

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

NOVEMBER 6'76

VOLUME 37 No 22

TWELVE PENCE

West German Political Trials P5 • Bakunin's Impact In Russia P 12



STREET THEATRE IN LANCASHIRE

Both the Manchester and Bolton Murray Defence Groups have been involved in activities recently. On the 21st October, the Manchester group organized a picket outside the Irish Tourist office in Manchester.

On Saturday 23rd October, the Bolton group performed its street theatre play in both Oldham and Burnley as part of its programme of publicising the Murray case in the North West. Fairly large crowds were attracted by the performances which enabled us to leaflet.

The original intention was to hold it between 5 and 6 pm, however it was abandoned after 45 minutes due to threats from the police. Despite this the picket was a success—the manager shut up shop shortly after we arrived.

The idea behind the play is twofold – firstly it attracts a crowd who can be leafleted, and secondly we can carry out protest actions in towns where there is no Irish bank or Aer Lingus office □ DT

'ANARCHY' IN THE LORDS

The "Mother of Parliaments" is having one of its periodic crises. A small tightly knit group of politically motivated individuals is disrupting its smooth functioning. The Government has a backlog of legislation on such matters as the nationalisation of the aircraft and ship building industries, abolition of pay beds in NHS hospitals, the Dock Work Regulation Bill, etc. If these bills have not gone through their full complement of readings, committee stages, etc. before the end of this Parliamentary session then they are automatically lost and the Labour Party must go back to the beginning in their endeavours to create their own brand of utopia. Their progress is being slowed by guerrilla tactics in the House of Lords.

These squabbles illuminate several of today's issues. The government does not have any great interest in contentious matters, except, of course, those artificial ones which can be given their brief flurry in the media in order to create an impression of bustle, debate, etc. However, there is pressure from the left wing, the constituencies and so on. And these bills have now gone too far for them quietly to vanish in the manner of most election statements. The Tories, of course, have the great advantage of being in opposition. This means that they merely have to produce shrill noises on any convenient subjects, the current fashion being to demand cuts in public expenditure. I feel that this is a very realistic attitude. A massive fall in the standard of living, a complementary rise in unemployment, the smack of firm government, all this would no doubt, convince the various speculators, whose opinion is vital, that Something Was Being Done About The Economy.

So the overall result is that opposition is orchestrated in the Lords, which has a Conservative majority and the bills are delayed. The calm statesmanlike attitude of those in the Upper House (a revealing name) is seen to be curbing these wild, Marxist-inspired schemes. The Times (a "quality newspaper") points out that by this means a Government which was only elected by a minority of the electorate (in this case 28%) can be prevented from foisting unpopular legislation on us. The democratic nature of the Lords is, after all, widely respected. And their stabilising influence is illustrated by the complete lack of delaying tactics when a responsible Conservative government is in

office (for example in 1970 with 30% of the electorate behind them).

All of this is, of course, mere surface show. Most, if not all, of the legislation will be passed by the simple expedient of extending the parliamentary session. And I'm sure that one of the last things that the Conservative Party want at the moment is to be forced actually to govern. Currently there is much talk of a coalition (or "national government"). Harold Macmillan is revived, like a golden '78, to give support to the idea on television and is given the standard elder statesman treatment in the next morning's papers. Evidently political commentators are so bemused by their own rhetoric that they cannot recognize a case of senility when they see it. And these arguments gloss over the fact that we have been ruled by a coalition for years. A coalition of politicians, financiers, trade union officials, and so on.

And now let us look at one of these incipient pieces of law in more detail: the nationalization of the aircraft and ship-building industries. First, aircraft. It is obviously essential that we have an ongoing aircraft industry, or we would not be able to spend millions on Concorde and similar projects. Those of us whose memories are slightly more efficient than those of politicians will remember a series of scandals a few years ago when sections of this industry (especially those concerned with electronics and in particular Ferranti) were revealed to be making vast profits on Government contracts. So much so that they were actually compelled to repay part of them. And now they need to be nationalized. In fact, of course, they already receive so much State "aid" that nationalization is a mere formality.

And what about ship-building? This has been losing money for years, so private enterprise has no interest in keeping hold of it (the disputes in the Lords are only about ship repairing, which can still make profits). In the meantime the Board is already set up ready for the takeover. A number of executives have been taken on and an office has been borrowed in the premises of the National Enterprise Board. The Chairman-to-be is a retired Admiral but he functions largely as a figurehead (appropriate?). The Chief Executive Designate, Graham Day, is a Canadian who thundered in on a white charger a few years ago to rescue Cammell Lairds (in▶

fairness this is the media presentation, he does give some credit to other employees as well). Tony Peers came through the motor industry to become Industrial Relations Director of the Engineering Employers Federation and was prominent in the setting up of a national procedures agreement in the industry. On this wave he was in for Director General of the CBI and so was not pleased when he did not become Director General of the EEF on the retirement of the incumbent a few months ago. This would make him ripe for enticement away.

These worthy gentlemen and their colleagues have a number of immediate problems — assuming, that is, a safe passage for the bill. If it falls they will be compensated until they find a suitable opening for resumption of their careers. Perhaps some of them will find their old jobs still available? For instance, they would wish to defer "vesting" of the new board. This would give time to investigate thoroughly the affairs of the companies concerned. You see, comrades, some of our Captains of Industry do not always display quite the standard of business ethics we have been led to expect. Of course, our attitude to these matters is a little dubious anyway. We are, after all, self-styled anarchists, and anyway we cannot understand the subtleties of these financial affairs. What seem to be nebulous schemes may, in fact, be "work in progress" and so will appear in the assets of the company, and be compensated accordingly. This is approximately what happened with the mines. So Mr Day and his colleagues hope to be allowed to check these points in detail before they actually assume responsibility and levels of compensation are fixed.

Their next problem is that faced by most nationalized industries. They are hopelessly unviable in the first place or they would not be nationalized. The railways were in a similar position and large sums were paid in compensation for shares that had been virtually waste paper immediately beforehand. The new venture then inherited completely outdated equipment and large loans for modernization meant that British Rail started life with a huge debt from which it never recovered.

In the case of shipbuilding the image of redundancies rears up. There are, we are told, no firm plans, this must be negotiated. The unions involved have adopted a stance of no lay-offs. However, some are inevitable and this will, of course, be in those regions of the country that are already the most severely depressed. Day has divided the yards into three groups on the basis of viability but will not commit himself at this sensitive time. He says that survival of the lowest group will be dependent on the Government so directing, and that he would therefore expect complete subsidization. He has pointed out that orders are, at the moment, 65% below the volume needed to maintain the present capacity of the industry and has begun to demand protection measures against foreign competitors, particularly Japan.

So, all in all, politicians and journalists have been given the opportunity to practice their professions; in a fit of pique, the Labour Party has threatened to reform

the Lords, which it has neither the time nor the strength to do; and yet more passes under the direct control of the State □ D. P.

Leicester.IrishBank Occupied

The Leicester Murray Defence Group held a public meeting about the case on Monday 25th October. It was addressed by Pete Corne from Warwick University who dealt with the legal background and the sequence of events leading up to the death sentences on Noel and Marie Murray. The other speaker was Willie Maloney, who is Noel Murray's uncle, 71 years old and still struggling in the cause of freedom.

He gave a fascinating background of the Irish situation, interspersed with amusing and interesting observations and also details of Noel and Marie's background. We anarchists are horrified that the state is preparing to take the lives of two more of our comrades and we are campaigning for the removal of these death sentences. Listening to Willie speaking of Noel and Marie gave us an extra dimension to our understanding of the truth that the state is also preparing to take the lives of two young people who are the dearly loved members of a family of freedom fighters, and their loss, if it should come about, will be a sharper one because it will be personal.

The meeting was very well attended, with nearly 50 people present and further action was also discussed. An occupation of the Leicester branch of the Allied Irish Bank was decided on. This took place at lunch time on Friday 29th October, when over 20 supporters of the Murray Defence Group occupied the bank's premises peacefully and put up posters about the Murray case in the bank's magnificent display windows.

A suggestion was put to the manager of the bank that he should send a telegram to Liam Cosgrave stating that his bank was occupied by supporters of the Murray Defence Group and that we were seeking the abandonment of the hanging and a fair trial for the Murrays. The manager declined to do this, but the bank remained occupied for just over two and a half hours while other supporters leafleted passers-by. Numerous police reinforcements were eventually sent for and the occupying group left peacefully after the manager had ensured that

the police were clear of the bank premises and that the occupying group would not be molested as they left.

As we left the area, the bank staff were busily taking down our posters and throwing away the leaflets about the case that we had left among their handouts in spite of our advice to them not to do this job until after their normal working hours and insist on getting paid time and a half for it □ Correspondent.

Chicago.AerLingus Picket

The Chicago Local of the IWW General Defence Committee, in response to the call for international days of protest by the Murray Defence Committee has had one picket of Aer Lingus in Chicago (about 20 in attendance) on the 7th, and will have a second on the 21st October □

London.Amnesty Occupied

On Wednesday 27th October members of Warwick University Anarchist Group occupied the central London offices of Amnesty International in solidarity with the Murrays. The occupation started at 1 pm, and the Group issued a press statement expressing "dissatisfaction at the apparent lack of interest" shown by Amnesty in the case, and the almost total neglect of the case by the capitalist press. The occupation was called off only when Amnesty satisfied the group that they were taking up the case. Despite reporters from the Times and the Guardian turning up to the occupation, only the Trotskyist Newsline published a story about it.

The statement continued by accusing the Irish government of using torture to obtain statements, pointing out that the other co-defendant, Ronan Stenson, is still unable to stand trial due to the beating he received at the hands of the police. Ironically the Irish government which is quick to leap to the condemnation of the British army's use of torture in Ulster, contains several members of Amnesty □



Bolton Murray Defence Group performing its play in Burnley's town centre

Warwick University Anarchist Group occupy Amnesty International offices.



Marini In Court Again

On Tuesday 12th of October yet another trial was started against our comrade Giovanni Marini. According to 'Umanita Nova' (the Italian anarchist weekly) this process was concerned with the behaviour of Marini during his previous trials over the years. As comrades are well aware, Giovanni Marini has been 'guilty' in the past of denouncing murders of fellow prisoners by sadistic wardens, calling fascists "fascists", and at the beginning of the case, he did not allow himself to be killed by a bunch of fascist thugs, and the death of one of these thugs was subsequently blamed on him despite the lack of essential evidence (e.g. the weapon with which the fatal injuries were inflicted).

For his 'transgressions' he was sentenced initially to 12 years imprisonment and on appeal the lack of evidence against induced the judge, not to free him, but to reduce the sentence to nine years instead. The fascists Lamberti, Fiengo and Zarra have not given up however, and the trial started on the 12th of October again means that Marini risks many more years of imprisonment.

These three fascists (all members of the neo-fascist Movimento Sociale Italiano) are all magistrates and as 'Umanita Nova' pointed out for the magistrates of Potenza to find against these three fellow-magistrates would indeed be highly unlikely. However, we are told that this trial was abandoned two and a half hours after it was started.

The many legal processes against Marini are in fact processes against the whole anarchist movement. In the original murder trial much of the evidence against him consisted of the sole fact that Marini is an anarchist, and anarchists are, according to the prosecution, murderous monsters. At the time of the attack on Marini our comrade was in the process of investigating the murder of 5 comrades in Calabria in a so-called "accident" between their small car (in which they were travelling northwards with information about a planned military coup) and a lorry with a Salerno registration number (Salerno is Marini's home town, and the place where Marini was attacked by the local right-wing thugs). Salerno is also the residence of the prosecuting lawyer and MSI member.

In these times, when the case of Marie and Noel Murray holds our attention because of

the urgency of their case, we must not lose sight of the case of comrades like Giovanni Marini who has suffered imprisonment, beatings and an incredible number of trials. During the whole of this Marini has behaved in an exemplary manner. He has denounced crookedness and violence in the running of the prisons (a world-wide phenomenon common in Britain's prisons too) and his concern has constantly been for his fellow prisoners. Above all he has remained a staunch comrade and, if anything, has become even more determined.



Just as comrades in Italy have mobilised themselves in support of the Murrys we should also be organising in support of comrades throughout the world, and a Marini liberation committee in Britain managing to make its presence felt in this country would cause acute embarrassment to the Italian Government. If anyone is interested please write in ☐

Nino Staffa

Justifiable Homicide...

THE CASE OF Liddle Towers, a Co. Durham man who died three weeks ago after his experiences with the police in Birtley and Gateshead police station, is

a classic example of the State looking after its own.

Towers died in February, three weeks after being arrested outside a Birtley night club and taken to Gateshead police station. When he returned home, he was suffering from serious internal injuries, which were attested to by his GP and he died in hospital three weeks later from an internal haemorrhage. Investigations by the Chief Constable of Durham led the Director of Public Prosecutions to conclude in August that there was "insufficient evidence" to prosecute any police officers. The Chief Constable of Northumbria is currently compiling a report to be sent to the Home Secretary.

However, Towers' family and friends have not been content to leave the matter there. They have demanded an independent enquiry into the circumstances of his death, rather than a secret, internal police enquiry. They have not yet won this demand, but they did manage to get an inquest which was held in Durham in the first week of October.

At the inquest, three witnesses claimed to have seen the police attack Towers in Birtley, and one of these was able to identify three policemen as being involved. Needless to say, no-one saw what happened at Gateshead police station, but it is interesting that eight police witnesses at the inquest refused to submit to cross-examination.

The evidence was overwhelming: Towers clearly died as a direct result of his treatment at the hands of the police. But the jury was informed by the coroner that they could reach one of several verdicts: accidental death, murder, manslaughter or "justifiable homicide." The jury opted for the last of these.

"Justifiable homicide" is a very useful device in cases such as these, where the police have quite clearly killed someone but no-one wants to admit it in so many words (after all, our policemen are wonderful, aren't they). Verdicts of "justifiable homicide" are quite unusual, being restricted to cases where death occurs as a result of "justifiable force being used to effect an arrest or to prevent a crime." In other words, it is a safety device for over-zealous policemen, and the implication is that any force used by the police in the execution of their duty is, by definition, justifiable.

Towers' "crime" seems to have been that he was drunk and belligerent. In order to deal with him, the police killed him. That is "justifiable homicide."

☐MS

Note: Private Eye of 29 October describes "the remarkably similar circumstances" surrounding the death of a Liverpool man Kenny Williams in July 1974. Williams also died of pancreatitis after being arrested for stealing a car to get home after a night out, and told his wife that he had been beaten and punched by the police. Williams died later in hospital

Defence A Luxury

Report On

Current West German Political Trials

THE FEDERAL German elections neatly coincided with the extradition from Greece of alleged RAF member Rolf Pohle in order to complete the remaining 3 years 3 months of his 6 year 5 month gaol sentence. Pohle had been among those released to the Arab republic of the Yemen in exchange for Hr. Peter Lorenz, the CDU leader, in March 1975 as the result of a technically superb exercise in urban guerilla warfare. His final relinquishment by the Greek supreme court, the Aeropag - which, with perhaps rather a lack of imagination Pohle had described as an "American tribunal" - and his return to West Germany by special government plane came after intense diplomatic pressure and at an important time for the socialist/liberal coalition under Helmut Schmidt. It faced strong opposition from a yet further right wing, but has emerged with a strikingly similar programme, crudely to be summed up in the CDU-CSU slogans of "the natural order of things", "more liberty or more equality" etc. etc. Not unsurprisingly it was all rather a dismal affair. The only light entertainment afforded by the authorities was an intensified baiting of the "red teachers", especially in the Land of Hesse. (There too, the sweet stale smell of corruption wafted at just the right moment from CDU-CSU headquarters in the direction of Hesse's Social Democratic Prime Minister Albert Osswald, chairman of the supervisory council of Hessische Landesbank Girozentrale, etc. etc who had once pocketed a comfortable sum of DM in a politically indiscreet manner.)

*

Further entertainment has, however, been promised by the new-old political season. It takes, and will take, the form of a series of new-old trials, just in case the electorate is at last beginning to tire of the successful but extremely long Stammheim epic. In one way or another they are all off-shoots of the big show, all connected at least in the colourful, creative, if not always subtle minds of the state magistrature.

Anarchists may often look to a tradition of defending themselves in courts of law or of not recognising such courts at all; but when indictments these days are so long and complex and the physically and mentally destructive effects of imprisonment so detrimental to the choice of self-defence, the present actions against defence counsel can only be seen with concern.

A large number of trials, estimated to total around 40, involve lawyers. Out of these at least five are former or present Red Army Faction defence lawyers who have appeared among the cast at Stammheim. RA Otto Schily is the last survivor of the several original Baader-Meinhof lawyers, but apart from

representing Gudrun Ensslin he is himself defendant in a criminal case brought by seven Berlin court doctors annoyed by Schily's charge that, through deliberate neglect, they contrived the death of Katharina Hammerschmidt. (She had been put in pre-trial detention in 1974, although it appears that the grounds for this, namely danger of absconding and of prejudicing the course of justice, had not been fully established, and died the following year from a breast tumour that Schily and defence witnesses claim must have been noticed and could have been treated). As for Klaus Croissant, former lawyer of Ulrike Meinhof and Andreas Baader (latterly lawyer of the alleged urban guerilla K-H Dellwo) he was arrested on 16-17 July and released after seven weeks on bail of DM 80,000 (£18,000) but still faces legal proceedings with another Baader-Meinhof lawyer, Arndt Müller. Croissant was busy investigating the death of Ulrike Meinhof as he had that of Holger Meins (in a not altogether palatable way, one would imagine for any real friend of Heins). His arrest followed the evidence of the former RAF member and star prosecution witness in the Stammheim trial, Gerhard Müller. Müller asserted that about 12 defence lawyers had abused their position to act as "go-between" for the Baader-Meinhof group and other RAF members and sympathisers planning actions on their behalf.

The go-between issue served as a basis for arresting Croissant and charging him with support of a criminal association. The same charge under article 129 was brought against RA Kurt Groenewold, a former lawyer of Andreas Baader, disbarred just before the beginning of the Stammheim trial, and a more impressive figure.

Kurt Groenewold's trial, the first criminal proceedings against defence counsel of political prisoners in the Federal Republic, is scheduled for January next year in Hamburg, and though based on legally very weak evidence may be all that is necessary these days for prosecution. Groenewold and his colleagues had actively campaigned against the prison conditions of the RAF prisoners (including the grotesque and horrible plan to use electrodes on the brain of Ulrike Meinhof). They had supported the hunger strike (this support being part of the charge) and kept them well-informed of the political situation during the long years in pre-trial detention (this being an essential part of a defence that was to be based on wide political issues and not on the details of the murders they were accused of). But even the provision of information was questioned, and somewhat transparently, since it is actually stated by the prosecutor that through the "information system" Groenewold (and others) had maintained a feeling of solidarity among the

imprisoned members of the RAF and prevented the destruction of their self-consciousness as "urban guerillas."

Well, what more need be said?

*

The criminal proceedings against defence lawyers is to be seen within the framework of a generally stringent curtailment of the legal rights of defence hitherto existing. While certain social and "moral" measures have been relaxed (for instance, softer attitude to prostitution, homosexuality, pornography, reform of prison conditions with gradual introduction of social security, more pay etc, more frequent isolation of political prisoners in groups instead of the isolation of individuals, etc) a number of provisions effecting defence counsel were swept through the German parliament in January 1975. No lawyer can act, as formerly, on behalf of several defendants in the same trial; a trial can be held without the presence of the defendants if considered necessary; correspondence between lawyer and defendant can be controlled and lawyers suspected of complicity with their defendants can be excluded from the trial. An article in New Law Journal of 28 August pointed out that in the case of the RAF defendants 90 per cent of the prosecution material had been withheld from the defence lawyers and defence documentation and correspondence had been intercepted and seized from both the prisoners' cells and lawyers' offices. When Groenewold and Croissant were excluded from the defence only a few days before the opening of the trial, the adjournment of ten days requested by their replacements Schily and Heldman for study of the immense brief (600,000 pages) was refused, in contravention of the European Convention for the Protection of Human Rights (article 6). The article concluded that the RAF trial in Stammheim was "farical."

In May this year, on top of the above restrictions on defence and the concept of a "fair trial", paragraph 88a was inserted into the penal code permitting the prosecution of those who write, print or distribute works supporting violence "against the stability and security of the Federal Republic of Germany or its constitutional principles." The appearance of paragraph 88a was preceded and followed by raids on "left" bookshops, notably the publishers Trikont Verlag in Munich, and the confiscation of the book *Wie alles anfang* (How it all began) by the anarchist "Bommi" Baumann, former 2nd June member, was followed by that of another piece of literature called *Revolutionärer Zorn* (Revolutionary anger). Both confiscations led to the arrest of bookshop managers and on 14 October the trial began of the Trikont Verlag people Gisela Erler and Herbert Röttgen on the charge of supporting Baumann's book. (Earlier Trikont Verlag had also distributed the booklet "Dass Du Untergehst ..." on the case of the kindergarten teacher and member of the Munich Red Help group, Gertraud Will, who spent almost two years in Munich prisons before coming to trial, much of which in rigorous solitary confinement (1).

Meanwhile an international publishing

team of about 300 was organised to issue a new edition of Baumann's book and is being supported by more than a thousand people and groups - writers, journalists, doctors, lawyers, bookshop owners, publishers and distributors and so on, including Freedom Press. The new edition was launched at a press conference in Munich on 23 June with Daniel Cohn-Bendit taking a major part, and has since been sold openly in "left" bookshops without further proceedings being taken so far. There is, however, no doubt that paragraph 88a is inducing a climate of self-censorship in the FRG and at least one big publisher is known to have refused publication of an historical work as a direct result of it.

*

Now at Stammheim the great show trial is beginning to drag to an end.

The remaining defendants are said to be in "very bad health." Andreas Baader was recently flown by helicopter to a city hospital for throat cancer tests (found negative). The prosecution has completed three days of remarkably clumsy summing-up in which, in marked contrast to the references in the charges against Groenewold, it has tried to present the surviving defendants as mere criminals Despite its agonising length, indeed perhaps because of it, and the drama and the tragedy it has engendered, the ratings for Stammheim have been high.

But can the great state theatricals department and its extension in the med-

ia press their luck much further? That remains to be seen.

NOTES

(1) Gertraud was charged with the foundation of a "criminal association" variously called by the ever-creative prosecution the "Will-bande" or the "Munich Tupamaros", functioning under the name of Munich Red Help. She was



Kurt Groenewold

also charged with helping to free and shelter imprisoned "criminals" such as

her fiancé Roland Otto and with storing and helping transport explosives. She was first imprisoned in April 1974 and between May and Christmas of that year kept in total isolation, for several months also without any daylight. She became seriously ill and was unable to concentrate on preparing her defence. She was later held in less rigorous isolation with another woman prisoner. It was not until the end of August 1975, 1 year 4 months' after Gertraud's arrest that the prosecution submitted its 83-page indictment. During the trial the prosecution dropped the charges of criminal association and preparation of explosives but she was convicted on the charge of offence against the firearms law and unauthorised transport of explosives - this too depending on an apparently contradictory and biased testimony and prejudice against "left" witnesses - to a 34 month sentence. She is, however, free pending appeal, probably to be heard in the spring of next year. A moving account of her imprisonment with some of her correspondence with friends and the kindergarten children is contained in the above-mentioned booklet "Dass Du Untergehst ...".

It is to be noted that the charges of support or membership of a "criminal association" have never actually been used other than against political groups. We hope that more details of the trial of Gisela Erler and Herbert Röttgen, and also of the book that is its pretext, will appear soon in Freedom □ GF

THE LANDLESS MACHINE MINDERS

Some weeks ago the Union of Agricultural Workers were pointing out the dangers of some of the hazardous chemicals that are used in modern farming. They were stressing the need for greater care and more protective clothing, etc. However, the union has never questioned the dangers that might be inherent in using such large quantities of toxic material year after year.

The union has always been in favour of the modern trends towards larger and larger farm units and of what are described as progressive farming methods. In financial terms the farm worker generally is better off; there are many fewer of them and they have, in effect, become machine minders almost as divorced from the land as their industrial counterparts. Protected from the elements by cabs in farm vehicles, their ears covered by ear muffs to lessen the noise and their faces by masks to protect their lungs from toxic chemicals, they work in dust and fumes.

Often they do not even have the pleasure of human company like the factory worker. There is no real skill in the process. There was a time when men took a pride in such skills as ploughing, hedging and stockmanship. In spite of financial hardships there was then a joy in many aspects of farm work. The family farm reflected the people; often there was a life-

long relationship between farmer and workers, and as in those days they were mostly small farmers they suffered hard times together. There were, of course, many greedy, grasping, avaricious farmers but a large number recognised their dependence on the high level of skill required of their workers.

COUNCIL GHETTOS

The pressures of capitalism have resulted in fewer workers, fewer skills and, in fact, have created a hostile environment where even the children of the workers cannot walk with safety. A large number of farmworkers live in council ghettos on the edges of villages and have to spend a large part of their increased income on rent and in getting to work. The more recent the house the smaller the piece of land attached to it, in contrast with the vastly increased acreage each worker cultivates for his employer who he often does not see.

The ultimate for the union is the nationalization of the land. Where often the old farmer would defer to and respect the skill of his worker, the centralized control of farming will be by bureaucrat, chemist, veterinarian and agriculturist. If these tendencies in farming could be shown to result ultimately in better food for all the people there might be something to be said for them. One cannot just-

ify the ownership of land per se, but it is no solution to replace a farmer with a faceless bureaucrat. In effect, a sensible agriculture can provide an environment for many types of individual, as some crops can be grown by one person and others are more suitable for cooperative activity.

Not many of us can remember the days when the farm worker was getting only 28 shillings a week, but one can remember when wages were still comparatively low and there was still some joy in various activities that comprised the farming year. Now one is governed by the pace of a machine and most activities have become a frantic scramble. When one really examines the economic and social implications of these changes they do not make sense and as time goes on they will make even less sense. The policy of the farm workers' union is to support almost uncritically the developments in modern farming which have resulted in an increasingly arid countryside with fewer and fewer people working there. The cottages are mainly occupied by the nouveau-riche middle-class bureau fodder whose connection with the countryside is confined to weekends. The motor car has resulted in a non-existent public transport service for the few remaining workers.

HOUSING

Building A Better Future

We hear so much lately about cuts in public expenditure. Editorials in the papers daily inform us that as a nation we will have to pay our way. The public sector of the economy is seen as wasteful and inefficient. Cuts in this sector, they say, will have to be made and the money invested in private manufacturing industries.

The private sector is only interested in one thing, profits. The fact that they (and Court-audls is a good example of this) have received millions of pounds of public money, makes them no less accountable to that public.

The building industry is another example where double standards are so blatant. The giant companies who control the employers' federation claim that they can build a "Better Britain". Well, its taken them a long time, but what sticks in their throat are the direct labour schemes run by the local authorities. While they preach about the benefits of free enterprise they bemoan the fact, at the same time, that local authorities can tender in the same market as them for contracts. But what makes building workers employed by local authorities angry is, that even when they gain a contract, much of the work, like bricklaying, carpentry, plastering, plumbing and painting is given to private firms.

Bearing in mind the private employers' claims about local authority direct works, Londoners face a £30,000,000 bill to repair shoddily built council homes. Mr Judge, who as chairman of the GLC Housing Management Committee is well-known for his attacks on squatters, has said: "Some builders have shown a woeful lack of responsibility. Our report does not seek to find someone to blame. We want to ensure this does not happen again, and that people are strictly accountable and face swift consequences if they fail to do the job for which they are paid."

Perhaps the employers' federation could answer that. But while attacking the private side of the building industry one should not ignore the local authorities themselves. Although these elected bodies are in theory accountable to the people, the direct works are run by officers, many of whom have previously worked in the private sector. They have little or no loyalty to the principle of direct labour and are often only too willing to sub-contract work out to the private sector when it could be done by council workers. The architects also are guilty of nominating firms themselves for certain work. Such as system can obviously lead to some corrupt practices, of which the Poulson affair is only the tip of the iceberg.

But what is painfully plain, both to the tenants paying high rents for flats which have damp walls and crumbling floors and the general public who will have to foot the bill, is that the private sector has failed in its task of building a "Better Britain". Its only concern has been to make as big a profit as possible. The growth of sub-contractors who supply nothing more than bodies to throw up homes has produced the present situation. For the future the industry will lack the necessary men with the ability and skills because these same firms are not interested in training school leavers as apprentices.

But workers employed direct by the Councils are fighting back. Some already enjoy the benefits of reasonable high wages and good conditions and a firm commitment to direct labour from their elected councillors. For others like the Greater London Council the battle is an uphill one, both to secure the necessary number of men employed direct and to ensure that contracts do not go out to the private sector. However, a shop stewards campaign both on the political level and at site level is beginning to bear fruit. Commitment to direct labour is being won from the GLC along with the eventual elimination of sub-contractors. A step in this direction has been gained at the Bayonne Road site in Fulham. The site, empty for a number of years, will bring, when compl-

eted, 530 more homes to the area. With good rank and file union organization, workers can enjoy the benefits of a good wage and conditions while at the same time providing well built and trouble free housing for the community.

But building homes should be a two way process. That is, those who will eventually come to live in them should be involved in the design, the planning of rooms and amenities, both in the houses and on the estates generally. Tenants' associations are becoming much more aware of their potential in this area of control. They are not just leaving it to the experts and planners, but are beginning to question the way they are totally excluded from decision making.

Until now rank and file building organizations and the unions, certainly, have not seen the possible links that could be forged between them and the tenants' associations. This is a pity, because both share a common interest, that is, to provide homes which are worthy of the name rather than the crumbling damp and badly designed boxes which pass nowadays for a home □

P.T.

COLLETS REVISITED

The Walking Dead

AN ECHO OF an old tune, a young face but for an instant in a passing crowd reawakens memories of an old love and an old sorrow.

The beat of a buckster's drum and a flash of scarlet recall to the aged heart and mind memories of forgotten battles and for an hour one sits in the shadowed peace of Wards pub boring the new militants with tales of Cable Street and the Battle of the Olympia when Mosley's fascist army fought to win the battle of the streets, arrayed in their kinky black gear and marching armywise to a greater national glory before history, unkindly, pulled the chain on them.

It is all old stuff along with the Hunger Marchers and the Black Coffins and now no more than fodder for television programmes and neat government sponsored exhibitions of the horrors of the "thirties" for the modern militants have set a new pattern in violence and from Ireland to Germany the bomb and the gun kill and maim for a diversity of causes and movements that are damned when the first trigger is pulled and the first uninvolved bystander kneels in death in his or her own blood.

But one has a right to the nostalgic memories of ancient violences. Collets in the Charing Cross Road is the Communist Party's contribution to the Left for it is within this bookshop that the Town and his marxist frau have their free read of the involved polemics of the embattled left. And it is all there, all the leftwing papers, magazines and journals that one would never or could not afford to buy, and when one is struck off the mailing list of readable magazines such as Black Flag then it is to Collets free library for the free read.

And he stands outside Collets, in the Charing Cross Road, young and clean and defiant, and in the doorway of Collets bookshop an angry Collets Communist Party bookshop supervisor stands and glares at him, and the study of man

is man so one halts to admire and to understand the passing comedy. He is selling Action, the Union Movement paper, and all the bitter sad memories of the 1930s come flooding back. Union was Sir Oswald Mosley's paper when Oswald had all the big bad industrial money to back him up and the national Daily Mail newspaper to preach and praise his cause, and Mosley failed for he was a political incompetent.

The smiling Webster of the National Front is now making the running even to being barred from Conway Hall, for with an identifiable target for the mob to attack he has learned from the mistakes of Oswald. But unlike the Hitler movement of the German thirties he has, for our salvation, not learned enough. And the neat youth stands outside Collets Communist Party bookshop in the Charing Cross Road attempting to sell Mosley's Union Movement paper Action and the bookshop supervisor stands in the doorway with noble anger in his eyes, and ever curious I ask the youth why. As always I declare my political allegiance to the left, and with such unsuspected honesty in the Charing Cross Road the youth tells me his tale that the managers of Collets have told him that they will phone the police if he does not go away from the front of the Communist Party bookshop. My libertarian beliefs are outraged, and in effect I tell the youth that though I disagree with everything you stand for I will defend to the death etc. All untrue, but my advice is for any seller of any ideology to stand his ground and for those who disagree to take their own form of action but never never Collets of the Charing Cross Road send for the Law, for if it is right for the Law to move a fascist on at the demand of a communist then it is equally right for a fascist to call upon the Law to move a communist on, and one thing we of the thirties learned was that in the political end the Law appeared to love the fascist movement.

The youth told me that in the "old days" one could talk to the communist opposition but now with razor blades in potatoes and hidden under wall stickers it is no longer possible, but it is all myth, junior, for there never was such a political utopia for violence and hate was and is the tool of politics. And the youth stands and attempts to sell Mosley's ancient whimper and the supervisor of Collets Communist Party bookshop in the Charing Cross Road moves aside as I enter the bookshop only to return to his eveball to eveball confrontation with the dead past□

A. MOYSE

LAND NOTES

Portuguese Farm Coops Sold Out

The Portuguese Communist Party is now instructing its peasant members who had taken over land to hand some of it back, thus using the workers as pawns in games of political expediency.

Referring to land affairs in Portugal, the Sunday Times of 3.10.76 featured what I thought a rather snide and unperceptive news item about a farmer, Joao Antonio being given back half of his land. The article talks of the takeover of the land having been illegal (what's legality?):

"The battle is to reverse the wave of illegal land takeovers which took place after the country's left-wing revolution —and thus provide a smack of firm government."

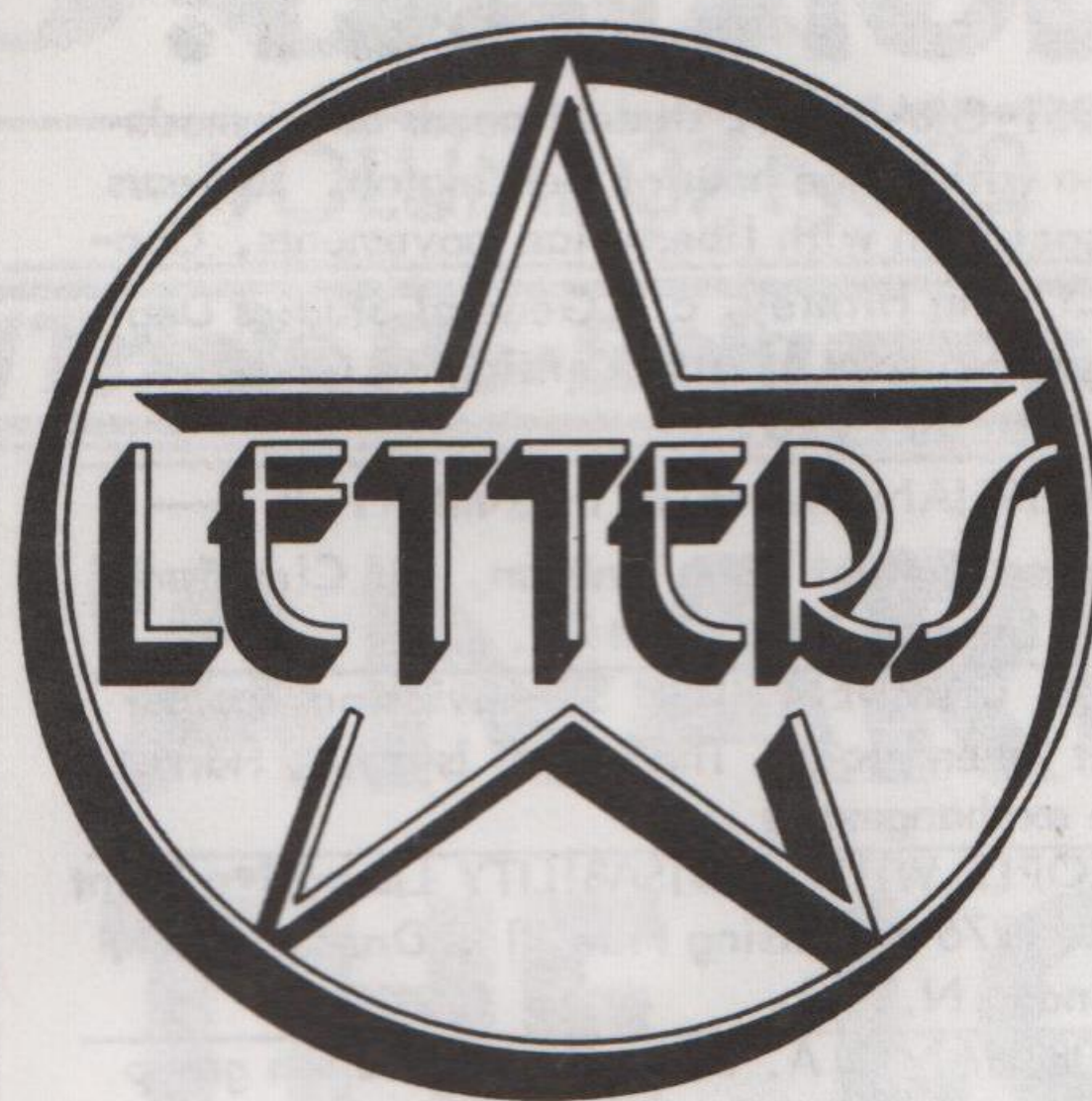
Had the Communists gained control in the elections they no doubt would have put the stamp of legality on the land seizures and then transferred control from the workers to the central government.

The article puts the point of view of the large farmer of 750 acres who is receiving back part of the farm. It does not say what type of farm and the nature of the soil, although it was able to support a cooperative of 20 former employees. In capitalist conditions the financial success of a farming enterprise can depend more on a farmer's business ability than on his farming skills. In this country the role of the manager (farmer) on a farm varies enormously; s/he could, in effect be highly skilled and share in the full-time. On the other hand s/he may just play the role of a non-working manager. The farmer mentioned in the above article may be a working farmer but obviously the farm had functioned in his absence:

"The atmosphere was not improved after the workers had discovered that Antonio was claiming ownership of the olives and grapes planted in his absence by the twenty-strong cooperative. Antonio said: 'I'm afraid to go back there alone...'"

Under the new arrangement Antonio will have to work alongside the cooperative

In a revolutionary situation it is very important for the sake of food production to use all the accumulated knowledge and try to secure the cooperation of independent but knowledgeable people□ Alan Albon



Freedom

I think that there has been an undeniable improvement in the graphic presentation of FREEDOM but I would like to express some critical notes on other aspects of the paper, namely its lack of ideological line (and we know how many lines there are in our movement) for which FREEDOM could be easily and concisely identified with in Britain and overseas. I also think that the fortnightly Review could be produced as a separate booklet on different and specific subjects relevant to today's conflicts in society (i.e. education, housing, unemployment, racialism, militarism, drugs, agriculture, ecology, arts, etc...) that readers would keep as reference works or as bindable collections of anarchist writings.

Instead, today's FREEDOM is in my opinion just another theoretical paper, made up very often of irrelevant reviews and impressions of mundane galleries and ego trips into anarchist folklore, the lot bundled with news picked up from bourgeois papers and tailored for anarchist consumption (I confess that I am, as a casual contributor to FREEDOM's pages, as much guilty of this lazy practice of reporting as anybody else).

A paper should not exist just for the sake of it, just because its editors and supporters have become accustomed to meet in Whitechapel to chat about this, that and the other and almost by accident produce an uncommitted paper that only preaches to the converted.

The existence of a regular paper, particularly of an anarchist one, should be a reflection of its editors', readers' and subscribers' involvement in social struggle and direct participation in movements for emancipation going on in today's society.

Other than protesting against the death sentences on Marie and Noel Murray in the Republic of Ireland and then meeting in out of the way places for political gossip about the baddies of the N.F., the Trots, Communists & Co., what are we doing in Britain to precipitate our Social Revolution?

Unable as we seem to be to activate an Anarchist Federation, how can we expect to be taken seriously by those who approach us to join a Revolutionary Movement but only find disconnected groups or individuals, passive, ridden with personal antagonisms and old feuds? FREEDOM has improved lately as a

paper and credit should be given to the comrades who have made it possible but in a period in which hard times are dangerously looming in front of us what are we concretely doing about it? Will we become philosophical about it or shall we organise and fight back against oppression? But for that we need a publication dedicated to the dynamisation of our Movement. That is what FREEDOM should be doing!

Claude.

Anarchists and the economic crisis

Dear Editors,

It seems that everyone else has an answer to Britain's economic state so perhaps it is time someone put forward the anarchist solution. The capitalists advocate more public spending cuts bringing more unemployment. The socialists advocate more nationalization which will inevitably lead to more state control and finally the social-democrats stuck in the middle, seem to advocate the perpetuation of our present mess. However, none of these measures tackle the basic problem, which is to prevent such a situation from occurring again.

Proudhon wanted to see a society where money did not exist and where men freely exchanged goods which took equal amounts of time to manufacture. In the society of France in the 1840s perhaps this was feasible, but it is not today. What could be done, however, is to make the unit of currency one hour of labour. This would automatically regulate wages and prices and make inflation impossible.

If, as is happening today, production drops, the amount of time taken to produce the GNP would drop and prices would rise. The standard of living would drop proportionately. There would not, as happens at the moment, be wasteful redundancies, and of course there would be no government to borrow from abroad. If, on the other hand, production increases the reverse would be true. This may seem like commonsense but at the moment U.S. farmers are petitioning their government to produce less grain while more than a third of the world starves.

Proudhon also believed that the interest charged on borrowed money should be abolished. He even went as far as setting up a "People's Bank" which had over 25,000 thousand members. This would help industry to become more profitable and would put an end to capitalist exploitation.

All these proposals would bring about equality without the need for a huge bureaucracy such as they have in communist countries. The anarchist aim should be a free, self-regulating economy within a free, self-regulating society.

S. Melia

J.W. Fleming

Dear Comrades,

For an article on the Australian anarchist, J.W. Fleming, I would be grateful for any information, recollections or documentary material.

Fraternally,
Paul Avrich
425 Riverside Drive
New York,
NY 10025
U.S.A.

FREEDOM:

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 18 November. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding session and informal get together.

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Saturday 6 November and for news section is Saturday 13 November

PRESS FUND

14 - 27 October

CANTERBURY: L.C. 20p; ORPINGTON: M.S. 85p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p; KINGS LANGLEY: H.A. 85p; E.MOLESEY: A.C. 20p; LONDON SW7: J.H. 50p; BOLTON: L.C. 45p; FAREHAM: R.M.D. 50p; LONDON SW12: D.P. £ 1; LONDON N3: D.B. £ 1; HARTFIELD, Sx.: O.M. £ 50; LEEDS: G.L. 36p; LONDON NW5: R.A.L. 85p; EBBW VALE: P.T. £ 1.

TOTAL: £ 59.96
Previously acknowledged: £ 1002.92

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 1062.88

SUBSCRIBE

SEND THIS FORM to FREEDOM PRESS
84B Whitechapel High Street, London E1 7QX

1 year (26 issues)	£ 4.30 (\$10.00)
6 months (13 issues)	£ 2.15 (\$5.00)
3 months (7 issues)	£ 1.16 (\$2.50)

Please send FREEDOM for issues to

.....

address.....

FREEDOM PRESS

Freedom Pamphlets

(originally issued as supplements to FREEDOM, letterpress)

1. Makhno and Durutti
2. Students for a Stalinist Society
3. Zapata and the Mexican Revolution
4. Peter Kropotkin—Words of a Rebel
5. Peter Kropotkin—Anarchism & Revolution
6. Leo Tolstoy—His Life and Work
7. Towards Workers' Control
8. The Paris Commune : The Defence of Louise Michel

A few complete sets are offered at 60p including postage. (US \$1.00)
Single issues (except nos. 4 & 5 o/p) each 5p
postage on 1-3 copies 6 p; 6 copies 9p

LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION
Vernon Richards Cloth £ 1.50 (47p)
US \$4.00

THE STATE, Its Historic Role, P. Kropotkin
25p (11p) US\$65¢

ANARCHISM AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM
Rudolf Rocker 20p (9p) USA\$65¢

BAKUNIN & NECHAEV, Paul Avrich
20p (9p) US 65¢

HOUSING : An Anarchist Approach, Colin Ward
paper £ 1.25 (20p) \$3.

CONTACT:

POST-GRADUATE student needs accommodation within one hour of Kensington. 10 years association with libertarian movements. Contact John Hinsley, c/o General Studies Dept., Royal College of Art, Kensington Gore, London SW7 2EU.

CHRISTIAN Anarchists in London? If so—please contact Doug Truman, 166 Cleveland St. London, W.1. Flat 18.

220 CAMDEN HIGH ST—eviction: has not yet taken place. The bailiff is a Mr. Harris, an ex-hangman!

PEOPLE WITH A DISABILITY Liberation Front Box 1976 c/o Rising Free, 142 Drummond St. London N.W.1.

NORTHANTS A. S. Neill Association group contact Sue and Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby.

MEETINGS

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation. 4th Conference 13-14 November at St. Brides Centre, Rosevale St., off Dumbarton Rd. Glasgow
Public sessions Sat 13: 2.30-6 pm. Maurice Brinton on "Sexuality & Social Revolution" plus a discussion on libertarian organisation.
Sun. 14: 1.30-4 pm "The Fight to Live Campaign".

EAST LONDON. "Unemployment and the Fight to Live". Public mtg. arranged by E. London Libertarians Group at N.E.L.P., Livingstone House, Room 23, Livingstone Rd. Stratford at 7.30 pm Wednesday Nov. 17th
BWNIC Study Group mtgs at 3.30 pm at 9 Monmouth House, West Hill Road, S.W.18 November 6 and every fortnight thereafter.

HYDE PARK Speakers Corner (Marble Arch). Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcomed.

EAST LONDON group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Latham Rd. E.6. Phone Ken, 552 3985.

KINGSTON Libertarian Group. Interested persons contact Pauline tel. 549 2564

SOUTH-EAST London Libertarians Group meets Wednesdays. Contact Georgina 460-1833

BIRMINGHAM Black & Red group. Regular Sunday mtgs. soon. For info. contact Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Rd. Moseley, B'ham 13.

COLCHESTER area anarchists/libertarians interested local group contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Rd. Colchester for mtg. details

NORTH-WEST Anarchist Federation. For mtgs. activities & newsletter write 165 Rosehill Rd. Burnley, Lancs.

NEW YORK

FREESPACE Alternative, 339 Lafayette St., New York, N.Y. 10012. Lectures Fridays 8.15 pm in W.R.L. Building (212) 228-0322.

Nov. 12: Sophia Cohn (IWW) "Paterson and the Silk Strike of 1913" A Personal Story.

Nov. 19: Katherine D. Seelman "Why Nuclear Power is Dangerous to You and Your Children"

Dec. 3: Benno Groeneveld, "The Story of the New Left in Holland"

Dec. 10: Sam Dolgoff "Spanish Anarchism Before & After Franco"

BAKUNIN Centennial Symposium, Sat. Nov. 20 at Hunter College, 68th Street and Park Avenue. Two sessions, 1 pm and 7.30 pm. Martin Sostre.

LIBERTARIAN Book Club Lectures Thursdays 7.30 pm at Workmen's Circle Center, 8th Ave. and 29 St. (S.W. corner). Free admission, coffee & cookies.

Nov. 11: Paul Berman, "The Haymarket

Martyrs"

Dec. 9 : Murray Kempton, "Radicalism as a career"

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH ANARCHISTS c/o Students' Union, Laura Place, Aberystwyth.

BOLTON anarchists contact 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516).

CAMBRIDGE Ron Stephan, 41 York Street, Cambridge

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 2LL

COVENTRY Pete Corne, c/o Students Union, University of Warwick, Coventry.

DURHAM Martin Spence, 11 Front Street, Sherburn Village, Durham.

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians contact Martin Spence, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex.

HARROW, c/o 10 Kenton Avenue, Harrow (Chris, or Nick H.)

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 6

LEICESTER Peter and Jean Miller, 41 Norman Road, Leicester (tel. 549642)

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst St. Oxford

PORTSMOUTH, Caroline Cahm, 2 Chadderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth.

THAMES VALLEY Anarchists contact Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 4 Cosgreen Road, Maidenhead, SL6 3EE (tel. 0628 2974).

Proposed Yorkshire Federation - Interested individuals or groups contact Leeds group.

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation :
Aberdeen: Blake, c/o A.P.P. 167 King St.
Dundee: Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl. (tel. 452063)
Edinburgh: B. Gibson, 7 Union St. (557 1532)
Fife: "Haggis", c/o Students Union, University of St. Andrews

Glasgow: C. Baird, 122 Berneray St., Milton, Glasgow G22 (336 7895)

Stirling: D. Tymes, 99 Rosebank, Sauchie, Clacks.

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALIA

Canberra Anarchist Group, 32/4 Condomine Court, Turner, ACT 2601

Melbourne Martin Giles Peters, c/o Dept. of Philosophy, Monash University, Melbourne. New South Wales P. Stones, P.O. Box 25, Warrawong, NSW 2502

Sydney Fed. of Aust. Anarchists & "Rising Free", Box 92, Broadway, 2007, Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

Write to the movement c/o Anarchy, P.O. Box 22-607, Christchurch.

PRISONERS

THE STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High St. London NW1

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane and Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire. MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY protest letters to the Justice Minister, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR

PUBLICATIONS

THE WALL (an anarchist analysis of the Berlin Wall) still available. For 25p you can buy a historic trip into East German oppression (from Freedom Bookshop, postage 9p).



An old woman, isolated and alone is visited by a group of young people full of laughter and joy. They have willingly given up their week-end to help decorate and clean up the old woman's rooms. She blossoms in such warmth and youthfulness. She dips into her meagre savings to buy her young visitors refreshments that to her have become rare luxuries. She is happy and although she would have preferred a different colour scheme to white. . . . (to be cont'd) 'I am the Printer'.

FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

November 6'76

Luciano Lanza

Techno-Bureaucratic Aspects Of Fascist Economics

Translated by Barry Smerin. Part 2.

THE MOST MATURE FORM OF STATE INTERVENTION was undoubtedly economic planning. The fascist technobureaucracy put into operation a full programme for the control of production on a nationwide basis. Objectives were set by central bodies which issued directives to public and private undertakings. 'National feeling' was a useful myth for getting recalcitrant entrepreneurs to comply, while state regulation of private companies provided judicial means of implementing the national plan. There was thus a gradual transition to a new system of ownership. A theoretician of fascist economics could write without fear of contradiction: "Gradual transition means, in this case, transition from an individualistic to a corporative system via a system which is partly individualistic and partly corporative." (33) And the same writer noted that the transition was taking place through state intervention: "State intervention in economic life becomes more important and fundamental every day, reaching out to the most outlying branches where the doctrine of private property seemed an insuperable obstacle. And everybody... feels that this gradual spread of state intervention is an inevitable consequence of modern life and, indeed, its basic characteristic." (34) Many German economists also drew the outlines of a "planned economy", which they saw as the only means of surmounting the crisis of capitalism. To quote Sombart: "A return to free trade, whether internally or externally, is almost entirely ruled out by the numerous factors militating against it... There are many reasons to believe that the new organization will take the form of a planned national economy: (a) the strength of the national idea... (b) the existence of a strong anti-capitalist front... (c) the existence of an equally strong anti-communist front..." (35) It is significant that, in Sombart's view, the anti-capitalist front was constituted not only by "the proletarian front of the workers", but also by a "...development which is taking place essentially within the bourgeoisie itself; and the chief beneficiary of this process is national socialism, which attracts the new bourgeoisie..." (36) (my emphasis).

In 1933 (37) the fascist government codified and generalized the various restrictions imposed on the formation of companies since 1926 and made prior ministerial authorization a compulsory requirement. The Nazi government introduced similar laws in the same year. The control of undertakings was extended by the introduction of price and wage controls, the levels of which were set down in a series of laws in both Italy and Germany. Even income on capital, the very essence of capitalist privilege, was made subject to regulation. An Italian law of August 1935 put a ceiling of 6% on profits payable to shareholders and provided for the compulsory investment of any surplus in state bonds. Along with this law went a new 10% tax on profits from all non-governmental stocks and bonds. (38) These and other measures imposed *de facto* restrictions on the independence of private entrepreneurs, in addition to which the planning organizations guided production, often in a coercive manner, and where necessary stimulated the private sector towards areas considered indispensable by means of government contracts. The bodies responsible for administering the "national plan" established quotas for different sectors of activity, inter-

vened in the distribution of raw materials and encouraged the formation of cartels by private companies that alone could not have accomplished the tasks assigned in the plan. In short, they organized and managed the whole national economy.

Control Of The Workforce

The state-controlled trade union was the body to which the regime theoretically entrusted the safeguarding of workers' interests. To this extent, therefore, it was an element of continuity with the preceding liberal system, since the very existence of trade unions implied the recognition of an opposition between the interests of the workers and those of the entrepreneurs. The real function assigned to the state-controlled trade union was that of composing these interests, of mediating between them to ensure the smooth functioning of the system. A union that obtained official recognition became a legal entity in public law and acquired a 'monopoly', since no other trade union in the same category and area could obtain recognition and the ensuing rights. In these conditions the fascist trade union assumed the function common to all state-controlled unions: it became the overseer of the working masses and helped to subjugate them to the totalitarian regime. The fascist trade union thus accepted and embraced the political motives behind the introduction of the work-card in June 1934. (39) This was a crucial moment for the workers since "the work-card came to serve as an instrument for selecting labour with the qualifications and 'cultural' and physical requisites for the various industries and of discriminating against workers deemed unsuitable for professional or political reasons. The work-card included all the information necessary for applying the various labour laws: schooling, occupation, wages, accidents at work, illnesses, social security number, dates of commencement and cessation of employment." (40)

The trade union was thus the instrument employed by the regime to obtain workers' concurrence in fascist policy. This does not mean that the workers' economic interests were completely forgotten. The wage squeeze under fascism was undoubtedly quite appreciable, but it was accompanied by the development of social insurance and the introduction of paid holidays, redundancy pay, family allowances, job security during illness, mutual assistance schemes, a lower pensionable retirement age and other benefits. Such reforms were part of the 'social programme' of fascism and nazism, which foreshadowed what we would now call the welfare state. They show that the fascist state was henceforth far removed from its liberal predecessor, just as the trade union was no longer a counterweight to the employers. Many trade union functions, however, were increasingly taken over by the corporations. The latter, which were formally established in 1930 but did not really become operative until 1934-5, were designed to transcend the division between workers and bosses and between the individual and the state, in a clearly 'inter-class' perspective. (41) The main tasks assigned to the corporations were the resolution of industrial disputes, the improvement of production, the establishment of labour information offices, the regulation of apprent▶

iceship and the supervision of compliance with norms relating to working conditions. But this was not all, as can be seen from the following extract from the Labour Charter (42): "The Corporations constitute a unitary organization of the forces of production and wholly represent their interests. By virtue of such representation, and in view of the fact that the interests of production are national interests, the Corporations are recognized in law as state bodies. As representatives of the unitary interests of production, the Corporations are entitled to lay down compulsory norms in regard to labour relations and the coordination of production whenever they receive the necessary powers from the producers' associations." However, these general declarations were to a large extent disregarded in practice. Economic policy was very often pursued independently of the opinion of the National Council of Corporations, which was consulted only now and then on secondary measures and occasionally asked to ratify decisions that had already been taken. The corporative idea nevertheless stimulated a wide debate among scholars and economists, especially young intellectuals of the regime who wished to develop a corporativism that would be more than administrative and bureaucratic. These ideas throw light on the (untranscended) barrier between the aspirations and the actual achievements of fascism. The Minister for Corporations, Bottai, himself 'disowned' Ugo Spirito, a young economist whose theories of entrepreneurial corporativism were obviously too 'fascist' for the regime.

The International Division Of Labour

The Thirties witnessed the development in almost every industrialized country of a trend towards planning which called into question the liberal doctrine of *laissez faire*. This was true of America, with the New Deal, of Britain, influenced by Keynesian thought, and above all of Italy and Germany, where planning—in the intentions of the fascist theoreticians and in its actual achievements—aimed at establishing a 'new order' which would supplant the capitalist economy. The 'free play' of the market was to be replaced by state-planned distribution. As we have seen, it is indisputable that, after fascism came to power, the intervention of the state as planner and economic agent became preponderant and that industry was financed above all with public funds.

The 'fascist economic model'—for it is indeed a model we are dealing with—was born of and developed from the crisis of the capitalist system, the chronic shortages which resulted from it and above all the lack of an alternative model of development and the need to take account of the resistance which big capital was still in a position to oppose to over-explicit forms of expropriation. 'Self-sufficiency planning' was the pivot around which all the other institutions of fascism revolved. As I have already pointed out, self-sufficiency was the regime's necessary condition for strict implementation of the economic programme. However, the fascist technobureaucrats did not see self-sufficiency as a model confined to the national territory. The need to 'go it alone' so as to free production from the influence of the factors involved in international trade inevitably raised the demand for an extension of the national boundaries.

Hitler's call for 'living space' thus takes on its full economic significance. It was not simply the expression of an irrational desire for power, but also a project which would permit application of a planned system over 'large economics areas'. Expansion of the self-sufficiency regime was bound up with an international division of labour. In its second four-year plan, drawn up in 1936, Nazi Germany already made provision for a division of economic tasks among the occupied territories. Each was assigned a specific role in production—for Norway, the manufacture of cellulose and synthetic fibres; for Rumania, oil; for Scandinavia, minerals and electric power, and so on. (43)

In addition to the distribution of roles in production, the second four-year plan provided for a transfer of labour at European level to be decided when production (objectively or as a matter of political choice) required a strong concentration of manpower. Germany's 9½ million forced labourers bear witness to the fact that words were followed by deeds and that compulsory mass transportation had already been studied and prepared before the Second World War. Planned self-sufficiency at European level: such was the programme of the German economists, and it was in this perspective that the term 'New Europe' was coined, a Europe to be based on a 'new division of labour'. (44) This was stated very clearly by Funk, the Minis-

ter of Economic Affairs of the Third Reich, at the Vienna Fair in September 1940: "It is economic stupidity for every country, however small, to try and produce everything for itself and maintain, at great expense, tiny unprofitable industries that have no right to exist and can be kept alive only by artificial means such as subsidies, import restrictions and tariff barriers. This exaggerated self-sufficiency must, for the good of all, give way to a healthy division of labour among the countries of the European territory. Economic demobilization of this kind will permit the removal of obstacles to trade and the creation of healthy and stable European currencies." (45) Here we have the outline of the new European order, to be achieved by doing away with the bureaucratic obstacle of customs barriers, protectionism and the passive costs of certain kinds of production, and replacing rigid national self-sufficiency by self-sufficiency on a continental scale. The economic *dirigisme* introduced under fascism and nazism is, without doubt, still alive today. In all advanced industrialized countries, ever more extensive state planning and the increasing development of state organizations continue to be the common features of the various economic systems. Only, coercive planning has been replaced by participatory planning and dirigisme-through-persuasion. Directives are no longer imposed, but proposed. The plan is carried out with the agreement of the entrepreneurs. The manner in which it is implemented has changed, but the model of development is essentially the same.

Mobilization Of The Masses

The consensus which the nazi and fascist regimes created among the masses is significant, but this is not the place to analyse the psychological motivations behind this phenomenon. With the classic studies of Reich and Fromm, the psycho-sociological aspects have received sufficient attention (46). What is important to stress here is that the masses were won over with the aid of relatively new instruments such as radio and cinema. The use of the mass media was practically 'invented' by the fascist regime for carrying out the 'cultural revolution' postulated by its ideologists. (47)

Thus in the cultural field, too, we encounter a new mode of managing the consensus which is qualitatively different from that of the preceding liberal regimes. Abandoning the myth of bourgeois individualism, fascism obtained its consensus with methods which acted not on the individual in isolation but on the masses as a whole. The purpose of mass mobilization was to obtain not only passive concurrence, but also popular participation in the 'fascist revolution' (48). The 'mythology' of the regime aimed at creating a new sense of community. The enormous parades and other spectacular manifestations organized by the regime achieved an emotional mobilization that served to mobilize productive forces, by getting the exploited classes not only to accept but actually to 'want' otherwise unacceptable efforts and sacrifices. The main purpose of the whole 'mass politics' of fascism was thus to strengthen the labour factor of production.

A New Ruling Class

I have attempted, in a schematic form, to single out the main characteristics of fascism from the complex reality. The foregoing analysis of economic policy—characterized by state intervention, the formation of large combines, state planning, the new role of industrial and political management—forces us to the conclusion that fascism was a movement which aimed at a fundamental transformation of the traditional capitalist economy. The class that implemented the transformation was the class entrenched in the state organizations (administration, planning, corporations, etc.) and in the large undertakings (private or with state participation). Symptomatic of this is the shift in the locus of power. In a liberal regime, the capitalists delegate the task of promulgating laws that respect the existing power relations to a specific institution—parliament. This institution symbolizes the distinction between political and economic power, with the former a subordinate expression of the latter.

The fascist regime saw the demise of parliament, whose functions were increasingly taken over by the single-party apparatus and the administrative departments of the state. Economic and political power converged in the hands of the same class, so that the power structure—and thus the social order itself—were modified. The class in question was the technobureaucracy, the nature of which is to administer the means of production without

formal ownership.

The fascist state did not recognize for itself the limits of the liberal state: the economic sphere was also considered a sphere of state activity. Accordingly, the distinction between political functionaries and private entrepreneurs was blurred. With his traditional functions now under state control, the entrepreneur himself became a state functionary (49).

The creation and subsequent development of IRI exemplifies the transformation. In IRI, those with commercial and political power were state officials, who performed the entrepreneurial as well as the purely political and administrative functions. The painless state takeover carried out through IRI and the other state partnerships retained the formal structure of capitalism while eliminating the former 'captains of industry' from the decision-making process: from being 'captains', i.e. possessors of a power of decision, they became simply recipients of state-guaranteed returns.

This gradual transition made it possible to avoid an open clash with the historic ally (big capital) and to expand the public sector without provoking a general crisis of private capital (which would have set off a series of reactions difficult for the fascist technobureaucracy to control). The objective impossibility for the entrepreneurs to control the expansion of production, and the parallel increase in the influence of the planning bureaucracy, were symptoms of a 'fatigue' and 'saturation' of the capitalist market. The attempt to get out of the impasse led to the construction of an all-embracing national monopoly, that is to the transition from a 'free' to a controlled economy.

The new dominant class, which adorned itself in military plumage and employed irrational martial myths to win over the masses, in fact performed the function of rationalizing the national economic system. Its principal attribute was, I repeat, the possession of socially relevant knowledge, which enabled it to develop a system of social self-assertion designed to replace private property capitalism. The instrument of assertion was the state, whose structure merged into one with the new dominant class to give rise to the kind of political regime we call totalitarian, in which the authorities regulate every aspect of social life. The fascist totalitarian state tended increasingly to abandon the function of an apparatus for the defence of capitalist privileges and to intervene in the economy in the first person, thereby inevitably reducing the field of action of the entrepreneurial bourgeoisie and consequently the latter's significance in the decision-making process. The result was a new form of privilege—based no longer on direct appropriation of profits but on occupation of a hierarchical-functional position in the production process□ Luciano Lanza. Milan, October 1975.

Notes

(33) Spirito, *Capitalismo e corporativismo*, Florence 1933, p. XVI.

(34) Cf. U.Spirito, *ibid.*, Ch. V, *L'economia programmatica*, p. 81.

(35) W. Sombart, *Correnti sociali della Germania di oggi*, in *La crisi del capitalismo*, Florence 1934, pp. 59-60.

(36) W. Sombart, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

(37) Law of 12.1.33.

(38) Similar measures were introduced in Germany, fixing, amongst other things, the level of urban rents and of incomes from landed property.

(39) Introduced in Germany by law of 26.2.36.

(40) G. Sapelli, *Fascismo, grande industria e sindacato*, Milan 1975.

(41) It is interesting to note the 'ideological proximity' of fascism and social-democracy: the terms employed are almost identical and the objective is the same—to blur the distinction between exploiters and exploited.

(42) 'Carta del Lavoro' of 1927.

(43) Cf. R. Mariani, *L'ordine nuovo e la pianificazione del grande spazio*, in *Il Mulino*, No. 238, 1975, p. 270.

(44) Cf. F.S. Orlando, *L'economia bellica e i problemi della nuova Europa*, Milan 1941, p. 227.

(45) Quoted from G. Amariani, *op. cit.*, p. 257.

(46) Cf. W. Reich, *The Mass Psychology of Fascism*, 1946; E. Fromm, *Fear of Freedom*, 1942.

(47) Cf. Cannistraro, *La fabbrica del consenso, fascismo e mass-media*, Bari 1975, p. 7. It is curious to note the fascist use of a term that nowadays has Maoist connotations.

(48) Cf. J. Burnham, *The Managerial Revolution*, 1941.

REVIEW

TONTO COME HOME: INDIAN ART At The HAYWARD

Arthur Moyse.

THE HAYWARD GALLERY has chosen to become the show place of the pretentious and the banal. Acting out its concrete role, with the National Theatre, as ersatz bookends for the Waterloo Bridge they offer the uninformed and the ill informed a Reader's Digest of the popular culture of the mode, the three dimensional made two dimensional, the comic degraded down to an art form, minority cultures reduced to tourist droppings. The play a thing of mindless windy rhetoric mouthed by the Town's fashionable actor, the painting no more than a piece of graffiti on the walls of a building meant by God and General Motors to be a man created car park. It was the British Museum's Department of Ethnography which master-minded the Canadian government's Eskimo art exhibition two, three years ago — wherein genuine primitive art work and tourist junk were mixed in together, and with the whisky in my hand I protested the fact but authority and the Town and his whisky sipping frau were indifferent, for Bond Street and Piccadilly were but two minutes' walk away and truth is of little importance within this trinity.

This year the Hilton oil sheiks decided to grease their consciences by giving the London mob the philosophy, the religion and the art of Islam and apart from annoying the blue blooded residents of Mayfair by frying their caviar on the Shephard's Market pavements and taking over the Curzon Cinema in the original Arabic and without English subtitles their attempt to capture the heart, the mind and the soul of the London mob was among the biggest and loudest international pratfalls of the year. It was left to the Hayward Gallery to mount the great exhibition of Moslem art and they put Liberty's, Heals and Selfridges to shame with their brightly coloured manufactured trivia as alien to the functional art of the primitive people of the middle east as the Pope is to the Sermon on the Mount. But this time it was the British Museum which saved their soul and their reputation for they mounted a Bedouin exhibition and within the exhibition they erected a Bedouin tent complete with the small loom and all the necessities of a nomadic people, and one accepted the limitations imposed on these people and the understanding that everything they created within the circumference of that small living space must of necessity be functional and that the decorative could only be produced by the same limited tools that they used in their daily fight to exist.

But the Hayward once more speaks of small printed names ranging from Mrs Robert T. Phinney to the Countess of Airlie, and by God I love to drop a name, and under the wearied eye of my old friend H.R.H. the Duke of Edinburgh, KG, KT and Rocky the Vice President of the United States we have Sacred Circles or Two Thousand Years of North American Indian Art and it is a curious thing that of the 700 people involved in this latter day battle of Wounded Knee there is not a single Indian name. Within this exhibition they honour the point that I made in respect to the Eskimo exhibition when referring to the Aleuts who exist on the arctic's northern rim, for a wall poster reads that the Aleuts' "carvings and masks contain an element of raucous humour, a cathartic agent which in modern times becomes less restrained. Modern carvers working under Canadian Government auspices still abound in this region."

What this and every exhibition of this type are demonstrating is that when a minority has had their spirit broken, their functional culture debased and have accepted their role as second class citizens within a society which controls the gun and the food, then they perform like dancing dogs. I would hold that too much of the 700 or less pieces exhibited, which is but one for every pale face gracing the VIP list at the front of the 236-page catalogue, is no more than tourist junk. A crude stone image 26 cm high is catalogued "Early 20th century" and in an age when Tonto is television camp this is a Private Eye joke while a decayed wooden figure of a 64cm high War God was produced in c. 1900 when Goldwyn arrived in the same zone only ten years later and produced the film "The Squaw Man" in 1913, and the Indian was already the white man's hired labourer and his functional culture already a bastardised and prostituted gimmick to be hawked to the tourists, and any politician for a buck could be accepted as a member of the local tribe.

That there is much to give pleasure within this exhibition cannot be denied for the figure of a wounded horse carved out of wood is a magnificent work of art that, like all great work, stands outside time, for this carving by an unknown Sioux over a hundred years ago can stand alongside the work of any major eastern or european master craftsman. Taunt and pain racked it leaps through time. But there is the rest. A Navajo blanket c. 1890 with the American flag as its motif and the warbonnet of Yellow Calf, the last chief of the Arapaho who went to that Hollywood



As avid readers of our contact column will know, an International Conference of Bakunin Studies was recently (September 24th to 26th) held in Venice. The conference was a great success with over 500 people attending from all parts of Italy and abroad. We hope to include a fuller report on the proceedings of the conference (which will be published in Italian by *Edizioni Antistato*) in a special Bakunin Centenary supplement to "Freedom", which will include a further text from the conference, original materials and translations. In the meantime we publish here, with the permission of the author and of Nico Berti, the organizer of the conference, a text by Sam Dolgoff which was read out on the first day (since Mr Dolgoff was unable to attend the conference personally). Many thanks to the comrades of *Edizioni Antistato* for the photograph of the exterior of the palazzo where the conference took place.

Sam Dolgoff:

Bakunin's Impact On RUSSIAN ANARCHISM

THIS PAPER deals exclusively with the impact of Bakunin's ideas on Russian anarchism and on the Russian revolutionary movement in general. It omits discussion of anarcho-pacifists; Tolstoyans; anarcho-terrorists in the style of Ravachol; anarchists who believe that the free society can be attained by gradual reforms; anarchists who oppose struggle for better conditions under capitalism; amoral "Nechaevists"; anti-social individualists who are against all but the most primitive forms of organisation; and other tendencies whose ideas are foreign to the main body of Bakunin's thought.

Russian anarchism—a synthesis of communalism and syndicalism—derived its orientation from the ideas of Bakunin. Rural communes were deemed best able to cope with the problems of revolutionising the peasant economy in a country where the oppressed restless peasants constituted, in Bakunin's time, the vast mass of the populace. Urban communes (sometimes called "free cities") and industrial syndicates were considered best suited to deal with the problems generated by the industrialisation of Russia in the later years of the nineteenth century, problems further complicated by the emergence of a new class of rootless proletarians. Co-ordination of the economy would be achieved through an interlocking network of local, district, regional and national federations of communes and of syndicates.

Kropotkin considered himself a disciple of Bakunin: "...the theoretical aspects of anarchism as they were beginning to be expressed in the Jura Federation—especially by Bakunin's criticism of state socialism, fear of economic despotism, appealed strongly to my mind..." In his *Modern Science and Anarchism*, Kropotkin further wrote that "...Bakunin in a series of brilliant pamphlets formulated the fundamental principles of anarchism..."

In the main, Kropotkin's anarchism, like Bakunin's, combined communalism (Kropotkin declared that Bakunin was "really a communist") and syndicalism ("...independent communes for the territorial organisation and federations of trade unions in accordance with their different functions...") supplemented by voluntary associations of all descriptions, for the economic organisation. Thus, the programme of Russian anarcho-syndicalism incorporated the ideas of both Bakunin and Kropotkin. This fact is stressed in all the anarcho-syndicalist literature, and in the declaration of principles of the Anarcho-Syndicalist International organised in Berlin in 1922.

Bakunin's ideas reached Russia through political refugees (mostly in Switzerland) in close touch with the revolutionary underground. In Switzerland the Russian refugees—who

adhered to the Russian section of the International—published and (through the underground) circulated anarchist propaganda literature like Statism and Anarchy by Bakunin; The Historical Development of the International: Anarchism According to Proudhon, etc. Illustrating how highly regarded Bakunin was, a declaration protesting Marx's defamation of Bakunin declared: "...as for Russia, we can assure Mr. Marx that Bakunin is too well known and esteemed for calumny to touch him..." The protest was signed by the highly respected Russian revolutionists Vladimir Ozerov, Nicholas Ogarez, Bartholomew Zaitsev, Armand Ross (Michael Sashin) Zampirir Railli, Alexander Celnitz, and Valerian Smirnov.

Youth

The first issue of Narodnoe Delo ("The People's Cause"), written almost entirely by Bakunin, and his Statism and Anarchy had an enormous effect on the Russian youth. Stepniak tells how "Bakunin inspired the young revolutionaries for whom Bakunin's writings symbolised revolution". Count Pahlem, the Czar's Minister of Justice, bemoaned the fact that the "...writings of Bakunin and Lavrov had a devastating bad effect on the subversive movements in Russia...", inciting the youth to "commit crimes against the state". Kropotkin recalls that in the Chaikovsky circle to which he belonged "...our youth listened to the mighty voice of Bakunin and the agitation of the International had a fascinating effect upon us..." (Memoirs of a Revolutionist).

Bakunin decisively influenced the Russian radical movement. Although no specific Bakunist organisation was established in Russia during his lifetime, Bakunin "...inspired a revolutionary spirit in Russia...from Bakunin, the Russian populists sought—and obtained—not so much an organisation as a conception of the world which had a profound and lasting effect on the entire revolutionary movement..." (see Franco Venturi's pioneering study of Russian Populism, Roots of Revolution).

Bakunin's pamphlet, Some Words to My Young Brothers in Russia, foreshadowing Kropotkin's Appeal to the Young, called upon the upper and middle-class intellectuals to live with the people and struggle together with them for their liberation

"...so my young friends, leave this dying world, these universities, academies in which you are now locked and permanently separated from the people. GO TO THE PEOPLE..."

GO TO THE PEOPLE! became the celebrated watchword of the Narodnik (People's) movement.

Populism

There is, indeed, a striking resemblance between Bakunin's ideas and the libertarian tendencies that emerged from the Populist movement. The essence of Populism (as the name implies) is an abiding faith in the creative and revolutionary capacity of the "ordinary" people. As against Marx, the Populists insisted that the will of man and not the mode of production is the prime condition for social change. Moreover, capitalism was not the indispensable progressive precondition for the transition to socialism and the state was not the consequence but the cause of inequality and subjugation. "...they argued that it was possible to avoid the evils of capitalism, the despotism of a centralised economy or a centralised government, by adopting a loose federal structure composed of self-governing units of producers and consumers..." The potential for such a society already existed in the Russian peasant commune—the Mir, a federation of self-governing communes "along the lines of the French anarchist-socialist Proudhon" (Isaiah Berlin, introduction to Roots of Revolution).

Cherny Peredel ("Black Partition"—division of land to the former serfs, who used to be called "Blacks") broke away from the Populist Zemlya i Volya ("Land and Liberty") because it violated the principles of Bakuninism by placing altogether too much emphasis on terrorism and neglecting propaganda among the worker and peasant masses, isolating itself from the people. Land and Freedom became a sect and not a movement. Every attentat increased the fury of the reaction. The revolutionary movement needlessly lost its best and bravest militants. Franco Venturi concludes that Cherny Peredel's

programme called for a "return to the Bakunist sources of Populist thought..."

The Peasantry

As regards the peasantry, Bakunin did not share the blind faith of the Populists in the Mir. To fulfil its true potential, Bakunin insisted, the Mir would have to be revolutionised from within, purged of paternalism, "the absorption of the individual" and the "cult of the Czar":

"...the family patriarch is simultaneously a despot and a slave; a despot exerting his tyranny over all under his roof...but the domestic despot is the servant of the Mir and the slave of the Czar...the Russian family is a whitewashed graveyard..."

"...the Russian rural community, already weakened by paternalism, is hopelessly corrupted and crushed by the state...communal elections are a mockery. The persons elected by the people become the tools of the oppressors and the venal servants of the rich landlords..."

Bakunin deplored the fact that each community "constitutes a closed circle...therefore one of the main tasks of revolutionary youth is to establish a vital line of revolt between the isolated rural communities..."

With respect to the establishment of co-operatives under capitalism, founding of communist rural colonies like Cabet's New Icaria in America, "organising their own domestic life on the basis of full liberty..." to serve as an example, and other schemes to reform capitalism or undermine the state, Bakunin argued that "...experience in different countries...has conclusively shown that emancipation of the people..." by such means is impossible: "...there must be a general uprising embracing the whole countryside...that this is possible has been demonstrated by the vast popular uprisings led by Stenka Razin and Pougachev..." but spontaneity is not enough. The revolution must be organised in accordance with a realistic consistent programme (see Appendix "A" Statism and Anarchy).

Makhno

The Makhno movement, a half century later, was an example of what Bakunin had in mind. Makhno, writes Avrich, "expropriated the gentry and established a Cossack-style 'republic'...while the government denounced him and Antonov as 'bandits'—the epithet with which Moscow maligned its guerilla opponents since the 17th century". (Russian Rebels.) A proclamation of the Revolutionary Makhno Insurgent Movement (Jan. 7, 1920) addressed to "All Peasants and Workers" practically duplicates the Bakunist programme:

"...the Insurgent Army fought persistently to create a true soviet socialist order...the land of the Gentry, the Church and other enemies of the toilers with all livestock and equipment must be transferred to the peasants who will live on it by their own labor...the transfer will take place in an organised manner according to the decisions of the Peasant assemblies..."

"...the factories, workshops, mines and other means of production, are to become the possession of the working class as a whole, which through its trade unions...will resume production, link together the industry of the whole country in a single united organisation...the true worker-peasant order is not the rule of the Social Democrat Communist Bolsheviks, which now falsely calls itself 'Soviet Power', but a higher form of anti-statist, anti-authoritarian socialism..."

(Avrich, Anarchists in the Russian Revolution—translation).

South... and North

Venturi notes that "...Bakunism prevailed in the working class centres of Southern Russia..." In 1879 the Bakunist Akselrod organized the Southern Union of Russian Workers which collapsed after Akselrod left to join Cherny Peredel. (Both Akselrod and the Bakunist Plekhanov, Lenin's teacher, became leaders of the Russian Marxists.) The Union, however, was reorganized a year later by "...two revolutionary

Populists to pursue to the end earlier attempts to bring Bakunism to the working class..."

The programme of the Northern Union of Russian Workers also reflected Bakuninist ideas (abolition of the state and private property, communal autonomy, federalism, etc.) though paradoxically, the "last paragraph of its programme was taken directly from the catechism of the German Social Democrats..."

S. R.

The next generation of Populists likewise fell under Bakunin's influence. Thus while the neo-populist Socialist Revolutionary Party (organized 1901) was by no means an anarchist organization, its economic programme was in many ways Bakuninist. Instead of nationalization, the Party proposed the socialization of land and industry to be directly administered by peasant communes and workers' syndicates. Similarly, the Maximalists, a group that split off from the Socialist Revolutionary Party, rejected parliamentary action, arguing that "... Russia required, not a constituent assembly but the federation of revolutionary communes..." (Oscar Anweiler, *The Soviets*).

Bakunin's disciple, Z. K. Ralli, published a 530-page book, *The Sated and the Hungry*, a "real encyclopedia of Anarchist Populism", the book explained the policies of the First International. Ralli's circle helped launch the revolutionary syndicalist paper *Rabotnik* ("Worker"), which urged the workers to "Seize the factories from the employers! Seize the land and divide it among the peasants! Eliminate the government! Do not rebuild the state! Do away with the gentry! Do not rebuild the state! Organize a federation of peasant Communes and industrial artels!"

Soviets

The council movement during the Russian Revolutions of 1905 and 1917 also embodied Bakunin's revolutionary concepts. Oscar Anweiler (*The Soviets*) concludes that "... Bakunin's proposals were strikingly similar to the structure of the subsequent Russian system of Councils. Lenin's condemnation (1905) of the anarcho-syndicalist tendencies among the proletariat was directed against the disturbing influence of the anarchists in Moscow and Odessa..." For the anarchists, the soviets that arose spontaneously embodied the libertarian principle of the peasant *Mir* or *Obschina*; a suitable form for workers' self-management of industry. "... Lenin assimilated the anarchist program to secure the support of the masses for the Bolsheviks..." (Anweiler). I. P. Goldenberg, a veteran Russian Marxist, declared that "... Lenin has now made himself a candidate for the throne of Bakunin... His new words echo... the old superannuated truths of primitive anarchism..." (Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*).

Organisation!

At the turn of the century, the spontaneous revolts of the oppressed workers which swept the industrial areas of Russia, inspired anarchists to participate. Anti-syndicalists and many who opposed all but the most primitive forms of organization, even self-discipline, revised their ideas, while the workers, for their part, proved receptive to anarchist propaganda and spurred the growth of the movement.

In France the revival of anarchism began when the anarchists recovered from their anti-social individualism (attentats, esoteric cults etc) and resumed action in labor and other mass movements in accordance with the principles championed by Bakunin and his comrades in the First International. In Russia, although the anarchist movement was just beginning to be organized, a similar process was taking place.

By dint of hard work and intensive propaganda the anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists achieved a foothold in the labor movement - so much so that "... fearful of the dangerous competition of the pro-syndicalists, the socialists strove to exclude them from the soviets, trade unions and workers' committees (set up during the 1905 revolution..." (Avrich, *The Russian Anarchists*).

"The Declaration of the Petrograd Union of Anarcho-Syndicalist Propaganda (adopted June 4, 1917) a blending of communalism and syndicalism applied to the problems of the Russian Revolution, recapitulates familiar Bakuninist themes:

"...the state must be replaced by an all-Russian Federation of Free Cities and Free Communes, in urban and rural communes united from the bottom up in local, district and regional federations... the soviets expressing the political will of the masses must take upon themselves the political reconstruction of the country on the basis of the widest introduction of federalism..."

"... the second... task, the total economic reconstruction, must be left to other popular organizations better fitted for the purpose: industrial unions and other economic organizations of the workers and peasants. The confiscation of the land and factories can be undertaken only by federations of unions of laboring peasants, industrial unions, factory committees... and the like, in local districts throughout the country..." (translated in Avrich, *Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*).

In the style of Kropotkin, the Declaration also calls for the incorporation of voluntary associations of all types and purposes in both the political and economic structure of the free society.

Libertarian Direction

The anarcho-syndicalists did not behave like impotent grumblers, but developed constructive, practical measures designed to propel the revolution in a libertarian direction. The purged Bolshevik Victor Serge (an ex-anarchist who had not entirely rejected all he had learned) criticized the criminal inefficiency of the Bolshevik administration in dealing with the economic crisis. In suggesting a different solution to the economic problems, Serge inadvertently illustrated the relevance of anarchist organizational principles, practically duplicating the proposals offered by the anarcho-syndicalists:

"...certain industries could have been revived merely by appealing to groups of producers and consumers, by freeing the state strangled cooperatives and inviting various associations to take over the management of different branches of economic activity... In a word, I argued for a 'communism of associations' - in contrast to communism of the state variety. I thought of the total plan not as something to be dictated by the state from on high, but rather, as resulting from the harmonizing by congresses and specialized assemblies of initiatives from below..." (Memoirs of a Revolutionary)

Revolution...

Anarchism, on a scale never before attained, was beginning to take root from 1917 - the beginning of the revolution - until the crushing of the Makhno movement and the Kronstadt rebellion in 1921. Thousands of Russian revolutionists returned from exile. The weekly organ of the 10,000 member Union of Russian Workers of the United States and Canada, *Golos Truda* (The Voice of Labor) was transferred to Russia. *Golos Truda* and other groups published a mass of anarchist literature including the works of Bakunin and Kropotkin. Anarcho-syndicalists and anarcho-communists were active in the unions, soviets and factory committees which included bakers, seamen, stevedores, printing, railway workers, metal industry and other trades. Soviet sources recently revealed that in 1918, 55 anarchist newspapers and magazines were published in cities and towns all over Russia. The circulation of the organ of the Anarchist Communist Federation, *Anarkhia* reached 20,000 and of the Anarcho Syndicalist *Volny Golos Truda* (Free Voice of Labor) 18,000.

Aborted

The abortion of the Russian Revolution spurred the search for libertarian alternatives to authoritarian socialism. As the current re-evaluation of traditional socialist theory proceeds, the ideas of Michael Bakunin, the founder of the international anarchist movement are arousing increasing interest and have become increasingly relevant. In such an examination much can still be learned from the achievements - and the failures - of Bakunin and the pioneers who fought for freedom a century ago □ Sam Dolgoff

Film Preview

LA CECILIA



"Of the new films screened at the Edinburgh Festival this summer, the one that impressed me most strongly... was Jean-Louis Comolli's *La Cecilia*. It is necessary to state this thus baldly, because the film attracted relatively little critical attention and has not yet found a distributor in this country: it would be tragic were it allowed to disappear. Although set in the nineteenth century, it raises the most central and crucial contemporary issues and treats them in a highly intelligent and complex way. Based on fact, it describes the efforts of a group of Italian anarchists (eleven men and one woman) to found a colony (the 'La Cecilia' of the title) in Brazil - a commune without fences, either literal or metaphorical. The film, through its unambiguous sympathy for the enterprise, challenges all the major ideological assumptions of established society - property, monogamy, the family - while acknowledging with great honesty the difficulties involved in an attempt to break cleanly with an ideology that is not merely something 'out there' but is structured deeply within each individual."

—Robin Wood.

La Cecilia

FRANCE/ITALY 1976

Sat 4 Dec 6.15

Director: Jean-Louis Comolli

Production: Filmoblic - C.E.C.R.T. (Paris)/Saba Cinematografica (Rome)

Producer: Pierre-Henri Deleau, Fanny Berchoux, Bruno Paolinelli

Screenplay: Jean-Louis Comolli, Eduardo de Gregorio, Marianne di Vettimo

Photography (Eastmancolour): Yann le Masson

Music: Michel Portal

Sound: Tonino Testa

Distributor: NEF Diffusion, 92 Champs Elysees, Paris

Leading Players: Massimo Foschi, Maria Carta, Vittorio Mezzogiorno, Biaggio Pelligra, Giancarlo Pannese

Cannes, Edinburgh Film Festivals 1976

Since I have not yet seen this film, it is impossible to assess beforehand the truth to facts and ideological content of this Franco-Italian production by Jean Louis Comoli (a former editor of the magazine, *Cahiers du Cinema*) about a little known libertarian commune (little known in Britain, at least) set up in Brazil at the beginning of March 1890 by Italian anarchists.

As background information to the film, an article by Edgar Rodrigues, a comrade from Sao Paulo, Brazil, written for the Lisbon anarchist magazine, "A Ideia" and published in their third issue (August 1976) about 'Colonia Cecilia':

"Don Pedro II, the most liberal and enlightened of all the emperors and presidents who governed Brazil, gave some uncultivated land to the Italian agronomist, Giovanni Rossi, who had just arrived with a group of libertarian friends in Palmares in the province of Parana, with idealistic plans of putting his anarchist beliefs into practice.

"As the last years of the Brazilian monarchy rapidly approached, the black flag of anarchism was unfurled by a young man

at the top of the highest palm tree in Palmares, and this symbolic ceremony opened what was going to be known as 'A Colonia Cecilia'.

"By the end of April 1890 more people had arrived at the colony to help the pioneers, and by that time, 150 persons were living there, enduring many hardships in order to survive and transform the admirable dream of anarchist equality into reality.

"By no means all the members of the colony were workers, indeed many of them had no previous knowledge of agricultural or manual work. Among them were Professor Damiani and Prof. Parodi, the Count of Colombo and his wife, the engineer Grilo, the journalist Lorenzini and many other Italian intellectuals. Nevertheless this libertarian community soon took shape in the form of houses, cultivated land, sowing and harvesting, shoe making and carpentry workshops, etc. making a success of their experiment by sheer hard work.

"Decisions at Colonia Cecilia were taken collectively in the presence of all the members in a hall specially built for communal meetings. All decisions taken were noted in a meeting logbook, and suggestions and ideas were debated with passion and conviction in lively meetings which were the focal point of the life of the community.

"The daily way of life was very much a libertarian one as envisaged by the founder, Giovanni Rossi, without any major conflicts which might endanger their practical form of anarchism. But set against this libertarian equilibrium were outside political forces pertaining to the newly founded Republic of Brazil, a much less liberal regime than the monarchy of Don Pedro II, which had exempted the colony from taxation.

"On orders from the Republican government, the local governor of Parana demanded prompt payment by the inhabitants

of Colonia Cecilia of 850,000 Reis (old Portuguese currency) of unpaid taxes plus accrued interest, an unforeseen demand which they were unable to meet.

"The struggle against this tyrannical decision was a hard and unsuccessful one. The Brazilian government was indifferent about the difficulties it had created for the members of the colony by these demands and sent troops in to reclaim the land which had previously been given to Rossi and his friends by a progressive monarch.

"The violent destruction of this promising experiment by the Republican state was certainly principally occasioned by the revolutionary success of Colonia Cecilia: the monetary impositions dreamed up by the state were an excuse for its suppression. This governmental decision to stop the spread of anarchist ideas in Brazil did not spare the Brazilian bourgeoisie from frequent and violent social upheavals in town and countryside for these were the days of strong anarcho-syndicalist influence in Central and South America, which lasted until the appearance on the political scene in 1922 of the so-called Communist parties under the ideological influence of the Bolshevik coup d'etat in Russia"

Unfortunately, this film will be shown only once in London during the London Film Festival, at NFT1, on Saturday, December 4th at 6.15 pm. Members of the NFT should book well in advance for a seat. Non-members can queue one hour before the beginning of the film for tickets which are available only then to members of the general public at the box office.

FREEDOM would like to receive for publication a review of "La Cecilia" from any comrade lucky enough to get to see this interesting promising production by Jean Louis Comoli □ Claude.

Film Review

WINSTANLEY

WINSTANLEY, directed by Kevin Brownlow and Andrew Mollo, with a non-professional cast (exception Jerome Willis as Gen. Fairfax)

THIS FILM should be reviewed by someone who knows something about film-making and about the English Revolution and its diverse participants, but until its current inclusion in a season at The Other Cinema in London very few people have had the chance to see it.

It may be that its inaccessibility inflated expectation among those who heard of it from lucky friends who saw it at its one-night stand at the National Film Theatre or at one of its other scattered few showings. The opening action, first the attention-drawing distance of the Parliamentary soldiers lined up for battle with the murmuring phrases of their commander drifting over in snatches of religiously-couched idealism and evoking from his men a mighty, perfectly unisoned 'Alleluiah!', struck with an excitement that was not carried through the film. There are beautiful photographs all through the film - 17th century interiors, the making of houses from saplings and straw, the faces of hope and joy in sowing and reaping. The dialogue, in large part straight passages from Winstanley's pamphlets, is in language beautiful and ideas powerful in simplicity. It is more like a lovingly-executed picture story book with captions than a moving picture. It seems longer than its 95 minutes, because successive actions are repetitions of previous, and they are mostly things done to the Diggers. And although one does not expect the small, quiet man that was Gerrard Winstanley to fill the screen with the swashbuckling of an Errol Flynn taking on the armies of half the world single-handed, the faithful adherence to Winstanley's declaration that they "will not defend themselves by arms, but submit to authority, and wait until the promised opportunity be offered..." gives a feeling of inaction. Even the irruption of a hippy ranter giving a very personable impersonation of Sid Rawle is an affliction patiently suffered by the Cobham cultivators.

And here begins the pondering for us. When the people of the parish, inflamed—no, because the terrifying thing about the Puritans was the passionlessness of their enmities—shall we say, when the people, directed by their parson who had personal privileges in the common land occupied by the Diggers, came to vandalise the Diggers' work, to pull down or fire their houses, one longed for the Diggers to fight back in revolutionary fervour. But then who would they have been fighting? Not the kingly power

which Winstanley saw being exercised by the revolutionary successors to the assassinated monarch; not those whose greed prevented access to land from which people could gain their food. After the first reactionary attack, the front line troops were not the enlisted soldiers commanded by the reasonable and honest General Fairfax but volunteers from the serving classes who chose the comforts of their conformity and obedience.

This is the thought for the week for all people's liberation armies. For us, no truth

is revealed that we have not known. For us, the simplicity and enormity of our task is etched here in black and white. How to persuade our neighbours of the desirability of freedom, for there is no other means that can be used. Winstanley thought that once the idea that the earth was a common treasury for all men and beasts, the people of England would spontaneously follow the example of the George Hill Diggers. We still have the problem of how to make known the idea of freedom in competition with the clamour of publicity,

advertising and pressure to sell tawdry wares of patriotism, economic expansion, gadgetry, the virtue of service to other men's ambitions and property. How to show the insanity of the idea that anyone can own portions of the earth.

If the broadcasting media were really full of subversives and revolutionary activists, as is claimed from time to time, this film would be brought by television before the eyes of the millions who won't go to see it in the arts cinemas □ M.C.

Book Review.

JIM BURNS FOR REVOLUTION

Jeff Cloves.

Remember Tom Finney? The Preston Plumber? He used to play for proud Preston North End in the days when England ruled the football pitch, if not the world. But if you're not part of the small press poetry world you may well ask, "... who the hell's Jim Burns—who's he play for?"

Well—I'll tell you. He's the Preston Poet, ain't he—he's your social revolutionary Preston boy made good in the teeth of all them London literati. After years in the lower divisions of the struggling duplicated mags, he's made it into the First Division—posh paper, signed copies, Poetry Book Society choice and all...and who would begrudge him?

Not me certainly. Ever since I became involved in the small poetry mag world which blossomed in the Sixties, Jim's poems have shone out of dozens of erratic and spasmodic "underground" publications. In that hothouse atmosphere of acid confessional anti-censorship wildly experimental propagation his sardonic bluntness was often a welcome relief. Eclectic and esoteric, he occupied his own world—no bother—but he had that knack of letting you into it. And since we were roughly of an age and his passions (jazz, Forties

Hollywood movies, Philip Marlowe, the Beats, bashing the middle classes, etc.) were mine too, I always turned to his work first when a new mag hit the doormat.

Besides which, anyone who writes poems with titles like "The Ageing Hipster's Dream, Scrapple from the Apple, The Long Goodbye, The old revolutionary speaks, Kerensky in Southport, John Wesley and his Works", etc. can't be all bad. I remember a little poem of personal revolution of his called "The Change" which I had pinned over my desk—"This boy's got class," I thought, "and he's on the right side!"

His new book, "The Goldfish speaks from beyond the grave" (Salamander Imprint paperback, £1.95) does him proud with fifty-two poems, & illustrations by Gray Jolliffe in a style reminiscent of Calman, the cartoonist. Salamander's handout describes Jim as a shop steward and a member of the I.W.W., which is enough to make him a very individual human being, let alone a very individual poet. Still, as he says, in one of the poems, "I was educated in an outside lavatory/reading yesterday's paper, torn into/handy squares to fit the family seats...Clement Atlee was my/hero. I saved the sheet with his photo/until last and used it gently..."

His influences are basically American. He has that undeniable style of deadpan beat writing born out of Raymond Chandler as well as Ferlinghetti and Kerouac. He certainly has Phil Marlowe's attitudes towards women and Kerouac's nostalgia. But he's a potman (beer that is) not a druggie—the boozier his chosen battleground—

and feminists won't be happy with his "Battle of the sexes".

It is the pub and the pint, I suppose, that enable him to transcend his transatlantic visions and come across as a real English proletarian voice — "He shows me a new poem, written,/ he says, on Mozart and marijuana./I show him a new poem, written,/I say, on be-bop and bitterness." But he's a very political prole. Kerensky, Trotsky, Harry Pollitt, Gerrard Winstanley and the Diggers people his poems and when 'The old revolutionary' speaks, he remembers — "We began with demands for Freedom,/ and finished by filling in forms.

Jim's work is very funny but it always returns to the revolutionary trapped in a comfortable bourgeois society — "The confusion tomorrow will be/ terrible, but maybe from it all will spring the idea/of a real and lasting revolution in our lives."

The Salamander book is good value but it's still a couple of quid up the spout. If you can't afford it, his other new book is called "Playing it cool" (Galloping Dog Press) and it's only 40p plus 12p postage from the publisher, Pete Hodgkiss at 104 Bryn Road, Swansea, West Glamorgan SA2 0AU. Twenty-two poems in this one, and all just as good. Enough for a couple of football teams in fact and symbolic too now that Jim has made the Big League. As for me, I'm green with envy. After years of trying I can't even get a game...still, as they're always singing to me, "Walk on, walk on, with hope in your heart." And we do, comrades, we do — don't we Jim? □ Jeff Cloves.

TONTO COME HOME continued.

Happy Hunting Ground in 1938 having spent a life time fighting off the pale face tourists. Jay Silverheels the indian actor no longer trots behind the Lone Ranger as Tonto, for good indians arsehole crawling around the palefaces are no longer commercially viable, for Tonto went out with funny niggers in relation to the entertainment business, and this exhibition of Sacred Circles at the Hayward is the palefaces' memorial service to the memory of Tonto the last of the good indians, and who knows, even those whisky, gun trading indian loving half breeds might one day make an Arts Council grant and the floor and wall space of the Hayward, but truth must be honoured and one must accept that, like our own entrepreneur middle class commuter bound the half breeds never produced a culture or a poem, only saleable guns and whisky for the red devils silhouetted 'pon yonder hill Lone Ranger.

Between Warren Street and Goodge Street Underground stations and running parallel with the Tottenham Court Road is Whitfield Street W.I. and 143 is a small gallery dingy and decayed as the rest of that old anarchist stamping ground. Here within this gallery men and women who hold that they are the descendants of the peoples of the Indian tribes of the American continent offer their rebuff to the Tonto exhibition at the Hayward Gallery and they call their exhibition the American Indian Movement 1976 Exhibition. What we have is the old, sad and too too familiar story of a subject and despised minority. Patronised as long as it stays on its knees, hated and ignored the moment it stands upon its feet and proclaims its rights to be accepted as free men, yea even within a corrupt society, to proclaim and to fight for that inalienable right that is not a gift but an eternal right that has to be defended as long as men prize it. The tragedy of the American Indian people is that, like the Australian aborigines they live within a self sufficient society that has no economic use for them. They cannot or will not assimilate into the alien majority and they are literally left to rot as human debris. There

are 1,000,000 indians in America this day and it is claimed that they have the highest rate of unemployment, suicide, alcoholism and child mortality and the American Indian Movement are spearheading the struggle for independence and an honouring of the treaty rights and sovereign rights. American economy was built on the forced labour of the negro and this was his bargaining power that he was so late in learning how to use. When the American negro working class learned to unite as a peasant and industrial force and to withdraw that labour in unity. And when they flexed their muscles in major riots in the great cities of the American north they won their civil liberties. As men and women they earn by wiles and physical courage their right to sit at the common table, but this the American indian does not seem to have. Like the British gypsy he would seem to an outside observer to accept his alienation as a hopeless lot, nay the British gypsy takes a pride in his separation.

It is for this reason that all the elaborate and decorative junk can be placed on display within the Hayward Gallery. The American negro had clearly defined objects to fight for from being able to sit at a lunch counter in a southern state to standing as President of the United States of America. Let us accept that he has won those rights and after that he becomes part of the greater struggle. One of the things that the white South African seems unable to understand is that he alone decides. His great liberal heart is angry when he genuinely says that "we gave them good housing, good factory conditions, their own legislature and the rest, and still they are not satisfied", for he will not accept that it is not always more blessed to give than to receive. people wish to order their own way of living and this is what is denied to the minorities of so many societies and today the Hayward Gallery displays the trade post trapping of America's last captive minority. Tonto is heart sick of the Lone Ranger and no longer wants to eat, shit or bite the American dust. And AIM your place is daily outside the Hayward with poster and pamphlet, not in Whitfield Street, London W.I. □ Arthur Moyse