

## **Recommended Journals**

A PINCH OF SALT: Christianity and Anarchism in dialogue. Available from Keith Hebden, 58 Haycroft Drive, Matson, Gloucester, GL4 6XX

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 0 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 El 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 BDI2 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 \$ I 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. TL back issues 2–24 also available at 50 pence plus p&p.

#### **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.

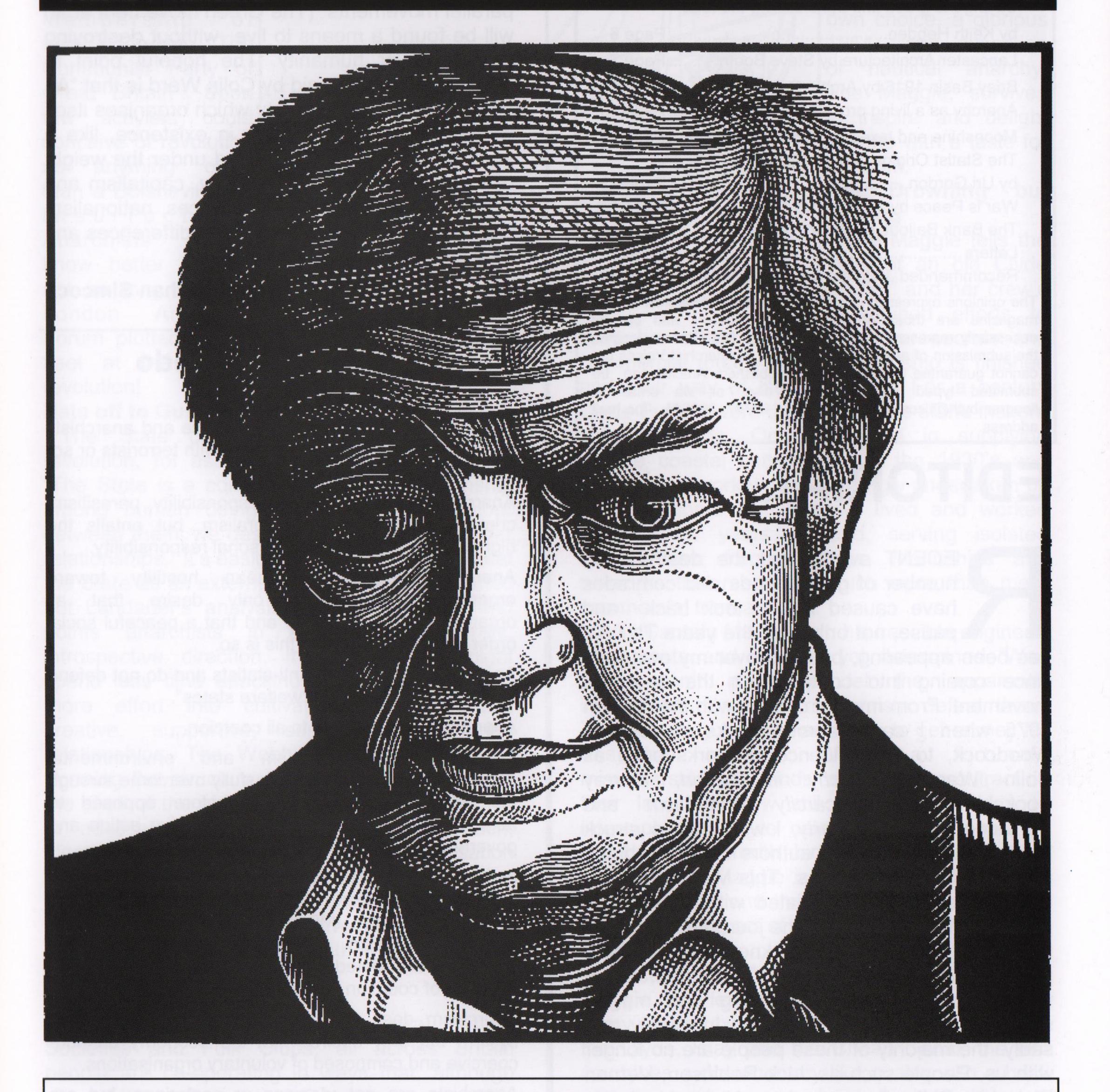
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# ANARCHIST VOICES

A JOURNAL OF EVOLUTIONARY ANARCHISM INCORPORATING TOTAL LIBERTY MAGAZINE VOL. 1 - 6

VOLUME 7 NUMBER 2

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Colin Ward 1924 - 2010

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# EDITORIAL

ECENT events and the deaths of a number of good friends and comrades have caused me to look back and pause, not only over the years TL / AV has been appearing, but also over my own time since coming into contact with the anarchist movement. From my first contact with the idea in 1975 when I came across works by George Woodcock, to the influence of works such as Colin Ward's Anarchy in Action, Murray Bookchin's Post Scarcity Anarchism and Benjamin Tucker's Liberty, I was always struck by the humanity of the authors I read and the individuals I came across. This was especially true of the people associated with, writing for, producing and distributing the journal Freedom in the period 1978-1981 when I knew many of them personally. I was then living in London, and a weekly volunteer for the folding and mailing sessions at Freedom Bookshop. Inevitably and sadly the majority of these people are no longer with us. People such as Jack Robinson, Vernon Richards, Philip Sansom, Alan Albon, Veronica, Paul Lloyd, Peter Neville are gone, and now, in the period since the new year, John Rety and Colin Ward have both died. All these individuals

made their contribution to the ideas expressed by our 'movement' and all deserve to be remembered. It is part of the role of journals such as *Anarchist Voices* to keep alive the human and positive ideals of anarchism they stood for.

One thing is certain, as the State and multinational corporate version of Capitalism takes humanity and the planet ever closer to societal and environmental disaster, only in the ideas found in movements such as anarchism, and in parallel movements (The Green movement et al) will be found a means to live without destroying the planet or humanity. The hopeful point to remember, as was said by Colin Ward is that "An anarchist society, a society which organises itself without authority, is always in existence, like a seed beneath the snow, buried under the weight of the state and its bureaucracy, capitalism and its waste, privilege and its injustices, nationalism and its suicidal loyalties, religious differences and their superstitious separatism."

Jonathan Simcock

### **An Anarchist Credo**

Anarchism is not terrorism or violence and anarchists do not support, aid or sympathise with terrorists or so-called liberation movements.

Anarchism does not mean irresponsibility, parasitism, criminality, nihilism or immoralism, but entails the highest level of ethics and personal responsibility.

Anarchism does not mean hostility toward organisation. Anarchists only desire that all organisations be voluntary and that a peaceful social order will exist only when this is so.

Anarchists are resolute anti-statists and do not defend either "limited states" or "welfare states".

Anarchists are opposed to all coercion.

Poverty, bigotry, sexism and environmental degradation cannot be successfully overcome through the State. Anarchists are therefore opposed to taxation, censorship, so-called affirmative action and government regulation.

Anarchists do not need scapegoats. Poverty and environmental destruction are not ultimately caused by transnationals, IMF, the USA, the "developed world", imperialism, technology or any other devil figure, but are rooted in the power to coerce. Only the abolition of coercion will overcome these problems.

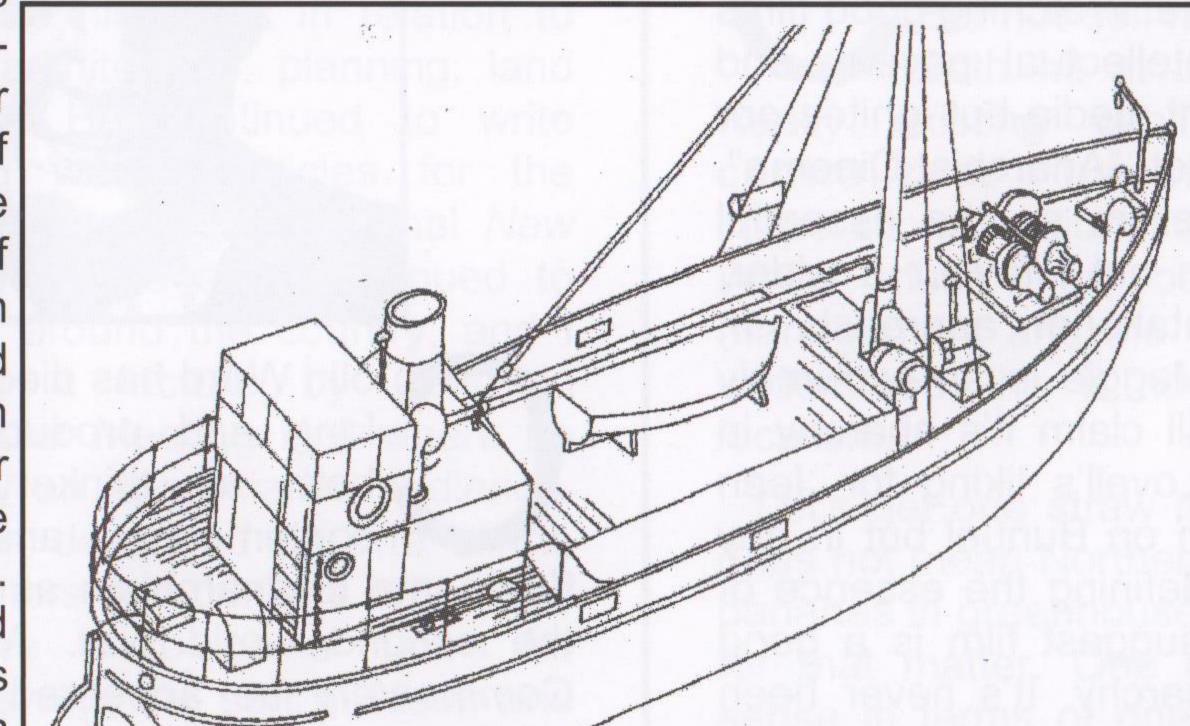
Anarchism does not posit any particular economic system but only desires that the economy be non-coercive and composed of voluntary organisations.

Anarchists are not utopians or sectarians, but are sympathetic to any effort to decrease statism and coercion and the replacement of authoritarian relations. with voluntary ones.

# The Maggie, the Aurora, and the Wee Boy

t's a pity the Russian revolution seemed like a success at the time. Britain had a lively political culture until revolutionaries were mesmerised by the Bolshevik's "winning

formula" and militants, sacrificed independence and creativity for membership of Lenin's fan club, "The Communist Party of Great Britain". Soon few activists could conceive of revolution as anything other than a Bolshevik-type insurrection. Anarchists should know better but it's not so long since a London Anarchist



Forum plotted the deployment of the anarchist fleet at the outbreak of Britain's imminent revolution!

#### Hats off to Gustave (and Colin)

The State can't be smashed by violent revolution, for as Gustave Landauer observed, "The State is a condition, a certain relationship among human beings, a mode of behaviour between them; we destroy it by contracting other relationships." It's easier and more macho to treat the State as an external structure to be smashed but Landauer's analysis is more accurate and points anarchists in an entirely different, introspective direction. It suggests we might spend less time attacking "The State" and put more effort into cultivating and promoting creative, supportive, sustainable libertarian relationships. The Wobblies thought of it as, "forming the structure of the New Society within the shell of the old". Colin Ward devoted his life to advocating and illustrating this approach, identifying libertarian forms of organisation amongst squatters, on allotments, in education and in town planning. For Colin and Gustave anarchy needn't await insurrection, it already operates in small pockets within our otherwise rotten society.

#### **Anarchy Ahoy!**

From Women's Institutes to Local History Societies and Folk Clubs, all across Britain people are co-operating in ways that, although not in themselves revolutionary, do exemplify alternative, libertarian forms of organisation. Once we realise there's more to revolution than storming the Winter Palace we discover that

literature and film abound with inspiring examples of anarchy in action. Sadly, Colin's favourite film, "Carry On Kropotkin", starring Sid James as the Anarchist Prince, was, in 1963, seized and

destroyed on the orders of the Lord Chamberlain but my own choice, a glorious 1954 filmic evocation of nautical anarchy, The Maggie, survives to inspire and delight anyone with a taste for freedom.

# Not Drowning but Waving

The Maggie tells the story of an old Clyde "Puffer" and her crew's determined efforts to

keep her afloat despite state bureaucrats and commercial forces insisting their ship is finished and their way of life redundant. For a century Clyde Puffers were the workhorses of the inshore shipping trade. Once essential in supplying remote coastal settlements, in the 1930's and 1940's their work was increasingly undertaken by road transport. Puffer crews lived and worked together for years on end, serving isolated communities, forging bonds, friendships and networks that meant so much more than mere commercial transactions.

Wily Captain Mactaggart, his irascible engineer, silent mate and devoted yet determined "Wee Boy" aren't going to let the apparently insuperable forces of modernism defeat them. Together they scheme and plan to get money for essential repairs. When a fortunate misunderstanding lands a lucrative contract in their lap, the crew still cunningly contrive to interrupt the trip to celebrate and support an islander's hundredth birthday party. Just as it appears The Maggie is invincible she's cast up onto the rocks and threatens to break her back, but a surprising act of solidarity saves the day.

#### A Navy Lark

Directed by Alexander Mackendrick, The Maggie, is a lesser-known "Ealing Comedy", but in my opinion by far the best. Shot on location on the Clyde, Islay and the Crinan Canal, the film combines a documentary-like quality with a brisk narrative and warm, spiky, humorous dialogue. Whenever the story seems about to descend into sentimentalism another scam surfaces and we're instantly reassured that the crew are all too

human.

Comrade Trotsky wouldn't be impressed with this collection of petit-bourgeois boat owners but the London Anarchist Forum could profitably draw on the experience of Captain Mactaggart.

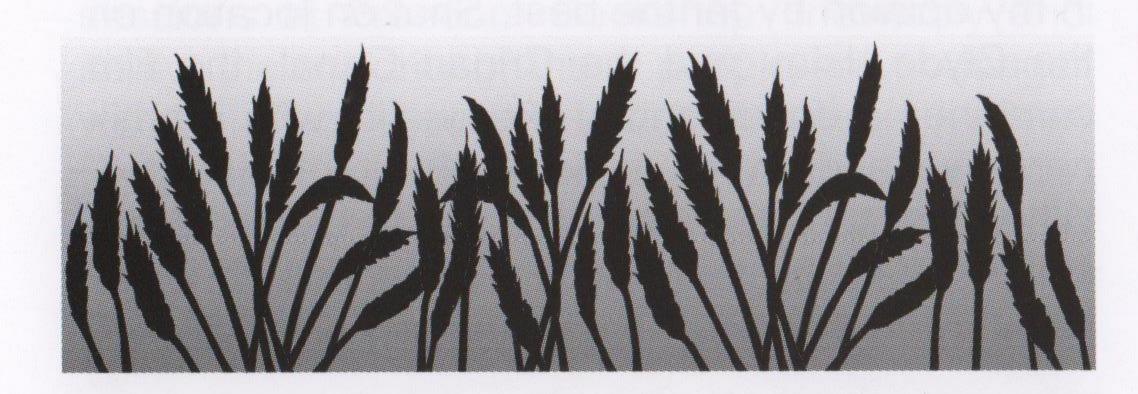
#### When the Boat Comes In

Television is now the opium of the people and it's easy to regard cinema as a mere extension but I'm arguing the opposite. Watching good films not only exposes the intellectual poverty and dishonesty of the dominant media but ignites our imagination. In his pamphlet, "Anarchist Cinema", Alan Lovell claims surrealism as the essential language of anarchist film but I favour a wider, less necessarily confrontational approach. In almost all respects The Maggie is an extremely conventional film but I still claim it's anarchy in action. I go along with Lovell's liking for Jean Vigo's films, I'm less keen on Bunuel but in any case I'm not really after defining the essence of anarchist cinema, I just suggest film is a good medium for promoting anarchy. It's never been easier to find films of interest to anarchists and most are available on DVD for less than a tenner (from HMV, details on the web but you can also order by telephone: 0845-603-8576).

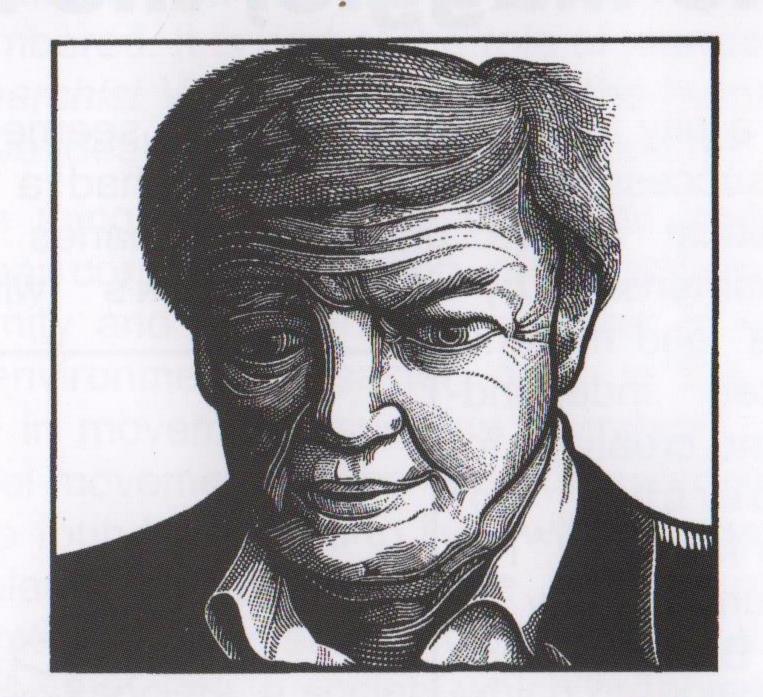
### A New World in Our Hearts

Once you've got a handful of interesting DVDs you might start a local film club modelled on the familiar "book-group". You only need half-adozen or so people to meet in turn in each other's houses and show and discuss each other's favourite DVDs. Depending on your catchment area you can afford to be more or less choosy. In a big city you might advertise for an "Anarchist Film Group" but this would probably prove too restrictive in a small place where you might have to be satisfied with a more general "Film Club". Besides The Maggie other suitable films are; Land and Freedom, Whistle Down the Wind, Freaks, Etre et Avoir, One Flew Over the Cuckoo's Nest, The Edge of the World and Cinema Paradiso but the films are only one aspect of the enterprise. Meeting together like this, watching and discussing films and maybe also sharing food advances anarchism and when it comes time to storm the Winter Palace you might have a few more friends alongside (as well as supporting fire from the battleships of the Anarchist Forum).

**Christopher Draper** 



## Colin Ward 1924 - 2010



olin Ward has died aged 86. His was a long and productive life contributing both as thinker and an editor to contemporary anarchism. Colin Ward first came to anarchism as a young man during the second world war. A subscriber to War Commentary he appeared as a reluctant and hostile witness in the trial of the 4 editors of the Freedom Press wartime anarchist paper War Commentary. He was later an editor of Freedom in the 1940s and 1950s and then of the ground breaking anarchist journal Anarchy (series 1) between 1961 and 1970. In that journal well known anarchists and non-anarchists, cultural figures, academics, community activists and others contributed articles. This helped bring into being an updated and positive version of anarchism. Contributions in Anarchy ranged from anarchism, literature and film, housing, architecture, psychiatry, education, allotments to work, self employment and more. Colin Ward's efforts as editor helped ensure that anarchism as a movement and as an idea had a hearing in the market place of ideas.

Colin Ward subsequently drew on the contributions to Anarchy Series 1 as the basis for his much read and reprinted work 'Anarchy in Action'. I first read 'Anarchy in Action' as a teenager in 1977 and then was lucky enough to meet Colin on a number of occasions while I was a student in London. His ideas have certainly influenced a large number of people outside of the often narrow circles of the anarchist movement. Ward looked anew at the humanitarian and practical application of anarchist ideas in a wide variety of fields of life. He himself did not view what he had to say as anything new, but looked upon his book Anarchy in Action as an updating of Kropotkin's Mutual Aid. However, his ideas certainly brought a breath of fresh air to the movement and Ward's non sectarianism and willingness to look outside of the constraints of long dead anarchist theorists of the 19<sup>th</sup> century led to a more 'liberal'

interpretation of anarchism with a wider appeal. Unfortunately it also drew hostility from a number of the more narrow minded class struggle anarchists such as Albert Meltzer and the journal Black Flag.

After stepping down as editor of Anarchy series 1, he became Education Officer for the Town and Country Planning Association, a post which allowed him to pursue his ideas in relation to housing, education, architecture, planning, land use and community. He continued to write extensively including weekly articles for the journal New Society and then the journal New Statesman and Society. He also continued to lecture to audiences around the country, and I remember attending a lecture by Colin in Leicester at the Secular Meeting Hall where he was well received by an appreciative audience. Colin Ward has been described as one of the greatest anarchist writers and thinkers of the 20th century, and if there is to be a future for anarchism then it lies with the sort of ideas and vision he helped create and publicise.

Jonathan Simcock



THE CUNNINGHAM AMENDMENT
JOURNAL OF THE EAST PENNINE ANARCRISPS.

OVERALL SCRUTINISER Doreen Frampton SRN

MULLAHS:

FRIAR BRADY - EPICURE

MIKE WAITE - CONTINUITY

BRUCE SEMEN - ART

MR ARNOLD - FINANCE

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# Localism, a threat to Capitalism?

apitalism can recuperate just about everything radical movements toss at it. But not self-management and localism. Both hit at the heart of the monster. Really existing capitalism consists of vast centralized, hierarchical, authoritarian corporations, national and international in scope. While much has been written about self-management and the concept is now fairly well understood, this is not so much the case with localism.

Let's get one straw man out of the way. Local does not mean Northerners growing oranges and bananas in greenhouses or any form of autarchy, for that matter. One does locally what makes sense in terms of one's resources and climate. What genuinely has to be imported should be done in a "fair trade" manner, with the true environmental cost of transit included.

Nor would localism be a return to the past, but rather a step to the future. The vast corporation is a relic of the steam era when the nature of the technology forced centralization. Capital cost was also high. With the coming of electricity, decentralization and small scale production could have become a reality – as both Kropotkin and Borsodi wished, but due to the already entrenched nature of corporate capitalism and the powerful state which backed and helped to create it in the first place, this was not to be. (1)

The economy of scale which sometimes results from the corporation, could be developed by federating smaller industries together, thus avoiding the huge centralized bureaucratic structures of really existing capitalism.

The raison d'être of corporations is to maximize profits through producing poorly made goods cheaply in distant locations and shipping them to us. The profits from these exchanges are then milked out of our communities. Workers are exploited not just in the surplus value they produce at work, but also as consumers. They are also exploited in their communities as the wealth of the community is drained out to corporate headquarters. Small, local, industries, working for local needs and supported by local people, would be a threat to these vast agglomerations. Localism attacks the whole a gribusiness/petrochemical/petroleum/automobile/ highway/ truck/super tanker world.

The benefits of localism include: 1.) wealth

stays in the community and does not flow to distant corporate headquarters 2.) a stable or "steady-state" economy results, as production is primarily for local use and is not dependent on the vagaries of distant markets, thus, a "need-based" rather than a "profit-maximizing" economy results 3.) no dependency on wealth-sucking large banks since local production is small scale and hence lower capital costs – which can be raised locally.

Localism can be effective right away if supporters are numerous enough to provide an economic base for it. We have already seen with organic produce, farmers markets and fair trade products, that a minority can change buying patterns significantly. There is no reason why local cannot become the "new trend", the way organic food became a decade ago.

Here on Vancouver Island (with a climate like Southern England) only 3% of food is now grown locally, while when I was a lad it was 75%. If the third of the population that is open to environmental and other progressive causes were to focus on local food, this would have a major impact on farming and the economy.

Localism is the thin edge of the wedge for people otherwise not attracted to the "anticapitalist bloc." It is easy to understand that locally made things help sustain community. Most people know local produce tastes better. Small scale production is also not as hard on the environment as vast, centralized farms and factories. From there, it is not such a great leap to understanding how corporate capitalism is the arch enemy of the environment, quality of life and community.

Localism has to be one part of a broad strategy for social change. It cannot be the only focus, and in practice it isn't. The same people who support localism are also the same people who favour coops, public transportation, alternative technologies, the preservation of agricultural land, preventing suburban sprawl and environmental destruction. These are also the same people who reject the cruel treatment of animals, cut-backs of needed social services, sub-contracting, war and all the other evil products of neo-liberalism.

**Larry Gambone** 

1. For more information, see Kevin Carson's book;

http://homebrewindustrialrevolution.wordpress.com/



# Saying The Grace and transforming the food

s I took hold of the pheasant, given to me by a friend and colleague, I took time to try and read the last moments of his life. His beak was bent in the middle at ninety degrees and there was a tear with bruising under one wing as well as a puncture in the fold of the other-side leg. Whatever hit him did so at such speed that I doubted he knew the slightest thing about it. Perhaps in the moments before he'd been alarmed by the noise, tremble, and glare of the approaching thing but before he'd hit the trees it had already ended. I thanked him for his life, showed respect for his untimely end, and began to remove the feathers while still trying to be 'attentive' - in the Buddhist sense of the word – to the task in hand.

I first became interested in eating road-kill at the third Christianity and anarchism conference, held in Sheffield, when a re-wilder called Rob told me about his tracking and free-gaming life. The conference was all vegan (which remains a holy cow (sic.) of much political activism at the moment) and, as we all sat eating a delicious vegan loaf with veggies found in a skip he detailed finding, gutting, eating, and tanning a grey squirrel. It was also Rob who turned me to thinking more seriously about animism and the spirituality and politics of food.

Much of my life I've said The Grace before meals but it has always bothered me and still does. You may know the sort of thing: "Lord for what we are about to receive make us thankful and ever mindful of those in need." How can I eat this food and be mindful of those in need? It can't be done. The high expectation illuminated by

prayer only causes the shadow of injustice to fall onto my poor plate. Faith sets too high a bar. But since beginning to explore the spirituality and politics of food I've started to realise that what I'm experiencing at The Grace is alienation. I eat the product of detached, depersonalised exploitation and human domination of the environment. It humiliates both the eater and the eaten.

One day I will be eaten too. Perhaps I will be road kill, two and a half thousand of us are every year in the UK. I hope the micro-organisms and hidden creatures that attend to me will do so with greater care and attentiveness than I have ever shown my food. Humans are not at the top of any food chain; it's a food loop.

I was given the pheasant at a "Diggers Agape". The Diggers Agape is a meal with act of worship inspired by the 'love feasts' of the early church and the vision of Gerrard Winstanley and the Digger – or True Leveller – movement of 1649-50. The Diggers believed the whole earth to be a common treasury for all, to be dug, held together, and shared according to need. Winstanley's pamphleteering and direct community action brought the weight of the newly formed Cromwellian government down on him and the project was short lived.

Our Digger Agape was a simple invitation from a Tolstoyan Methodist minister to bring something never bought or sold to share with others. In January this was tough – especially for vegans. For me the meal was both a sign of hope and a measure of our own resilience against the state capitalist system. We were not exactly a shining beacon though, we continue to do tricks for cash, at least for the moment, and to say The Grace despite the shadow cast over our food.

Keith Hebden

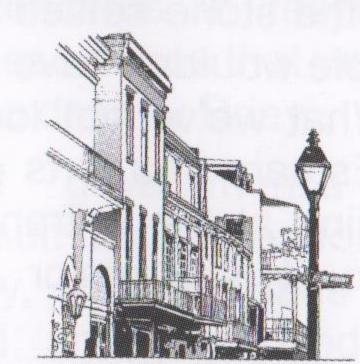
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# Lancaster Architecture



ancaster is a historic city, and has many old buildings, the Castle and Priory, the Judges' Lodgings, an historic quayside, Dalton Square, and, high, looking over the city from the very top of Williamson's Park, the Ashton Memorial, which was described as "The grandest monument in England" by Nikolaus Pevsner. The character of the place is steadily being eroded by bad planning decisions. The threat comes in two main forms. Firstly, inside the city, inappropriate modern developments are gradually swamping out the older buildings. Most of these are Clone Town shopping developments like the new market building from the early 1990s, or the aborted Canal Corridor scheme. Another bad example was the old brewery site, where a space which should have been made into a pleasant inner city square or garden development, was turned into a tall, dark, dismal cinema development, hedged about by bleak narrow alleys where daylight never penetrates, and where sensible people fear to go even in the daytime, let alone the night. The Millennium Bridge, built in the shape of a huge 'V' sign towards the residents of Lancaster, perhaps illustrates the real relationship between developers and people.

The second aspect of the problem, 'Edge City' - creeping urbanisation, is also common to most places. Outside the city, the surrounding countryside is being eaten up. Much of this is felt to the south of the city, where extra housing estates, like the Whinney Carr development, and supermarkets are threatened. A major component in this is the expansion of the University.

The yellow 'War of the Worlds' tripod building above the Kingsway Baths is one of the worst of the inner city planning disasters. If you drive in to Lancaster from Junction 34 on the M6, you are faced with this five or six storey wall of vomit. It's a block of flats built above the old swimming baths and bus depot, but entirely out of keeping. The baths / former bus depot were listed, so they couldn't pull them down. What they should have done was to build a five storey art deco style

block of flats or an office block above the baths, using the same kind of stone facing, and keeping the same window lines, following exactly the same style upwards. This would have looked good, and once the stone settled in and got a bit grimy, most people wouldn't have known it wasn't always there. What we've got looks like one of those Thames Estuary sea forts on stilts. It's an abomination. Being at the entrance to the main part of the town, it is a major piece of urban blight.

Not all of the planning decisions have been bad. The refurbishment of the quay has seen the faces of the old buildings cleaned up, and some new buildings, faced in a sympathetic style, put in to fill up some gaps formerly occupied by rundown and not particularly inspiring industrial buildings. A tall block of flats, built on the site of the Pye farm foods factory, is perhaps one floor too high, but reasonably in keeping with this area. Further back in time, the Whitecross development, formerly the Storey factory, has been a success. Dalton Square, a Georgian jewel in the centre of the city, had some new buildings put in, which simply followed the lines of the adjacent houses. This facade was marred however, by the City Council's own modernistic 'City-Lab', a tinted glass box, placed directly in the middle of this Georgian row.

Many people take heart from the fact that the Centros Miller smash up the town centre 'Canal Corridor' development was thrown out by the Planning Inspector. The City Council was much criticised for allowing this ill thought out scheme to progress so far. The wish was to extend the shopping area, building a footbridge above the inner-city one way race-track road system, and pulling down the existing buildings to replace them with the usual modern and characterless shopping precinct trash. The Centros development was so bad that it was noticed nationally, and criticised in the Conservation Bulletin. "Lancaster: the survival of this beautifully shaped row of historic (and largely unlisted) buildings of various ages is threatened by a new shopping precinct" [Autumn 2009, page 9]. There was a sketch of the existing site, which in the main was a fairly normal bit of old Lancaster, some shops, but even if it is a bit grotty would still be better than the glass and concrete plastic façaded rubbish they were planning to put up.

Lancaster University want to build two huge wind turbines. One of these is about two hundred yards from some houses, and the nearby residents are opposing it. They've been on the local radio, and in the Lancaster Guardian, and are going to turn up mob handed at the council

meeting, so we'll see what happens. The University has a poor track record with these local residents. Part of the trouble is how the university rides roughshod over folks - these are much the same residents who were worst affected by the university expansion of the early noughties, the so-called 'Jarvisversity', where the campus area increased by a third. This stretch ended with a huge white stone wall of a row of student barrack blocks in their faces, the luminous green Info-lab building, and the never ending parking problems on Chapel Lane and the new road.

#### **Building on Green Fields**

At the other end of the campus, the proposed Bailrigg Science Park seems to have been put on hold, (for now). The Science Park is part of the broader creeping 'ribbon development' joining the University to the town. If built, it will eat up one of the two remaining fields between the University and Scotforth. Experience has shown that developments on this scale have a negative impact on the roads, which are already at saturation. There is also a proposal to build a new 'Bailrigg' motorway junction, which will only encourage more traffic into the area. All this will have a collateral impact, in terms of extra housing demands, demands on shops, on utilities, a need for more schools, health care facilities, and what about the carbon footprint of additional road journeys?

There is more 'Edge City'. Experience shows that the Northern By-Pass (which again seems to have been put on hold), will bring yet more retail parks and drive through fast food restaurants in its wake. Between the University and the town, the Lawson's Bridge green field development suggests that not just one, but two supermarkets will be built there. In early February 2010, an attempt to obtain planning permission for a student hostel, on the edge of the Lawson's Bridge area, was recommended by Planning Officers, but thrown out by councillors, fearful of the local backlash. This points to the key factor in this, the main brake being put on the developers' despoliations - people power. The Musicians' Co-op and a residents' group called 'It's Our City' were instrumental in stopping the Canal Corridor. In 2006, the Labour Council leader, Ian Barker, lost his seat to the Green Party over this. Back in 2002, the supermarket developer Chelverton, was stopped. People objected to the Whinney Carr plan, and this was stopped. But none of this is easy.

**Steve Booth** 



# Briev Basin 1916

ometime in 1916 the French army advanced sufficiently to bring Briey Basin, held by the Germans since the beginning of the War, well within the range of their heavy artillery. It is sufficient for the purposes of this tale to report that Briey Basin is situated in Northern France and was, at the time, one of Europe's leading steel producing regions. It has been estimated that, along with the mines in nearby Lorraine, 75% of the ore used in German ammunition during the War was pouring forth in a steady stream from the Briey Basin, ultimately to be fired into the French lines (amongst others), killing and maiming thousands of Frenchmen in the process.

One would have imagined therefore, that the destruction of the Briey Basin would have been universally welcomed on the French side, and thus high on the list of targets for the newly advanced artillery. You would, in fact, be wrong, for Briey, which like other districts in the war zone could have turned into a desolate wasteland by the French guns, remained to the last days of the war, one of the so-called 'quiet sectors', continuing, until near the end, to churn out essential ores for the prosecution of the war.

That this was not the result of an inexplicable oversight or the result of military incompetence is not in doubt, as the facts of the case are in the records of the French Parliament. Disclosures surrounding the Briey situation were actually made during the course of the war itself. Efforts were made by some within the high military, journalists and even civilians to have the Briey mines and furnaces laid waste - but all approaches to government failed. Nothing of note happened!

Why not? The French, it turns out, obtained a sizeable proportion of their own supplies of iron ore from mines around Dombasle sur Meurthe, only a matter of 70 or so miles away from Briey. It was actually concerns in respect of on-going production at these mines that were the source of their reticence to destroy Briey.

French government's position can reasonably be summed up as follows "If we had destroyed Briey, the Germans would at once have retaliated and destroyed our plants at Dombasle." That is, both sides would likely have been crippled - it is actually not unreasonable to suggest that the war might even have ended sooner had these mines been destroyed. Rather than risk retaliation therefore, the preferred option was to leave the Briey mines well alone, and have destroyed instead additional men, in their tens of thousands, rather than this particular piece of property.

As a notable Frenchman from another era once pointed out: - "That is government; that is its justice; that is its morality"

**Archie Odgers** 

Story Source: - "Merchants of Death" by H.C. Engelbrecht & F.C. Hanighen

Published: - Dodd Mead & Company - 1934



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# Anarchy as a living process

narchy is a living process, a natural form of social order, you will not find it written in constitutions, espoused in manifestos, or due to the outcome of ideologies. Perhaps this is the reason that anarchist organizers have offered few models of social organization that engender the wholeness of the spirit, the vision - it is hard to typify or explain. It is a general concept that is defined by the living energy we aspire to bring to the fore; giving creation to guiltless expression of life and vigour of spirit. In practical terms, however, we need realizable goals and solutions. So do we foresee the syndicalist vision of general strike or the creation of soviets, or free cities? Perhaps an insurrection, a revolution and toppling of governance and authority? Some of these have been popular but in the end failing to be sustainable, the major problem with anarchism has been lack of a workable vision of goals. We must ask, are we really aiming at outcomes that are able to sustain free society?

We should find more inspiration in the daily activities of our own times, there is no format for freedom, which is undefined, and of its own nature, but freedom can exist in the social context as a common spirit that is shared. Liberation is a process which unfolds from one moment to the next. If what we are attempting to do as anarchists were a winning activity we would embrace the living efforts of people through our activity, that is, create options as sociable processes. So we must try to unleash the spirit of freedom in simple and common social activity. So it is the possibilities of community which is holistic in terms of being able to embrace every individual; community is the immersion in all the values of life. It is community which is able to accommodate the broad horizon of social awakening which will be required to arrive at our living freedom. The course of the world today is not survivable; there are no possible reforms to social authority, political and corporate leviathan which will suffice to make the now global catastrophe survivable. Community is the antithesis to global political oppression we experience today.

We have to learn the lessons of our history; that syndicalism, co-operativism, and mutualism are only partially fulfilling in the anarchist vision. None of these is the answer; but these are elements that can be amalgamated into free egalitarian community and networks of communities. If there is an alternative to the capitalist globalism and mass media of today, it is the very thing that it destroys, community.

No more can we take to leadership of the political left, and no more can we accommodate talk of reform through political process or change of government, or the change from one set of leaders to another. Down with political revolution! No more

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creating social authority to impose and set values and ideals. With a new spirit, we must carry forward from democracy, go beyond consensus to live by our own action. We need to go even further than consensus as a decision process, consensus must be more than just a way to make decisions, but must be the realization of agreement through action itself. Just as, when in consensus where nobody owns the decision because it is a shared value amongst all, so to do we propose in activities the common interests of all. We must advocate activities which are processes of community, for community is our binding spirit. We all can share in everything community has to offer and give back as in productive work according to our capacities in ways that are to the best benefit of all. Anarchy is a cause which seeks a common appreciation individuality. We seek change by proposing social union through freely shared activity.

With intentional communities and eco-villages and systems of interconnecting networks we have a model which is as diverse and broad in social context as that matches anarchy. We must abandon the federative concept of organization because it is still a hierarchy even if it is organized from the bottom up; federation extends its organization through vertical connectivity. Now we must seek the egalitarian nature of networked organization. It is in networks of networks and networks in networks that exist the free organization of peer to peer relations that will become the active basis for real social change. There is strength with networks because there is lots of redundancy in horizontal connectivity and such organization goes beyond the control of authoritarians. We should be thinking of egalitarian communities which will act as autonomous entities in a sea of networked social activity. This can be our revolution, a society run without government or state and without social authority, able to act on the initiative of its people uninhibited by bureaucracies. This can be our revolution, free communities able to act on the initiative of a people uninhibited by bureaucracies and hierarchies of social control.

**Dick Martin** 

About the author - Dick Martin is a Social Anarchist living in the West Kootenay region of British Columbia, Canada and has been a war resister, trade union organizer, anarchist activist and is currently networking to form an anarchist eco-village in the Lardeau valley.



## Moonshine and taxes

arvin "Popcorn" Sutton is only a photo in a newspaper and a brief obituary to me. Before I picked up a copy of the March 21-22, 2009 Wall Street Journal I had no suspicion that such a character existed. But there was that arresting photo of him sitting on the back bumper of his weathered, old Ford pickup truck, one arm resting on the tail gate, his shoulders bowed from years of good, honest labour. A crumpled hat atop his 60-yearold noggin transports one to those earlier, refined years of the 20<sup>th</sup> century when every man of any stature or calling in life sported his personal sun shield. It was just the refined thing to do. A beard stretching upwards to the rim of his hat fell in a wiry cascade to the upper reaches of his bib overalls. In truth, there wasn't much of his face left to the sunshine but a stout nose bordered by a pair of piercing eyes. This man came from the earth. No pretention to being anything more that he was; just a Tennessee mountain man.

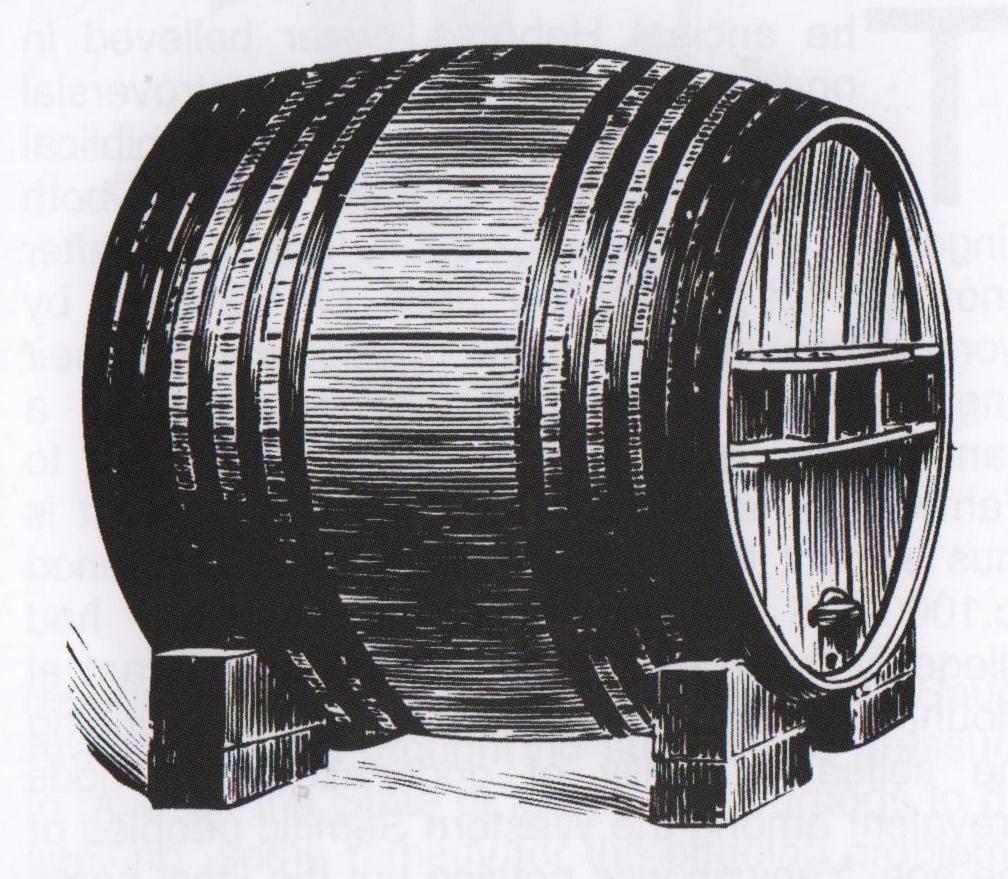
In a kind of back door way, Mr. Sutton had become something of a celebrity in his world of hills and hollers. He had been pinched in the 1970s for the high crime against humanity of brewing and selling untaxed liquor. For awhile after that encounter with the forces of law and order, he apparently got a dose of the legal religion and reformed his outlaw ways. He was hired to help decorate a Moonshine suite at the Misty Mountain Bed and Breakfast. He tried his hand at autobiography with Me and My Likker and even made a video, The Last Run of Likker I'll Ever Make." My guess was this last was designed to throw off suspicion from the revenuers about his return to his old ways. In 2007 the forces of right and justice descended once again on Mr. Sutton to confiscate 850 gallons of moonshine he had stored in an old school bus on his land and on which they weren't collecting their protection money.

In 2008 Mr. Sutton was convicted of that ignoble deed and was due to report to prison on March 20. Mrs. Sutton discovered her man slumped over in his green Ford Fairlaine, victim, apparently, of carbon monoxide poisoning. His miserable health and the prospect of spending time with other desperados apparently persuaded him to find another way out of the mess he was in

An attorney for the Eastern District of Tennessee said he couldn't remember the last federal prosecution of a moonshiner.

So, there we have it, in this great land of the

free, a man trying to earn a living providing one of life's staples, turns to suicide to avoid the greedy fingers of the tax collector's wrath. The same



land, mind you, where another admitted tax cheat, in the consummate twist of irony, is elevated to the high and mighty position as director of Internal Revenue Service. The same land where the newly confirmed director of Health and Human Services finally fessed up under the spotlight of confirmation hearings that she owed a stack of money to settle her tax problems. And the same country where other prominent political big shots, admitting they had their share of undeclared taxes, slithered away from confirmation hearings declaring they were removing their names from consideration for service to the good citizens of the United States.

Mr. Sutton's real crime was that he wore bib overalls and travelled about his beloved mountains in an old Ford Pickup. If only he'd have lied and cheated in a suit, if only he had been a rising star in the political class, he wouldn't have had to close the window and turn the key in his old car. He could, instead, find himself in the spacious interior of an official big black limousine being whisked to the White House to discuss affairs of state, such as how the revenue thugs can collect the money needed to make sure there's caviar on the White House table when the president and his gang, dedicated to change, slop down the benefits of their high stations in life. Ah, the land of the free!

#### Michael Coughlin

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# The Statist Origins of Monotheism

he ancient Hebrews never believed in one god. There is nothing controversial about this claim. From the biblical narrative itself we learn how, in both kingdoms of Israel and Judah, one ruler after another "did evil in the eyes of Yahweh" by worshipping other gods and encouraging their ongoing worship among the people. Only a handful of "good" kings were dedicated to Yahweh alone and suppressed other cults. It is thus evident that during the First Temple period (c.1000-586 BCE), the population which had allegedly taken up the monotheistic covenant at Mount Sinai was in fact polytheistic, worshipping the selfsame family of goddesses and gods prevalent among the Western Semitic peoples of the age. Yahweh was nothing but the local name for this pantheon's sky/father god, also known as El, and inseparable from his female partner and equal, the earth/mother goddess Ashera. A simple calculation from the Book of Kings will reveal that the typical wooden pole dedicated to the mother goddess stood in Solomon's Temple for a full two thirds of its existence. Archaeologists have dug up literally thousands of Ashera figurines in Palestine/Israel, as well as inscriptions carrying blessings "from Yahweh and his Ashera". No less popular were their son and daughter — the rain god Hadad, often referred to as the Ba'al (meaning "lord"), and the goddess of love and war Ashtoret, identical to the Mesopotamian Ishtar.

How then did this pagan nature religion transform into abstract monotheism, the basis for Judaism, Christianity and Islam? The answer lies not in theology, but in politics. The change took place in two stages, the first of which came with the sweeping campaign of religious and political centralization enacted in Jerusalem by King Josiah in 621 BCE. The chief instigators were the high priest Hilkiah, the royal secretary Shaphan, and the prophetess Huldah, a prominent noblewoman. During renovations in the temple, they "discovered" a forgotten manuscript, the Book of the Covenant, later incorporated into the book of Deuteronomy. Its centrepiece was the Shema — the passage beginning "Hear, Oh Israel, Yahweh our God, Yahweh the One" (Deut. 6:4) — along with harsh prohibitions on idolatry and exogamy, a stress on one exclusive temple, and threats of total annihilation of the people if they worship other gods. Presented to the king, these writings formed the perfect pretext for a wholesale centralization of theocratic power in

the hands of the House of David and the Jerusalem priestly caste. Josiah acted swiftly: sacred stones and cut down the Asherah poles and covered the sites with human bones.. slaughtered all the priests of those high places on the altars and burned human bones on them (2 Kings 23).

Josiah's coup created and enforced a patriarchal state religion, to whose intellectual elite modern scholarship attributes the books of Deuteronomy, Joshua, Judges, Samuel and Kings — a retroactive historiography which would drastically reshape Judean identity and collective memory.

The exclusive and centralized cult of Yahweh was still essentially a pagan affair — "monolatry" rather than monotheism. It was only following the destruction of Solomon's Temple (586 BCE) and the forced migration to Babylon that the second stage took place. Over the next few generations, the elders of the exiled Judean community, having entirely internalized the Yahwist line, interpreted their traumatic uprooting as divine retribution for idolatry. This, along with the abrupt halt of sacrificial ritual, drove the Judeans towards an increasingly immaterial and ethical notion of the divine. Another likely influence was the encounter with the Zoroastrian religion of the Persians, who conquered Babylon and allowed the exiles to return to Jerusalem and rebuild the temple (444 BC). Their emperor Cyrus no doubt appreciated the utility of a universal faith, now enshrined in texts and administered by a literate elite, in maintaining social order and obedience to his Judean vassals — as would Alexander the Great just over a century later. Left largely autonomous in their internal affairs, the Jews would go on to produce volumes upon volumes of exegesis and jurisprudence, taking the expedient lies of men for the sacred word of God.

Yet the ancient religion is not entirely lost. Its echoes are to be found in the songs and rituals of Jewitches and Hebrew pagans, a small movement of creative deviants who dodge the false choice between a ridiculously unfathomable God and a life barren of spirit. An older, gentler faith still lies dormant beneath the concrete blocks and bloodied soil of this orphaned land, awaiting perhaps the day when the children of Ashera lay down their swords forever and seek reconnection to their deepest roots.

**Uri Gordon** 

## War is Peace

hat is apparently the view of the Nobel Committee which awarded their peace prize to Barack Obama. How else to explain the fact that these folks can see an American president who is overseeing two full-scale wars, replete with the deaths of noncombatants at the hands of the armed thugs at his command, as some kind of agent for peace? For them, bullets and bombs are just part of Obama's "extraordinary efforts to strengthen international diplomacy and co-operation between peoples."

Obama's new status as Nobel laureate has encouraged him to strive even harder for peace. Less than two months after the announcement that he had won the prize, he declared that he will be sending another 30,000 troops into Afghanistan. He then went on to shamelessly defend his war making in his acceptance speech in Oslo. Apparently if the 71,000 troops already spreading mayhem among the residents of Afghanistan have brought him recognition as a peacemaker, raising that number to 100,000 can only make him shine even more brightly in the eyes of the gullible.

This is, of course, not the first time that the committee has given the prize to a war maker. Henry Kissinger, Le Duc Tho, and Woodrow Wilson have all been rewarded in the past for engineering the deaths of thousands of regular people caught up in international power struggles. And even when it has been given to someone not involved in mass murder, it has often been unclear why the recipients were chosen, except for reasons of political correctness and international politicking. What is perhaps most ridiculous about the whole matter is that this prize is taken seriously by anyone.

#### **Bait and Switch**

But for Obama, it is just one more undeserved honour in an exceptionally charmed political career. Elected president on the basis of empty buzzwords like change and hope, he went on to fill his cabinet and offices with political hacks, many of whom have been around Washington for years. And since then he has proceeded to act like every other president.

He pretended to be a peace candidate, but is escalating the war. He promised to shut down the concentration camp at Guantánamo, but that is not going to happen any time soon. He continues to threaten the government of Iran and isolate the people of Cuba, while cosying up to the



repugnant rulers of China, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. He has brought no substantive pressure to bear on the State of Israel, but purports to be seeking some remedy for the ongoing problems experienced by those living in the West Bank and Gaza. In other words it is business as usual.

Like the Nobel committee, however, many Americans seem to have lost touch with this reality. The anti-war movement, not very strong to begin with, has nearly shut down since Obama's election. While there have been sporadic events around the country this year, there has been no organized anti-war demonstration in Alaska since Obama was elected. If George Bush had announced an increase of over 40% in the number of troops in Afghanistan there would have been a prompt response from the anti-war movement. Sad to say, Obama is once again being given a pass.

#### Image is Everything

Obama has never actually done anything to merit the adulation with which he has been greeted and feted here in the United States and around the world. He is just another politician who feels he knows better than we how we should run our lives, and is eager to utilize military power and threats of its use to order the world in ways that best fulfil the desires of those who wield economic and political power in this country. That is no change and certainly no reason for hope.

Joe Peacott Alaska



## The Bank Bailout Scam in Simple Language

This article is reproduced with permission from the 'Beyond Money' Blog (http://beyondmoney.net/) of Thomas H. Greco, the noted American Community Economist, Monetary Reform Campaigner and author. It was originally posted on Tom's site on February 25,

It is a brief but superbly simple outline that does much to lift the fog surrounding the apparently complicated transactions that did much to precipitate the current financial crisis - and easily reveals them to be the scandal they in fact truly represent.

The following is an allegorical story that has been circulating recently. I don't know who wrote it or where it originally came from, but it does a pretty good job of explaining the scam of the recent banking/finance bailout. —Thomas H Greco

### Econ 101 Heidi's Bar

eidi is the proprietor of a bar in Detroit. She realizes that virtually all of her customers are unemployed alcoholics and, as such, can no longer afford to patronize her bar. To solve this problem, she comes up with a new marketing plan that allows her customers to drink now, but pay later. She keeps track of the drinks consumed on a ledger (thereby granting the customers loans).

Word gets around about Heidi's "drink now, pay later" marketing strategy and, as a result, increasing numbers of customers flood into Heidi's bar. Soon she has the largest sales volume for any bar in Detroit

By providing her customers freedom from immediate payment demands, Heidi gets no resistance when, at regular intervals, she substantially increases her prices for wine and beer, the most consumed beverages. Consequently, Heidi's gross sales volume increases massively. A young and dynamic vicepresident at the local bank recognizes that these customer debts constitute valuable future assets and increases Heidi's borrowing limit. He sees no reason for any undue concern, since he has the debts of the unemployed alcoholics as collateral.

At the bank's corporate headquarters, expert traders figure a way to make huge commissions, and transform these customer loans into DRINKBONDS, ALKIBONDS and PUKEBONDS. These securities are then bundled and traded on international security markets. Naive investors don't really understand that the securities being sold to them as AAA secured bonds are really the debts of unemployed alcoholics. Nevertheless, the bond prices continuously climb, and the securities soon become the hottest-selling items for some of the nation's leading brokerage houses.

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One day, even though the bond prices are still climbing, a risk manager at the original local bank decides that the time has come to demand payment on the debts incurred by the drinkers at Heidi's bar. He so informs Heidi.

Heidi then demands payment from her alcoholic patrons, but being unemployed alcoholics they cannot pay back their drinking debts. Since, Heidi cannot fulfil her loan obligations she is forced into bankruptcy. The bar closes and the eleven employees lose their jobs.

Overnight, DRINKBONDS, ALKIBONDS and PUKEBONDS drop in price by 90%. The collapsed bond asset value destroys the bank's liquidity and prevents it from issuing new loans, thus freezing credit and economic activity in the community.

The suppliers of Heidi's bar had granted her generous payment extensions and had invested their firms' pension funds in the various BOND securities. They find they are now faced with having to write off her bad debt and with losing over 90% of the presumed value of the bonds. Her wine supplier also claims bankruptcy, closing the doors on a family business that had endured for three generations; her beer supplier is taken over by a competitor, who immediately closes the local plant and lays off 150 workers.

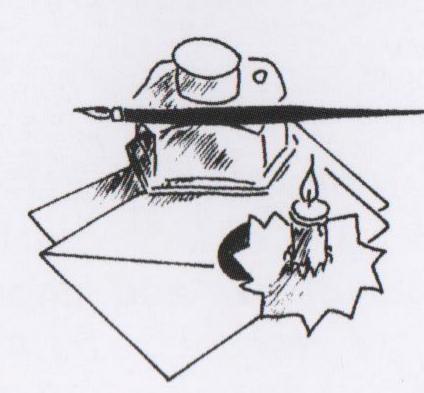
Fortunately though, the bank, the brokerage houses and their respective executives are saved and bailed out by a multi-billion dollar no-strings attached cash infusion from their cronies in Government.

The funds required for this bailout are obtained by new taxes levied on employed, middle-class, non-drinkers who have never been in Heidi's bar. Now, do you understand? Tom commented as follows: "I must correct that final statement. The funds required for the bailout are mostly obtained, not from taxes, but are CREATED by the government and the banking system as new massive government debts are monetized. This is the classic inflation of the money supply, i.e., debasement of the currency".

To which I would add the observation that, while the overall result of debasement IS, of course, much the same as raising taxation everybody but those actually responsible for the crisis ends up worse off. Debasement is a considerably more dishonest method than taxation to adopt as a means of 'recovery' as far too few folk realise what is actually being done. Whilst direct taxation is obvious to all, debasement is taxation by stealth - and thus, at least in my view, serves only to compound the scandal.

**Peter Waite** 

## Letters



Dear Editor

My understanding of Chesterton's The Man Who Was Thursday is different from that of Steve Booth ('Operation Glencoe and the Thursday Plot', AV Autumn / Winter 2009). Chesterton knew enough about real anarchists to know that they would not have a central command structure. There is a genre of popular fiction, in which secret service heroes battle a vast, secret, criminal organisation. Between 1914 and the end of the Cold War, the secret enemy alternated between spies and Communists, and since then it mostly has a fictitious name such as SMERSH. In 1908 when Thursday was published, the Boys Own Paper villains were anarchists, and that, I think, is the only reason Chesterton called the enemy 'anarchists'.

As I read it, Thursday is a mystical tract, in the form of a lively adventure story, addressing the classic theological conundrum known as the Paradox of Pain: why does God, who is not only omnipotent and omniscient, but also infinitely benevolent, create and control a world full of suffering.

Mystics, who seek or claim direct knowledge of the supernatural, are often pictured as abstemious, abstracted, and solemn. Chesterton was a fat, extrovert, wine-loving humorist. Nevertheless he is perceived as a mystic, for instance by the Catholic G.K. Chesterton Society, which is not a society but a website (www.catholicgchestertonsociety.co.uk) campaigning for his beatification and eventual canonisation.

By the end of Chapter 12 of Thursday, we know that the Council of Days, the secret directors of the 'anarchists', are all police spies. There are three chapters still to go, but many readers give up now, because they think they already know the story, and because Chesterton's lively wit appears to lapse. In Chapter 13 the anarchist President Sunday flees in a hansom cab, making remarks and distributing little notes with no discernible point. In Chapter 14 he flies off in an escaped fairground balloon, and the others chase him in a motor car, having earnest conversations about the differences in their perceptions.

In the final chapter, they find themselves at a

fancy dress party in Sunday's mansion, sitting on seven great thrones, dressed as the seven days of creation, and Gabriel Syme recognises that they are archangels, himself being the Archangel Gabriel. The chap who was talking to Syme about anarchism in Chapter 1, appears as the embodiment of Evil ('yes, that's the real anarchist'), and makes a speech complaining about his suffering. Gabriel springs to his feet. 'I see everything', he cried, 'everything there is. Why does each thing on the earth war against each other thing? ... For the same reason that I had to be alone in the dreadful Council of Days, so that each man fighting for order may be as good and brave as the dynamiter. So that the real lie of Satan may be flung back in the face of this blasphemer ... no agonies can be too great to buy the right to say to this accuser, "We also have suffered".

So there is your answer to the Paradox of Pain. The world is full of war and misery so that the almighty God of peace and love can win a competition. Of course it doesn't make sense. It's a sacred mystery.

**Donald Rooum** 

Dear Anarchist Voices

The earth is in its fourth Ice Age which is rapidly declining. I take it as read Colin Johnson's view that governments perpetuate themselves and change with circumstances. We have with Lisbon moved to a federal Europe from the nation state, to secure world resources.

The well known Malthusian problem, coupled with the former change will result in a great demand for water. With climate change coming all will face shortages and major economic migration will occur, with disease and death for those excluded.

In this scenario where is anarchism? Apart from our individual effort to reduce our carbon footprint and our encouragement of others up to international level, we still need to embrace the green anarchists in growing food and reducing our dependency beyond the locality.

Further we need local structures to meet our needs, social credit unions, not for profit organisations, along with co-operatives of all types. Farming related to local supply needs, best seen in local farmers markets, should be encouraged. This is a beginning.

John R Atherton