

Any Time Now

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<http://www.atnzine.net>

JUST A FEW DAYS AFTER ----- by Amorey Gethin

Just a few days after the dropping of the atomic bomb on Hiroshima on August 6th, 1945, a friend of mine and I were invited to tea at the London home of the son of a Labour party journalist. We hadn't been at the house very long before Herbert Morrison turned up. Morrison was one of the top three Labour party leaders. He had been Home Secretary in Churchill's coalition wartime government (1940-45), and now, after the Labour party victory at the general election of July 26th, he was Deputy Prime Minister. Britain of course, was at the time the U.S.A.'s closest ally. When the Hiroshima bomb was first announced on British radio it was proclaimed triumphantly as the product of a joint British-American scientific project. Britain and America were supposed to be equal collaborators on everything. Continued on page 3

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CLIMATE CHANGE AND THE END OF THE AGE

by joey only, -- freedom fighter, writer

The National Oceanographic Atmospheric Agency and its subsidiary the National Hurricane Centre (www.nhc.noaa.gov) found this year's Atlantic Oceans temperatures to be 1-3 degrees Fahrenheit warmer than average. It was again a record breaking scorcher; these warmer oceans favor the development of hurricane activity. On yearly average 10-12 tropical systems form in the Atlantic basin between June 1st to November 31st; as of Sept. 20th 2005 there have been 17 tropical systems including 7 hurricanes. The NHC predicts 21 storms or more this year, which could make it the most active hurricane season in 164 years of record keeping.

When Tropical Storms Arlene and Brett formed it was just the 12th time since 1851 that there have been two tropical systems or more in June. July sported five named storms which topped the previous record of four. July's hurricanes, Denis and Emily, marked the first time since 1916 two major hurricanes formed in the month of July. Hurricane Katrina in August was the worst storm to ever hit the U.S. There were twice as many tropical systems in August than average. Shortly thereafter three more hurricanes formed in the Atlantic; however only Hurricane Ophelia threatened the coastal U.S while the others stayed well out to sea. In September there was another category 5 storm named Hurricane Rita who at her peak intensity of 285kmh had the third lowest pressure ever recorded (897mb).

Four major hurricanes attacked Florida in a matter of six weeks in 2004. People were already quietly speculating that global warming was to blame for the heavy storm season. However it wasn't until the summer of 2005 where it appeared that climate change science had finally broke into the mainstream of scientific and political debates.

'Super-powerful hurricanes now hitting the US are the smoking gun of global warming', said Sir John Lawton, chairman of the Royal Commission on Environmental Pollution and one of Britain's leading scientists. Scientists from the National Center for Atmospheric Research and the Georgia Institute of Technology recently presented research that found a steady increase in the number of Category 4 and 5 hurricanes between 1970 and 2005.

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This last summer of 2005 was when Hong Kong had its highest levels of air pollution ever recorded, India was bone-dry, Spain was on fire, Eastern Europe was flooded, a million Africans starved through drought, parts of China were under water, and Toronto was the hottest it had ever been. This was the summer Hilary Clinton went to Alaska to see the retreated glaciers; even she became a believer.

This was the summer scientists discovered that a 1 million square kilometer, 12,000 year old permafrost peat bog in Siberia which had been melting rapidly for the past four years. Trapped in this peat bog are 700 billion tons of methane gas, one of the worst greenhouse gases. It's speculated such a release of gas would equal all the current emissions from swampy bogs around the planet and would add to the global warming effect by an additional 25%. Likewise scientists also discovered that drying soils in the UK are releasing carbon. It's a reverse snowball effect; the more the climate warms, the quicker it warms. Siberia is among the fastest warming places on earth, its temperatures have shifted by 4 degrees Celsius in just 100 years!!

Arctic specialists at the US National Snow and Ice Data Centre at Colorado University, who have documented the gradual loss of polar sea ice since 1978, believe that the most dramatic melt began about four years ago. A press release on September 20th 2005 affirmed that 400,000 square miles of arctic ice packs have vanished, which is down 18.2% below average. Scientists say that if Antarctica's ice sheets collapse into the ocean, as the Larson B ice shelf did in March 2002, sea levels around the globe could rise by more than 15 feet, creating floods that will make the New Orleans death toll look tiny in comparison. Another on-line science journal 'generously' speculated that by 2070 there would be no arctic ice packs left to speak of. They called it a 'clear sign that warming has accelerated' and that we have crossed the global warming point of no return.

This warming process is a short lived one. A rise in Ocean's temperatures by 6 degrees Celsius and the addition of glacial melt water could bring the ocean to the critical point of desalinization. This is when there is not enough salt in the water so the earth's natural systems of heat distribution (i.e., the Jet Streams) shift south so that much of the planet remains in perpetual winter. Ice age!

The popular website (www.worldweather.com) published a series of on-line articles this summer where scientists stated at the very least Europe would enter a mini-ice age in the next 100 years, if not the full deal much sooner. This probable climate change will destabilize everything civilization has come to take for granted. Food production will be threatened. Water will run dry in many places, so there will be great political battles and wars to control the best of it.

Shortages of food and water will lead to an increase in inequality. The

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Pentagon's leaked 2004 reports on climate change expected that there will be insurrections and rebellions as people get more desperate. New Orleans served as a good example of what to expect in the future. We saw the poor left to fend for themselves without food and water while under the guns of military/martial law after their coastal city was wiped off the map. This is a foretaste of the desperation that is to come. Short of the possibility of nuclear/biological wars the geopolitical reality could inspire, I do not want to believe that this climate change equates THE END OF THE WORLD. This is the beginning of the end of an AGE, how it ends is up to us to struggle for. It's important to recognize this and start acting on it. 2005 will likely be remembered as the year where the science of climate change stopped being considered a subject for doomsday wing nuts and moved into the debate of the mainstream. This is the year where even the most conservative folk finally started to admit that things ain't like they used to be. The purpose of this column was not to inspire levels of government around the world to 'take action on climate change'. I do not believe they would ever be able to move fast or responsibly enough to stop the horror of what is coming next. There is only one solution left when considering what we are facing today, we need a dramatic REVOLUTION now at any cost. ----- www.JOEYONLY.com

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JUST A FEW DAYS AFTER --- by Amorey Gethin

Over the teacups my friend asked Morrison: "Why couldn't the Americans have dropped the bomb in a field somewhere outside the cities first, and told the Japanese to go and look at the hole?" Morrison's reply was at least honest. "I don't know, really," he said.

My friend's name is Gerald Howson. He has written three books about Spain: *The Flamencos of Cádiz Bay* (1965, republished in 1993 by The Bold Strummer, Westport. One critic described it as "much the most interesting book on Spain to have appeared in years and years.") *Aircraft of the Spanish Civil War, 1936-1939* (Putnam Aeronautical Books in the U.K. in 1990, Smithsonian Institution Press in the U.S.A. in 1991.) *Arms for Spain: The Untold Story of the Spanish Civil War* (London, John Murray, 1998.)

Arms for Spain provides new information on the killing of Camillo Berneri in Barcelona in 1937. His daughter Marie-Louise, and, as far as I know, all other anarchists have always believed that Berneri was murdered by the communists. Howson found a report in the *Archivo de Araquistáin* (in the *Archivo Histórico Nacional*, Madrid) that describes how, after the Republic's gold reserves had been sent to Russia, the Republican government raised additional money for the purchase of arms by sending abroad jewelry and valuables confiscated from the estates of aristocrats and other wealthy people who had fled, or been imprisoned or executed.

Angel Galarza, the minister of the interior in Largo Caballero's government, and a former chief-of-police, together with a gang of various unsavory characters, was embezzling money from these transactions. The report says that in May 1937 Berneri and his fellow anarchist Barbieri were arrested and murdered on the orders of Galarza, who feared that they were in possession of evidence that would reveal his dirty dealings. Details can be found in Howson's book on pages 225-227.

The Spanish gold was sent to Russia because the banks in Paris, London and New York were refusing to accept Republican money, leaking Republican transactions to the press and governments, and obstructing the movement of

funds from country to country. The Republican government were also afraid the Anarchists might seize the gold. Pat Murtagh writes: "If memory serves me well the 'Spanish Gold' was almost intercepted in transit from Madrid to the coast. The planned interception by one of the action groups of the FAI (or it might have been by one of the CNT 'Defense Committees') was nixed by the anarchist leadership. The plan was to transfer the gold to Barcelona and use it to buy arms on the black market."

Howson tells me that the gold was transported by train from Madrid to Cartagena by night, with a strong armed guard of carabineros and militia. Most of it (10,000 cases) appears to have been taken there between 15th and 21st September 1936. From the station the cases were taken secretly in lorries under heavy guard, to 'Los Polvorines de La Algumeca', an underground munitions dump for the Spanish navy and coastal artillery in caves in hills a few kilometres from the port. In October the gold was loaded onto four Soviet ships, which sailed for the Soviet Union on the night of the 26th.

In 1936 the Spanish gold reserves were the fifth largest in the world, after those of the United States, Britain, France and the Soviet Union. In his book *El Oro de Moscú* (1979, p.35) Angel Viñas states that the reserve in the Bank of Spain on 18 July 1936 was 2,183,770,101 pesetas' worth in gold. Of this over three quarters was foreign gold, mainly dollars, sterling and French francs. It was about three-quarters of the total, valued at \$518 million, that the Republican government sent to the Soviet Union.

The Republicans were completely swindled. The artillery and small arms they got from the Soviet Union were old and of very diverse types and without sufficient ammunition, and for those reasons often useless. The tanks and aircraft were up-to-date, but many of those promised, and paid for, were never in fact delivered. The Republicans were regularly overcharged. Gerald Howson concludes: "Of all the swindles, cheatings, robberies and betrayals that the Republicans had to put up with from governments, officials and arms traffickers all over the world, this barrow-boy behaviour by Stalin and the high officials of the Soviet nomenklatura is surely the most squalid, the most treacherous and the most indefensible."

Only about one per cent of the Spanish reserves in 1936 consisted of 'old' Spanish gold. (Viñas p.35) Most of the old Spanish-American gold had gone from Spain long before. In any case, contrary to the popular view, it was not the Spanish-American gold that was economically important, but the silver. (Between 1521 and 1660 about 18,000 tons of silver and 200 tons of gold entered Spain through official channels from America. Herbert Heaton, *Economic History of Europe*, revised ed.1948, New York, Harper & Brothers, p.249) The vast amounts of silver brought across the Atlantic caused an economic revolution in Europe. During the 16th and 17th centuries the Spanish kings spent virtually all of it trying to maintain their hegemony in Europe and defend Catholicism.

The native Americans often had to work in terrible conditions in the silver mines. But conditions varied greatly, from place to place and from time to time. The leyenda negra, the black legend, has hidden the truth that Spanish rule in the Americas was almost certainly less inhumane than that of any of the other European powers there.

That things were so much better under the Aztecs and the Incas is a myth propagated by the political elites of Latin America who need to justify their present power and the breakaway from Spain in the early 19th century. Reality can seldom be painted in clear black and white: it was the Spanish state that almost always tried to protect the native population from the tyranny

and exploitation of the white settlers.

The paid forced labour (by rota) in South America was simply a continuation of the forced labour system imposed by the Incas, the mita. During certain periods there was even a great rush of voluntary labour to places like the great silver mine at Potosí, because the workers could make fortunes there. (Diffie, B.W., Latin-American Civilization, Harrisburg, 1945, pp.201-02) Slavery of native Americans in the Spanish domains was outlawed as early as 1548. When the creole revolt against Spain began, in many places the majority of the indigenous population supported the Spanish crown. (Daniel Florence O'Leary, Memorias del General O'Leary)

The real plundering was done over a period of nearly three centuries by English pirates and the English navy, from Drake onwards. The English plundered precious metals from Spanish-American coasts and from Spanish ships. They also gained a lot of treasure by smuggling. The widespread view that the Spanish failed economically and the English prospered because the stupid Spanish relied on silver and gold instead of good commercial practice and efficient trading is completely false. The English prospered to a large extent because they robbed the Spanish of 'their' silver. J.M. Keynes wrote: "The expedition of Mr Phipps...to recover a Spanish treasure ship which was believed to have sunk some fifty years before off the coast of Hispaniola, is one of the most extraordinary records of improbable success. He returned to London in 1688, having fished up out of the sea a sum estimated at between £250,000 and £300,000 and paid a dividend to his shareholders of 10,000 per cent (even Drake had only distributed a dividend of 4,700 per cent). The excitement and stimulus occasioned by this event was the proximate cause of the remarkable Stock Exchange boom which reached its climax in 1692-95 and ended with the foundation of the Bank of England, a Stock Exchange list (with 137 securities quoted) on modern lines, and the reform of the currency by Locke and Newton." (A Treatise on Money, London 1930, vol.2, p.156)

Spanish commerce struggled because it was caught in a vicious circle. The English and others constantly tried to rob Spanish merchant ships of their cargoes; so the Spanish government imposed the averia tax on them to pay for the protection the Spanish navy tried to give them. Success once more, I'm afraid, by the use of brute force. A vast amount of Spanish-American silver ended up in the hands of Indian rajahs. British traders like the East India Company carried goods from Britain to the Americas, precious metals from the Americas to India, and then cloths and other goods from India back to Britain.

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ANARCHY'S EINSTEIN...CARL ... By Pat Murtagh

1905 has been declared 'The Year of Physics' in some countries, and 'The Year of Einstein' in others. The difference resides within the internal politics of scientific societies in various countries and are of little interest to anybody other than those who wish to see how sectarianism can affect matters other than religion or politics, and perhaps those who wish to gain a "comparative perspective" on how little leftist sectarianism is really rarely about "grand ideas".

Anyway, 2005 is the centenary of the Albert Einstein's "annus mirabilis" when he published 5 papers in 'Annalen der Physik' which covered either 3 or 4 (depending on who writes about it) central ideas of modern physics. Certainly Brownian motion, the photoelectric effect and the "special" theory of relativity. Perhaps also matters of quantum mechanics separate from the "photo-

electric effect" in the fundamental theory of thermodynamics. For those who are interested I can do no better than refer the reader to the January 20th edition of 'Nature' where these matters are discussed in great depth.

A lot has been made of Einstein, and a lot has been made of his socialist political views over the years, often by people that Einstein would have abhorred, such as the editors of 'Monthly Review' as they went through various phases of political opportunism, including an orthodox Stalinist/Maoist phase. Einstein was NEVER a "libertarian socialist", but he was a socialist who recognized problems in a "planned economy" that would "ring bells" with libertarian socialists. These were not problems of "efficiency" but rather problems of human values. Please see the ending quotation.

But Albert didn't come out of the waves like Aphrodite. He had a family. I'll leave the sordid details of his marriages to others...but he had a nephew, the son of one of his sisters,... Carl Einstein was born on April 26th, 1885 in Neuwied/Rhine Germany. His career was considerably different from that of his more famous uncle. Carl/Karl was more drawn to art than to science. In his youth Carl was associated with the expressionist movement in Germany. In 1926 he published 'The Art of the 20th Century' which was a major influence on artists of his time. Carl was also the FIRST major European art critic artist to recognize the value of African art. His 'Negro Sculpture' (1915) basically introduced African art to the Western European movement (see Negerplastik, yup that's the German term).

Carl never could really decide if he was an "art critic" or a "novelist"...or even a script writer. In 1909 he published a rambling novel 'Bebuquin or the Dillentates of Wonder' which is a pretty standard "tired of the world" "epic" of "beats before the beats". His art criticism, however, drew a lot of artists to a more optimistic view of cubism.

In 1928 he moved to France where he collaborated with Georges Bataille and Michel Leiris in the art review "Documents". During the same time he was a "co-author" with Jean Renoir on the script for the film "Toni".

All this might be pretty standard for a bohemian intellectual in the early years of the 20th century, though Carl certainly was exceptional for his introduction of African art to Europe. But in 1936 "the call came", so to speak. Carl had always had "anarchist sympathies", like I suspect a lot of his family had. He went to join the Durruti column in Spain. While he fought there he was wounded, but he survived to give the funeral oration for Durruti in Barcelona (November 22, 1936). I hope to reproduce this in full in either a future edition of ATN or in the "Mollymew" series of pamphlets. He was THE speaker at Durruti's funeral, chosen by his comrades at the front.

For now: "Durruti profoundly represents the anonymous power of the working class...Comrade Durruti fought on the margins of the 'vanities of the left'. He lived with his comrades...." Et Aussi: "When the column advances the land is collectivized. The land is given to the community. One passes from agrarian feudalism to free Communism"

As I said these are extracts, and I will provide the full text of Durruti's funeral oration later. For those who can read French it is available on the RA Forum. See "Einstein, Carl", "La Colonne Durruti".

Carl continued to fight alongside his anarchist comrades until the end of the Spanish civil war. In 1939 he escaped across the Pyrennees and was interned in a concentration camp in France as were so many other Spanish republicans, anarchist or otherwise. After the defeat of France during the German offensive he committed suicide on either July 3 or 5th (the date is uncertain) 1940 to escape imprisonment by the Nazis. Four years later his

death and the death of so many other Spanish anti-fascists was avenged when a Spanish anarchist column was the first to enter Paris during its liberation and when they "took out" the SS headquarters in that city. Many other Spanish anarchists escaped from the French camps and participated in the resistance to Nazism during WW II.

For those who want to know more about Carl Einstein I recommend the home page on him (unfortunately only in German) at <http://www.carleinstein.de> The complete text of his funeral oration for Durruti is available at the source mentioned above, en francais. As I said I will try and provide an English translation later. Further information on Carl Einstein can also be found on the 'Alternative Libertaire' site where it gives the references to his connection to the "Spartakist" revolt in Germany and more information on his introduction of African art to Europe. Et, aussi, il y a en francais. The reader is warned, but some of our readers sont francais.

We're so sorry uncle Albert:

In his old age Albert Einstein was offered the presidency of Israel. He refused. I'm afraid I don't have the exact text of his refusal, but it is readily available. But I think we can see how his thought connects with that of his less famous nephew in the following quotation; "Nevertheless, it is necessary to remember that a planned economy is not yet socialism. A planned economy as such may be accompanied by the complete enslavement of the individual. The achievement of socialism requires the solution of some extremely difficult socio-political problems; how is it possible, in view of the far reaching centralization of political and economic power, to prevent bureaucracy from becoming all-powerful and overwhelming? How can the rights of the individual be protected and therewith (sic) a democratic counterpart of the bureaucracy be assured"

This applied to Albert's vision of communist and social democratic states when he wrote it, but it also applies to many/most/all of rational anarchist "utopias" in our time. It is still very much an open question where the ideologies will hopefully be proved wrong in practice. Every utopia must allow enough space for "dissent" and even overthrow.

Albert's nephew saw "utopia" in front of his eyes, and he ended up giving his life for it. He saw nothing of the betrayal of the CNT/FAI of anarchist principles, and it may be a good thing that he didn't. In the end his "artistic vision" (which translated to his commitment as a soldier) was very simple, as I expect all artistic visions to be. Not for him 'The Friends of Durruti'. Not for him the moves backward and forward of Juan Piero (another martyr to Francoism) -a favourite of mine actually- who has had the major bus transport connection in Barcelona named after him. Not for him the Libertarian Movement in exile who continued to defend their collaboration for decades after their defeat.

Well, he wasn't Spanish, and he was chosen as a German Jewish foreigner to deliver Durruti's eulogy for a reason that we should hold to today- and it wasn't because he killed a large number of fascists. Our commitment to internationalism should be as firm today as it was in 1936, and we should attempt to support ALL of our own people across the world. This is especially apt as there are anarchists in Africa, Asia and most of South America. Our first loyalty should be to them and NOT to any leftist regimes that may be popular amongst the NA left.

It really depends upon how much you believe that the "anarchist program" of popular control is applicable or if you believe that benevolent elites will "give" a happier life " How much does the "left" believe in the power of dictators? A hell

of a lot in my opinion, even to the exclusion of other options to put it further. Maybe there's one "German Jew" in history that proves them wrong, a hero who gave his life for "universal ideas".

Say hello and goodbye to Carl/Karl.

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REVIEWS

TCA is in! The latest Cunningham Amendment (#7-4) just tumbled laughing into my post box. As ever, it is a thing of exquisite beauty molded by the caring hands of Dr. Peter Good, Anarcrist non-leader and mirthologist in chief. This ish has the usual suspects like Dave Cunliffe and Doreen Frampton, but also includes a memoir by David Peers and an excerpt from "More In Sorrow" by the unforgettable late Arthur Moyses. There is a piece of, I think, "found literature" (there is "found art", so why not found lit?) that I almost laughed myself sick over called "Keepers of Swine." There is much more, of course, all of which is guaranteed to anger the mullahs of all religions and non-religions, and delight Anarcrist's of all epochs, nationalities, ages, and sexes. Send a Good-ly donation to: 1005 Huddersfield Rd. Bradford, West Yorkshire, BD12 8LP England.

ANARCHO-SYNDICALIST REVIEW - An excellent 42 page magazine chock full of articles and information on syndicalism and the workers movement. The latest issue, #41 includes 100 Years of the IWW, On the Ascendancy of the State, worker organizing against MacDonaldis in Paris, and History of the revolutionary Labor Movement. There are also many book reviews and a review of the film, The Take. \$15 US for 4 issues from ASR, Box 42531, Philadelphia PA 19101

The Hilt Vol.2 #6 - A great little zine by a young anarchist, Luke Romano, written in a straight forward way, full of great insights with a fresh point of view. A great inspiration. In the latest issue, Parental Authority, What Does Violence Accomplish?, Radical Economics. For a copy send donation to cover postage to: Like Romano, 234 Jamestown Blvd., Hammonton NJ 08037 or go to: www.freewebs.com/thehilt -- DM

Extranjero - Numero Findlandia - The adventures of Kris and Lola in Spain, a zine with more of a personal touch, but with an anarchist point of view. A great fun to read, living anarchism, not so much theory, mostly in English. For a copy please send one or more of the following: a) cash b) stamps c) a zine d) a nice letter to: Kris & Lola, Calle Obispo 4 bajo, Plasencia 10600, Cáceres, España -- DM

Imagine #7 - Anarchism in the Real World - One of the best anarchist zines I have seen. Thought provoking stories and discussion on the social enigma we live in from a creative anarchist thinker. Too much in this issue to describe but interesting material on every of the 60 pages. I highly recommend this publication, you will not be disappointed. Yours for a donation if you are in the US or \$4 in Canada or Mexico or \$5 everywhere else. John Johnston, P.O. Box 8145, Reno NV 89507 email: zinester@gmail.com -- DM

Anarchist Black Cross Network Newsletter - Network of autonomous ABC groups and anarchist prison abolitionists to support prisoners and comrades in resistance, both socially and politically. Recently published: "Neo-Slavery In the Dirty South" which gives the inside story of

state paid prison employees - 52 pp. For a copy send a donation to; or for more information contact an ABC group; or: Chicago ABC, P.O. Box 721, Homewood IL 60430. -- DM

Longing For Arcadia - Memoirs of an Anarcho-Cynicalist Anthropologist
-by Harold Barclay

This is a memoir, a book of 362 pages, which goes beyond the personal experience rich enough in anecdotes and deals with philosophy, observations on religion and the on going social rift between freedom and authority from the point of view of an anarchist anthropologist. Throughout Harold introduces the reader to anarchist ideas in the context of his life story, world travels, and career. As a hint to anarchist agitators Harold makes the following observation "Particularly important is the need to develop a devotion to non-violence for there can be nothing more socially disruptive than violence and this especial true of anarchist polities." Harold is also known for his book "People Without Government: An Anthropology of Anarchy ." This appears to be a limited print edition and we have a few copies to distribute. If you should want one it is \$20.00 post paid to: Any Time Now, Affinity Place, Argenta B.C. V0G 1B0 or email me, Dick Martin: dimar@direct.ca

Taking Care of Business - Citizenship and the Charter of Incorporation - by Richard L. Grossman and Frank T. Adams 32pp -- The corporate charter is an extension of the power of the state and is a license to control the social economy and profit from wage slavery. As anarchists we must come to understand how this form of organization works to effectively organize an alternative. Undemocratic corporations are the authoritarian organization of finance capital to which workers have to submit. We exchange our living productivity to corporations to earn our wages and turn around to pay these organizations for all the services and goods we need to live. Wal-Mart is a prime example of where this ends up. I do not believe that we can redefine the corporation as this pamphlet advocates, but should seek to replace it with free decentralized networks of community mutualist associations. We really are talking about a different kind of organization that takes democracy to a different level. Still, this pamphlet is an interesting and provocative read and is available from: Charter Inc/CSPP, c/o POCLAD, P.O. Box 246, S. Yarmouth, MA 02664-0246 if you send self addressed, stamped #10 envelope and \$4.00 -- DM

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POSITIVE TRAJECTORIES

Ideas that wouldn't have gotten more than a handful of readers or viewers fifteen years ago seem to be spreading far and wide. All the ideas I refer to are of course, broadly anarchist or libertarian socialist. Are we about to go Big Time like feminism and ecology?

Last spring CBC TV (Canada's national network for those of you not living here) showed "The Take" , the film about worker expropriation and self-management in Argentina. As a result hundreds of thousands of ordinary folks became aware of this possibility for the first time in their lives.

Another film, "The Corporation" was shown widely, and was also screened on CBC; I think. This film shows up corporation bosses as psychopaths, something I have been writing about in ATN and Total Liberty, both of which, of course, have hundreds of thousands of subscribers!

I had no sooner written an article on the banks, when a similar, but much more in depth article appeared in the on-line journal, Vive Le Canada. I

followed this with an article on the fraudulent nature of corporate law, and two days later the same subject also appeared in *Vive*. I had noticed before, in ATN 20 in my reviews of Paul Heller's "One Big Party" and Harry Glasbeek's "Wealth By Stealth", similar critiques of banks and corporate law. I am pleased these works seem to be the start of a trend.

The Republic, a Vancouver newspaper, has had a series on the need to replace capitalism with a self-managed cooperative economy. Similar articles in the on-line BC Politics. I have lost count of the number of groups and blogs which promote worker cooperatives, alternate currencies, land trusts, alternative unionism and other issues dear to the hearts of anarchists.

----- Larry Gambone

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THOUGHTS ON ANARCHISM

Liberty when it appears full blown is like a stone tossed in a pond. Where it lands there is a big splash. This is the place where liberty has most effect. But the splash is soon gone, and from this center waves circle out. The waves become weaker and weaker, eventually fading to nothing. The resistant water represents the obstacles to freedom. The ripples, even the weakest, are ripples of liberty. (1)

These little ripples must not be overlooked or maligned because they aren't big waves. Freedom can only grow from freedom. To mix my metaphor somewhat, a little bit of liberty can, if the situation is right, grow into a greater amount of freedom. People who lack even the tiniest ripple in their lives will not wake up one day and produce a tidal wave of freedom. No, they will merely reproduce what is known, the flat water of authority. The marxist-leninist view that freedom can grow from tyranny has been proven to be absolutely untrue. But the tiny ripple can be a splash for someone else. There need be only one anarchist alive and the wave of freedom can start anew. An example - In Quebec in the 1940's, a single anarchist made contact with the group of artists and thinkers associated with the painter Paul-Emile Bourduas. His influence, (and that of Andre Breton, who had been in Quebec briefly) helped to give rise to the manifesto, *Refus Global*, which launched social libertarianism in Quebec. (2)

We anarchists should encourage not just the splashes, but the ripples of liberty. Liberty, however, cannot be abstracted from other aspects of the anarchist program. A liberty that is totally disconnected and hostile to other people is no liberty at all, but a dog-eat-dog social darwinist struggle for survival. This is the liberty of the capitalist, a mutual tyranny. In order to be free we must unite with others. Thus, solidarity and mutual aid. But this unity must be voluntary or we end up once again with tyranny. Hence the need for self-management, decentralism and federalism. All of these aspects are inseparable from anarchism. Remove one of them and the whole project is put in jeopardy.

While all the fundamental aspects of anarchism must be present, this does not mean we anarchists are displeased when we find the different components of our program scattered and isolated out among the people. In the same way that we encourage the little ripples of liberty, we also encourage the little ripples of mutualism, self-management, decentralism, etc. (3)

Where ever we find these aspects we consider them liberatory and encourage them. Our only difference is that we attempt to show the need to bring these aspects together, that the one aspect cannot ignore the others. As an example self-managed co-ops cannot exist well in isolation; they need to federate with others for support. They cannot rely upon the state or they

eventually become controlled by the state.

We are not trying to convert people to an ideology. While ideological anarchists are needed - why else ATN? - we do not believe the missionary position is the only one. What we want is not so much an anarchist federation with the entire working population as members, but the people adopting anarchist practice in their lives.

In many cases it is not even so much a matter of showing people an anarchist practice as much as generalizing what is done by the people already. Millions of people are critical of the state, the media and capitalism; millions think they could do a better job of managing their work places than their bosses; millions belong to co-ops and practice voluntarism.

Put another way, if credit unions work so well, why the need for banks? If self-managed businesses are great places to work, why authoritarian management? If the existing human-scale, local and decentralized are desirable, why not generalize this to the whole of society? If anarcho-syndicalism in Spain advances the workers' cause, why not anarcho-syndicalism elsewhere?

The anarchist program also supersedes the old dichotomy of revolution vs. reform. The more that liberty is part of a people's consciousness, the greater the mutual aid practiced, the more natural the formation of federal structures, the more wide-spread the notion of self-government, the more likely the success of a revolution, if such is necessary.(4) Thus in striving for an increase in liberty, mutual aid, and decentralism, thus in striving for reform, we anarchists build the conditions for the future abolition of capitalism and the state. Put another way - the less alienated the people are, the less likely they will tolerate oppression, the more alienated people are, the more likely they are to tolerate slavery. (5) -- Larry Gambone*

1. Of course resistance to liberty is a human-created factor and is not intrinsic to existence itself.
2. In 1948, the year Refus Global was published, (all of 400 copies!) Quebec stifled under Vichy-like Catholic reaction. Two decades later it was the most radical place in North America. This manifesto started the process. See RUPTURES #4
3. I should add: where these ripples are genuine. There is, for example, phony self-management which is only token worker representation. There is phony decentralization as when reactionaries attempt to seize an area, as in the natural gas rich area of Bolivia.
4. People also want jam today, not three generations from now. Ignoring the betterment of our conditions now leads to hopeless sectarian isolation.
5. This has been shown over and over again. Slave revolts were led by the newly-arrived slaves, revolutionary workers tended to be former artisans or farmers, the most militant strikes were held in the small mining towns with their strong sense of community and mutual aid.

*Please note that Larry Gambone's Porcupine Blog has new articles posted on a weekly basis. Please check out this Blog and book mark it. <http://porkupineblog.blogspot.com/>

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ANARCHISM - A documentary History of Libertarian Ideas
by Robert Graham, editor.

This excellent anthology of anarchist writings through the ages avoids the weaknesses of many previous compilations. It is not Eurocentric, almost thirty articles relate to Asia and Latin America, and most of these I have never

seen before. Nor, are the "classics" a mere rehash of relatively well known writings, such as Bakunin on the state or Proudhon on government. We are offered a broad range of material by Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin or Malatesta, not just the old standbys.

Many early and forgotten anarchists are included and a number of articles, including one by Gustav Landauer, are translated into English for the first time. Even the most scholarly of anarchists will find new material here. Nor is anarchism reduced just to economics or politics. Art, education, gender politics, law and morality have their sections. There is even an article on Wilhelm Reich.

"Anarchism" begins with the pre-anarchist thinking of Bao Jingyan, de la Boetie and Winstanley, follows through Enlightenment thinkers such as Godwin and on to the emergence of anarchism as a specific ideology in the 1840's. Then to the broad range of anarchist thinking and practice as it emerged around the world. There are sections on Anarcho-syndicalism, the Mexican Revolution, Latin America, China, Japan, the First World War, The Russian Revolution, The Inter-war Years and the Spanish Revolution. These sections include statements by relatively well known anarchists like Pelloutier, Makhno or Goldman as well as many lesser-known, but nonetheless important activists.

The book ends in 1939, but unlike non-anarchist compilers, editor Robert Graham does not kill off his subject at that date. He promises us a second volume from 1940 until the present. I can't wait to read it! -- Larry Gambone

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NEW VOICES? A NEW BOTTOM LINE? A NEW MOVEMENT?

New voices have begun to appear. I could list several but will focus on the one I take to be quintessential. - Paul Kingsnorth. He qualifies not only because he has delivered a key text - ONE NO, MANY YESES (pb 2004) - he is following it up. (New Statesman 15th November last, this week the 5th September - and in Resurgence Nov/Dec last year).

He has done it differently. His aim was to get the hang of the world and what's happening. He could have stayed behind a desk and worked from secondary sources, but he didn't. He went out to see for himself, to find the real McKay and get McKay to speak for himself. He chose eight locations.

The eight were: The Zapatistas of Mexico; Genoa and the big demo of 2001; Soweto after Mandela; The US, consumerism and the American Dream; Papua, New Guinea; Portro Alergre and corporate globalism; the landless of Brazil and the America of California. They are all brilliant pieces of on-the-ground observation and analysis.

The last chapter, the ninth, is an anti-climax. He stands back to try to make sense of what he has just seen - and fails. Too much, too soon. Now, two years later, it is a different matter. His current three-page article in the NS is our witness to that effect. It is best read as a rewriting of that ninth chapter.

He says Britain is being rapidly remolded in the interests of global capital. It is almost as though battle has been declared on diversity, distinctiveness, integrity and authenticity by the armies of the plastic, the nebulous, the corporate and the sham.

But there are people in communities all over the country who refuse to lie down before the juggernaut of a spurious progress. They are all those who stand in the way of economic and political processes that squeeze history, character and meaning from our landscape and leave only money in its place. And he concludes; "There are a lot of us about. Perhaps it's time we started talking to each other. Don't let them take your place away from you;

stand in their way, get under their feet, frustrate their knavish tricks." Lovely stuff!

Great! What do we do next? We don't have a name except the diffuse "voluntary sector" or NGOs. We certainly don't have a political party. We have numbers; we have ideas; we have integrity and such widespread distribution that it has been impossible, to date, to act in any concerted fashion. Our constituencies are our own backyards. We are the nimby party. Our nimbyism is our great unsung asset. The mini-minded media pours scorn on us - parochials at the trough! Somehow we have to show `em! To do that we have to become a power in the land, whose voice cannot be ignored. But how?

Big problems need to be broken down into manageable parts and dealt with accordingly. The thing we most lack is effective communication between ourselves. Without that we cannot concert our activities and promote the evolution of a common voice, programme and method. When we have those things the powers-that-be will have to listen to us.

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A Movement is Built Round a Paper!

This vintage axiom, fathered and fed by the Seekers publishing their sermons, the Levellers, the Diggers, the Quakers, the Utilitarians, the Radicals, the Owenites, the Chartists, the Anti-Corn Law League, the early Socialists and the rest.

But the nimby party does not have a movement-scale paper!. It has thousands of local papers, magazines and newsletters, all read locally or by small single-interest reading publics, rarely more than a few hundred at a time. So? What purpose is there round which people might converge? It can't be schools, hospitals and housing - we are too divided for that. Likewise Iraq, and immigration. In face of teenage-power against adulthood, plus binge drinking? But we are just too bewildered to know what to say!

So is there one thing left? I think there is. Over recent years there has been gathering skepticism about all political parties. Forty per cent don't vote, and millions don't even register. No one takes Wards and Constituencies seriously except at Election Time. No one "belongs" to them. They yield no sense of place, no sense of community. Yet we all live in communities, sadly decayed no doubt, and in neighbourhoods likewise. Both are open to re-discovery and recreation. And it is time, as Kingsnorth says to start talking to each other. And if we had a weekly or fortnightly paper as backup, who is to say where it might end? It promises a new base for civil society - no less.

I am offering to concert an initial discussion about possible paper - please get back to me with responses and suggestions. PETER CADOGAN, 3 Hinchinbrooke House, Greville Road, London NW6 5UP.-- Tel: 020.7328 3709. E-mail:petercadogan@aol.com Sept. 2005.

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WHO NEEDS THE LTV?

Readers of ATN 22 will have noticed a sharp difference of opinion between my essay, "Mutualism, Marxism and the LTV" and Kevin Carson's disdainful response to it. Here I continue the discussion of the source of our disagreement, the 18th-19th Century Labour Theory of Value.

The LTV vs. Reality: As the Industrial Revolution unfolded, political economists marked its development with studies covering the full range of social and economic inquiry. Smith, Ricardo and Marx were interested in the key importance of labour, in the creation of economic value, and in its exploitation. In their different ways, they used the LTV as an arm of social

criticism rather than hard economics as now understood. As Anthony Giddens says of Marx:

"Although much of "Capital" is concerned with economic analysis, Marx's over-riding interest in the work is always in the dynamics of bourgeois society." ("Capitalism and Modern Social Theory" Cambridge, 1971) Kevin and I also reject labour exploitation, that is social criticism; I object to the LTV because it makes very bad economics.

I must apologize of creating needless confusion in my essay through a sloppy choice of words. I need to make clear my agreement that prices of manufactured goods tend to be proportionate to labour costs. However, in the real world, it is the market forces of supply and demand which determine prices - including the price of labour itself. State and Capital distort the "pure" functioning of the market, but if there is no demand for a product, then its monetary value will be zero, regardless of how much labour is involved. Hence the LTV - market conflict.

Kevin says that "only the equilibrium price of reproducible goods was determined by embodied labour." I say that the LTV only appears to be effective when supply and demand are in balance. We can agree to differ, but even in the industrial context, the applicability of the LTV is clearly limited.

Furthermore, land, rent and property exchange valuations are all beyond the LTV because the labour content is so tiny. This is a very large chunk of the economy which any serious economics cannot exclude; nevertheless Kevin appears to do just that, and despite its highly exploitative nature.

Kevin advances the very broad sweep of political economy as a reason for returning to it, but accepting the current academic disciplines and their terminology, does not leave anarchists short of effective analytical tools as he implies. And the huge range of economic and social statistics now publicly available, would make political economists green with envy.

Proudhon and Marx: I can demonstrate no direct link between the LTV and labour-time vouchers, but there is a clear synergy between them. The failure of vouchers, as an intentionally less flexible means of exchange, is rooted in their inherent conflict with market principles. Adam Smith was widely read, and he may have inspired Warren's "Time Store." We know that Proudhon was influenced by Smith, through whom he would have learned of the LTV, and that he did experiment with vouchers. However, it was Marx who persevered with the LTV, not Proudhon.

If Proudhon had lived long enough to see the LTV appear in "Capital" , I think he would have locked horns with Marx over it. Plenty of anarchists who came after have attacked the LTV, among them Brian Moseley, who published "Marxism Versus Reality" in 1983 - the year of Marx's centenary!

Marx continues to cast a long shadow, and despite the scorn of many anarchists, they still show an alarming tendency to incorporate his ideas. For instance, class and class struggle are key marxian concepts, which are hopelessly reductionist and at odds with traditional anarchist concern for individual freedom; yet many anarchists seem to have swallowed them whole. Now Kevin has soaked up the Marx-linked pseudo-economists of the LTV, all of which only serves to indicate the weakness of contemporary anarchist theory. We can do much better.

Power-seeking, Greed and Fear: Kevin says he uses the LTV "to integrate a theory of how the present system of exploitation works, and how a non-exploitative system would work, and the best way to get there" - which is an awful lot for any piece of theory, especially one so obviously lacking in muscle as the LTV.

Capitalism is an institutionalized expression of power-seeking, greed and fear. To get some understanding of how it works we need at least some social psychology, but political economy is too archaic to contain any, and Kevin's crude view of coercive state power is no help.

Aside from the need to update our theory, our really big problem lies in the inertia of the exploited, who rarely do anything radical to remedy their situation, even when most have a shrewd common-sense understanding of capitalism: They know it means buying labour etc. cheap, and selling the produce for as much as possible; they also know that monopolies make things worse.

So who needs the LTV?: In case there is any doubt, let me confirm that my essay referred to above, was prompted by Larry Gambone's review of Kevin's book, "Studies of Mutualist Political Economy" in ATN 21. It was not intended to be a review; indeed I admitted to not even reading the book. I devoted only 8 lines to express surprise at the book's appearance, given its obvious subject matter. There is no "bluffing my way through." I still have not read the book, and do not intend to, since its author can only demonstrate the well-known weaknesses of the LTV, and the limits of 18-19th Century analysis.

Finally, dare I say that readers looking for some easily accessible and modern anarchist theory, might have a look at my 1991 pamphlet, "A Structured Anarchism"? I understand that Freedom Press in London still have copies, and the recent ATN debates on the LTV and welfare make useful additions.

EDITOR'S COMMENT

Readers who are interested in further discussion of the LTV, or just wish to read Kevin's book; "Studies of Mutualist Political Economy" should contact him at: <http://www.mutualist.org/> or Kevin Carson, Box 822 Fayetteville, AR 72702-0822 USA. - Kevin's book is available for \$20.00 with \$2.19 for handling (USA) \$5.30 Canada, \$5.95 (UK)

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LETTERS

Dear ATN,

I've received issue no 22 of ATN. Thanks for sending this to me. Here's a few comments on Larry Gambone article (The anarchist next step?). Apart from ideological differences with synthesism, I think there's also a number of factual mistakes I wish to correct. A decade ago, I would have agreed with the presentation of the Federation Anarchiste (FAF). But things change, and the FAF is currently only a shadow of it's former self. A number of contradictions came to the fore in the last five years and the organization literally exploded with the biggest and most active regional federations leaving (a third of the groups representing half the membership are gone). The annual listing of groups in Le Monde Libertaire dropped from 80 in 1996 to some 50 this summer (including the 'liaisons', i.e. individual militants)...

The FAF is not exactly a rising star... This said, the FAF is an old organization, and I don't doubt it will survive it's current problems as it has in the past. But we should recognize that now, more than ever, the FAF is not the big tent it ought to be when it was founded. The fact that there are more organized anarchists outside the FAF than inside is a testimony to the failure of their synthesist project. Trying to unite all anarchists, they ended up forming a specific organization among other specific organizations.

Solidarity, Nicolas Phebus

REPLY: Dear Nicholas,

Thank you for responding to my article and for your informative comments.

Before I attempt to reply to your critique of the FAF I would like to tell you some things that might put my article into perspective. I am familiar with the North American and British anarchist scene, having been involved for the past 36 years. During this time, except for involvement in the IWW and the welcome appearance of your organization, NEFAC, I have been metaphorically banging my head against the wall in frustration. Anarchism has been characterized in both areas by, on the one hand, sectarianism and disunity, and a vague, mushy "anything goes" on the other. To see an organization like FAF, even if it does have problems, was for me much closer to the sort of situation I have always wanted. I was told... that FAF had 50-60 groups with 500-600 members. When I applied these figures in North American terms, we would have a federation with 300 - 360 groups and 3000 - 3600 members, a veritable ass-kicker of an anarchist organization, in our context.

My sympathy for Synthesism grew naturally from my long-held belief that all social anarchists have more in common with each other than what divides them. When I discovered the success of the UA, the FAF's predecessor in the 1930's and then the writings of Sebastian Faure it was natural to check out the contemporary organization that embodied these ideas. But my sympathy for the Synthesist approach is not written in stone. My approach to anarchism has not been dogmatic, but rather one of exploration. For sure, an organization that is too general and thus unfocused, is not a good idea. I have always thought that anarchists need a program. I don't see why unified social anarchists could not create such a program. However, it may be that we cannot have such a federation. Perhaps all we can hope for is unity around practice, while actually belonging to separate federations. We see this already in France as the FAF, Alternative Lib and other organizations like No Pasaran work together in common projects. -- LG

.....AND AN AFTERTHOUGHT!

As an addition to my last sentence: perhaps the problem really isn't Synthesist vs. Platformist. Perhaps I am wrong to desire a federation which would unite all social anarchists. Maybe this is the real question - How do we bring all the liberatory forces together, to work together practically for major social change? Maybe there are other ways of achieving this unity other than one mass federation? Ideas anyone? -- LG

BLOGS AND WEB SITES

Anarchism Canada --

<http://www.geocities.com/vcmtalk/anarchismcanada1.html>

Eugene Plawiuk's Blog -- <http://plawiuk.blogspot.com/>

MutualistBlog (Kevin Carson) -- <http://mutualist.blogspot.com/>

Porcupine Blog (Larry Gambone) -- <http://porcupineblog.blogspot.com/>

Red Between The Lines --

<http://redbetweenthelines.modblog.com/?show=main>

Research On Anarchism -- <http://raforum.apinc.org/>

Libertatia Labs -- <http://libertatia-labs.blogspot.com/>

International Libertarian Solidarity --

<http://www.ils-sil.org/en/index.htm>

Anarcho-Syndicalist Review -- <http://www.syndicalist.org/>

Confederation Paysanne --

<http://www.confederationpaysanne.fr/index.php3>

Voluntary Cooperation Movement --

http://www.geocities.com/voluntary_cooperation_movement/start.html

NEFAC -- <http://nefac.net/>