material disclosing what the Anarchists do. They meet together, they talk. There is a plot, of sorts, to assassinate the Tsar and the President of France, who are meeting together. The gang meets together on the balcony of an hotel in Leicester Square, where they openly discuss their 'plot'; this is part of a policy of concealment, promoted by Sunday, the theory that by conducting themselves openly, they are in effect concealed.

Gradually, one by one, Syme comes to see that the Anarchist Committee are all secret policemen. He arranges to fight a duel with 'Wednesday', the Marquis de Saint Eustache, in

order to prevent him from catching a train to carry out the assassination. The Marquis, however, turns out to be almost all disguise, and suffers many sword blows during the duel, but is not hurt. Underneath, (yawn) we find the inevitable detective.

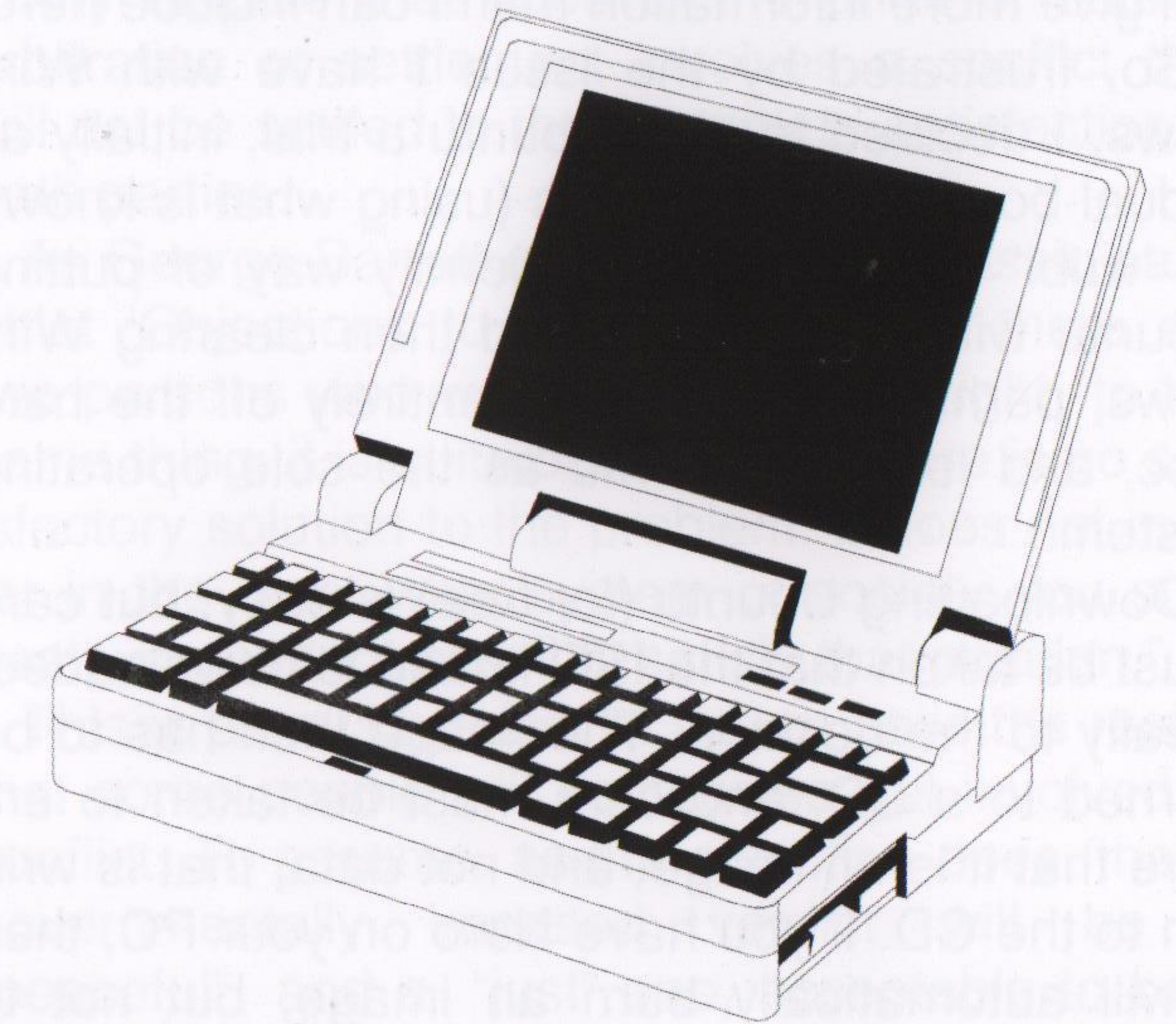
The plot comes to nothing and the group of detectives find themselves chased across Normandy. A large mob follows them, and this posse is in turn joined by everybody who helps the fugitives escape. The whole town joins the chase. They crash their borrowed car into a lamp post and end up being forced into the sea by this angry mob. The Secretary of the anarchist Committee then tries to arrest them, for he too, turns out to be yet another detective.

Sunday too, is revealed to be the man in the dark cellar at Scotland Yard, who commissioned them. The chase, along with the subsequent pursuit of Sunday, has a hellish, surreal quality. We do not have a realistic account here, but something of a fable, a parable, a piece of myth making. And as such, it is useless as a piece of political analysis. Their whole anarchist movement turns out to be an illusion, a lot of silly policemen chasing their tails. But what are we to make of Sunday? Is he meant to be an embodiment of the anarchist principle? They pursue him, he escapes in a balloon, and they follow him into a never-never land where they must put on symbolic garb. Here, it is almost a glimpse of William Morris's 'News From Nowhere'. They were sent out in darkness (the cellar), the sun, the earth, the sky, the daylight denied it. Who is Sunday? "I am the Sabbath, I am the peace of God" the apparition tells them, as the novel collapses into its ponderous religious symbolism. The book finishes where it began, having gone round in a circle, as though it were a bad dream, with no substantial existence or import.

What is the message to be drawn from it? Anarchism is not real, the author declines to take it seriously. The plotters turned out to be policemen. The political thought behind it is a form of madness, a delusion, a dream. Behind it all is a quasi-theological parable about rebellion and authority. Perhaps. If the police had not set up the group, the rest of this circular story would not have developed. Nevertheless, we return to the question about the mythology of fear. Anarchism is not real, and so we can continue to sleep, safe in the comfort of Bedford Park. If so, why bother to introduce the bogeyman into this? This is more about the perpetrator of this fiction and his own psychology, than about politics. And in the end, just like the G-20 Anarchist disruptors, they melt away into thin air. As we are told at the end of Crimewatch, 'Don't have nightmares'.

Steve Booth

## The IT Column



### Microsoft v Linux – Some Personal Thoughts.

I've been scratching my head trying to think of something to write for Anarchist Voices, and not had a lot of inspiration. However, recently I have been thinking quite a bit about the whole issue of transparency of operation, and how Open Source software has managed to make an impact in the world of IT. This has special repercussions for anarchists, in that it gives choice, increases freedom, and reduces the individual's reliance on huge corporations, giving them a real option to do it themselves.

Like most people, I want a reliable PC that works every time, all the time, and until quite recently I had solely used Windows. I wasn't particularly happy, as I don't like the idea of huge corporations, and also, I had noticed that Windows is increasingly insecure, requiring the addition of anti-virus, firewall etc, resulting in slowing the system down to a crawl. However, the user-friendliness of Windows is undeniable – put a CD in the drive, and hey presto, your new widget, gadget or whatever, works. Simple. All this, of course comes at a cost. One is reliant on Microsoft, or software/hardware companies for updates to their products. Software is more often than not, closed-source, which means that there can be a frustrating wait whilst a fix is made to known 'bugs'. With open-source, the code is accessible to those with the know-how, and thus, a 'fix' can be made without necessarily waiting for the 'official' fix.

Many will, by now, be at least familiar with the name Linux. There are various distributions, (commonly referred to as distros) including Mandriva, Red Hat, Debian etc; and of course the Ubuntu family of operating systems, which seem to



be the most accessible group to the new user. There are many others, and a simple web search will give more information than I can include here.

So, frustrated by the issue I have with Windows, I decided to give Ubuntu a trial, initially as a dual-boot within Windows (using what is known as 'wubi' which is a user-friendly way of putting Ubuntu within Windows) and then clearing Windows, perhaps prematurely, entirely off the hard disc, and loading Ubuntu as the sole operating system.

Downloading Ubuntu (for free) is easy, but care must be taken that the ISO image is downloaded, ideally to the desktop. The image then has to be burned to a CD, and care must be taken to ensure that it is an image, and not data, that is written to the CD. If you have Nero on your PC, then it will automatically burn an image, but not to worry, a simple web search will find something called 'ISO Burner' which is a piece of free software that takes seconds to download. One then just places a blank CD in the drive and clicks on 'Burn CD'.

Once the image has been written to the CD, there are several options. If you have Windows up and running, Ubuntu can be installed within Windows, using wubi – following a set of simple to use dialogue boxes that pop up on the desktop. If you just want to have a look at Ubuntu before making a choice whether to install, just reboot the system, and Ubuntu will boot as a live CD, allowing you to evaluate the operating system without installing it on your PC. However, this slows down the programme considerably, so expect this, and don't think that Ubuntu is normally this slow when installed on your hard disc.

Ubuntu can also be installed on a partition on your hard disc as a dual-boot, allowing the choice of either Windows or Ubuntu, and this is probably the best option to choose once you've decided to give it a real trial. Just follow the options on the boot screen on switching your PC on (with the CD in the drive).

If you are going for a dual-boot, certain information is automatically collected from Windows, such as your internet settings. E-mail has to be configured, but this is straight forward; just follow the instructions on the dialogue boxes that appear on first opening the e-mail program. Everything else is more or less automatic, and soon you will have a basic set-up, however, remember to leave all peripherals (printers, scanners etc) switched on, so that the Ubuntu set up sees them, and installs the drivers. Here is where it gets a little tricky. For most things there is an alternative, open-source driver, but certain manufacturers are a little slow, or blatantly refuse to co-operate with the Linux community. This is a little frustrating to say the least, but there is a

strong sense of community, and a visit to the Ubuntu Forums is a good way of getting help.

For most things, Ubuntu is as good, if not better than Windows. The security issues that plague Windows are almost non-existent with Ubuntu, and so far, very few viruses have been written that affect Ubuntu, or Linux in general. There is also no ad-ware, or spy-ware to worry about, and because all ports are, by default, set to 'closed' on Ubuntu, you can be sure that your system is secure. I would however, recommend installing anti-virus software (and like Ubuntu completely free of cost) and enabling the firewall. Keir Thomas's Ubuntu Guide and Pocket Reference is an invaluable guide on initially setting up your Ubuntu system – available in print from Amazon, or at the moment at least, as a 'free' download in .pdf format when you register with Ubuntu Forums.

So far my experiences have been mixed. I like the look of the Gnome desktop, and also the fast, (compared to Windows) initial boot-up. Most applications are also easy enough to use, certainly no more difficult than anything on Windows, and there is the bonus that they are already installed, ready to run, with literally thousands of other packages that can be downloaded, all for free. Installation is usually a no tears operation, once you get used to Synaptic Package Manager whose name, as it suggests, manages installation of software. If you have a need for a particular type of software, a quick web search is all that is usually required, though a visit to the GNU website is particularly recommended to get an insight into the whole Open Source philosophy – a lot there that anarchists can relate to.

Would I recommend Ubuntu? I would cautiously have to say a qualified yes, certainly as a dual-boot alongside Windows. Philosophically and ethically from our point of view, it is the way to go. Practically it's a bit of a different matter, as Ubuntu, and Linux in general has a little way to go before it reaches the user-friendliness of Windows, but there again, if all you want to do is a bit of web surfing, word processing and e-mail, Ubuntu is fine. It's also fine for a lot of other things, has huge potential and is very adaptable. It's early days for me, so I shall be persevering and my experiences will form the content of a future article in this august publication. By that time, the next distro of Ubuntu, Jaunty Jackalope, will have been released, which promises to be even more user friendly than the present Intrepid Ibex. Above all, Ubuntu, and Linux makes a refreshing change from being a mere, passive consumer; it allows an opportunity to participate, contribute and improve both the product, and one's knowledge.

As a final note, the concept of free software is

not as it would be in say, the case of free beer, but in that it is free to copy, distribute, change and personalise. Much of the software is also free of cost, but there are, of course, financial limitations, so on most sites you will find opportunities to make a financial contribution to the project. No-one is out to get rich, and if everyone who uses Ubuntu made a modest financial contribution it would go a very long way to improve the product thus making it a true alternative to Microsoft/Apple. Still sceptical? Have a look. <http://www.ubuntulinux.org>

Padi Phillips



## OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM 2

**There will always be disputes between people. This is the nature of man. We need someone to arbitrate those disputes and peacefully and justly reach a settlement of them.**

Answer: In every age and among all people there will arise some disagreements which will be impossible for the disputants to settle peacefully themselves. This is a fact of nature which no anarchist or other reasonable person will deny.

Though recognising that there will be disputes and conflict between some people, we must not make the mistake of assuming that most social relationships will be of this nature. Most dealings between people are peaceful and those that involve some conflict are generally resolved satisfactorily and peacefully by the parties actually

Involved in the disagreement. Only a few such conflicts must be arbitrated by outside parties.

Any dispute that goes to the point of outside arbitration or settlement involves a conflict that will not be settled to the complete satisfaction of both parties.

As George Barrett explained in his classic pamphlet 'Objections to Anarchism' ... "If there are two persons who want the exclusive right to the same thing, it is quite obvious that there is no satisfactory solution to the problem. It does not matter in the least what system of society you suggest, you cannot possibly satisfy that position."

This is as much a fact of nature as is the reality that some people will sometimes get involved in conflict. To assume, as the objection does, that a governmentally imposed verdict will be a "peaceful" and a "just" one, acceptable to both parties involved, is an unwarranted assumption. It has no fact in nature and no standing in experience. The only thing that "resolves" the conflict is the state's power to enforce its verdict. This ability to club one or both parties into submission to its command is called "justice". It's through this system of "justice" that every state has used its power to favour its friends and to punish its enemies and, in every case, to increase its power over the people.

As Anarchists, we say with George Barrett, "such disputes are very much better settled without the interference of authority."

But if it is argued that leaving disputes to be settled voluntarily and without the interference of some ultimate and powerful authority will lead to the eventual domination of the strong over the weak, we answer that today this is precisely what you have. The government's strength ensures that its will will be done, whether the ends of true justice are served or not.

Perhaps the most socially destructive and far reaching influence this "system of justice" has, lies in what it does to people themselves. It accustoms them to violent settlements of their differences instead forcing them to rely on the sometimes more difficult but ultimately more peaceful system of arbitrating their problems. In the long run a people's dependence on government established procedures for settling disputes leads to a crippling of that people's ability to settle their own disputes. It customises them to look to power for a settlement of all their difficulties and ultimately to confuse real justice with justice brought by the club. It leads in the end to more conflict as people grapple for the reigns of power in order to impose their desires on their neighbours. A lust for power is created and rewarded. The natural tendency of people to peacefully and voluntarily settle their problems will be settled by a system that neither honours nor re-



spects nor tolerates our neighbours.

At the heart of our answer to the 2nd objection are two observations anarchists have long made:

1) that disputes between individuals will neither be common nor long lived and will not be as destructive to life and property and as hurtful to innocent and uninvolved third parties as are disputes that arise between people when they are ruled by governments.

2) that free people, though far from perfect, will be more likely to find reasonable and just solutions to human problems than will ever be found through the exercise of the state's power to intervene in all disputes.

**Michael Coughlin**

### Advert



#### **THE CUNNINGHAM AMENDMENT JOURNAL OF THE EAST PENNINE ANARCHISPS.**

**OVERALL SCRUTINISER**

**Doreen Frampton SRN**

**MULLAHS:**

**FRIAR BRADY - EPICURE**

**MIKE WAITE-CONTINUITY**

**BRUCE SEMEN - ART**

**MR ARNOLD-FINANCE**

**CHRIS NIGHTINGALE - LOOKOUT**

**DR PETER GOOD - SCRIPT**

**DAVE CUNLIFFE - GRIP**

**DEDICATED TO REVOLUTIONARY ACTS OF JOY AND  
IRREVERENCE IN A WORLD INCREASINGLY WEIGHED  
DOWN BY STERILE BUREAUCRACIES**

**INDIVIDUALS £1.00 INSTITUTIONS £2**

**PLUS P&P 35 PENCE FROM**

**1005 HUDDERSFIELD ROAD, BRADFORD**

**WEST YORKSHIRE BD12 8LP**

## **Anarchy and a Plausible Future: a view from 1971**

**S**o what are the prospects for increasing the anarchist content of the real world? From one point of view the outlook is bleak: centralised power, whether that of governments or super-governments, or of private capitalism or the super-capitalism of giant international corporations, has never been greater. The prophesies of nineteenth-century anarchists like Proudhon and Bakunin about power of the state over the citizen have a relevance today which must have seemed unlikely for their contemporaries.

From another standpoint the outlook is infinitely promising. The very growth of the state and its bureaucracy, the giant corporation and its privileged hierarchy, are exposing their vulnerability to non-co-operation, to sabotage, and to the exploitation of their weaknesses by the weak. They are also giving rise to parallel organisations, counter organisations, alternative organisations, which exemplify the anarchist method. Industrial mergers and rationalisation have bred the revival of the demand for workers' control, first as a slogan or a tactic like the work-in, ultimately as a destination. The development of the school and the university as broiler-houses for a place in the occupational pecking-order have given rise to the de-schooling movement and the idea of the anti-university. The use of medicine and psychiatry as agents of conformity has led to the idea of the anti-hospital and the self-help therapeutic group. The failure of Western society to house its citizens has prompted the growth of squatter movements and tenants' co-operatives. The triumph of the super-market in the United States has begun a mushrooming of food co-operatives. The deliberate pauperisation of those who cannot work has led to the recovery of self-respect through Claimants' Unions.

Community organisations of every conceivable kind, community newspapers, movements for child welfare, communal households have resulted from the new consciousness that local as well as central government exploit the poor and are unresponsive to those who are unable to exert effective pressure for themselves. The 'rationalisation' of local administration in Britain into 'larger and more effective units' is evoking a response in the demand for neighbourhood councils. A new self-confidence and assertion of their

right to exist on their own terms has sprung up among the victims of particular kinds of discrimination — black liberation, women's liberation, homosexual liberation, prisoners' liberation, children's liberation: the list is almost endless and is certainly going to get longer as more and more people become more and more conscious that society is organised in ways which deny them a place in the sun. In the age of mass politics and mass conformity, this is a magnificent re-assertion of individual values and of human dignity.

None of these movements is yet a threat to the power structure, and this is scarcely surprising since hardly any of them existed before the late 1960s. None of them fits into the framework of conventional politics. In fact, they don't speak the same language as the political parties. They talk the language of anarchism and they insist anarchist principles of organisation, which they have learned from political theory but from their own experience. They organise in loosely associated groups which are voluntary, functional, temporary and small. They depend, not on membership cards, votes, a special leadership and a herd of inactive followers but on small, functional groups which ebb and flow, group and regroup, according to the task in hand. They are networks, not pyramids.

At the very time when the 'irresistible trends of modern society seemed to be leading us to a mass society of enslaved consumers they are reminding us of the truth that the irresistible is simply that which is not resisted. But obviously a whole series of partial incomplete victories, of concessions won from the holders of power, will not lead to an anarchist society. But it will widen the scope of free action and the potentiality for freedom in the society we have.

But such compromises of anarchist notions would have to be made, such authoritarian bed-fellows chosen, for a frontal attack on the power structure, that the anarchist answer to cries for revolutionary unity is likely to be 'Whose noose are you inviting me to put around my neck this time?'

But in thinking about a plausible future, another factor has entered into the general consciousness since the late 1960s. So many books, so many reports, so many conferences have been devoted to it, that it is only necessary for me to state a few general propositions about it. The first is that the world's resources are finite. The second that the wealthy economies have been exploiting the unrenowned resources at a rate which the planet cannot sustain. The third is that these 'developed' economies are also exploiting the resources of the 'Third World'

countries as cheap raw materials. This means, not only that the Third World countries can never hope to achieve levels of consumption of the rich world, but that the rich countries themselves cannot continue to consume at the present accelerating rate. The public debate around these issues is not about the truth of the contentions, it is simply about the question: How soon? How soon before the fossil fuels run out? How soon before the Third World rises in revolt against international exploitation? How soon will we be facing the consequences of the non-viability of future economic growth? I leave aside the related questions about pollution and about population. But all these questions profoundly affect our futures and the predictions we make about social change, whether we mean the changes we desire or the ones which circumstances force upon us. They also cut completely across accepted political categories, as do the policies of the ecology lobby or the environmental pressure groups in both Britain and the United States.

The growth economists, the politicians of both right and left, who envisaged an ever-expanding cycle of consumption, with the philosophy characterised by Kenneth Burke as Borrow, Spend, Buy, Waste, Want, have just not caught up with future realities. If anyone has, it is that minority among the young in the affluent countries who have consciously rejected the mass consumption society - its values as well as its dearly-bought products - and adopted, not out of Puritanism but out of a different set of priorities, an earlier consumer philosophy: Eat it up, wear it out, make it do, or do without. The editor of The Ecologist summed up the argument thus: 'affluence for everybody is an impossible dream: the world simply does not contain sufficient resources, nor could it absorb the heat and other waste generated by the immense amount of energy required. Indeed, the most important thing to realise, when we plan our future, is that affluence is both a local and a temporary phenomenon. Unfortunately it is the principal, if not the only, goal our industrial society gives us.' His journal in its 'Blueprint for Survival' has the distinction of being among the few commentaries on the crisis of environment and resources to go beyond predicting the consequences of continued population growth and depletion of resources, to envisaging the kind of physical and economic structure of life which its authors regard as indispensable for a viable future, drawing up a timetable for change for the century 1975 - 2075, to establish in that time 'a network of self-sufficient, self-regulating communities.' The authors cheerfully accept the charge that their programme is unsophisticated and over-simplified, the implication being that if the