

# anarchist Freedom

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TEN PENCE

## VIETNAM—WHO LOSES?

THE CURTAIN seems to be rapidly falling on the tragedy of Vietnam. We have been subjected for nearly ten years to the spectacle of the Americans failing to check the advance of the Vietcong, making a patched-up peace, and leaving the Vietnamese to their fate, a Vietnamised war. Now we have seen the shoddy abandonment of their one-time allies by a divided government and a powerless president of the United States. Left to themselves the Vietnamese have no heart for the war, and their corrupted officer-class has beat a hasty retreat.

For ten years this Americanized civil war has raged, but prior to this the Vietnamese (both North and South) fought the French, and before that, the Japanese, for their still elusive liberty. The shoal of left-wing propaganda of the 'sixties was primarily anti-American in form and pro-Vietcong in content.

The anarchists always maintained a neither East Nor West stance and stood (or marched) aloof from the 'Ho-ho-Ho-Chi Mihn' chanters. One anarchist poster showing the distressingly habitual picture of a woman refugee with her child read "Who loses in Vietnam - Always the people". And now we seem to have come to the pay-off of all our hopes and fears for Vietnam.

Without America, Russia or China the war could not have gone on so long, bleeding Vietnam (and America) of its men, its resources (particularly its food growing capacity) and destroying homes and families. There was always the hope of the puppet-masters that their puppet would have a quick victory. The Americans grew tired of the show, and now the show must end - for the time being.

A particularly cynical exploitation has



"BUT MILADY, I'M AFRAID HE'S BEEN AND WENT."

taken place in this war's closing stages. As we all know, the chief products of war are corpses, widows and orphans. The world-wide guilt (particularly of the Americans) for Vietnam's plight is thought to be assuaged by taking care of the orphans.

The popular press just loves children. So cute. So cuddlesome. So what better than a campaign to save the Vietnam orphans from the horrid communists who probably eat babies for breakfast.

Regardless of the fact that many Vietnam orphans were deprived of parents by the Americans in their indiscriminate and reckless bombing and search-and-destroy raids, the appalling Daily Mail (engaged like all Fleet Street in a circulation scramble) chartered a plane to take orphans from Vietnam. Babies and sentimentality sell papers.

Regardless of the fact that many of the so-called 'orphans' are children fathered by American soldiers, who have gone back home to something more approaching a natural civilized life than the exigencies of the hastily-gathered and soon-regretted pleasures of war, the colourless American president is seen fondling

an orphan. Babies and sentimentality gain votes.

It is not possible at this point to go into the difficulties of adjustment for an uprooted child - "a stranger and afraid in a world I never made" - but even granted that an indoctrination into communism is undesirable, so is an indoctrination into the capitalist-consumer ethos. Which can be resisted most successfully is a debatable point but there is no evidence, and in fact the contrary is true, that communists treat children badly. The whole operation reeks of a public relations stunt and, as the Guardian correspondent said, it would be more appropriate (but less rewarding) to ask for households prepared to take a middle-aged South Vietnamese army major (ret.) in their bosom.

There is no refuge from oppressive government and peoples who put their trust in one government or another must expect to be betrayed. Vietnam occupies the centre of the stage now, but shift the scene to Kurdistan and the same scene of long lines of betrayed refugees (this time by making a peace, not by losing a war) is played out against a different backdrop. So with Cambodia.

Who loses in Vietnam? Not the American politicians who will brazen it out; not the Vietnamese politicians who will have their bolt-holes; not the Vietnamese brass-hats who will die in bed; but the people. The Vietcong commissars and party members will win power unless the people refuse, as they have refused the power of the Japanese, the French and the Americans.

Jack Robinson.

## PLIGHT OF HOMELESS

PROPERTY IS THEFT. This slogan is as true today as it was in the last century. Today the reign of the private landlord is coming to an end. Now most people are housed either by a local authority or they own their own house.

As with the employer, there is no such thing as a good landlord; some are just worse than others. But for many people the only chance of getting housed has been by the private landlord. This section of the population is composed of those who haven't enough points to get a house through their local authority. It is the single person, or families who find themselves at the bottom of the ever-increasing housing lists,

Such a situation comes about because ownership is the foundation of the capitalist system. Vast profits have been made and still are made by the ownership of property. Profits derived from exploiting one of the basic needs of people, a shelter over one's head.

But nowadays the small private landlord is no longer finding it profitable to own one or two houses or to let out rooms. As with the small shopkeeper,

they are being squeezed out of the market. Basically I suppose we should not shed any tears because of this, but at the same time it does mean that ownership and with that ownership, power over our lives is further concentrated into fewer hands.

However, because the small landlord is no longer finding it profitable to let out his property, it means less accommodation available to those who have already suffered the most. This has come about because recent legislation aimed at helping these people has in fact had the opposite effect. Because the 1974 Rent Act gave security of tenure to tenants of furnished property and also gives some protection against rent increases, it has meant that tenants have some control over the traditionally arbitrary way the private landlord treats his tenants. In retaliation, landlords are just not letting their property. It is estimated that this type of accommodation has fallen by a third. This figure came from a survey of "rental" noticeboards, and a similar

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Mr. Ian Smith said that "I believe we have got to accept that the time will come when the leaders will come forward from this [African] section who will be mature and responsible people." Mr. Sithole, previously detained by Mr. Smith, was allowed out to go to the meeting of the Organization of African Unity in Dar es Salaam. Mr. Sithole had previously been charged with plotting the assassination of his political rivals. This charge was dropped and he was detained on grounds of his advocacy of violence. Pressure is supposed to have been brought by South Africa for his temporary release, but Rhodesia explained that the (edited) speech by Mr. Smith did not mean to give any impression that Africans would become Rhodesia's new leaders.

AT the Young Liberals annual conference, an office-worker delegate said, answering an attack on Jeremy Thorpe, "I am speaking in favour of the Liberal leadership. If there is to be any getting out to be done from the party it should be done by the libertarian socialists, these people who came into the party under the spurious guise of their anarchist policies."

A FEATURE article in Granma (the official organ of the Cuban Communist

# IN BRIEF

Party - see this week's Freedom supplement p. ) entitled "Identification card and population register : another step forward thanks to the work of the masses", concludes "Again the masses have been instrumental in another step forward of the Revolution for their own benefit."

Granma also claims that Henry Kissinger has a car with a back seat fitted with an ejector device "in case of fire or other dangers of this kind". I thought that was James Bond!

Sam Lovejoy, an American objector to nuclear power stations with their dangerous potentiality, wrecked a tower (strobe) light at Northeast Utilities power station in Western Massachusetts. He gave himself up to the police. In court he managed to put over a statement on the dangers of radiation from such plants, called several technical witnesses on this point but, unfortunately or fortunately, he was found Not

This is a very weak reform as it only forces the landlords to let quickly. It still gives them an income and, given the past records of most local councils in London, it is doubtful if they would make full use of such legislation. In fact, councils do not even repair and occupy their own empty houses, and in the current financial squeeze their budgets are being cut back. If Frank Allaun's Bill gets the required majority it will still only bring relief to a few families, for the reasons I have given. But with other social injustices that exist in a capitalist society, direct action if taken on a big enough scale could dramatically alter the plight of the homeless. That direct action is, of course, squatting. Such action is fully justified whether the empty property is council or private. Often it is difficult to know who are the worse offenders. But the self-help movement of squatters and their associations is a direct response to the misery and needless suffering brought about because of the profits that can be made from the ownership of property.

Such ownership should be held in common, for just as no one should be another's master no one should use the ownership of property to exploit and make a profit from a basic need. As with everything produced for human needs, everyone should have free access to a home. There is no human reason why enough homes cannot be built or made available for accommodation, except profit. Abolish the profit motive and the system it supports and then we could start solving the housing problem. In the meantime, all power to the squatters movements and those tenants associations who are fighting for better and more housing in their areas.

P. T.

Guilty on a technicality. He had previously said, according to War Resistance), commenting on a friend's decision to go to jail for possession of psychedelic drugs, "I could see doing prison time, but not for something like drugs - it's have to be something I believed in."

IT WAS reported in the Basildon Standard Recorder (17.3.75) that a speech by Tariq Ali of the International Marxist Group at Basildon Arts Centre was cancelled because only two people turned up. He was due to speak on unemployment.

The National Council for Civil Liberties put out a memorandum recommending that the defence of 'entrapment' should be available to defendants claiming they had been enticed to commit a crime by a police agent-provocateur. The Home Office has directed the police not to incite crimes but the law is at variance with the Home Office.

VILLAGERS at Paglesham, Essex, 'squatted' in trees threatened by felling and managed to hold up the destruction.

Colonel David Stirling has disbanded GB 75 (exposed by Peace News) and has advised members to transfer to the Movement for True Industrial Democracy. He says this organization has strong trades union links and 'will fight the militants at every level from the factory floor upwards'.

A HEADLINE in The Observer reads 'Rules for Casting Out Devils will be Changed'. This refers to a recent case when a man who had associated with a Christian group became insane and murdered his wife after an exorcism ceremony. One of the newspapers referred to 'an unspeakable crime' and have fairly full details.

THERE IS a possibility that Fakenham Enterprises, the Norfolk women's co-operative, may have to close down. With the business recession, sub-contracted orders have declined and Scott Bader of Northampton who gave financial help to start the enterprise says it is no longer prepared to help.

Sancho Panza.

# HOMELESS

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one taken from newspapers showed a fifty per cent drop.

But as with all laws, this one can be circumvented in a number of ways. This is being done by offering rooms and flats as 'holiday accommodation' in such unlikely places as Paddington. A cup of tea and a piece of toast left outside your door can be classed as bed-and-breakfast. Other landlords just leave their property empty. There are 675,000 empty houses in England and Wales. The Greater London area accounts for 100,000 of these, of which 10,000 have already stood unoccupied for over two years.

Many of the larger property companies are selling to sitting tenants. Some are also selling to the local authorities. This might help the long housing lists, but it doesn't help those who are not qualified for council housing.

Certainly no property, whether council or private, should remain empty while people are in need of homes. Frank Allaun, Labour M.P., has this situation in mind with his Requisitioning of Empty Houses Bill. If the Bill becomes law (a second reading is scheduled for May 16), local councils can take over properties which have been empty for six months or more. If repairs are needed, which is very likely, tenants from housing lists can be moved in and charged "fair rents". However, the landlord would still get an income from his property, less deductions for repairs and management costs incurred by the council.



"THIS BOY IS ONE HUNDRED PER CENT RELIABLE. HE WAS ON THE ESCAPE COMMITTEE AT BUTLIN'S HOLIDAY CAMP."

# INTERNATIONAL NOTES

**WEST GERMANY.** The raids on the George von Rauch and Tommy Weissbecker houses carried out by the West Berlin police immediately after the liberation of Herr Lorenz by the Second of June Movement, turn out to have been far worse than we were able to report at the time. In fact the police seem to have indulged themselves in an orgy of blind destructiveness as a reaction to their enforced impotence whilst Lorenz was being held. Over three hundred police not only smashed down doors and windows in the two houses, but destroyed the heating systems, washing machines, furniture and bedding. In fact, the two houses were rendered uninhabitable, and similar damage was done to a youth centre in Schoneberg, and a socialist centre in Stephanstrasse.

Over here we expect that kind of thing from our local council's housing policy, but not from our wonderful police.

MEANWHILE, the land of "industrial

THE FORECASTS made in the Italian anarchist magazine A-Rivista Anarchica are unfortunately about to come true. The Italian Christian Democratic party, led by that power-mongering "porco" Amintore Fanfani, have proposed a Public Order Bill which will drastically erode the average Italian's civil liberties. The excuse used by the Christian Democrats is that the bill is essential to stem the rising tide of criminality. However, various of the proposals are clearly intended to be of use in the event of political demonstrations.

Article 1, for instance, allows for "protective imprisonment" - the case of people suspected of serious crimes. In this country it is called "internment" or "detention without trial". This, surprisingly, was the normal way of things in Italian "justice" until the trial of Giuseppe Valpreda commenced. The Valpreda law (as it is known) took this heinous sanction, which had its origins in the times of Mussolini, off the statute book. Now Fanfani wishes to reinstate it.

Article 4 widens the powers of arrest to almost limitless proportions on the suspicion of carrying arms. Police in Britain are well-known for their tactic of busting people on the suspicion of carrying drugs and then framing the "suspects". If the Marini and Valpreda trials are anything to go by, the police won't even have to produce the alleged "found guns" in court.

Article 20 makes it a criminal offence to resist arrest. The possibilities that this sanction could have in the event of demonstrations are indeed formidable.

Thus, Fanfani, and the neo-fascists,

co-determination" (Mitbestimmung) has experienced its first factory occupation. The workers at a factory in Kalletal-Kalldorf for the production of machines used in the plastics industry have occupied it (and the management's offices) to prevent it being closed down and its machinery being taken away. Unemployment is running at a post-war high in the fatherland of the "economic miracle".

**PORTUGAL.** According to the Sunday Times there have been 465 strikes, lockouts, factory occupations and dismissal of directors and managers by the workers since October 1974, much to the chagrin of both capitalists and the Armed Forces Movement. Workers' councils and committees, with very high participation by the workers, are being set up left right and centre. Many of the multinational companies, who are only in the Iberian peninsula because of the cheapness of its labour up to now, are contemplating withdrawal. Labour unrest is scarcely less marked in Spain too. Whole pages of the Spanish exile papers, Combat Syndicalist and Frente Libertario, are devoted to detailing all the latest strikes in Spain.

Presumably the Multinationals will now turn more and more to Asia for

## ORDER

will be delighted if this bill becomes law. Both are using the "public order" ticket in the forthcoming regional elections in Italy. The Christian Democrats and Fascists are not officially fighting the election on a joint platform but the similarity of the two parties cannot help but become painfully obvious.

What of the vanguard of the proletariat as regards this premeditated state crime? The Italian Communist Party's newspaper, L'Unita, has not yet even mentioned this proposed Bill. The reason for that being that the P.C.I. wishes to present itself in the elections as the proposers of the "historic compromise" between the Christian Democrats, the Church and the Italian Communist Party, and hence it is essential to appear "orderly" and "respectable". The fact that these proposed laws will cause political oppression of the proletariat is of little concern to the P.C.I., who know all about oppression already.

The Italian Socialists have, at least, voiced reservations about Articles 1, 4 and 20, and left it at that. There is no intention on their part to seriously challenge the proposals. The Italian political weekly, L'Espresso summed up the Socialists' attitude perfectly when it said that, like Napoleon in Russia, the P.C.I. have retired without actually having lost any battle. We all know what happened to Napoleon's troops during their retreat.

Francesco.

their pools of cheap labour. After the death of Chiang kai shek they will be wary of going to Taiwan, but there are still suitable right-wing governments and dictatorships in "free world" Hong Kong and the Philippines, not to mention South Africa and most of South America. For how long?

**ITALY.** Belgrado Pedrini, the veteran anarchist anti-fascist partisan is back in the "House of Labour" after his ten days' parole in early March. The three years he has to spend in this penal institution are supposed to "re-adapt" him after the thirty years he has spent in Italian jails. We are sure that immediate liberation would do far more for our old, and physically ill, comrade. Letters demanding his release can be sent to:

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Dott. Antonio Giannipieri,  
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PISA, Italy.

D. L. M.

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# WORKERS CONTROL OF CAPITAL

## WORKERS' CONTROL OF CAPITAL

Dear Comrades,

The minds of people like Jack Robinson seem to constantly flit between past and future utopias, so that when someone tries to indicate lines of action that could be usefully followed in the present it naturally escapes their attention. Since I was not writing on the nature of past-capitalist society, I fail to see the relevance of his remarks on this subject and I am afraid that until the wageless, classless, moneyless, society arrives there are more immediate matters to be concerned with.

What on earth is this "classical idea of capital" that he refers to? I can only guess that he has in mind various component parts of capital such as instruments of labour, means of subsistence, raw materials and exchange values, but even in the economic textbooks these are discussed as an aid towards arriving at a working definition of capital. It is not a classical idea of capital that produces commodities but capital at work and, as Marx has said, "The quantity of these products can have no effect on their character as commodities." Calculations necessary to the operations of capital, whether aimed at with the aid of pencil stub writing on the back of an envelope or by a battery of computers have everything to do with capital when it is put to work.

As to my not being specific, I could hardly have been more so when I advocated that pressure be brought to bear on unions to make them invest their funds in enterprises involving a high degree of workers' self-management, and urged that the range of options open to unions in the field of investment be considered. If we consider the former course in concrete fashion, and not in abstract fashion as J. R. does, we can see what is involved; it would mean that workers were able to exert a measure of control over a specific portion of

### Erratum

### THE NATION STATE

Dear Friends,

Somewhere along the line, the meaning of the very last line of my letter (29 March) has been almost reversed.

"It is not, I fear, the shortcomings of man, that are to blame for the violent and unjust society", should have read:

"It is not, I fear, the shortcomings of the system, so much as the shortcomings in man, that are to blame for the violent and unjust society."

Many thanks & all the best,

Brian P. Boreham.

Hampton Hill,  
Middlesex.

capital held in reserve by unions and represents a more positive approach than merely condemning the unions for investing their funds in capitalist enterprises. My concern that workers should attempt to understand the workings of the financial system springs from the fact that an increasing number of worker representatives will in future be elected, in some cases appointed, to boards of management. They will not be elected and revocable as the syndicalists would wish them to be, so another question arises. Who will guard the guards? Workers on the shop floor will need to have some knowledge of financial management in order to evaluate the reports of their "representatives" regarding the financial status of the company.

I also referred to co-operatives since all of the functions of co-ops can be performed by the syndicalist union. Such schemes could easily have been carried out by the Bourses du Travail of the CGT or District Industrial Councils of the IWW. Nevertheless, co-operatives are a very useful beginning and in some cases may lead those involved towards syndicalism. Note how quickly the Italian glassblowers I referred to moved towards the idea of industrial unionism.

As to alleged differences between anarcho-syndicalism and syndicalism I do not know of any but the prefix anarcho- is often omitted for the sake of brevity, and some like myself would hesitate to use it for fear of our ideas being identified with those of people like J. R.

There are, of course, differences between some forms of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism as the record of relations between the FAI and the CNT bears witness to. For the rest, there have been some differences in priority and emphasis between various syndicalist unions but these can be accounted for by reference to specific local conditions and historical factors.

I fail to see what relevance Mussolini has to anything I wrote since he did not borrow his ideas from Labriola, nor did he borrow the ideas of anti-patriotic or anti-military campaigns from the CGT. But J. R. has raised an interesting point and it may be as well to deal with it. Professor Megaro has stated that, "In 1911, Mussolini clearly saw how certain deformations of syndicalism would cause it to end up in a theistic, patriotic, nationalistic, anti-socialist caricature. This is an acute description of what was to be known as fascism." (Mussolini in the Making, by Gaudeno Megaro, 1928.)

Mussolini stated in an interview in 1926 that he wooed more to Sorel than to any other thinker, and here is a specimen of Sorel's "syndicalist" thinking: "The Confederation of Labour will prove an officious council of labour, a sort of academy of the proletariat which will confer with the government as, for instance, agricultural societies do." Here,

in embryo, is the idea of the industrial corporations forming an integral part of the fascist state, and the resemblance between fascism and the ideas of guild socialism, another deformation of syndicalism, as propagated in Britain by G. D. H. Cole and others, is worth noting. Syndicalism aims to replace governments and the political state of capitalism and the idea of a federation of industrial unions consulting with and subordinate to government represents the very antithesis of syndicalist ideas on this subject. But speaking of fascism reminds me of Michael Tobin.

### The Nation State

Tobin, the author of that mess of slushy sentimentality bearing the grandiose title Of Man and Revolution, is busy promoting fascist ideas at the same time as he is warning of creeping fascism. The analogy between the state and a human or animal organism is one of the basic tenets of fascist theory and is peculiar to no other political philosophy, although modifications of it are often used by conservative politicians in Britain. The social implications are obvious; no member of the body ought to fight against another member, and it is a recipe for social passivity. Individual citizens are to be subordinate to the state as individual cells are subordinate to the human body as an organic unity. Hitler put it very simply, "You are servants of the nation, but you alone are nothing. As part of the organic whole you are everything".

Tobin claims that the state is "an organism made up of people just like the human body is made up of cells". I wonder where he borrowed that idea from? I could name quite a few leading fascists who have propagated this idea. Followed to its logical conclusions it will lead Tobin and others like him towards fascism. Particularly so, since he seems to have rejected rational attitudes and his ideas are couched in highly emotional and romantic terms - just like the fascists.

To judge from his latest epistle his mind seems to be wandering in ancient China among other places. I don't know how many varieties of the Chinese language there happen to be but in Europe the solution of national languages with a codified grammar\* had to await the invention of printing, just as the development of commerce had to await the tran-

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\*Codification of grammars was basically a late-17th century--early 18th century activity. Chaucer and Dante both wrote long before printing presses. (not to mention "Beowulf"), Goethe a long time after - national literatures tend to arise from individual writers of genius, who may exploit technological innovations, they are not created by printing presses. D. L. M.

ONE OF the major objections to the classless society is that it is "against human nature", in other words that everyone is only looking out for themselves and to hell with everyone else. The usual reply to this is that many primitive people actually live in societies without government or inequality of wealth (not that one is ever found without the other) and that therefore anarchy cannot be at odds with human nature. This, of course, isn't true for all primitive people, not by a long way. Peter Kropotkin (in Mutual Aid) scrupulously gave accounts of head-hunting and cannibalism as well as examples that fitted in better with his anarchist theories. But I am not concerned with showing that anarchy is inevitable (it is not), only that it is possible. From studies made of primitive peoples it is obvious that a society is possible where no individual or group has more wealth or power than the rest.

I consider that a fairly recent study\* of a primitive people throws light on the questions of the relationship between the individual and society, and on human nature, and that in doing so, it makes some important political points. The Ik (pronounced eek) are a small tribe, about two thousand strong, living in mountainous country on the borders of Uganda, Sudan and Kenya. The author of the study, a professional anthropologist called Colin Turnbull, spent about three years in the mid-sixties living with them and his book is a chronicle of the total collapse of a society. Apparently the Ik were formerly nomadic hunters, following their prey all year round and rarely stopping long in any one place. Presumably they were like other peoples who live this sort of life: Turnbull writes that "hunters frequently display those characteristics that we find so admirable in man: kindness, generosity, consideration, affection, honesty, hospitality, compassion, charity and others" (p. 26), and he produces strong evidence to show that the Ik were once such a people. All that has changed now.

The old hunting grounds of the Ik are

\*The Mountain People, by Colin Turnbull, first published in Britain in 1973 and currently available as a Picador paperback at 75p. All quotes taken from this edition.

#### WORKERS' CONTROL OF CAPITAL Continued from Page 4

sition from a natural economy to a money economy. Nor did any national literatures exist before the invention of printing. It has been truly said that there is no German literature before Goethe, only legends and fairy tales. If Tobin had any idea of how very complex in its origins is the modern nation-state he would not rush in like a fool where angels fear to tread. As for his description of myself as a statist and not an anarchist, I cannot think of anyone less capable of defining statism, anarchism or anything else than Michael Tobin.

Fraternally,  
Henry Bell.

# LESSONS FROM THE IK

now a National Park, which means that they are not allowed to hunt in them. Instead they are supposed to farm infertile land that is visited by a drought at least every fourth year and this without any tradition of farming. The Ik were apparently persuaded to settle themselves in the mountains just before the Second World War and so, when Turnbull studied them, they had spent thirty years on and below the starvation level in an environment they could not come to terms with. Faced with death they have stopped being a society and instead have become an agglomeration of individuals. Any food acquired by an individual is hidden away from everyone else, including spouse, children and parents, and eaten as rapidly as possible in order to avoid having to share it. One of the book's photographs shows two young boys, one a few years older than the other and is captioned "Liza starved to death, while his older brother Murai thrived, eating food in front of him. Yet Liza showed no hatred, no regret, nothing. As Murai said, surely it is better that one lives than that both should die." The book abounds with scenes of this sort: perhaps the worst are the deaths that Turnbull describes, particularly that of the young girl Adupa who, by the standards of the Ik was mad, since she took food to her parents and wanted love in return, as if love still existed among the Ik. Finally her parents let her into their stockade. They then left and locked the stockade behind them. The caption to the photograph of this small child, obviously starving, reads, "She was too weak to break out, and after a few days her dead body was unceremoniously thrown out."

This, then, is the life of the Ik. Turnbull draws one conclusion himself: "The Ik teach us that our much vaunted human values are not inherent in humanity at all, but are associated with a particular form of survival called society, and that all, even society itself, are luxuries that can be dispensed with." (Page 243) We can now see where the ideology of our capitalist masters is leading us: to the stockade where Adupa starved to death. As Benjamin Franklin said in another context, "We shall hang together or hang separately," and we now know exactly what the "hanging separately" means. We will cooperate, treating each other as equals, or we will live as the Ik do. Human nature is on our side only as long as living in society benefits us, and "The Ik have successfully abandoned... qualities such as family, cooperative society, belief, love, hope and so forth, for the very good reason that in their context, these militated against survival" (p. 239).

Survival is humanity's basic urge. Those who lacked this urge died off thousands of years ago and left no descendants. The fate of the Ik is therefore a possibility for all of us, particu-

larly in a competitive/capitalist society such as ours, where the philosophy of "Sod you Jack, I'm alright" is supported by the forces of economic production. This is the trend of competitiveness and the question is by what means we are to oppose it.

One answer is state socialism but this is already known to be a failure. As Bakunin predicted last century it is nothing but a dictatorship, one ruling class having been exchanged for another. This leaves us with libertarian socialism, that is, anarchism, which is divided into two currents, individualism and collectivism. The final lesson from the Ik is that individualism, Max Stirner's "union of egoists" is a fraud. We now have a picture of what a "society" composed merely of individuals would be like and individualist anarchism is refuted in practice as well as theory. The road to the classless society must therefore be one of the collectivist anarchist theories, either anarcho-syndicalism or anarchist-communism.

B. H. Moseley.

#### Another view:

There is a case to put forward for the necessity for anarcho-syndicalist methods of supplying society's needs; there are criticisms to make of the egoist position. If we are to persuade our Stirnerite comrades (or wish to have a bash at them) it will be necessary to find more relevant illustrations. No kind of anarchism enters into the situation of the Ik. It is doubtful that there is individualism. They are a people whose life has been deliberately destroyed - in their case by the British - , as the North American Indians were destroyed (in terms of morality, the US and that means all who live in them, have no right to exist). Many peoples with a good and caring society have been and are being destroyed; individual Eskimos die of hunger, the pigmies can survive little longer, the people of the Brazilian rain forest are soon to be buried alive under concrete. All of them dying in a doomed attempt to continue living as themselves among other people who will not let them be.

The Ik people appear to be motivated by the simplest instinct for species survival ("surely it is better that one should live (i.e. the most successful in the struggle for survival)...") Adupa is a girl child - not a hunter. Would a "union of egoists" have meekly given up their hunting grounds which were their whole life, physically and spiritually? Probably the greater number would individually survived had they merged (been permitted to merge?) into the motley components of the artificial nation states of Uganda and Kenya, then under the British, when they could not defend and hold their hunting grounds. Even after

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# LAND NOTES

IN 1940, when I started farming, there was a crisis when the British method of selling manufactured goods and importing cheap foods was interrupted. ; British farming was then not so committed to the use of oil, and a substantial part of the horsepower required to make farming work was still supplied by horses. Since then they have all but disappeared, so I was interested to learn from a recent farming programme that a firm was actually starting to manufacture horse-drawn implements.

Agricultural production was very much increased in 1940 and provided a substantial part of Great Britain's food. The contribution of individuals with allotments was also quite substantial. Boyd Orr, who was partly responsible for a more rational food and agricultural policy in Britain during the war, was keen to get the nations to do this on an international scale, but the commercial and national interests were too great.

Agriculture has since been developed on the same industrial and financial lines that dominate western civilisation. Farms have grown larger, more specialised and completely mechanised, run by a few specialists, and the old family mixed farm with rotating crops and animals has largely disappeared.

## LESSONS FROM THE IK Continued from Page 5

that catastrophe they might have provided an existence one step above starvation for all their individual members had they learned or been taught how to get some food out of their miserable soil; and perhaps with the best chance of all as collectivist farmers. Either way, the Ik, nomadic hunters, are dead. Dead without ever having heard of Stirner or Sorel or Manotte or egois, conscious or unconscious, or communism or anarcho-syndicalism. Only knowing that there is not food to keep all of them alive. Because people who live in a different way will not let them live in theirs.

We are not able to live in our surrounding society as anarchists of any "ism", but it is not the individualist anarchists who stand in the way of our being anarcho-syndicalists. If indeed the forces of economic production and competitive capitalist society faced us with the fate of the Ik, the collectives and syndicates could get food and cloth and shelter only by doing and taking what was in our power. If we did persuade a sufficient number and triumph over the remainder of our liberal, conservative, socialist, communist, individualist, capitalist, Trotskyist, Maoist and don't know neighbours to actually possess the means to grow food, spin and weave cloth, make bricks, catch fish, dig coal, generate electricity, gather and purify water and dispose of sewage in a network of collectives, our last problem as anarchists would be to ensure that we did not leave the fate of the Ik to any outside them.

M. C.

The advocates of the industrial methods contended that it was the only way to feed the rising population of the world, and indeed, to western populations in the period of 'never had it so good' affluence with the chickens turning on spits on every high street and the supermarkets obscenely bursting with products, this may have seemed so. In Bombay and the Third World, the reality was very different.

Although there were one or two warning signs and people like Dr. Schumacher and books like Silent Spring were sounding the alarm, it is only in recent years with sudden shortages and great price rises that the idea has impinged on people's consciousness that all is not well. Circumstances in Britain changed after the war but the behaviour and attitude of politicians and economists did not. The difference in circumstances was recently emphasised when the price of oil added to the basic difficulties that were already there. An economy based on making things and selling them abroad depends on how far the prospective purchasers are able to make them themselves. The days when Britain, first on the industrial scene, was in a position to command the sources of raw materials cheaply, able to buy food cheaply, and power the factories with cheap power, are gone. The increase in manufacturing capacity has increased the demand for raw materials & food, therefore those countries with ample primary resources are able to compete. Britain is no longer in this category. The politicians and economists living in the cloud-cuckoo land of industrial technology are mortgaging the country against a flow of oil from the sea, ignoring the fact that the basic difficulties existed before this oil was discovered.

It is essential for survival that the emphasis be shifted from industry to agriculture. Industrial technology has reached its significantly sinister potential destructiveness in nuclear power with dangerously unsolved problems. This aspect is different in kind from the other ecological and social dangers that exist with the unrestrained growth of industrial technology. Agriculture too has been industrialised and presents similar ecological dangers. There is a conflict between husbandry and economics, the market place and monetary values dominate, and food as a commodity conflicts with food as a human need.

It should be self evident that a stable agriculture is essential for a stable civilization. Therefore the following questions must be asked and answered:

- 1) Is the relative balance of agriculture and industry the right one?
- 2) Is the method of agricultural production with regard to ecological and social factors the most efficient way of producing food?
- 3) In the face of world starvation can the continued use of imported feeding stuffs be supported?

In many respects agricultural activity has become just as joyless as most industrial activity. Gone is the cooperative nature of the work; monotony has replaced the hard physical work. One might say that this was a good thing if it led to a more satisfying life.

To analyse one farming activity of which I have some experience, that of dairy farming. When I first looked after cows there were two men looking after about 30 cows and their followers. The food was largely produced on the farm and the dung put back on the fields. The cows lived much longer and 8 or 9 lactations was by no means uncommon. Now one man rushes a hundred or more cows through a parlour, feeds the cows on large quantities of imported feeding stuffs and when a cow becomes troublesome from disease or low fertility it is sold. Nowadays a cow only survives two or three lactations. It is alleged to be progress when instead of relying on a cow's ability to process the cellulose in grass into a human food, endeavours are made to increase productivity by feeding it imported concentrated cake. The result is more milk, but from many more acres -- of land so far away that it does not receive the benefit of the cow's dung. The great increase in the price of feeding stuffs is beginning to bring home the false economy of these activities.

It is obvious that as in all fields of human activity there has to be a change of motivation. The pursuit of profit is a joyless anti-cooperative activity. It has taken the pleasure out of most human activity. It has resulted in dangerous consequences from the point of view of human survival. The consequences are rapidly becoming self evident in these times of opportunity and challenge.

Alan Albon.

THE SOCIAL revolution is not a mere political change; it is a fundamental economic, ethical, and cultural transformation. A conspirative minority or political party undertaking such a work must meet with the active and passive opposition of the great majority and therefore degenerate into a system of dictatorship and tyranny.

--Alexander Berkman

IF SOCIETY were only released of the waste and expense of keeping a lazy class, and the equally great expense of the paraphernalia of protection this lazy class requires, the social tables would contain an abundance for all, including even the occasional lazy individual.

--Emma Goldman

# TECHNOCRATIC TERROR

IT IS 6.55 a.m. on Monday 24 March 1975 in Newmarket, Amsterdam. A new week begins in this old Jewish area of Holland's foremost city. Few Jews live here now. For most of its former population were exterminated during the Second World War years of Nazi terror. On this fateful morning a new kind of terror envelopes this neighbourhood. This time it is the terror of the technocrats.

Though it is not yet 7 a.m. many of the Newmarket's residents are already astir. Rumour has it that on this particular Monday morning the police arm of the Dutch State is going to hit the area very hard. The reason: a number of very large houses are 'in the way' of a planned Metro line. But the people who live in them refuse to budge; and they are getting widespread popular support for their courageous stand. Far from budging, the people in the threatened houses have, on the contrary, sought to make their homes more liveable - with pots of paint and plenty of hard work. And in the street outside they have created a menagerie full of ducks, geese and hens, which is the delight of the neighbourhood's children. But the quiet rustic atmosphere generated by the farmyard fowl extends no further than the surrounding houses, on the high outer walls of which large slogans have been stencilled by the local people.

Suddenly at 7 a.m. the normal pattern of the Newmarket's working day street life is shattered by the noisy arrival of a virtual police army with vehicles and equipment of all shapes and sizes. Hundreds of white-helmeted riot police pour out of small black armoured buses. Within a few minutes they are attacking fiercely four of the doomed houses. They have every kind of tool at their command - axes, sledgehammers, tear gas, fire hoses, water cannons, ladders, ropes, guns and even a small tank.

Minutes tick by but they make no impression on the houses. Well constructed barricades have been built over a period of many months behind all the entrance doors and lower windows. The police cannot even fire tear gas grenades into the buildings. Some people in the surrounding houses not due to be demolished begin shouting at the police. They are answered by fire hoses and water cannon which the frustrated State bullies play on their windows until the glass is smashed and water pours through to flood their homes. At the same time other people rush out and run desperately through a veritable wall of water to save the fowl in the menagerie which are almost drowned.

In desperation the police begin using their tank - driving it into the thick wall of one of the houses. Very slowly the wall shows cracks and holes begin to appear. Immediately gas grenades are tossed in through the hole. The defend-

ers inside move upstairs before the relentless police onslaught. Having decided on passive resistance only, they have absolutely no means of countering this massive show of State violence. Without gas masks and coughing and spluttering while trying to cover their pain-filled eyes and burning faces with rags soaked in lemon juice, they are picked up one by one by the highly trained human robots of the Dutch State as they gradually move from floor to floor of the gas filled houses.

After some one-and-a-half hours of this very one-sided 'battle', the police army finally achieve their objective and are in control of the houses and of the surrounding streets now covered with debris - on top of which lie the bodies of several cats which jumped to their deaths in an effort to escape from the tear gas. By this time some forty people have been arrested, and a large group of onlookers and protesters have gathered all around the police cordon encircling the whole area where stand the houses under attack - which at times are barely visible through water jets and tear gas clouds. Many of the watching people can hardly believe their eyes - that this massive show of naked force is taking place in Amsterdam. For nothing quite like this has been seen in this tourist paradise since the Second World War. But this is no nightmare from the Nazi Occupation. For the outwardly democratic Dutch State is showing that it has both the capacity and the will to be just as tyrannical and as brutal as any other one in the face of what it considers to be a challenge to its power and authority.

Throughout much of the rest of that day, which the residents of the Newmarket will never forget, some thousands of people tried to force their way back into the police-occupied part of their town. But each time they were driven back by tear gas, water cannons, and charges by shield-wielding and stick-waving riot police. At times during the evening scenes in the Newmarket might have given the casual tourist the impression that a revolution was in the making - as massed thousands surged back and forth hour after hour against the well-packed police lines to the accompaniment of the loud pealing of the Zuider Kerk bells (rung whenever the police use gas in the Newmarket), the bursting of gas grenades, the flashes and explosions of fireworks, the fierce people's chanting of "Fascist Pigs - Sieg Heil!", and the wailing sirens of racing ambulances taking away the injured.

All this was happening because of the orders given to the police by the technocratic bourgeoisie who now rule Amsterdam. This new bourgeoisie is being backed by the Liberals, the Social Democrats, and the Stalinist Communist Party of the Netherlands. These estab-

lishment political groups provide the dominant and controlling element of the present Amsterdam City Council under the overlordship of state appointed Lord Mayor Samkalden.

The Newmarket people knew only too well the political colour of their city council. And this awareness and what it means for them was clearly shown in the slogan so big as to be readable from hundreds of metres away - on a wall of the house first attacked by the police. It read: "Beware of people of the Right dressed in Clothes of those of the Left for they are our worst enemies".

While the people of the Newmarket have felt most keenly the heel of the technocratic jackboot, most of the other ordinary residents of Amsterdam have also fallen victim in recent years to their new masters: the city planners. As in the case of so many other urban areas in the capitalist and state capitalist world, the life of Amsterdam is now in the firm grip of technical "experts", who form perhaps less a technical bureaucracy than a feudal technocratic aristocracy far removed from the ordinary people. The long-term plan of these experts is to complete several dormitory towns on the outskirts of Amsterdam linked by a Metro system to Amsterdam proper, which they want to see turned into a glass and concrete jungle of office blocks and hotels intermingled with tourist attractions.

In the eyes of these arrogant technocrats the ordinary people of Amsterdam do not matter. They are seen in terms of "things" to be used and manipulated at will. The notion of people en masse being directly involved in the planning and organising and general running of their urban community is totally foreign to these technical boffins who see Amsterdam as a kind of social machine requiring to be driven by highly trained experts, i.e. themselves. The end result of this situation is that the technocrats have established a form of dictatorship over the people of Amsterdam.

However, these dictatorial technocrats are not by any means having a clear run. For opposition against their neo-feudal rule is rising daily from amongst the ordinary people of this city - headed by those in the Newmarket area. It is very significant that this grassroots libertarian opposition is not just on the defensive, but has got positive and constructive ideas of its own which if put into practice would solve their city's many problems. For example, they have pointed out that the acute traffic congestion in the narrow streets of the city centre can be easily solved by making the area an auto-free zone; while the severe housing problem can be completely ended by using the Metro money for building houses (the cost of one leg of the Metro alone would be more than enough to pay for all the housing needed; and this is leaving aside the fact that there are some eight thousand empty houses standing idle in this city).

All in all, while the technocrat order-givers and their "Left wing" machine

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## TECHNOCRATIC TERROR...

Continued from Page 7

minded backers have won a tactical victory in Amsterdam with the use of unlimited State force, they have not beaten the ordinary people of Amsterdam whose eyes have been opened by recent events. Judging by the vigour of the Newmarket Action Group and the popular reaction against Black Monday's evictions and police savagery it would seem that the "victory" of the Amsterdam ruling class has been very much a Pyrrhic one.

28.3.75

Michael Tobin.

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## MEETINGS

Saturday May 3. CONCERT in aid of anarchist prisoners everywhere. In Conway Hall. Further details to be announced. Keep date free.

Thursday, April 24 in CARDIFF.

"Free the 14". 6.30 pm in the Marchioness of Bute (upper room) Frederick Street, Cardiff. (Brit. Withdrawal from N. Ireland Defence Group).

14th April LONDON. Wildcat readers' meeting 7 p.m. in Museum Tavern, Gt. Russell St. WC1. MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Enquire Secretary c/o Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester M17 2DU

NEW YORK Libertarian Book Club Lectures, every second Thursday at 7 pm at Workmen's Circle Center 369 Eighth Avenue (SW corner 29th Street). Admission Free.

April 24: Robert Barnes, Class, Culture and Revolt

May 8: Paul Avrich, The Anarchist Ideal

Alternate Sundays London. Hyde Park Anarchist Forum 1 pm at Speakers Corner. Speakers, Listeners & Hecklers welcome.

# CONTACT

NEXT DESPATCHING DATE for FREEDOM Thursday 24 April. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. (You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding, and informal get-together.)

## PEOPLE/ORGANIZATIONS

FREEDOM needs an editorial secretary two nights weekly (Monday & Thursday), Whitechapel, 6-9 pm shorthand not necessary, electric typewriter, no pay, fares paid, Contact Editorial Collective,

The Peace Centre needs two new workers, starting summer when Dave and Victor leave. Please reply to Peace Centre, 18 Moor Street, Queensway, Birmingham 5 (tel. 021-643 0996)

We would like to build up an Anarchist Workshop. Our first meeting takes place at FREEDOM, 84B Whitechapel High St, E.1 on Friday April 25 at 6 pm. Please come and let's see what we can do together. Abraham, International Freie Arbeiterstimme.

Chinese Anarchism, its history & its influence on Maoism. Information or contacts to Alan Charles, P.O. Box 460, BERKELEY, Calif 94701 U.S.A.

Poems & Songs wanted from all over the world, for Abolish War Encyclopaedia/Anthology. Anarcho-Pacifist, Anti-Militarist, Anti-Racialist, also Conscientious Objectors' Tribunal Statements, any language. Mark Wm. Kramrisch, 55 Camberwell Church St., London S.E. 5.

## GROUPS

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write to 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants.

COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of students, University of Warwick, Coventry.

EDINBURGH, Contact Bob Gibson 7 Union Street, Edinburgh (tel. 031 226 3073)

GLASGOW contact Gerry Cranwell, 163 Great George Street, Hillhead, Glasgow,

PORTSMOUTH. Write to Rob Atkinson at 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Hants.

N. London Anarchist Workers Association for working class anarchist activity. Write BCM-N. Lon. AWA, London WC1V 6XX

NEW ZEALAND contact Steve Hey, 54 Buchanans Road, Christchurch 4. (tel. 496-793).

## PUBLICATIONS

NEWSLETTER for all anarchist, subversives &c in the North West. Send a few 9" x 4" SAEs to Andy Sidwell, 14 Tulketh Avenue, Ashton, Preston, Lancashire.

DIRECT ACTION No. 6 out now. Obtainable from Grass Roots, 109 Oxford Road, Manchester or

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THE MATCH! U.S. Anarchist Monthly. News, reviews, history, theory, polemic. P.O. Box 3480, Tucson, Arizona 85722. \$3.00 per year - or try Freedom Bookshop for specimen copy, 13½p inc. post. ANARCHY, a duplicated Quarterly available in a couple of months. One dollar for 4 issues. Subs, help help & suggestions to Anarchy, c/o 54 Buchanans Road, Christchurch 4, New Zealand

LA FEUILLE. Recevez journal individualist. Ecrivez a M. Stephane Lefort, a/s Monde Libertaire, 3 rue Ternaux, Paris 75011, France THE VULTURE, North American individualist paper soon off the press. Write to C.P. 95, Stn. Place d'Armes, Montreal, P.Q. Canada

## PRISONERS

PAUL PAWLOWSKI, 219039, HM Prison, Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS. Letters & postcards. DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, Box 252, 240 Camden High St., London, NW1. Needs donations to supply books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee. Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263, 2100 MILANO, Italy.



## A UTOPIAN STATE ?

ANARCHY, STATE AND UTOPIA,  
by Robert Nozick (Basil Blackwell,  
£5.50).

IF THE STATE did not exist, would it be necessary to invent it? If so, what kind of State would it be?

In answer to the individualist anarchist who repudiates the state because of its violation of the rights of the individual, Harvard's philosophy professor, Robert Nozick, argues that a minimal state is morally legitimate and necessary but that anything more than a minimal state cannot be justified, and that all present states are immoral because they infringe individual rights.

Professor Nozick's position is one of a truly Anglo-Saxon *laissez faire* libertarianism, which assumes that natural rights exist but which finds socialism as it is being practised both repugnant and punitive. However, the widespread notion that he has put forward a cogent argument against the anarchist is quite wrong and simply irrelevant, given that most anarchists do not believe a Lockean state of nature to be the only morally justifiable situation. In fact Nozick is not interested in examining the formulae put forward by the serious mainstream of the anarchist movement. He uses the stateless state-of-nature theory attributed to anarchism simply to demonstrate that by a natural evolutionary process (the Invisible Hand of classic liberal theory) the need for protection against injustice would lead to the rise of protective agencies (one is tempted to imagine Mafia-type "cosche") that would protect their clients against the clients of other agencies. From these - frequently conflicting - agencies would emerge a dominating agency or ultraminimal state whose moral obligation to protect the individual would lead, in turn, to the formation of a minimal state or state-like entity. This, however, would be "limited to the narrow functions of protection against force, theft, fraud, enforcement of controls". While it would and could not receive cooperation from unwilling individuals, could not impose edicts, taxes or wars, it would have the moral obligation to prevent or compensate for the violation of the individual's rights, including those of dependents who chose not to pay or were unable to pay an agency for protection!

Nozick's spirit and method are derived from Locke but his discussion is far more complex and sophisticated. He is also obviously enjoying himself and a streak of irony runs through the book. But parts of it are extremely arbitrary. A multitude of moral issues

are raised but left unanswered, while the bland supposition that capitalism does not necessarily perpetuate an unjust system of distribution ignores all its most glaring and unjustifiable inequalities. In fact, the most unsatisfactory sections are precisely those where Nozick argues against egalitarian entitlement theories (like Rawls' or Bernard Williams') according to which natural liberty does not take into account inequalities of social background, prior distinctions of wealth, etc., and that the more well-off can only be justified where they contribute to the well-being of the less well-off. For Nozick strict egalitarianism would have the effect of blocking individual choice, free will and responsibility for one's own actions and suppress natural talent (and "Why must differences between people be justified?"), but while this is a serious point Nozick makes no attempt to find a valid remedy for the obvious failings and abuses of capitalism but relies on a vague theory of distributive justice that, too vulnerably in this age of fierce competition and scarcity of resources, depends on a "proper generation of holdings" rectifying injustices where they exist.

The final position of the book, which proposes a libertarian model for Utopia, is more stimulating. At a time of increasing fear - at least in this country - about the approach of a fascist corporate state or potentially totalitarian symbiosis of government, industry and unions, Nozick's suggestion of a free society working by voluntary action, in which many differently organised and autonomous communities could put their notions into practice, is attractive and logical. (It would also solve the problem of forcing people to belong to a community they did not like!) In this libertarian and empirical framework no community would itself have to be *laissez faire* since "it could turn out that though they are permitted, there are no actually practising 'capitalist' institutions".

Nozick's premise is based on the conviction that a stable association, or community, must contain a "diversity of excellences and talents" but that "no one should attempt to decide a utopia unless he's recently read, for example, the works of Shakespeare, Tolstoy, Jane Austen, Rabelais and Dostoevski, to remind himself of how different people are." Thus "Visionaries and crackpots, maniacs and saints, monks and libertines, capitalists and communists and participatory democrats, proponents of phalanxes (Fourier), palaces of labor (Flora Tristan), villages of unity and cooperation (Owen), mutualist communities (Proudhon), time stores (Josiah Warren), Bruderhof, Kibbutzim. Kundalini yoga

ashrams and so forth, may all have their try at building their visions and setting an alluring example."

Nozick surmises there would be three broad types of association, the imperialistic, the missionary and the existential (which does not terribly mind if it is not universal). Conflict could be resolved, if not peaceably, through the adjudication of the minimal state. But in any case the problem now becomes one of federation and decentralisation in general and is left there.

The faults and difficulties of this book are many and phrases like "protective agency" and "minimal state" are ambiguous and can be misleading. (If, for instance, an anarchist were to replace the unashamedly competitive and specialised protective agency with a directly democratic community council or anarcho-syndicate with their different, more profoundly social and complex functions the Invisible Hand growth of the minimal state, with all its problems in keeping minimal, might not seem so inevitable, even if some form of centralised body were still to exist for purposes, say, of technical coordination).

Nevertheless, once one sees the irrelevancies of the argument against the anarchist's supposed state-of-nature ideal, this complicated and subtle philosophical attack on all dominant ideologies, with its belief that a better and freer organisation "itself tends to make people better and more ideal", is both amusing (if one has the time to unravel its intricacies) and worthy of serious consideration - if not acceptance - by anyone preoccupied with the question of freedom and concerned to loosen the pernicious hold of government and state on our society.

G. F.

### F.P. Publications

A B C of Anarchism, by Alexander Berkman 25p (post 8p) USA 80c.  
About Anarchism, by Nicolas Walter.

15p (post 5½p) USA 45c  
Anarchy, by Errico Malatesta, in a new translation from the Italian original. 25p (post 8p) USA 80c  
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Cloth £1.50 (post 24p) (\$4.25)  
Paper £0.75 (post 24p) (\$2.25)

# WHO PROFITS?

OUR EXCELLENT American contemporary, The Match!, features a department called 'Anarchist Anti-Defamation League' which is 'dedicated to protesting [against] slurs - (ignorant or otherwise) on Anarchism'. Freedom has been contemplating starting such a department but there is so much ignorant usage of the words "anarchy" and "anarchism" that we should have been swamped with material, and as for malicious or semi-informed interpretations of "anarchism" these are scarce and we should welcome such material.

In a perverse way one can take such slurs as a compliment or as a testimony that anarchism as a philosophy is making some impact. Therefore it was not surprising to find that readers of The Match! had discovered from Granma, the official organ of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Cuba (Feb. 2, 1975) an attack on anarchism, entitled "Who Profits from a 'revival' of anarchism?" It so happens that Granma is one of the many (mainly unreadable) publications from Communist countries such as North Korea, East Germany, Yugoslavia and Cuba which, unsolicited, litter the editorial desk and one was able to salvage this copy from the files. Comfort could be taken from the fact that a corresponding article on the same page is entitled "Who Profits from the 'critical theory' of Herbert Marcuse?"

The article attacking anarchism starts out with the usual Communist premise that the world is lining up into two camps with a shift in the balance of power in favour of socialism. This has led (says Granma) a group of bourgeois ideologists and sociologists, reformists and revisionists at the service of imperialism and 'the theorist of the so-called fourth international' such as --and the paper inaccurately names Garcia Pradas, Herbert Read, Alex Comfort, A. Lefebvre and Daniel and Gabriel Cohn-Bendit/ 'of Germany' is gratuitously added -- to revive and publicise the anarchist ideology of Proudhon, Bakunin [and here comes the absolutely Freudian or deliberate misprint] and 'Erotkin'. One cannot, living in a glass house, blame a compositor in a foreign language for misprints, but this is obviously (as Match notes) to suppress even the correct name and carries overtones of the Puritanism which is the prevailing tone of most 'Communist' countries.

The author revives the attack by Marx and Engels on the vulnerable Proudhon, but wisely does not go into the more salutary conflict between Marx and Bakunin with its clear lessons for today on the dangers of the centralised state.

The article goes on "By reviving an-

archist ideology or the so-called 'Left Communism' the enemies of socialism seek to have one sector of the workers oppose the others, to pit the anti-imperialist proletarian sectors against the working class in general, young people against adults, and workers who are not members of the Communist Party against those who are. And they even claim that 'you can be a revolutionary and still have anti-communist positions'." (No source given.)

There is nothing fresh in these accusations. The article is in short an appeal not to rock the boat. To bolster up these accusations, as was inevitable, the author quotes from Lenin's Left-Wing Communism: an Infantile Disorder (1920). He wisely ignores The State and Revolution (1917).

There are wild passages on "Imperialist agents infiltrated in the ranks of the workers movement are used to promote anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist trends. In order to accomplish these objectives the imperialists frequently use politically and ideologically backward elements which they bribe [see Press Fund] and which the bourgeois press presents as 'genuine defenders of the proletariat'." [see Daily Telegraph] There is a further Leninist quote: "The anarchists have an inverted bourgeois concept of the world. They [sic] are individualist theories and their individualist ideal is absolutely contrary to socialism."

Then: "Anarchist ideology - historically defeated by Marxism-Leninism - is based on the following principles (1) Negation of the state (2) Negation of the Party of the working class and the dictatorship of the proletariat (3) Replacing the State by trade unions (4) The instruments of production must be the pro-

-perty of the producers and labor councils and must be run by the unions (5) Unlimited individual freedom, negation of all forms of authority (6) No subordination of the individual to the collective no discipline in the social, productive or service sectors (7) Subjectivism and voluntarism, as the basis for the anarchist philosophical concept of the world' (These principles, or the final one - the article is unclear - are attributed to A. Kosichev in Marxism and Anarchism.)

In a well-known Marxist tactic of 'guilt by association' or 'amalgamism', the author, Tony Fernandez, links Proudhon with Kautsky, Hilferding and Bernstein "who seek to negate the revolutionary processes, the class-struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat and the emancipation of the working class and all oppressed peoples everywhere." This cliché-ridden formula rounds off the attack.

It would take too long and be superogatory to answer all this farrago of half-truths and lies. It is obviously impossible, even if it were desirable from their point of view, for official Communists - of any state - to understand the pluralist nature of anarchism with its anarcho-communist, anarcho-syndicalist and individualist strands. The ready substitution of 'trade unions' for syndicates' (a mistranslation?); the raising of the old bogey 'unlimited individual freedom'; the ignoring of 'Erotkin's' concept of mutual aid, co-operation, responsibility and self-discipline are points which come readily to mind.

It is more interesting to examine briefly the source from which such criticism comes -- Cuba. It was pointed out at the time that after Castro's achievement of power - with the aid of

continued on Page 3

## LITTLE LIBERTY...

LESS EQUALITY \* NO FRATERNITY

IN FREEDOM of 1st March we gave a brief account of the French Minister of the Interior, Michel Poniatowski's latest declaration on greater powers for the police. One of the ways in which these powers have taken concrete form is in the appearance on French boulevards of the by now notorious "anti-gang" brigade which last week broke into a Paris bar and beat up a group of Algerians, one of whom, a lawyer, was severely injured. The affair has excited a lot of protest, though hardly a murmur from official quarters. Prince Poniatowski's answer has been to state that the antigang's powers must be increased still further, but he has given assurances that its personnel will be "improved" and has reminded them not to be racist!

Three Tahitians have also been the victims of French justice and racialism, as two lawyers reminded readers of Le Monde the other week. In 1972 these Tahitians, with four of their friends, made a symbolic protest against the nuclear tests at Muratua (rather too close for comfort) by stealing 19 cases of unusable munitions, and thereby pouring ridicule on the so-called invulnerability of the French army. They were arrested and sentenced to five years' imprisonment, 22,000 francs fine, and ten years

exile!!

The lawyers protest that a sentence of such severity has never been passed in France itself, and certainly not for a symbolic act. Apart from this they were judged without a lawyer to defend them.

In June 1972 they managed to escape from their bamboo prison with the complicity of the Tahitian people. But they were quickly recaptured and sent to prison in France where "ill and shivering" say the lawyers, "they managed at last to contact us." But despite general surprise at the harshness of the sentence, the Tahitians were transferred from the prison of Fresnes to Les Baumettes, and it was decided that they must serve their punishment to the bitter end. In fact, not only were they not granted an amnesty when the new President was elected - which is the custom - but six months extra were added on to their sentence!

"Are we going to let them rot in their cell?" the lawyers ask, "these three men wounded through love of their land, ravaged by the moral and economic fallout of the bomb; these men devoted to the freedom of their people and to whom France has found no other answer but prison and banishment?"

G. F.

# A LITTLE LOWER THAN THE APES

IT HAS long been held that popular culture is the summation of human desires; that the vox pop is indeed the voice of the popular gods. On another level, so much popular culture is mass produced and packaged by teams of widely assorted experts that the collective result is the product of the collective unconscious of the producing group. Such is the variant nature of the compounded work and the role played by chance that the popular leftist myth of deliberately created consciously contrived opiates for the masses is impossible of fulfilment.

'But seeing what they'll unbribed do...' it isn't really necessary. The bulk of pop culture is artistically negligible; morally and ethically reprehensible; socially harmful or at best neutral; politically unconscious; commercially successful; skilful in craftsmanship and technique and widely acceptable.

Such is the fostered consumer-demand of the twenty-four day, seven days a week insatiable demand of the media of television, newspapers, periodicals, records and cassettes (not to mention the minor channels of cinema, theatre and books) that the demand is in danger of outstripping supply. Given the capitalistic competitive set-up of the media the constant aim of the producers is a block-buster, a best-seller or top-rating which will corner the market for an appreciable length of time and dominate channels of communication, at the same time perpetuating itself by its feedback of the book of the film of the play of the TV serial.

This has created what is known as a 'property' and the key production is tied in to all sorts of products (not confined to the media) which publicize and cash in on the current vogues. For example T-shirts, children's games, confectionary (there is a 'Kojack' lollipop). In doing this exploitation (their term) the publicists often remove the concept far away from any intellectual or artistic roots or qualities which the original property may have had.

Two television examples that spring to mind are the deplorable M.A.S.H. series based on the excellent film M.A.S.H. and a series based on 'Paper Moon'. A different and more widely exploited case (or cult) is Kung-Fu with wide repercussions - even including an English-based Maoist claim that Kung-Fu is a proletarian form of fighting!

A further example, worthy of more detailed examination, is the 'Planet of the Apes' series. At least two of the original films were scripted by Paul Dehn from the novel (or novels) of Pierre Boulle: 1968 'Planet of the Apes', 1970 'Beneath the Planet of the Apes', 1971 'Escape from the Planet of the Apes', 1972 'Conquest of the Planet of the Apes', 1973 'Battle of the Planet of the Apes', followed by a TV series which, true to pattern, has deteriorated. Inevitably they have produced their quota of games, T-shirts, a comic book, etc., which have exploited the 'Ape' market for all its worth.

An interview with Mark Lenard (Jrko of CBS-TV 'Planet of the Apes' series), appeared in the March 22nd 'Planet' comic. To the interviewer's comment that the 'Planet' was one of the most popular magazines they'd ever published, they averaged (sic) three to four hundred letters a week, Lenard replied with disarming candour: "I am sure there are a lot of things...well, you know, they do have a tremendous potential-merchandising. They

expect that to be enormous." Interviewer: "I know. It's hard to say whether this is like the Kung Fu thing, which seem to last a year and then peter out - or whether 'Apes' will last." Lenard: "Well, I think it will depend on the series continuing. It will not be the same without the series. In the series 'Here Comes the Bride' there was somebody on it - a singer, Bobby Sherman - who had been popular before and then faded, but because of the series he became tremendously popular again for quite a while. I know that he wasn't making too much on the series, but it didn't make any difference; it was the thing that brought him the huge exposure that made him a... star." \* \* \*

The 'Apes' series is basically science fiction fantasy. The gimmick is a planet entirely colonized by 'apes' (i.e. chimpanzees and gorillas), the roles played by actors in superb 'ape' make-up which merges with their natural features and enables them a variety of near-human expression which is not usually attained by actors portraying animals.

The Dehn scripts ('Beneath' and 'Conquest') bear the imprint of their author, who was a known supporter of CND and wrote several impressive anti-bomb verses and the script of 'Ten Days to Noon'. It is not surprising that 'Beneath...' is severely critical of the folly of humans who have practically wiped themselves out by use of the atomic bomb. A few survivors have elevated the cobalt-bomb (which they possess) into a religious symbol, almost a god, and they are prepared to use it to wipe out the Apes who are invading through the 'forbidden zone'. The 'Apes' themselves are deeply divided into the warlike gorillas and the protesting, demonstrating, peace-loving chimpanzees. The social satire of warring mankind, the almost blasphemous canonization

## WHO PROFITS? (continued from P. 2)

libertarian guerillas - he set about getting rid of the libertarians, many of whom were imprisoned and others exiled. Castro moved towards Communist ideas with the help of Communists who had worked under Batista, the former dictator.

Under Castro, Cuba has moved along a familiar Communist path, financial dependence on the Soviet Union; encouragement of the worth-ethic and concentration on the sugar cash-crop; growth of puritanism, suppression of 'hippies' and persecution of homosexuals and a decline in civil liberties. This is no new discovery for anarchists. The London anarchists demonstrated at the Cuban Embassy against the regime nearly ten years ago. The same process as in Cuba took place in Soviet Russia, in Spain during the Civil War, in China, and will doubtless take place in 'liberated' Vietnam.

Wherever the Communists seize power and erect a State the 'bourgeois concept' (as they call it) of freedom is the first thing to go. It is undoubtedly the case that much social hardship is eliminated, health and education improved, in the 'Communist' states but any totalitarian state (or even social-democratic states with

(if the word may be permitted) of the cobalt-bomb and the final (but not quite) pessimistic end all show the committal and concern of at least one of the original authors.

The 1972 'Conquest' is based on the idea of slavery. The 'Apes' have been enslaved and trained to work for humans. A descendant of the original planet-apes (intelligent and speaking) leads a successful (?) revolt against the humans; he is counselled to moderation and mercy by (symbolic, this) a negro. Underneath it again, runs a vein of social comment and humanitarian feeling, but one guesses that the violent scenes of insurrection are dwelt upon for their own sake and are probably symptomatic of a decay in the original, almost Swiftian idea of a world inhabited by apes who, rightly, despise mankind.

Probably, judging from evidence in the comic, the TV series has suffered the same degrading fate. Strangely enough in the current (March 22) number of the Comic although there are scenes of the usual violence between man and ape (gorilla) it ends with a reconciliation between man and ape, having failed to connect punches. However, with the cartoon-ist's "Whokt!" of a stone hitting the ape's head and sundry "smuksh's" they are killed in a stone-battle between mutants (ape-men) and apes, with the sententious caption: "The forbidden zone; a dreadful place shunned by the living ever since all life was burned from its face in a hellish instant of searing war... a place now inimically populated again... permanently by war... permanently by indigenous residents spawned and mutated in that hellish instant to perpetuate the battleground of war. Circles they repeat themselves. Circles... they stink."

As long as the media are in the hands of those whose sole criteria of value are ratings, profit, "potential merchandizing", so long will we have the debasing of artistic, moral, ethical, social and political standards, and the absolute negation of all of any value that the artist has conceived.

J. R.

parliamentary majorities) can bring in such improvements yet the power-relationships are not changed.

Indeed, by virtue of the extent of the 'Communist' state's powers such power tends to corrupt. It is significant that among the late unlamented Josef Stalin's works is a criticism of anarchism. It is not listed in Tony Fernandez's bibliography.

Jack Robinson.

A GREAT number of the inhabitants of the cities will have to become agriculturists. Not in the same manner as the present peasants, who wear themselves out ploughing for a wage that barely provides them with sufficient food for the year, but by following the principles of intensive agriculture of the market gardeners, applied on a large scale by means of the best machinery that man has invented or can invent... They will organize cultivation on better principles and not in the future but at once, during the revolutionary struggles, for fear of being worsted by the enemy.

--Peter Kropotkin

# MAKHNO

NESTOR MAKHNO, the anarchist partisan leader, was among the most colourful and heroic figures of the Russian Revolution and Civil War. His movement in the Ukraine represents one of the few occasions in history where anarchists controlled a large territory for an extended period of time. For more than a year he was a greater power on the steppe than either Trotsky or Denikin. A born military leader, he fought simultaneously on several fronts, opposing Whites as well as Reds, Austrian invaders as well as Ukrainian nationalists, not to speak of countless bands of irregulars who crossed and recrossed the steppe in search of plunder and booty. According to Victor Serge, he was a "strategist of unsurpassed ability" whose peasant army possessed a "truly epic capacity for organization and battle". Emma Goldman called him "the most picturesque and vital figure brought to the fore by the Revolution in the South".

For all his importance, however, Makhno has been seriously neglected by historians. Existing accounts of his movement, with very few exceptions, consist of mixtures of fact and fiction, of hostile, sometimes vicious polemics, sensationalist journalism, or uncritical, romanticized portraits verging on hagiography. Perhaps it is inevitable that a glamorous and controversial figure of Makhno's stamp should lend himself to such treatment. Yet it is nonetheless deplorable. Professional scholars, moreover, have tended to rely on the early histories of Voline and Arshinov for their information, rather than examining the original sources. (This is true even for the most elementary data, so that David Footman, George Woodcock, and James Joll, repeating Voline's error, all give the year of Makhno's death as 1935 rather than 1934.)

It is true that the journals and manifestos of the Makhno movement are hard to come by, having been in great part lost or destroyed in the turmoil of the Civil War. It is true also that the relevant documents in Soviet archives remain closed to Western specialists. Nor, to my knowledge, have the archives of Voline (held by his sons in Paris) been made available to the scholar, though they are bound to include important materials. Yet, for all these limitations, the sources are nevertheless considerable and remain to be thoroughly tapped.

What do they include? To begin with, we have Makhno's personal memoirs through December 1918, published in a three-volume Russian edition in Paris between 1929 and 1937, the last two volumes edited with valuable prefaces and notes by Voline. Volume One was translated into French (Paris, 1929; reprinted in 1970) and also Italian (Ragusa, 1972), and a French translation of the remainder is now in preparation. In addition, eleven Makhnovist proclamations were preserved by Ugo Fedeli, a well-known Italian anarchist who obtained them in the 1920's during visits to Moscow, Berlin, and Paris, where he became personally acquainted with Makhno. These proclamations were published in the original Russian in the *International Review of Social History* in 1968 and are included in the new English edition of Arshinov discussed below. (Fedeli, incidentally, was himself the author of a short but useful study of the Makhno movement, *Dalla insurrezione dei contadini in Ucraina alla rivolta di Cronstadt*, published in Milan in 1950).

Further archival materials, which will be mentioned again later, are to be found in the Tcherikower Collection of YIVO (the Jewish Scientific Institute) in New York City. Moreover, Soviet histories and documentary collections, while invariably hostile and of limited worth, contain some useful information, as do recent articles on Makhno in Soviet academic journals, such as "The Makhno Movement and Its Downfall" by S. N. Semarova, which appeared in *Voprosy istorii* (Problems of History) in 1966. Beyond all this, additional documents and photographs no doubt remain in the hands of Makhno's surviving comrades in France and other Western countries. Furthermore, Michael Palij, a Ukrainian immigrant who is now a librarian in an American university, has produced an unpublished doctoral thesis on "The Partisan Movement of the Anarchist Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921" (University of Kansas, 1971), and another thesis has been in preparation for several years at the London School of Economics by Michael Malet, who published a bibliographical essay on Makhno in Number 21 of the *C.I.R.A. Bulletin* (Autumn 1970).

It is from such materials as these that the story of the Makhno movement will eventually be reconstructed, as well as from the scattered files of Makhnovist newspapers in Western libraries, interviews with surviving participants in the Insurgent Army and with people who knew Makhno in exile, the eyewitness histories of Arshinov and Voline, and the secondary accounts of the *Makhnovshchina* by David Footman, Max Nomad, and others.

Until now, however, there has been no careful and up-to-date study of Makhno based on the whole range of available sources. As a result, a number of nagging questions persist. Was Makhno a military dictator, as his enemies maintain? A "bandit and counter-revolutionary", as the Soviets describe him? A "primitive rebel", in Eric Hobsbawm's phrase? Was he an incurable drunkard? An anti-intellectual? An anti-Semite? A pogromist? How critical were his military efforts in saving the Revolution from the Whites? Did his unsophisticated equipment and tactics

doom him to defeat before a centralized professional army? How successful were his attempts to establish local self-management in the villages and towns of the Ukraine? What do we really know about him? How much is myth and fantasy, and how much is incontrovertible fact?

§

So far none of the books about Makhno provide wholly satisfying answers. The work that comes closest to doing so, Peter Arshinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*, was the first (and for a long time the only) full-length chronicle in any language. It has been the starting point for all other accounts. Later writers, including Nomad and Footman, have added little of substance to what Arshinov told us more than fifty years ago, and his book remains the best general history of the subject. How surprising, then, that we have had to wait so long for an English translation.

Arshinov was on intimate terms with Makhno long before the latter launched his movement in the Ukraine. They had been fellow inmates in the Butyrki prison in Moscow, after being convicted of separate terrorist acts in the aftermath of the 1905 Revolution. While in jail, it was Arshinov who taught Makhno the elements of anarchist theory. Afterwards he became the head of the Cultural-Educational Section of Makhno's Insurgent Army and editor of its newspaper, *Put' k svobode* (The Road to Freedom). As a result, he was thoroughly familiar with the documents of the movement, many of which were subsequently lost.

Between battles Arshinov worked on his manuscript, which was destroyed four times, twice at the front and twice during searches. Each time it had to be rewritten from scratch, and it was finally completed in June 1921, a year before Arshinov's deportation by the Bolsheviks. The original Russian edition was published in Berlin in 1923 by the Group of Russian Anarchists in Germany with a valuable preface by Voline, who also translated the book into German, in which it was published the same year. (It has also appeared in French, Italian and Spanish.) Voline's thoughtful preface (included in the new English edition) presents an interesting biographical sketch of Arshinov as well as a cogent overall analysis of the *Makhnovshchina*.

Arshinov's book, as Voline points out, was written by a committed anarchist who was personally involved in the events that he recounts. Yet its interest reaches beyond the history of a single political group, for it throws considerable light on the Revolution and Civil War and the emergence of the Soviet dictatorship. The present English translation, by Lorraine and Fredy Perlman, is workmanlike if a trifle dry and literal. It is followed by a new appendix consisting of the eleven Makhno proclamations from the Ugo Fedeli Collection, translated from the Russian by Ann Allen. (The appendix to the Russian edition, a protest against Makhno's detention in Poland, has been omitted.) There is also a map of the Makhnovist region as well as six good illustrations, among them the handsome photograph of Makhno from which a widely distributed Anarchist Black Cross poster was made a few years ago. Unfortunately there is no index. Although the book leaves certain questions unanswered and suffers from an uncritical approach to its subject, it is a pioneering effort and should be read by anyone interested in the libertarian aspects of the Russian Revolution.

The recent biography by Victor Peters, the first book on Makhno in English, takes a completely different approach. It is the work of an American professor, the son of a Mennonite farmer from the Gulyai-Polye region and author of a previous book on the Hutterites that is one of the standard works on the subject. By comparison, however, his book on Makhno is disappointing. It is much too short to provide an adequate narrative and analysis, and it contains little that is new, apart from some anecdotal details obtained from correspondence and interviews with Ukrainian émigrés in North America and Western Europe. Peters, unaccountably, has neglected some of the most basic sources on Makhno, such as the journals and proclamations of his movement. On the other hand, his narrative is easy to follow (though the writing is undistinguished) and the book is worth reading even if it does not make a substantial contribution to scholarship, let alone provide the definitive biography of Makhno that we need.

The third book, by contrast, possesses the literary qualities of a novel or adventure story. Its author, Malcolm Menzies, writes in the clear and vivid style of a good popular biographer. He is more readable than either Peters or Arshinov, and his book deserves a wider audience than it has so far received. It is certainly worthy of publication in the original English from which the present French edition has been translated.

# AND HIS BIOGRAPHERS

It provides an interesting psychological portrait of Makhno, with fresh insights into his personality; and apart from some minor errors (that can easily be corrected) it is factually accurate. Moreover, it contains new material both on his youth in Gulyai-Polye and on his last years in Paris (Menziés has looked up Makhno's reminiscences in Sébastien Faure's journal *Le Libéraire*, as well as talking to everyone he could find in Paris who knew Makhno).

But Menziés's interpretations of Makhno's character do not always ring true. He exaggerates Makhno's peasant primitiveness, his jealousy and dislike of intellectuals, his despotism and lust for power and glory. Detailed research into the Russian and Ukrainian as well as Yiddish sources is essential to clarify these and other controversial aspects of Makhno's personality and career. Menziés's lack of these languages presents a serious handicap in this respect, though he has gone to the trouble of having some of the more important materials translated for him. His book, while it does contain new insights and information, makes no pretence of being an original work of scholarship. It lacks a proper bibliography and proper documentation. To a considerable extent it is a synthesis - an able and well-written synthesis - of Arshinov, Voline, Footman, and a few other works. For all its virtues, a longer and more exhaustive study, based on a thorough examination of the sources, is what is needed most at this time.

§

What might a definitive biography of Makhno contain that has been inadequately dealt with in previous works? The present essay can provide only a few hints. In the first place, it would have to come to grips with the very question of Makhno's anarchism. According to Emma Goldman, Makhno's objective was to establish libertarian society in the south that would serve as a model for the whole of Russia. Interestingly enough, Trotsky once noted that he and Lenin had toyed with the idea of allotting a piece of territory to Makhno for this purpose, but the project foundered when fighting broke out between the anarchist guerrillas and the Bolshevik forces in the Ukraine. But was Makhno in fact a true anarchist or merely another "primitive rebel" from the southern frontier, harking back to Stenka Razin and Emelian Pugachev with their vision of Cossack federalism and rough-and-ready democracy? The answer is that he was both. Nor is there any contradiction, for the Cossack-peasant rebellions of the 17th and 18th centuries possessed a strong egalitarian and anti-statist character, their participants mounting an all-out attack upon the nobility and bureaucracy and regarding the state as an evil tyranny which trampled upon popular freedoms. Makhno's anarchism was entirely compatible with these sentiments and with peasant aspirations in general. The peasants wanted the land and then to be left alone by gentry, officials, tax-collectors, recruiting-sergeants, and all external agents of authority, replacing them with a society of "free toilers" who, as the villagers put it, would "set to work to the tune of free and joyous song".

In this sense, Makhno was the very incarnation of peasant anarchism, the partisan leader in closest touch with the most cherished hopes and feelings of the village. He was, in George Woodcock's description, "an anarchist Robin Hood", a familiar figure in other peasant and artisan societies, notably Spain and Italy, where anarchism also struck lasting roots and won a sizeable following. (In Mexico, too, he had his counterparts in Emiliano Zapata and Ricardo Flores Magón.) He was a modern Razin or Pugachev come to rescue the poor from their oppressors and to grant them land and liberty. As in the past, his movement arose in the southern borderlands and was directed against the wealthy and powerful. Makhno, wrote Alexander Berkman, "became the avenging angel of the lowly, and presently he was looked upon as the great liberator, whose coming had been prophesied by Pugachev in his dying moments".

Following the example of his predecessors, Makhno expropriated the landlords, removed the officials, established a Cossack-style "republic" in the steppe, and was revered by his followers as their *batko*, their good father. He called on the peasants to rise against the "golden epaulettes" of Wrangel and Denikin and to fight for free soviets and communes. At the same time he opposed the "Communists and commissars" just as Razin and Pugachev had opposed the "boyars and officials". The Bolsheviks, for their part, denounced him as a "bandit", the epithet with which Moscow had maligned its guerrilla opponents since the seventeenth century. Furthermore, the same legends arose about Makhno as about Razin and Pugachev. As his wife told Emma Goldman, "there grew up among the country folk the belief that Makhno was invincible because he had never been wounded during all the years of warfare in

spite of his practice of always personally leading every charge".

There was, however, an important difference. Unlike Razin and Pugachev, and unlike his contemporary "atamans" in the Ukraine, Makhno was motivated by a specific anarchist ideology. Throughout his life he proudly wore the anarchist label as a mark of his unmitigated opposition to authority. As early as 1906, as a lad of 17, he joined an Anarchist-Communist group in his native town of Gulyai-Polye. His understanding of anarchism matured during his nine years in Butyrki prison, under the tutelage of Peter Arshinov, and was further deepened by his contact with Voline, Aaron Baron, and other anarchist intellectuals who joined his movement during the Civil War. Of the older theorists, his main source of inspiration was Kropotkin, to whom he made a pilgrimage in 1918 after helping to distribute *The Conquest of Bread* in Moscow, an encounter movingly described in his memoirs. He also strongly admired Bakunin, and the stream of leaflets and proclamations which issued from his camp often bore a Bakuninist flavour.

Makhno's anarchism, however, was not confined to propaganda, important though this was to win new adherents. On the contrary, Makhno was a man of action who, even while preoccupied with military campaigns, sought to put his anarchist theories into practice. His first act on entering a town (after throwing open the prisons) was to dispel any impression that he had come to introduce a new form of political rule. Announcements were posted informing the local inhabitants that they were now free to organize their lives as they saw fit, that his Insurgent Army would not "dictate to them or order them to do anything". Free speech, press, and assembly were proclaimed, although Makhno would not countenance organizations that sought to impose political authority, and he therefore dissolved the Bolshevik revolutionary committees, instructing their members to "take up some honest trade".

Makhno's aim was to throw off domination of every type and to encourage economic and social self-determination. "It is up to the workers and peasants," said one of his proclamations in 1919, "to organize themselves and reach mutual understandings in all areas of their lives and in whatever manner they think right." With his active support, anarchistic communes were organized, each with about a dozen households totalling a hundred to three hundred members; and if few of the participants considered themselves outright anarchists, they nevertheless operated the communes on the basis of full equality and accepted Kropotkin's principle of mutual aid as their fundamental tenet. Regional congresses of peasants and workers allotted each commune tools and livestock confiscated from the nobility and as much land as its members were able to cultivate without hiring additional labour. That the first such commune should have been named in honour of Rosa Luxemburg, an anti-authoritarian Marxist and recent martyr in the German Revolution, is a reflection of Makhno's doctrinaire approach to revolutionary theory and practice.

In his attempts to reconstruct society along libertarian lines, Makhno also encouraged experiments in workers' self-management whenever the occasion offered. For example, when the railway workers of Aleksandrovsk complained that they had not been paid for many weeks, he advised them to take control of the railroad and charge the users what seemed a fair price for their services. Such projects, however, were of limited success, though they call for a closer examination by historians. For Makhno found little time to implement his economic programmes. He was forever on the move. His army was a "republic on peasant-carts", as Voline described it, and "as always, the instability of the situation prevented positive work".

In the Ukraine in 1918/20, as in Spain in 1936/39, the libertarian experiment was conducted amid conditions of civil strife, economic dislocation, and political and military repression, and was thus unable to endure. But not for want of trying, nor from any lack of devotion to anarchism. Through all Makhno's campaigns a large black flag, the classic symbol of anarchy, floated at the head of his army, embroidered with the slogans "Liberty or Death" and "The Land to the Peasants, the Factories to the Workers". Makhno and his advisers even made plans to establish anarchist schools modelled on Ferrer's experiments in Spain, and would have carried them out had the situation permitted.

In one area, however, Makhno made significant compromises with his libertarian principles. As a military leader he was compelled to inaugurate a form of conscription in order to replenish his forces, and he is known on occasion to have imposed strict measures of military discipline,

Continued on Page 6

including summary executions. His violent tendencies, some maintain, were accentuated by bouts with alcohol. Voline emphasizes Makhno's drinking and carousing nature, and Victor Serge describes him as "boozing, swashbuckling, disorderly and idealistic". Hostile observers have even compared him to a Chinese warlord, insisting that his army was libertarian only in name. This, however, is not a true picture. For while military considerations inevitably clashed with Makhno's anarchistic doctrines, his army was more popular both in organization and social composition than any other fighting force of his day.

By all accounts Makhno was a military leader of outstanding ability and courage. His achievement in organizing an army and conducting an effective and prolonged campaign is, apart from some of the successes of the Spanish anarchists in 1936/39, unique in the history of anarchism. He inherited a good deal of the Cossack tradition of independent military communities in the South and of their resentment of government encroachments. His guerrilla tactics of ambush and surprise were both a throwback to the Russian rebels of the past and an anticipation of the methods of combat lately employed in China, Cuba, and Vietnam. But how critical were his efforts in saving the Revolution from the Whites? Voline flatly asserts that "the honour of having annihilated the Denikinist counter-revolution in the autumn of 1919 belongs entirely to the Makhnovist Insurgent Army". David Footman writes more modestly that "there is some justification for the claim that Peregonovka was one of the decisive battles of the Civil War in the south". In any case, the importance of the battle is clearly beyond dispute.

Makhno, in short, was a thoroughgoing anarchist who practised what he preached in so far as conditions permitted. A down-to-earth peasant, he was not a man of words, not a phrase-maker or orator, but a lover of action who rejected metaphysical systems and abstract social theorizing. When he came to Moscow in June 1918, he was disturbed by the atmosphere of "paper revolution" among the anarchists as well as the Bolsheviks. Anarchist intellectuals like Borovoi, Roshchin, and Gordin struck him as men of books rather than deeds, mesmerized by their own words and lacking the will to fight for their ideals. Nevertheless, he respected them for their learning and idealism and later sought their assistance in teaching his peasant followers the fundamentals of anarchist doctrine.

Makhno's anti-intellectual streak was shared by his mentor Arshinov, a self-educated workman from the Ukraine like his pupil. Arshinov, however, went further. In his *History of the Makhnovist Movement* he not only criticizes the Bolsheviks as a new ruling class of intellectuals, a theory first put forward by Bakunin, developed by Machajski, and restated during the Revolution by Maximoff and other anarchist writers, but he expresses contempt for anarchist intellectuals as well, calling them mere theorists who never took affirmative action but who "slept through" events of unparalleled historical significance, abandoning the field to the authoritarians. This goes far to explain his *Organizational Platform* of 1926, which criticizes do-nothing intellectuals and calls for effective organization and action.

This brings us to the vexed question of Makhno's alleged anti-Semitism, which future biographers must subject to careful scrutiny. Charges of Jew-baiting and of anti-Jewish pogroms have come from every quarter, Left, Right and Centre. Without exception, however, they are based on hearsay, rumour, or intentional slander, and remain undocumented and unproved. The Soviet propaganda machine was at particular pains to malign Makhno as an ordinary bandit and pogromist. But after painstaking research, Elias Tcherikower, an eminent Jewish historian and authority on anti-Semitism in the Ukraine, concludes that the number of anti-Jewish acts committed by the Makhnovists was "negligible" in comparison with those committed by other combatants in the Civil War, the Red Army not excepted.

To verify this, I recently examined several hundred photographs in the Tcherikower Collection (housed in the YIVO Library in New York) depicting anti-Jewish atrocities in the Ukraine during the Civil War. While a great many of them document acts perpetrated by the adherents of Denikin, Petliura, Grigoriev, and other self-styled "atamans", only one is labelled as having been the work of the Makhnovists, though even here neither Makhno himself nor any of his recognizable subordinates are to be seen, nor is there any indication that Makhno had authorized the raid or, indeed, that the band involved was in fact affiliated with his Insurgent Army.

On the other hand, there is plenty of evidence that Makhno did all in his power to counteract any anti-Semitic tendencies among his followers. Moreover, a considerable number of Jews took part in the Makhnovist movement. Some, like Voline and Baron, were intellectuals who served on the Cultural-Educational Commission, wrote his manifestos and edited his journals, but the great majority fought in the ranks of the Insurgent Army, either in special detachments of Jewish artillery or infantry or else within the regular partisan units, alongside peasants and workers of Ukrainian, Russian, and other national origin. Makhno personally con-

demned discrimination of any sort, and punishments for anti-Semitic acts were swift and severe: one troop commander was summarily shot after raiding a Jewish town, and a soldier met the same fate merely for displaying a poster with the stock anti-Semitic formula, "Beat the Jews, Save Russia!" Makhno denounced Ataman Grigoriev for his pogroms and had him shot. Had Makhno been guilty of the accusations against him, surely the Jewish anarchists in his camp would have broken with his movement and raised their voices in protest. The same is true of Alexander Berkman, Emma Goldman, and others who were in Russia at the time or of Sholem Schwartzbard, Voline, Ida Mett, Senya Fleshin, and Mollie Steiner in Paris during the 1920s. Far from criticizing Makhno as an anti-Semite, they defended him against the campaign of slander which persisted from all sides.

Finally, the last years of Makhno's life deserve fuller treatment than they have so far received from the historians. Of all the writers to date, Malcolm Menzies has provided the most satisfactory account of this period, yet even he has not told the full and dramatic story of Makhno's escape across the Dniester, his internment in Russia, his escape to Poland, his arrest, trial, and acquittal, his flight to Danzig, renewed imprisonment and final escape (aided by Alexander Berkman and other comrades in Europe), and his ultimate sanctuary in Paris, where he lived out the last ten years of his life in obscurity, poverty, and disease, an Antaeus cut off from the soil which might have replenished his strength. He had always hated the "poison" of big cities, cherishing the natural environment in which he was born. How ironic that he should be destined to end his days in a great foreign capital, working in an automobile factory, a restless consumptive for whom drink provided meagre relief.

Yet he never lost his passion for anarchism, never abandoned the movement to which he had dedicated his life. He attended anarchist meetings (frequenting the Jewish "Autodidact" Club -- strange behaviour for a pogromist!), defended the *Organizational Platform* of his old comrade Arshinov, and mingled with anarchists from all over the world, including a group of Chinese students and also Durruti and Ascamo, whom he regaled with his adventures in the Ukraine and offered his help when the moment for their own struggle should arrive. While death intervened to prevent this, it is of great interest that a number of veterans of his Insurgent Army did in fact go to fight in the Durruti column in 1936. How fitting, then, that the Spanish comrades should have provided financial assistance when Makhno lay mortally ill with tuberculosis.

Makhno's final moments are movingly imagined in Malcolm Menzies's book. In July 1934 Makhno, 44 years old, is lying at death's door in a Paris hospital. Overcome by fever, he lapses into semi-consciousness and dreams his last dream, a dream of his beloved countryside, of the open steppe covered with snow, crisp and white, a bright sun in an azure sky, and Nestor Ivanovich seated on his horse, moving in slow motion towards a cluster of mounted comrades waiting in the distance, who touch their caps in greeting at his approach. Time passes, the seasons change, spring arrives, *Germinal*, the rebirth of hope, a landscape of green, the smell of fresh earth, a murmuring stream, and a fleeting, all too fleeting, glimpse of freedom. And then eternal silence. Makhno's body was cremated and the ashes interred in the Père-Lachaise Cemetery, not far from the mass grave of the Paris Communards who were massacred there in 1871.

Paul Avrich.

#### WORKS REFERRED TO IN THIS ARTICLE:

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 Alexander Berkman, *The Bolshevik Myth* (New York, 1925)  
 Voline, *The Unknown Revolution, 1917-1921* (new edition, Detroit and Chicago, 1974)  
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#### IN PREPARATION:

*The Spanish Collectives*, a complete translation of Gaston Leval's latest book *L'Espagne Libertaire* (publ. 1972), recording his observations and information gathered in Spain during the Revolution and Civil War 1936-39.

# If We Were Under Siege

A SUBSTANTIAL degree of self-sufficiency is something a politically and economically libertarian society, especially if under siege, would find eminently desirable and the ways in which it could be achieved deserve careful study.

The *New Scientist's* 19 March conference on the possibility of self-sufficiency in Britain was therefore to be welcomed even though participants seemed anxious to stress their adherence to the (somewhat obscure) high principles of international trade, as though a heavily trading nation were in itself something to rejoice over; while a Cambridge economist went out of his way to emphasise that he saw "no economic argument at all for recommending the voluntary adoption of a policy of maximal self-reliance".

There are, though, plenty of political, social and environmental ones (conservation of energy and avoidance of waste would be essential to greater self-sufficiency) and the conclusions of the conference were pleasantly optimistic. Among them were that self-sufficiency in food could be attained by reducing the pure beef herd to a third (good news for the anti-carniverous if not the strictly vegetarian) and increasing the

dairy herd for milk by 30 per cent; by releasing two million acres of permanent pasture for use of soft wheats for flour, etc.; by massive concentration on sugar beet factories, creameries, oil seed and potato processing plants, etc., and by increasing cereal crops. Organic refuse and effluents could be recycled by fermentation and other natural processes to produce both food resources (soya for animals!) and energy. Solar heat as well as wind, wave and tidal power could be better exploited while self-sufficiency in construction materials and in many chemical products would also be possible. In short, we might have to go without paté de foie gras and escargots, ivory and leopard skins, the tea that is so cheaply and diligently provided for us by the starving Ceylonese, the sugar, the spice and all the things nice, but, say the scientists, it could be done even if, you will excuse us for saying so, we find it a rather silly sort of goal to aim at. . .

The strangest argument against self-sufficiency is the frequent one that it would be had for international relations. Yet a brief look at history (not to mention recent squabbles over butter mountains and wine lakes and potential

genocide over dwindling natural resources) suffices to amply substantiate the opposite argument, apart from the greater moral freedom in international relations that it would allow.

Schumacher has already pointed out the absurdity of much of our present import-export activities and it is, for instance, a fact that live animals are deported from here as far as Egypt simply to be chopped up and sent back in tins. (By the way, it will be remembered that the export of live animals for slaughter was cynically resumed in January after a short ban to appease popular opinion that had been roused on the extreme brutality, and often, length, of journey conditions, when many perish en route; but it is of course a lucrative business and all contributes to the universal brotherhood of man!)

At any rate, although Dr. Walter Marshall, F.R.S., chief scientist at the Department of Energy and director of the U.K. Atomic Energy Authority's Harwell research establishment, may treat self-sufficiency for Britain as "a remote academic dream that I will not bother to think about", a few crackpot anarchists might well agree to differ, and think about it seriously in the context of a not so remote new society.

G. F.

OUR previous issue (29 March, p. 2 of first section) contained an article on squatting in London. People involved in the Corfield Road (East London) squat here give a fuller account of the incidents we reported, introduced with this brief outline of the background:

COUNCILS rather than private landlords figure in Tower Hamlets squatting, as the Greater London Council and Tower Hamlets Council have almost total responsibility for housing in the borough, where less than 20% of it is privately let - compared with more than one-half in other London boroughs. This means that as there is very little housing on the market at any price, people coming into the area are virtually forced to squat while waiting for council housing. The GLC is particularly vulnerable to squatting in other areas also, as most of their stock is concentrated in inner London - Islington, Hackney, Southwark, Lambeth - where housing is scarcest.

There is irony in the GLC's phrase "Smash-and-grab squatters", as council workmen and sub-contractors have needlessly smashed thousands of usable houses.

IN AUGUST, 1974, squatters from the "Faceless Homeless" organization moved into Sumner House in Bow (East London). They had been trying for months to persuade Tower Hamlets Council to give them one of the many near-empty blocks in the borough.

As soon as the council realized what was happening they sent in council workmen to smash up the remaining empty flats in the block. However some were saved and some repaired, so there are now over 50 flats

lived in by squatters.

In February the council took the Sumner House squatters to the High Court and got possession of 53 flats. The council's barrister had not been fully informed of the council's discussions with the Sumner House squatters, and in the confusion when evidence of this was produced, agreed that the council would (1) inform Sumner House well in advance of commencement of the rebuilding, (2) would not evict until the flats were needed for the work, and (3) would rehouse everybody in the best suitable accommodation (not hotels).

As the council have not yet got Department of the Environment planning permission to alter the structure of the building, and as the Department of the Environment is theoretically in favour of housing co-ops, there is some hope for the squat. Already much work has been done by the co-op. The council want to spend £ 645,800 on rebuilding (and their rebuilding budget has been slashed by over 40 per cent!).

This 'failure' in court, coupled with the occupation by squatters of flats in Corfield Street, alarmed and angered the all-Labour council. Faced with the prospect of people taking control of their own lives at great saving to their fellow ratepayers, the council lashed out. Councillor Beasley - leader of the council - said "We are very anxious about the problem of squatting". The majority of councillors in this chamber are Cockneys with hearts of gold. But we are not going to be taken for a ride. We have had enough of it, and we are bloody well not going to have any more." He

## SQUATTERS' OWN STORY

also said the council will always use the High Court rather than the County Court in future - despite the expense - and that they would press for a change in the law making squatting a criminal offence. Your friendly local Labour council sees eye to eye with the Tories yet again.

Beasley implied that squatters contributed to the housing problem - this in a borough with 8,000 on the rehousing list, many homeless not on it, and 3,000 houses empty!

### VANDALISM

The council followed up this statement with the actions against the Corfield squat.

Since January 1975 over 30 flats in a 90-flat block have been squatted. This block is one of four blocks (250 flats) in Corfield Street and the next street, Finis Street, that the council have been emptying over the last five years. As soon as the squatters moved in the council rushed through a demolition decision (February 11), and a £ 76,000 demolition contract with Squibbs & Davies, Ltd. Demolition on a block in Finis Street started with unprecedented speed, on February 17th.

About 6 p.m. on Wednesday, 19 February, over 25 demolition men descended on Corfield Street and began smashing up the flats on two staircases (20 flats) that hadn't been squatted yet, and all the next building (80 flats). A squatter who tried to 'phone the press was hauled out of the phonebox by three men. The Bethnal Green police station - 300 yards away - took an hour to send someone. Sinks, win-

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# Through the Anarchist Press

## ECOLOGY

THE February, 1975 issue of the American magazine Liberation (once edited by Paul Goodman) contains an important article by Murray Bookchin entitled: "Energy, 'Ecotechnology', and Ecology".

The main thrust of Bookchin's argument is directed against the tendency to envisage the use of 'alternative' technology on a massive scale as a possible way out of the energy/pollution crisis. In his view, the essential and radical content of alternative technology is its diversity and adaptability; the fact that very different techniques and mixes of techniques can be used to suit one particular situation; that the operation can be kept local and on a small scale so long as radical changes are made in the management of everyday life with power being returned to small units with "a direct grasp of a comprehensible ecotechnology".

The philosophical underpinning of this is the development of an "ecological sensibility" in opposition to the Promethean/Faustian spirit which has culminated in the present explosion of technology and growth for their own sakes. It is only by the development of this spirit that present-day "eco-freaks" will be able to prevent themselves from becoming obsessed with technique and thus vulnerable to incorporation in governmental agencies or multinational companies.

## THE MULTINATIONALS

Crescita Politica, the anarchist publishing house located in Florence, have recently added to their impressive list (which includes the first volume of Leonardo Bettini's massive "Bibliografia dell' Anarchismo") a discussion-document on the "restructuring of capitalism and the class struggle". This pamphlet, written (in Italian) by six named authors, traces the developments of the international politics of the super-powers, and of multinational corporations in the energy sector, in the post Second World War period. The same theme is taken up by an article in the February 1975 issue of Front Libertaire (the monthly of the French O.R.A.), entitled "the comedy of petrol or the manoeuvres of capital".

The growth of massive companies has, of course, been taking place within countries as well as internationally, principally as a result of large-scale state intervention and a further section of the Crescita Politica pamphlet deals with such developments in Italy in the past 30 years.

A complementary article appears in the March 1975 issue of A-Rivista Anarchica, dealing with the struggle between the potentates of state capitalism and private capitalism in Italy, not so much for profit as for power. The article is concerned with the rise of a new elite, which it calls the "technobureaucracy", who treat economics as

part of a power game. It is a salient characteristic of the protagonists of the article (entitled "Cefis, per esempio") such as Gianni Agnelli, Michele Sindona, Leonardo Pirelli, and Cefis himself, to treat their fellow human beings as so many units of production and consumption (one of the principal occupations of civil services these days seems to be the collection of such managerial statistics) in short, as objects.

## SADISM

And that trait is one indication of the sadistic tendency of our technological society, exposed by Erich Fromm in his book, The Anatomy of Human Destructiveness. As Mathilde Niel said in her long review of the book in Le Monde Libertaire of October 1974 (subsequently translated into Italian in A-Rivista Anarchica, December 1974): "...let's not forget that the destruction of the Jews by the Nazis was organised like a production line, with recovery of materials and recycling. 'Cybernetic man' is a kind of schizophrenic enclosed in a universe of objects, a thinking being cut off from affective reality, a man who does not experience beings and things affectively, with the heart, but

## SQUATTERS (continued from P. 7)

dows and lavatories were smashed, but the men left after about an hour.

After they left, forty squatters invaded the Tower Hamlets Council Housing Committee meeting that was going on at the time. The Committee denied any knowledge of the demolition gang's activities. Police arrived within minutes of being called this time. A lady councillor told squatters there wouldn't be such a problem if they didn't have so many babies, and advised them to go to a family planning clinic!

Another try by the demolition men was foiled the next day when three flats in the path of the wreckers were squatted. In the resulting confrontation, and with the press present, the police and council told the demolition men to stay out of the Corfield building.

Relative peace followed, broken by two fires which gutted empty flats in the Corfield squat. However, on March 3rd, the demolition men struck again. They were seen to pace out a distance and smash the water main with a bulldozer. The same day another fire was started. After repair of the main by the Water Board it was smashed again. This time the board told squatters to see the council about it. The council said they would consider the matter at a meeting. Squatters went to the High Court for a writ to order the council to supply water under the 1945 Water Act, but the judge refused to listen to the practical details -- he wanted a barrister type plea with exact quotes of the relevant laws.

By the next court opportunity - March 18th - the demolition firm had been forced by the council to repair the mains, although there was continued harassment, with concrete being poured over the main stopcock after it had been turned off.

Stepney Squatter.

in terms of efficiency and productivity."

## SERANTINI

The legalised violence of the state is the same in present-day Western democracies as it was in Nazi Germany, or is in the totalitarian states (Hungary '56, the "cultural revolution" in China '67, which is now being revealed to have been a bloodbath), and the sadistic tendencies of the concentration camp guards are repeated by the Italian police today. We know about Pinelli, we know about the judiciary's treatment of Marini and Valpreda (Valpreda's book, The Valpreda Papers is to be published in an English translation by Gollancz in July, and Marini's poems, Noi folli e giusti will soon be published in Venice by Marsilio Editori), but a lesser known anarchist victim of the Italian police was Franco Serantini. On the 5th May 1972 he took part in a protest against the holding, in Pisa, of a neo-Fascist election meeting. In the course of breaking up the protest, ten policemen savagely beat up Serantini with the stocks of their guns. He was taken to the local police station, refused hospital treatment for his wounds, and died the next day of his injuries. He was only twenty and might quickly have been forgotten had it not been for Corrado Stajano, a left-wing journalist who has researched his life, and brought out a biography entitled "Il sovversivo" (The Subversive) which tells his story from an unhappy and lonely childhood to his discovery of a role in political action. There is an interview with Stajano in the March issue of A-Rivista Anarchica.

D. L. M.

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Leonardo Bettini's Bibliografia dell' Anarchismo: Vol. 1 Anarchist periodicals 1872-1971 (in Italian) £4.00 (post 46p)

§ A. Skirda (ed.): Les Anarchistes Russes, Les Soviets et l'Autogestion. Textes de Rucker, Archinov, Valevsky, Yartchouk et Makhno. £ 0.95 (9½p)

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