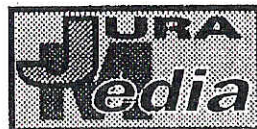


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New Anarchy Pamphlet Series

This booklet about the possibility for revolutionary change in society is one of a number of related pamphlets concerning specific areas of anarchist theory and practice. By anarchism we understand a future society consisting of self-governing communities enmeshed in the ecological dynamics of the bio-region in which they are located. The idea is not to return to small and isolated villages. Rather, we wish that they federate from the bottom upwards upon a regional, inter-regional and intercontinental basis. Eventually this would form a global federation of bio-regions. Inter-regional trade and communication requires transport, telecommunications, postal and power industries. These vital services will be provided by worker controlled industrial unions operating on the basis of public needs and environmental enhancement rather than for profit. Service industries (childcare, laundry, etc) and small trades it is hoped would be organised along communal lines by the citizens of the commune or region. Other titles in the New Anarchy Pamphlet Series concern themselves with some of the specifics of creating such a society. The series includes discussions of *The Green City, Law & Authority, Agriculture, Money, and Mapping Our Green Anarchist Future..*



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THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION
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NOAM CHOMSKY

CLASS WAR

THE ATTACK ON WORKING PEOPLE

Corporations with their political allies are waging an unrelenting class war against working people. This phenomenon is occurring not only in the US but in Canada, Europe and Australia as well. Social welfare programs are being curtailed and eliminated in the name of fiscal responsibility.

Privatization, the market and level playing fields are the mantras of the day. CEOs tell workers to tighten their belts while their own wallets are bulging. Income inequality is more acute in the US than in any other industrialized country, even surpassing Britain. Glamorous Manhattan has disparities in wealth that exceed Guatemala. People are working longer hours, producing more and earning less. Wages have been stagnant or declining for more than twenty years. The ranks of the poor have mushroomed. Meanwhile profits are at unprecedented levels. A Wall Street Journal headline says it all: "Thanks. Goodbye. Amid record profits companies continue to lay off employees."

"Class War" is vintage Noam Chomsky. There is no doubt as to which side he's on. Solidarity is not an abstract concept but a vital and unifying principle. His analyses provide people with tools for self-defense. His commitment, involvement and accessibility are exemplary. It's no wonder that the New Statesman calls him, "The conscience of the American people."

Noam Chomsky's speech, *Class War: The Attack On Working People* was recorded at MIT, Cambridge, Massachusetts. Produced by David Barsamian of Alternative Radio.

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inevitable if social-evolution is to make peace with the environment upon which it is dependant. Long Live the Commune! Forward the Bio-regional and Social-Anarchist Revolution of the 3rd Millennium!!

Conclusion:

The Social-Anarchist Revolution of the 3rd Millennium requires the co-operation of different revolutionary forces to act harmoniously and simultaneously. The differing revolutionary forces can be summarised thus:

- [A] *Communal-village*: The collectivisation by the people of the surrounding agricultural lands and the integration of economic resources and relationships by the people of the village
- [B] *Communal-Civic*: The communalisation of economic resources and relationships within the context of a suburb/urban districts: eg. Daycare, Composting, Laundry, Energy and Horticulture. The urban commune being one among several such suburbs that are federated with one another and share a common cultural centre.
- [C] *Trade and Industrial Unionism/Syndicalism*: In order to realise socialism it is necessary to abolish both state and capitalist control of industry. This means that the organised working class must take over vital industries for the benefit of themselves, their region and humanity in general. In order to provide city wide transit systems and global postal networks etc., it is necessary for the workers to form them selves into self-governing industrial unions upon a local and global basis.
- [D] *Bioregional*: -State-Capitalism, which historically reached its highest form in colonialism and imperialism was as much about exploiting the land/environment as it was about exploiting the human inhabitants. It is necessary to reverse this tendency in order that humanity can reintegrate itself with the regional environmental dynamics of Earth. This is necessary for the survival of life upon Earth and in order to protect bio-diversity.

THE ANARCHIST REVOLUTION

Within nature, history and evolution there exists two differing conceptions of time and process: These are often described as the Linear & Cyclical or the Arrow & Circle. The evolution of life from uni-cellular organisms to complex social animals over the last 500 million years represents a linear or arrow like conception of time. Life is seen to change and evolve. The endless rotation of the planets or the constant cycle of the seasons- (birth-death & rebirth) -represent our cyclical conceptions of time. Here things, although always renewing themselves, do so in a repetitive cycle (continuous 'revolutions' of the wheel). This dual concept of natural time and process is an early feature of human philosophical thought. It was described by the Greeks and Romans as *Saltus* (Latin for *leap*) and *Stasis* (Greek for *stand*)

The history of the evolution of biological life shows ample evidence of both conceptions of time & process. Non-oxygen breathing bacteria remained the only life-form for 1600 million years before the emergence of aerobic bacteria in the Oxygen holocaust of 2200 million years ago. The extinction of the dinosaurs some 65 million years ago, is perhaps the most widely known of the four great r/evolutionary leaps or discontinuities. Because of the huge amounts of time involved in evolutionary change there exists a great deal of misconception about the nature of r/evolutionary leaps. These great changes appear on the surface to be extremely sudden. Upon closer observation these leaps appear much less dramatic than is otherwise supposed. Oxygen breathing bacteria or the mammals did not suddenly appear. They had been developing in specific life-niches for many millions of years alongside the more dominant life-forms. Likewise, the dinosaurs did not simply disappear. They continue to evolve today in the form of reptiles and birds. Whatever calamity befell the Earth at this time, those members of the dinosaur dynasty, that were small or were able to fly, survived or evolved into new life-forms. The mammals and the dinosaurs neither appeared nor disappeared. Due to some disturbance in the cyclical equilibrium of conditions upon Earth, life began to evolve and develop in response to different stimuli. Life took a different path to that which had existed before the interruption of cyclical normality.

The development or process by which new species emerge (speciation) is likewise similarly misunderstood. When examining the fossil record one is immediately struck by what at first sight appears to be the very sudden appearance of new species. For many years it was supposed that there occurred large macro-mutational leaps, which, if successful, rapidly led to the development of new species. Extraordinarily rapid mutational changes, perhaps in a single generation, it was once thought, could lead to the development of a new super

species, which because of their superior survival or reproductive capabilities, quickly spread and displaced those which were previously dominant. People who study fossils, have upon closer observation (often studying microscopic physiological differences in fossils from one location to another) have come to the conclusion that the development of new species is due to quite small micro-mutational changes, that are compounded by geographical differences and isolation. When a species becomes isolated in a lagoon that is no longer sharing its waters with the sea; or alternatively when a population becomes divided in two by a vast mountain range; numerous *small* mutations in conjunction with environmental differences will over time naturally tend to the developments of new species. The rate of change may multiply in a small population much faster than in a large one. This is because the new genetic matrix is not eliminated or ironed-out by an overwhelming amount of normal genetic material. A significant mutation, if it is a useful adaptation, may quickly come to predominate in a small and isolated population. It will only need to survive for a very few generations in order for it to be found amongst every member of the population. When by some chance the two populations are again allowed to become intermixed one of them may have become much better equipped to survive the ever-changing conditions for life. The fossil record shows a dramatic break, and the rapid evolution of a new species. It was a great puzzle for many years, as such macro-mutational leaps seemed to contradict what is known about the limited extent and slow pace of mutation within biological organisms. Natural barriers and eco-regional diversity not only explains why there is such an enormous variety of species upon Earth but also accounts for the sudden appearance of new ones in the fossil record. Australia, which was until 200 years ago biologically isolated, developed its own unique animals. If the introduced carnivores do in actual fact (but let's hope not) wipe out the marsupials the fact that a few boats had sailed into Australia with animals would hardly show up on the fossil record 500 million years from now. Rather it will appear that carnivorous marsupials such as the Tasmanian tiger had macro-mutated into carnivorous mammals in a few thousand years (a mere whisper in geological time) when in actual fact it was due to the end of geographical isolation which caused an interruption in Australia's solitary course of evolution.

Climatic and atmospheric changes, plagues, viruses, meteor storms and a host of other calamities or catastrophes have undoubtedly caused significant interruptions in the established life-cycles during several periods of life on Earth. The thinning of the ozone layer; the enhanced green-house effect; the aids virus; the possibility of ice-ages and meteor impacts are just some of the things

disruption. Violence and disruption, many would say, is the inevitable result of military or bureaucratic blocking of essential social-evolutionary change. The consolidation of the social revolution depends upon non-violent and non-destructive activities. The social revolution is founded not upon destruction but upon the need to positively reconstruct a community orientated lifestyle based upon the anarchistic principles of civic self-determination and regional self-sufficiency. Once the fundamental needs of the city's inhabitants are met the great work of social reconstruction can commence. It is hoped that community land trusts, skill exchanges, community & urban horticulture and the role of non-governmental and neighbourhood organisations will have already significantly altered the cityscape in advance of the forthcoming social-anarchist and environmental revolution. In any case, from the view point of the present, it is necessary that the entire architecture, which has been based upon imperialism be modified by the people according to the dictates of a new era. Uninhabited or uncultivated land coming under intensive and organic cultivation in order that the city might feed itself as a self-sustaining social organism. Park-lands, roads and other civic space will have to be reconstructed to meet the needs of the Green City. The solution to unemployment and homelessness in our cities is for the homeless and unemployed to employ themselves in the reconstruction of their city from the moment that the state-capitalist system begins to disintegrate.

Although sudden revolutions seem to be an essential aspect of both social and biological evolution, evolution is a slow and gradual modification, which is in practice difficult to reconcile with the massive social changes required in the founding of the Green Commonwealth. New environmentally sustainable life-ways will be put into practice long before the final collapse of international capitalism and the nation-state. The move towards bio-regionalism and social-anarchism will proceed from the bottom upwards and represent a slow evolution that may in due time, climax in revolution, and consolidate the final triumph of the free and humane community over capital & state. As we approach the end of the twentieth century people's faith in the state-capitalist system is being questioned in terms of a much larger crisis than that of social justice and the irrationality of capitalist busts & booms. It is the social environmental crisis which now leads people to question their concepts of political space and place. This new awareness will lead people to reject the grossly exploitative activities of the capitalist state. The people will embrace new democratic and environmentally integrated social paradigms that allow for bio-regional health, vitality and independence. Whether the bio-regional and social-anarchist revolution be peaceful (which I sincerely hope is the case) or not, revolution is

been achieved. Unless the citizens of every individual town, city, suburb, street and quarter begin to organise themselves in order to supply itself with sufficient supplies of basic food and manufactured articles then chaos and discontent will result. Chaos and discontent will result in governmental dictatorship. The people tired of uncertainty are willing to submit to any conditions that allow for tranquillity and the re-opening of the factories. The municipalisation and socialisation of housing, land and other basic amenities cannot be arranged by a city-government. It must be organised upon a rational basis by neighbourhood councils who will co-ordinate local land-use patterns in the direction of creating a self-sustaining and healthful urban communities within a bio-regionally integrated or green city. Worker's syndicates and co-operatives must organise to provide public transport, electricity and a number of other vital local and inter-communal services. Although it is hoped that life in the Green Commonwealth will be founded upon pre-dominantly bio-regionally & communally based economies which have rejected large-scale industrialised concerns, the need for industrial organisation during the social r/evolution is undoubted. Unless the trains run and electricity is assured then the transition from state-capitalism to social anarchism will be neither a peaceful or happy one. The workers and the citizen's organisations must work in harmony to achieve a smooth and bloodless end to state-capitalism's domination. The people and the worker's must trust the Syndicates only so long as industry remains under the direct control of the workers. In revolutionary Spain the development of a class of union-crats within the C.N.T., led to humiliating compromise and revolutionary inertia. If the Syndicates remain true to their principles then much can be achieved. If hierarchies and leaders develop within their ranks, or they begin to seek compromise with the old order, then the social r/evolution will be compelled to abandon them. These are the lessons, that the people learnt to their cost in the Spanish revolution. The necessity of providing intercommunal transport and communication lines in the Green Commonwealth, requires however, that these problems in achieving industrial democracy be overcome. Worker controlled postal, telephone & transport industries, *have* to be made to operate democratically and non-hierarchically if our vision of a freely communicating and global commonwealth of bio-regions is to become a workable new evolutionary reality.

We should not concern ourselves with the dramatic events of past revolutions. The barricades are merely the effects upon the stage of the liberated city. It is within the liberated city that Social Reconstruction, which is the real and important work of the revolutionary event, can be carried out. Social revolutions have always had violent climaxes and caused great economic

which the more pessimistic of us cite as indications of a possible future catastrophe in the life of our species and the ecology of Earth.

The notion that nature is essentially conservative in nature, evolving slowly and gradually changing over many thousands of generations is compatible with mass extinction and high levels of speciation. Events which are in geological terms, extremely sudden, can spark off immense changes in the distribution and survival chances of whole classes of animals, plants and trees. In recognising the extremely uneven nature of overall biological change through geological time, modern evolutionary thinkers have adopted the phrase *Catastrophism*. This describes an evolutionary history consisting of very long periods of stability interrupted by very brief periods of creative and quite considerable evolutionary change. Such changes, are not however the result of sudden and unexplainable mutations—but rather due to irregular but quite dramatic interruptions of the ecological equilibrium. However, there exists quite a considerable amount of evolutionary change outside of these massive catastrophic events. This is due to the effects of isolation caused by slower, but no less dramatic geological changes, such as those caused by shifting continents. Modern biologists have thus coined the term *punctuated equilibrium*, to describe a similar process to catastrophism, but one which is less dramatic. Evolutionary time is thus a double-edged sword. It has allowed for almost ceaseless repetition and rapid r/evolutionary change in one and the same process.

Bio-regional variety has led to bio-diversity. This is a source of organic strength. When catastrophe has occurred, the existence of a wide variety of life-ways has meant that a small percentage of plants and animals have adapted, survived and eventually flourished, as conditions stabilised, and a new equilibrium was formed. As we continue to destroy biological diversity, and simplify the ecology that surrounds us we are slowly undermining the survival capacity of organic life in the process. No amount of genetic tinkering can possibly predict the complex problems that future conditions on Earth might generate for organic life. At least one of the great extinction events in Earth's past, resulted in the end of 95% of species. We should preserve bio-regional diversity at all costs. Bio-diversity makes the process of evolution much less risky than if evolution depended upon the survival of only a very few species. (An extension of the law of not putting all your eggs in the same basket)

Comparisons between biological and human-social evolution, although compelling, can be at best metaphorical. Nonetheless, it can be fairly stated that human history has itself followed a pattern of punctuated equilibrium. The Stone Age, Bronze Age, Neolithic Revolution, & The Great French Revolution, are all examples of breaks in the equilibrium of society. These are periods

when people, because of climatic, agricultural, technological or economic changes, were forced to develop a new social equilibrium. Society, like nature, is continuously faced with new problems and developments. It must necessarily undergo, in the interests of its very survival, continual change and constant evolution. Societies and institutions, like all living things must continually adapt to a multitude of forces. New diseases, fresh disasters—novel and far reaching economic, industrial and climatic changes, confront humankind at every moment. On the other hand, the human need for habit, peace and certainty, is continually working to maintain traditional patterns and life ways. Many societies remained unchanged for thousands of years until their equilibrium was smashed by European Colonialism. In organic communities, although change did occur, new techniques and life-ways were taken on gradually. The transition from hunter-gathering to horticulture, or from the iron-age to the bronze-age, was gradual and imperceptible. It is only from the distance of many thousands of years that their appears to be such a radical social-r/evolutionary leap.

In monarchical and statist societies, traditions are upheld by the force of law. They are administered bureaucratically, in an alienated manner, that is detached from the everyday problems of life. Despite the absolute uselessness of the aristocracy & church and the rise of the merchants to take their place, the ruling classes nonetheless clung to the idea that their rule was sanctified by divine law. Societies controlled by centralised authority and hierarchy can never hope to keep pace with the complex evolution of modern society. Rather than paralleling social change the aristocracy stood for immobility and stagnation. The monarchical state in attempting to impose a static order on dynamic and ever-evolving social developments, necessarily disturbed and inhibited natural rates of change and development. The organic tendency towards equilibrium became retarded and eventually resulted in great imbalances of social force. Social force accumulated and begun to exert an ever-growing pressure upon retarded social institutions which had for centuries sought to check new developments and halt changes. Changes that had been rendered inevitable by the very society they lay claim to control. The need to rejuvenate society, to create and sustain a tolerable balance of social forces in a new equilibrium became obvious to all. All, except those of the old regime, who simply enacted new measures, ever more repressive and draconian in their nature. Although the evolution of the merchant classes and secular and republican philosophies had been slowly developing for many years, violent r/evolution became inevitable. More specifically, the division of society into two (subject and state) or three; (aristocracy and peasantry/workers and the bourgeoisie) mutually hostile

revolutions by state-capitalist-imperialism has severely disrupted the evolution of a rational, self-governing and bio-regionally integrated society. Unless we solve the social and environmental problem and found the global bio-regional commonwealth then our species will perhaps degenerate with many others in a fifth global ecological catastrophe. Whether the bio-regional and social-anarchist revolution succeeds in overthrowing state-capitalism is secondary to the fact that a stable social-environment is the necessary condition for our continued social evolution. The forthcoming social r/evolution is the manifestation of an accelerated evolutionary *need* to reject several thousand years of central-state dictatorship by declaring eco-regional and municipal self-government. Just as St. Petersburg has recently declared itself a free and independent city—we invite the citizens of all the city-regions of the world to rebel against external interferences and take their due responsibility as an equal member of the Green Commonwealth. Justice and democracy desire it; biological, geographical and evolutionary reality, require it.

The social r/evolutionary project of the 3rd millennia is to create a global federation of eco-regionally integrated communities in a state of harmony or climax with all other biological forms and systems in their immediate surroundings. The state's centralised and authoritarian nature render it an evolutionary dead-end. It has always divided humanity into several opposing classes with differing interests. Through upholding imperialist and capitalist exploitation of nature it has resolutely failed to respect the great variety of local or regional, social and environmental life. The state-capitalist power monopoly must be destroyed for ever This is not a new development, but was born with the free-medieval city and the communal worker's revolutions of the 18, 19th & 20th centuries. All of which are but one and the same social r/evolutionary development: They are all manifestations of the first dimly perceived observation, that the evolution of human society must coincide with regional and geographical variation. A culture based upon economic and state imperialism is contrary to the regionally self-regulating processes that guarantee harmony, order and stability in society and nature.

The average working or unemployed person, living as a wage-slave in capitalist society lives from pay-check to pay-check. Within a few weeks, the revolutionary honeymoon is over and hunger and want become a mighty force. In all revolutions this has resulted in compromise with the forces of state-capitalism. From the moment that the social r/evolution commences the people of each city and town must organise to feed, house and clothe the unemployed, homeless or cold. Unless the basic needs of the city's people are adequately met at the first opportunity then the people of the streets will feel that nothing has

organisation, begins in the temporary absence of government, to organise itself. A multitude of social, political, economic and artistic groupings, spring up like mushrooms creating unique and novel social formations. Popular organisations: clubs; communes, councils, soviets, syndicates, and *râte*, have emerged spontaneously, unanticipated and unsponsored in all revolutions of significance since the beginning of governmental society. Their presence has usually been undesired by party leaders who have sought to control, administer and direct them. In all cases the revolutionary or republican government has been successful in taming them and seducing the people into accepting servitude and domination. The Paris Sections and the Fête of the Federation during the French Revolution; the emergence of "free soviets" (or worker controlled industrial unions) and the flowering of the rural cooperative movement in the Russian; to the social-anarchist experiments in Spanish Revolution; have been but brief interludes of centralised governmental domination. All of them are examples of spontaneous social organisation born out of necessity. They show that social r/evolution, if left unhindered by government and dictatorship, might take radically different paths, to that assigned to it by Republican and Marxist historians. The social-anarchist and bio-regional revolution requires that this cycle of governmental revolutions be burst forever. It requires that a new social-equilibrium is formed. One which gives political control back to the inhabitants of natural areas determined according to rational social-geographical principles.

The term revolution can be applied to many areas of human life and history. Whenever society has passed through periods of cultural and economic change we are apt to designate them as "revolutionary" events. The agricultural or Neolithic revolution; the sexual revolution; the industrial & technological revolution; the reproductive & Islamic revolutions, etc., all designate times of rapid or dramatic change. A revolution occurs when the style of social, political and economic organisation undergoes historically significant transformation. Many revolutionary changes are neither progressive or socially desirable. Although the assertion of cultural independence, may, in the course of time, come to be seen as a desirable by-product of the Islamic revolution in Iran, the reversion to irrational theocratic rule is from the point of view of social revolution a negative development. Social and biological evolution is not pre-destined and does not aim at any ultimate goal. Negative economic and social developments, once initiated are extremely difficult to reverse. One often feels that post-modern society is like a ship set on auto-pilot towards the maelstrom. A social ship whose course has been set by capitalist agro-industry; whilst the crew, unable to divert the course of social evolution, inch ever-closer to the precipice. The co-option of the industrial, agricultural and technological

class groupings, necessarily led to profound differences in life-style and outlook. Humanity is divided on account of wealth, like an animal species separated by a mountain range. The economic gulf that exists between rich and poor being as real as any as that in nature. Although the class-groupings existed more or less peacefully with one another in an ordered hierarchical way for many centuries, in time of crisis or rapid economic, cultural or technological upheaval these classes, inevitably come into conflict with one another. They had to pursue their own interests. Each class had to reassert their strength, in the face of the changing conditions of existence.

There exists two very distinct concepts of political and social revolution; the ancient and the modern. The ancient one is derived from the Greek concept of stasis. It presents us with a cyclical conception of revolution, in which history is represented as repetition of historic cycles or stages. In ancient times, it was thought that societal history followed a timeless and unalterable cycles beginning with democracy (the rule of the many) and ending in Tyranny (the rule of the few).

The modern concept emphasises the evolutionary and progressive aspects of r/evolutionary change and is derived from the drama of the French Revolution and the 19th century notion of progressive evolution. Society not only *revolved*, it also, *evolved*. Social r/evolution was capable of creating totally novel forms of social organisation.

Social revolution is evolution in a fever. It is not the normal state of society. Unceasing repetition with small and gradual changes represents by far the vast majority of evolutionary time. Periods of r/evolution, chaos, instability and uncertainty, although intensely creative, represent only brief interruptions of cyclical equilibrium. A system, be it social, chemical or biological once set in a state of disequilibria immediately tends to attempt to reach a new equilibrium as quickly as possible. The new ways and the old ways must necessarily make peace with one another. The workers and peasants grew weary of the uncertainties of change. They longed only for peace and a chance to plant their crops. Much as the dinosaurs evolved and survived in the form of birds and reptiles, aristocratic prejudices survived within the middle classes. The hierarchical structures of wealth and privilege evolved into state-capitalist eagles and crocodiles, ever ready to swoop upon and decapitate the wage-slaves who maintain them. A rupture in the equilibrium of society and nature, necessitates, the finding of a new equilibrium—drawing upon elements of both the past and the ever-present.

The ancient concept of revolution as a timeless conflict between social freedom and political despotism and the modern concept of progressive

evolution, although quite distinct in theory, are tendencies which are both present in the process of r/evolution. The revolutions of the 18th, 19th and 20th centuries have followed a cyclical pattern. They begin with dissolution of authority (the fall of the Bastille) but after a few months or years there is a reconstruction of the centralised apparatus of government and authority. The revolution is finally delivered into the hands of the 'strong man' who promises the restoration of order (the Coup d'état of Napoleon). However, revolution, contrary to the Greek conception of endless cyclical repetition, is not the god that has failed. All revolutions have instituted lasting social progress. They have widened the actual practice of democracy and individual liberty to include an ever-widening cross section of society. The monarchical system, based upon the divine right of kings and queens—where all social wealth and power was invested in a single individual, can never be resurrected. Although a new class of capitalists and state-bureaucrats came to take the place of the monarch and his/her lackeys—fundamental, and perhaps permanent change in the direction of liberty has emerged. We certainly do not endorse what is presently denoted as "social democracy". It must be conceded that it is a more democratic conception of democracy than that advocated by the ancient Greeks, who elected to maintain direct personal bondage to another in the form of slavery. Slavery, -in the sense of direct personal bondage upheld by Law, was the basis of feudalism. Although capitalist sweat-shops continue to use child-labour in their factories, in no country is this any longer tolerated formally by law (enforcement of course is another matter entirely). Let us hope that the Great European r/evolutions have forever committed institutionalised slavery to the fossil cabinet of the social museum.

The history of civilisation has been one of recurring conflict between two mutually hostile and widely differing forms of social organisation. A perpetual struggle between the artificial, the externally or centrally imposed authority of the state, and the natural, the autonomous and internally self-regulating community. Although these tendencies have evolved side by side, changing and modifying themselves over time, there can exist no genuine or lasting equilibrium between them whilst the free-commune and the state exist together. The history of human social development is that of an uneasy truce punctuated by violent revolutions. Countless rebellions, during which the mass of ordinary people asserted their social-evolutionary power and sought to redirect the course of history along non-statist, communal and egalitarian life-ways. The periodic urge to recover local self-administration and civic vitality has been one of the most important factors in the dynamics in the history of social-evolutionary change.

The popular need to resurrect independent and free communal life in

state capitalism is about environmental exploitation. It has become obvious in recent years that the process of the destruction of regional ecology by state-capitalism has to be reversed. Starting at the level of the local watershed or forest region, the inhabitants of that region must act to preserve and enhance the ecology of their region. The real aim of the next r/evolution is not just to liberate the community and the working classes, but also to free the environment from many centuries of centralised state-capitalist exploitation. The environmental revolution must overthrow the institutions of state-capitalism and found a new society based upon bio-regional autonomy and direct democracy. Any compromise with the state-capitalist ideal can only result in environmental degradation and in social r/evolutionary failure.

All genuine revolutions, that is, those that have not simply consisted of nothing more than palace revolutions or a political coup d'état, have resulted in the rapid development of a multitude of social-organisational forces. A genuinely social revolution creates huge areas of political space. The social arena is no longer subject to the centralising force of government. This vacuum, does however, last but an instant. The political field is immediately flooded by a multitude of diverse political, economic and social formations. Some of these manifestations have been developing quietly within the kernel of the old society awaiting for their full flowering. Others represent totally novel forms of social organisation that are developed to meet the practical needs of the moment. The French Revolution, was not one revolution but thousands of them. The burning of the title deeds and the expropriation of the communal lands from the claws of the clergy and aristocracy occurred independently in every hamlet, village, district, town, city and region (in that order). Because of local customs, differing regional problems and the re-awakening of a host of half forgotten battles and striving's made the course of the revolution in each province and commune a unique historical event within the framework of wider and more general social and political developments. The anarchist and bio-regional r/evolution of tomorrow, if it is to succeed, must likewise foster a spirit of regional and communal independence. The Green Commonwealth cannot be declared by some revolutionary government or vanguard. The people of each region must declare it for themselves.

In times of social revolution, every town, city and community quickly recovers those vital social and political functions previously usurped by centralised authority. Neighbourhoods in which people had been previously isolated from one another, rapidly come together. People in times of social dislocation, still require to be fed and housed, and this requires organisation. Our species, with its biologically rooted, and pre-human need for 'social

the permanence of the state-capitalist system of the present day when historical precedent predicts its disintegration. State-capitalism's failure to deliver a peaceful, egalitarian and environmentally healthy society, is obvious to all?

The Marxist-communist ideal of a "revolutionary government" and the republican ideal of a "national assembly" that are to administer the "revolutionary desires of The People" is a contradiction in terms. It has proved incapable of realising genuine and lasting social progress. The state-communist idea of a Revolutionary Dictature, is in reality no better than that of the "secret societies" of old. These had plotted to wrest the power and wealth of the Monarch in order that they might benefit themselves and their clique. The abject failure of revolutionary Marxism is now known to all. Stalin, acting in the name of "The People" massacred millions by the most brutal methods. Russia, Siberia and most of Northern Asia becoming controlled by a monstrous bureaucracy in Moscow. A grey, inefficient and forlorn empire in which all individual, local and community colour and initiative was swept into a vast and colourless machine. A clanking, leaking and inefficient machine ruled by a class of bureaucrats and party officials who acted on behalf of themselves and their fellow technocrats. A whole new class of petty bureaucrats, who regarded the peasants and the workers as mere numbers in their centralised economic scheming. The trans-national capitalist corporation and the social-democratic-state of the present day treats people and regions in a very similar fashion. They do not pretend for one moment that they are "revolutionaries furthering the course of social progress"! The Marxist state was in reality no different to a capitalist monopoly—only a thousand times larger and attempting to control every aspect of economic life. Marxist-communism and its theory of "revolutionary government", as the anarchists of the 18th and 19th centuries predicted, is both economically unworkable and politically repressive. The republican leaders of the American and French Revolutions may have been misguided about the libertarian and egalitarian potentiality of paper constitutions and the nation-state. The Marxist parties, despite containing many warm and generous members within its ranks, attracted leaders which were at heart, mean and petty dictators, who would stop at nothing to achieve the absolute power which they sought for their own self-glorification.

State-Capitalism, which historically reached its highest form in colonialism and imperialism, is/was as much about exploiting the land/environment as it is/was about exploiting the human inhabitants. The Colonial land-grab by European Imperialist governments, the enclosure of the common lands in England and the present day destruction of indigenous cultures in South American and SE Asian Rainforests, are all examples of how the advance of

Europe, following the break down of the Roman empire, was seen during the communal revolutions of the 11th and 12th centuries. At this time Europe had lost its last remnants of barbarian freedom and become stifled by a multitude of petty tyrants. The free and spontaneous forces of the people, utilising the protection of their town walls overthrew the Lord in his castle and rapidly established hundreds of independent and self-governing cities all over Europe. Although the medieval city commune through developing a class structure and estranging itself from the countryside eventually fell prey to aristocrats and warlords, they none the less represented a significant social attempt to assume local and independent community control. These cities were not conceived by government architects or town-planners. They were the organic growth of the tradespeople who constructed them. Moreover, unlike the modern provincial city, which is merely a subordinate particle of the nation state, the medieval commune was a distinct, well integrated and self administrative social unit. It had the absolute right of war and peace and of federation and alliance with its neighbours. The differing trade guilds occupied their own section of the city? Each section having its own gate, where the militias of each guild would leave to defend their city in times of war.

With the decline of the medieval city and the crystallisation of the feudal epoch the human capacity toward free and voluntary engroupment became fettered by the monarchal-state. Again, it was the urge for communal self-administration and determination that provided dynamic for the final destruction of the feudal epoch. The urban and peasant commune was the vehicle through which the constructive work of building new social formations was performed. Private property and centralised government came into being after the lands had been liberated by the people in the name of the people's commune. In every town, village and city it was the commune which took from the lords the lands that were formerly communal. In the French Revolution, the communal urge of the people was equally important in the revolutionary transformation of society as that of individual appropriation as practiced by the middle classes.

The communes of the French Revolution, like the Medieval communes of the 12 and 13th centuries divided their cities and towns into self-governing districts or sections based upon trade, location and ethnicity. The 60 sections of Paris is of particular interest. The various sections and districts of Paris organised themselves upon an individual basis with a great deal of variety within their internal organisation. The essential and organic unity of Paris was however preserved by means of a federative union or compact. When issues of importance needed to be discussed, delegates rather than representatives, were sent by the people of each district. At the general assemblies the delegates could only state

what was the will of the people in their district. The delegates were strictly mandated. They acted under the uninterrupted control of those who had commissioned them. In revolutionary Paris we see the development of Libertarian municipalism emerging like the phoenix out of the ashes of the ancient order. This distinctively urban form of localism, akin to the notion of our modern neighbourhood councils, although evolving out of ideas and practices that had developed within the medieval commune, did nonetheless represent a considerable departure from its historical antecedent. The formation of a more urbanised city environment demanded new forms of political landscape.

The Paris commune of 1871 (occurring nearly 80 years after the suppression of the Sections by the Commission for Public Safety in 1793) was another heroic attempt by the workers and peoples of Paris to recover the vast areas of civic space lost to them in the decline of the medieval free-city and in the reaction of 1793. Peter Kropotkin in his pamphlet *The Commune of Paris* clearly describes how the disturbances of 1871 had long historical roots and how it showed us the direction that social r/evolution will take in the future:

One cry broke from a hundred thousand breasts—'La Commune!', and on March 18 1871, the people of Paris rose against a despised and detested government, and proclaimed the city independent, free, belonging to itself. This overthrow of the central power took place without the usual stage effects of revolution, without the firing of guns, without the shedding of blood upon barricades. When the armed people came out into the streets, the rulers fled away, the troops evacuated the town, the civil functionaries hurriedly retreated to Versailles carrying everything they could with them. The government evaporated like a pond of stagnant water in a spring breeze, and on the nineteenth the great city of Paris found herself free from the impurity which had defiled her, with the loss of scarcely a drop of her children's blood. Paris said to the world that it did not pretend to govern France. The Paris workmen loudly announced that they should not wait until all France was ready for a social revolution, that they were willing to begin it within the walls of their own city. That each city, each village, was free to join the movement and to reconstitute those great federations of revolted communes which have played so immense a part in the history of civilisation in the twelfth century, as well as in starting the great Revolution of the 18th century. But Paris did not pretend to give a government to France. Let each commune free itself first; then the freed communes will be brought to unite their efforts. A great principle which has not died, notwithstanding the defeat of the Paris workers. nobody in France doubts that the next revolution will be made to the cry La Commune, the independent commune, as the starting point for the social Revolution.

Anarchism has always been a worker's movement. It emerged out of the

split of the First Socialist International in the 19th century. The state-socialism of Marx and the no-state or anarchist-socialism of Bakunin were found to be irreconcilable. In modern times the development of trans-national corporate capitalism and globally dominant super-powers means that the concept of revolution is no longer confined to communal uprisings. The success of revolution requires regional, national and global industrial worker's organisations. The Soviet and Syndicalist organisations in the Russian and Spanish Revolutions complimented and strengthened communal uprisings and were absolutely essential in gaining whatever revolutionary successes they achieved. Similar industrial worker organisations, given the increasing globalisation of capitalism, are even more necessary today than they were in the past. However, Social R/evolution is essentially a civic phenomenon. The whole neighbourhood or village participating in the building of barricades or serving as look-outs. Although we must acknowledge the great importance of the soviets and syndicalist/workers militias in the Russian & Spanish revolutions, it is nonetheless the case that an equal measure of revolutionary impetus came from radicalised suburbs and from rural anarchist collectives or communal villages in the countryside. It cannot be otherwise, for social r/evolution involves the whole of society; workers, artists, women, unemployed, children and the declassed bourgeoisie; all of whom join together in asserting their social and communal independence. Revolution is impossible unless it has the support of the workers. Trains must run and roads must be fixed. However revolution is equally impossible if the workers do not have the support of the common people. It is only when free communities assert their independence in harmony with the workers that revolution can be achieved.

The communal revolutions of 11th and 12th century Europe, the French Revolution, the Paris Commune of 1871 and the collectivised villages and industries in Spain between 1936-9 are all instances of periods when humanity felt the need to allow for the free and creative forces of social evolution. They are periods when the people asserted themselves, unhampered by the torpor of centralised hierarchical authority. The true direction of social evolution lies in overthrowing the state which has sought to destroy regional diversity and communal self-determination. Civilisations and societies are naturally prone to decay. All of the great civilisations; the Egyptian, Persian, Greek and Aztec all disintegrated in their turn. Rome, the first city to reach a million persons was reduced to 30,000 inhabitants in a matter of years. Out of the Chaos that followed the fall of Rome emerged the free city, which in turn fell prey to the warlords and the aristocratic order. This was inevitably destroyed in the great European and American revolutions. Why are people so firmly convinced of