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MURRAYS VERDICT

THE IRISH SUPREME COURT has at last announced its verdict on the Murrays' appeal. Noel's sentence has been commuted to life imprisonment, and Marie is to have a retrial. This is a strange decision as they have so far been tried together on the same charge, and so it is difficult to understand why they are now being treated separately.

The explanation is probably that Marie's confession, extracted under duress, stated that she fired the shot and therefore the judges felt that Noel could be considered as an accessory to murder, which enabled them to declare that the death sentence was not justified. The reason for Marie's re-trial revolves around the comments made by the Supreme Court judges on the question of whether or not the Murrays were aware that Garda Reynolds was a policeman. All the judges, in summing up, said that this had not been properly looked in to at the Special Criminal Court trial and, of course, it is only the murder of a policeman or diplomat which carries a death sentence in the Republic at the moment. A re-trial is therefore a way out for the authorities, in that they now have the opportunity to re-convict Marie of murder, but this time non capital, and lock her away for life too.

The new trial will again be before the Special Criminal Court, with no jury, and so it is still possible that Marie could hang; the Supreme Court hasn't decided that it is non capital murder, but has simply said that the Special Criminal Court must look at this question again.

The Defence Campaign is obviously by no means over with the Appeal verdict, and now the Defence Groups in London, Dublin and elsewhere will be pressing for a jury trial for Marie, as this will at least give her a better chance of acquittal. A trial in a more conventional court will allow Marie to call witnesses and present the properly organised defence which was declared inadmissible at the original trial. There is virtually no evidence for the prosecution, except the confessions extracted by torture, and a jury would find it difficult to convict. Acquittal would also mean that the position of Noel, and Ronan Stenson (due for trial on December 17th) would have to be re-considered, as they are supposedly accessories to the shooting which Marie is alleged to have carried out.

The Defence Groups want Marie to be transferred to Limerick women's prison from Mountjoy, and also want to draw

attention to the fact that Noel is still in solitary confinement, despite the Appeal verdict. It seems that the Irish state is not satisfied with physical and psychological torture, the threat of the gallows and the complete isolation of the Murrays from their families, friends and supporters, but now insists that Noel cannot even be allowed to come into contact with other prisoners.

The state has already achieved its objective of getting Noel Murray out of circulation, and so solitary confinement, now he has been condemned to life imprisonment serves little purpose, and can only be seen as a purely vindictive act; the state getting its own back because they've been deprived of a hanging.

A new solicitor and counsel are to be employed to defend Marie, and this is going to be expensive. The Murrays were forced to dismiss their counsels at the original trial, because the tribunal wouldn't consider the evidence

they tried to present. Noel declared that he would not insult the integrity of his counsel by subjecting him to the farce that the "trial" had become.

Marie referred to the Special Criminal Court as a lynching party, and it very nearly was exactly that. The lynching has been averted, at least for the time being, but if justice is to be obtained for Noel, Marie and Ronan Stenson the Defence Groups need funds desperately, and donations should be sent to the Murray Defence Committee, 155 Church Road, Celbridge, Co. Kildare, Ireland.

London Picket

In London a picket has been arranged for December 23rd (5.30 p.m.) at the Irish Embassy, 17 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1. to demand a jury trial for Marie. The London Defence Group still meets every Friday (8 p.m.) at Rising Free, 142 Drummond Street, N.W.1.

HOME RULE FOR ME

THE NEW parliamentary session is now launched and promises to provide a fertile ground for analysis, debate, interviewing and boredom. Half the time is already allotted for the Government's Bill on what has become known as "devolution". A few other issues will intrude, for example, the Government

will be concerned with passing their Ship Building (& repairing) and Aircraft Bill, left over from last time. It had been hoped that this could be rushed through by invocation of the 1911 Parliament Act, thus avoiding petty annoyances like the House of Lords. However opposition to the Bill is setting great hopes on a concept known as "hybridity". No doubt the finer nuances of this will be unfolded before us, so there is no need to worry if you're not yet adequately briefed. Now Graham Day the Chief Executive Designate of the new board, has given up and resigned. I trust he will find a new job before his three years' compensation runs out. This puts the industry in an even worse position; Day's reputation was its greatest asset. A few more designated board members (some have been hanging about since February) and a newly passed bill could find an interesting situation. Perhaps the workers could be persuaded to take over?

All this delay has enabled debate to be reopened on reform, or even abolition, of the House of Lords. Such ideas are espoused in many unlikely quarters. No less a dignitary than Lord Carrington, leader of the Conservatives in the Lords, has supported them on that forum for the opinionated mindless, "Any Questions?", eliciting the usual



"WISH THE LADS A MERRY CHRISTMAS, BUT DELETE THE BIT ABOUT A PROSPEROUS NEW YEAR!"

Murrays

On December 4th there was a march through North-West London to demand a reprieve for the Murrays. The march was well publicised among the various left groups and among libertarian and anarchist groups but only about 150-200 people actually turned out.

The Murrays need much more support than this, especially from the anarchist movement. There is still a lot to do, because justice for the Murrays can only mean freedom, and to secure their release the campaign will now have to be stepped up and not relaxed because the death sentences have been quashed.

At the moment, the emphasis has to be on Marie's forthcoming trial, but it should be remembered that Ronan Stenson is shortly to face the ordeal in the dock all over again, despite being mentally destroyed as well as physically tortured, and that the damage to his mental health is probably permanent.

Noel still has to look ahead to a life locked away, and if the politicians, judges and policemen are allowed to operate as they have in the Murrays' case and get away with it, it is obvious that they will be sufficiently encouraged to try it again. Then their potential for silencing and eliminating all opposition will soon become limitless.

PW & G1

SUPPORT THE PICKETS

MANCHESTER PICKET, outside Air Lingus
on Deansgate at 11 o'clock, Saturday
18 December.

LONDON PICKET
Irish Embassy
17 Grosvenor Place, S.W.1.
at 5.30 p.m. on Thursday, 23rd December

Home Rule

flurry of half baked letters. Other issues may also flicker into the Parliamentary consciousness. The economy, for example, as a concept, or perhaps some of its practical manifestations, such as the level of unemployment. However "devolution" is the thing and we must not allow ourselves to be distracted. Suggestions that devolution itself is intended as a distraction can safely be dismissed as discontented carping, typical of the minor annoyances suffered by those doing their best for the country.

Although the details are still, understandably, the subject of debate (or, we might say, squabbling), the general idea has been enthusiastically taken up by people of all points of view on the

political spectrum. There is, of course, no one more fervid than the new convert. Those of us with longer memories than those of politicians will recall the days which could, in a general sense, be called "recent" when Home Rule (as it then was) was the prerogative of a few lunatic Celts and liberals. Not so now. It only needed a bit of increased support for the nationalist parties in Scotland and Wales (Ulster is, of course, a separate matter) for the bandwagon to start to roll. It might be pointed out that loss of Scots votes would doom the Labour Party to perpetual opposition, that the Tories have long lacked a base in the relevant regions and have been seeking an appealing issue and that the Liberals have drawn much of their support from here. In the old days separation was a right wing phenomenon (it still is, in its English version) but the new support for Plaid Cymru and the Scottish National Party reflects a broadening of attitudes (or, as might be said, opportunism). It is this encroachment into traditional patterns that has worried the established parties. Close to us separatism is a Celtic event, with additional parties in Cornwall, the Isle of Man and Brittany, but "self determination" is an issue throughout the world; it is even policy for the United Nations. The separatist Québécois Party in Canada have recently won an election, though federal apologists are quick to point out that they campaigned on economic issues. Compared with tactics adopted elsewhere the British government has only a minor problem, despite the Free Wales Army and the "Tartan Army" (whatever that might be).

Unfolding events present several difficulties for the Labour government. For a start their effective majority relies on support from the minor parties. A careless statement could easily alienate them. The Welsh are already resentful about what they see as preferential treatment for Scotland, the Scots feel that North Sea Oil belongs to them and both are displeased because they can't levy taxes, the new assembly must rely on pocket money from Mother Westminister. Maps have been produced with all sorts of extrapolations into the North Sea to net the oil for one interest or another, but the government is emphatically not going to give it up. (It reminds me of a Party Political Broadcast some time ago when some lunatic in a strange costume apparently representing the English National Party, extended the line produced by the border for the last few hundred yards into Berwick on Tweed and almost succeeded in annexing the Orkneys.)

Of course, there are all sorts of statistics bandied about to support claims. At one point it seemed that a startling 44% of the Scots wanted separation, but then it turned out that this was only the result of a questionnaire in a daily newspaper. Such a self-appointed sample is obviously inaccurate, even by the standards of opinion polls. This doesn't prevent the results from being flourished at every turn. It's a bit like the old "letters of marque" used by pirates to gain a spurious respectability as "privateers".

The two party system is coming in for a lot of criticism, as people realise the farce of baa-ing members being shepherded through the lobbies by the party whips. On this issue the ranks of the faithful are severely split and the Tories have felt the need to impose a 3-line whip, eliciting much pious mumbling about "freedom of speech", "conscience", "important issue" and such like. (Manipulation of the thing has been so inept, their front bench spokesman on devolution has felt the need to resign, to be replaced by a convinced anti-devolutionist! All this wheeling and dealing must have Ted Heath chuckling behind his teeth.) Come, come, chaps, don't pretend to be naive. Get on and do as you're told, it's what you're there for. It is too much to hope that those concerned will see the folly at the root of the entire government system, so various botch-up jobs have been proposed. Prominent is that old favourite, proportional representation. This would probably give a more accurate image of public opinion (as if that helps) but would enormously complicate the situation, thereby preventing bureaucrats, commentators and others of that ilk. (The possibilities for bureaucracy in the entire devolution charter must gladden all civil service hearts.) A disadvantage in P.R. has been pointed out by Michael Foot, a perfect example of a respected idealist compromised by politics. After fighting at the polls, politicians must then patch up a working coalition. Mr. Foot is worried about what this does to the honesty of politicians!!

How does all this help the people concerned? I have mixed feelings on the subject. I have a sneaking approval for the measure of decentralisation involved, illusory though this is in practical terms. However we must recognise the pointlessness: in the end the government still rules, O.K? The effect will be similar to that of reformist political parties. Many well meaning folk will get involved, taken in by the appearance of "progress". Much the same applies to all nationalist movements. People are patriotic, in the best sense of the word. We feel closer to that we know. So it seems preferable to be ruled by your own kind, rather than from outside. Unfortunately it is all too easy to link these attitudes to petty jingoism and too many honest, misguided people have died for false banners. Bakunin started in politics as a Pan-Slav nationalist, but unlike many others survived to broaden his concept of freedom. Kropotkin's love for his intellectual adopted home, France, isolated him in his support for the First World War until he returned to his origins in Russia. The Marxists support nationalism as anti-colonial and "progressive" and pledge solidarity with revolutionary movements. This leads to absurd situations. Dislike of Zionism has led them to support "revolutionary" Arabism. In the end the Palestinians, and all oppressed people, will have to learn the simple truth. We can be free only when we take our destinies in our own hands and run our own lives. The "national" boundaries will cease to exist and Scottish and Welsh Assemblies and Provisional Revolutionary Governments will be unnecessary.

Soccer Violence - A Social Problem ?

"SOCIETIES appear to be subject every now and then to periods of moral panic. A condition, episode, person or group of persons emerges to become defined as a threat to societal values and interests; its nature is presented in a stylised and stereotypical fashion by the mass media; the moral barricades must be manned by editors, bishops, politicians and other right-thinking people. . .

One of the most recurrent types of moral panic in Britain since the war has been associated with the emergence of various forms of youth culture whose behaviour is deviant or delinquent... the Teddy Boys... the Hell's Angels... student militancy... football hooliganism..."

--Stanley Cohen, in
Folk Devils & Moral Panics

NEW PROPOSALS in the Criminal Law Bill, for a crackdown on hooliganism and vandalism in general, were released recently. According to the Prime Minister: "There is real and justified concern about group violence, including so-called football fans who use the occasion to frighten peaceful citizens both inside and outside football grounds."

Under the new law, the maximum fine for such offences as unlawful wounding (what is lawful wounding?), assault and criminal damage will go up from £400. to £1,000. The maximum jail sentence for wounding or criminal damage will stay at six months. For juveniles the maximum fine will be £200 instead of the present £50. These penalties are for cases tried in magistrates courts; in a higher court the penalty will be unlimited. Compensation payable to victims by the "thugs" will be increased from £400. to £1,000. For yet more offences, such as breach of the peace and common assault, penalties will be going up.

These new penalties were proposed after top-level talks between soccer club chiefs, British Rail, Sports Minister Denis Howell and the Home Office. Ted Croker, the Football Association secretary, gave the plans "a qualified welcome". He said he hoped the government would also increase the use of Saturday afternoon attendance centres, which keep convicted hooligans away from matches. "But the most important thing is that the highest elements of government are taking an active interest in this problem."

God help us! the present "outbreak" of hooliganism, judged in terms of media hysteria and coverage, has been going on for 3½ years, and yet despite this active interest of the government there is no special provision in the Bill to cover cases where neither juveniles or their parents can afford to pay the fine.

Following on from Stanley Cohen's theory comes a study of Scottish gangs by psychologist Dr. F. J. O'Hagan. I don't know who these books are intended for but you can be sure that the average person labelled a hooligan or soccer "trouble maker" isn't going to wade through such fine phrases as "initiation into gang life"; "groups of youngsters were observed imitating some of the behavioural characteristics of the older gang boys"; and "'mock' battles are an embryonic form of later delinquent behaviour".

Anyway, what he is saying is that the average age of those who commit acts of violence and crime is 16 years and these gangs are regularly "serviced" with younger members, in some cases as young as seven years of age. What disturbs Mr. O'Hagan and the authorities is that seven years old is an earlier age than expected to start practising "organised" violence. Much more importantly, with eight or nine years' gang apprenticeship behind them, their behaviour is more difficult for police, social workers and probation officers to reform. What Dr. O'Hagan suggests is that "society" keep an eye on young people from an earlier age than previously for anti-social behaviour—with or without the parents' permission. Surely these young people are only reflecting the standards bred in violent and socially unsatisfactory conditions, which make them express themselves in a very limited and violent way later in life. It is rarely the parents' or society's values that are questioned on the "outbreak" of renewed violence. The talk is merely of more "effective" measures of social control.

Meanwhile, for those notables like Tommy Docherty who believe it is too late at 16 years of age, the birch remains the favourite deterrent.

"We don't have graffiti or gang fights in the Isle of Man. And our telephones work. We do have youngsters hanging around street corners, but they give no trouble because we have police with an iron fist inside the velvet glove—and we have the BIRCH."

(P. F. Locke, Douglas, IoM)

*

If we take a closer look at this attitude as regards soccer fans we find more than a little hypocrisy.

Football clubs encourage supporters to be fanatical so that they will spend their money there every week and won't mind poor facilities. This obviously increases profitability, for all clubs are run on strictly commercial lines, the emphasis being on entertainment and facilities a very poor second. Very few clubs indeed offer facilities that encourage group involvement and participation (such as for families, or as places for meeting new friends); nowhere is the community allowed to participate and have a say in the running of the

continued over page:

To Readers — Editorial

A LARGE PROPORTION of our readers' subscriptions are due for renewal at the end of the year. We hope you will all be with us next year, even though we have increased the subscription to £5.

We have received many letters appreciating the graphical improvements in the paper, but all improvements cost money and we have to anticipate further rises (paper will be going up early in 1977). Many readers of course have shown their support in the Press Fund and this has kept us solvent. We thank you all and would like to be able to look forward to increased sales of increased income and be able to use the Press Fund for expansion.

But next year we want more than your money.

We have so far received only one direct response (and this from a member of the editorial group) to Claude's letter in FREEDOM of 6 November.

In his letter Claude criticises the paper's "lack of ideological line" and its role as "just another theoretical paper" and urges that it adopt a more agitational approach in promoting anarchist activity in this country.

First of all, we disagree that there can, or should, be any division between theory and action. All action would be fruitless if not based on a clear, consistent and well thought out analysis of contemporary society and of the means of struggling against all that we detest in it. (Indeed, there has not been enough of this, although, for example, Colin Ward's ideas as expressed in recent articles in the paper, and some recent translations of articles on the technobureaucracy and the relation between the structure of fascism and modern corporate state socialism, and one or two other related pieces have made some contribution to this). It is only on theory, philosophy and the historical analysis that goes into it, that one can build a constructive (and destructive!) programme of action and agitation (though also, why not a few "ego-trips" along the way?)

This paper is not, and cannot ever claim to be, the organ of a movement rather than of a small group of individuals, despite the fact that we wholeheartedly support the various attempts to create an active movement in this country; and while preferring the word "tendency" to "line" and while believing that there is a good argument for more frequent expression of editorial policy than has been the case for some while, we wish FREEDOM to help fulfill the need for a forum for debate and the expression of different views among anarchists, as well as to try to attract the attention of people from "outside" who may be reading an anarchist paper for the first time.

How the lack of response to Claude's letter should be interpreted it is difficult to say. But we hope the reason is not complete apathy! A steady but small number of contributions reach us each



soccer violence

clubs. Yet most are run on public rates, treated favourably in terms of rent and rates, etc. That said, when some supporters take their fanaticism to its logical conclusion they are castigated by the press as "thugs", hooligans" and "animals" and subsequently disowned by the clubs.

The secretary of the Police Federation showed his measure of the situation when he recommended the banning of League and Cup football in England. This would obviously solve the problem of violence surrounding soccer occasions as there wouldn't be any. However the violence would merely be transferred elsewhere. The mass media rarely and even less so the Police Federation seem to question why these young people resort to violence, but merely put it down once more to lack of discipline, National Service, etc. When people are brought up in oppressive conditions, whether slums in London, Merseyside or Glasgow, when this state violence is reinforced through the educational system and society's values and when the whole ethic is one of competitiveness (virtually to be No. 1 at all costs), is it any wonder young people respond in a violent manner? When people hang around street corners or resort to petty crime and violence, who then is to blame but a society with all its values cocked up.

In some cases people actually enjoy this destructive behaviour and to say they are mere victims of society's distorted values is sometimes too simplistic. But why do they feel the need to express themselves in a violent and destructive way? Does this society offer an alternative method when confrontation seems to be the norm from the word go?

Perhaps a ray of light comes from the announcement from the government last week that £ 600million is to be cut from the rate support grant to local authorities. This will force communities to examine how to utilise the facilities that already exist, particularly educational public services and private industrial services. Ellis Hillman, chairman of the GLC's Arts & Recreation Committee and chairman of a working party which has produced the document Towards a Wider Use, has stated that directives from local education authorities to educational institutions requiring them to open the doors of their facilities to the general public, would obviate the necessity for government legislation. Couple this with the fact that at this time more and more football clubs are in deep financial trouble, making dependence on local communities more necessary for them. Perhaps this will lead to greater participation where previously only readiness to pay out cash has been encouraged. It will give anarchists small satisfaction that the initiative has had to come from governmental cuts in expenditure which will have a great bearing on the quality of services offered to the public. Let us hope that the initiative is taken up

Prisoners Of Conscience

WE HAVE RECEIVED a copy of one of presumably two letters that were written by ICAT Struggle Wing of The Hapotec Family International in Amsterdam to the Secretary General of Amnesty International, Martin Ennals. The letter refers to an article on the occupation of the AI Secretariat by members of the Warwick Anarchist Group as a part of the Murray defence campaign on 27 October, reported in FREEDOM of 6 November, and bases its criticism of the AI attitude to the Murrays on this report. (Ennals' answer to ICAT advises them to be more catholic in their choice of sources).

It must be admitted that this report was unintentionally a trifle misleading in that it suggested that AI was about to take up the Murray case when, in fact, it had been working against the Murrays' execution for several months (e.g. "The occupation was called off only when Amnesty satisfied the group that they were taking up the case"). FREEDOM is not therefore in a position to criticise AI over the death penalty campaign, although the organisation does seem to be pussy-footing rather painfully on the question of the torture allegations.

My own view of AI in general is that it can be positively criticised on at least four levels. Firstly, there are the failings and limitations of the AI statute where the "adoption" of prisoners is concerned. The statute baptises as "prisoners of conscience" all those who on political, religious, moral or other conscientiously-held beliefs, or on grounds of race, colour and language are imprisoned or otherwise detained or restricted, provided they have neither used nor advocated violence.

Within the limitations that AI has set for itself as a human rights organisation working within the framework of the UN Declaration of Human Rights and the 1966 UN Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, this is understandable, especially given the fact that AI also works against torture, maltreatment and capital punishment of all prisoners regardless of the violence clause.

by local communities rather than central government directives.

If people are encouraged to participate and made to feel they have something to contribute, perhaps this will remove what is perhaps a feeling of frustration when people feel involved by supporting a particular football club yet are somehow on the "outside". A greater participation could also lead to mutual aid and cooperation between communities which would go a long way towards defusing the rivalry which is cynically exploited for commercial gain and is at the root of most soccer violence. To remove the hard-edged competitiveness and replace it with a desire to participate for the enjoyment in itself might well reduce the unnecessary soccer violence.

Francis A. Wright.

However, while claiming to be non-political - which in a sense is true - the ideology of AI is clearly a liberal one, and consequently, through its "prisoner of conscience" system, equates violence with crime and illegality in all circumstances and without questioning the definitions of these terms. Theoretically this shows a philosophical weakness within the organisation, and in practice an imbalance in the case-work on different regions of the world. For instance it is easy to adopt POCs in "totalitarian" countries where freedom of expression is a "crime" unacceptable to the liberal ideology. But in western "democracies" where relative freedom of expression is permitted, and where it logically leads to the desire for freedom of action (in Swift's words, "Of what use if Freedom of thought, if it will not produce freedom of action?") but where freedom of action is nonetheless strictly confined by law, violence may be used as an assertion of justice, of conscience or of desperation in a very sick society. The present Amnesty argument against this is, of course, that AI is non-political and thus not in a position to make judgements of this kind. Yet to refrain from doing so can in itself be to adopt a political stance.

Even Ronnie Lee, who burned property (but not life) in protest against vivisection was not adopted by AI. Des Warren was not adopted. And if members of the Animal Liberation Front are caught, even though they have declared they would prefer to go to gaol than to destroy human or other life through their violent sabotage, and even though their actions are based on ethics as well as on intelligent planning, they would not qualify. The same applies to the Tartan Army members who destroyed oil pipelines but made a careful distinction between this form of violence and murder.

Of course, their ineligibility for adoption by AI may not worry them in the slightest. But it is a criticism of the POC adoption system, and in "Prisoner of Conscience Year" one that should be argued out fully where AI is concerned.

Secondly, there is the fact that members of governments or of the judiciary may become members of AI. This can lead to the grotesque situation pointed

editorial CONT'D

week, but the editorial group is, and almost always has been, little dedicating nearly all its spare time to production of the paper but with clearly limited resources of time and energy. Thus, if FREEDOM is to improve both as a theoretical and agitational paper, your contributions (articles, reports, letters, drawings, cartoons etc) are vital.

Readers, do not just praise or complain about FREEDOM in the corner of pubs! Whether or not you are in the habit of making new year resolutions, remember that we want to hear from all of you - and, if possible, see you too!

Problems of the Peace Movement

I'd like to say a few things arising from your articles on the Peace Movement. Although I worked with Ciaran McKeown, one of the "peace leaders", on a local magazine (I resigned recently), I should emphasise that I'm not associated with the PM or with the Belfast anarchists who wrote in your last issue.

If Ciaran McKeown's pamphlet *The Price of Peace* is a guide, the PM has pacifist aims in the fullest sense. They are forming local groups which will work towards reconciliation but also, more interestingly, try to extend decision making in many things to the community level.

As I see it, the reservations one should have about the PM do not concern their refusal to advocate a "solution" in any conventional sense for Ulster (it's surely irrelevant to anarchists whether we live in a state governed from the Dail, Westminster or Stormont) or their half-hearted, and not uncritical, support for the British Army and RUC. Their failings are more subtle.

Firstly, McKeown's vision of a pacifist society is one which very few peace marchers know about or would sympathise with, I suspect. For most people the PM simply stands for a return to stability and an acceptable level of violence—institutional violence, that is.

Secondly, it depends almost entirely on good will rather than on a reasoning acceptance of coherent ideas. Even if these ideas are current in the move-

ment, they have kept a low profile as they say, thanks to the political acumen employed in avoiding antagonising any but the extremists.

Thirdly, the PM is very religious, and though their god may not be orange or green, their rallies and the posters in their office reek depressingly of charismatic renewal rather than a grass-roots political movement. One thing we have too much of in Ireland is Christianity.

Another thing we have too much of is nationalism, and the PM are now talking about a new "Northern Irish identity".

The most important problem is that the PM is dealing—in public anyway—with means rather than ends, and seem prepared to let the most acceptable conventional "solution" emerge. When people talk of a "peaceful solution", they tend to be more interested in an end to the war than in the solution.

Anarchists should be better able than anyone to see that we must change not just our methods but, most important, our aims. This part of the world is an outstanding justification of anarchism, for not until we abandon the chimeras of church and state will we ever move forward. I only wish that anarchists were as adept at galvanising their methods as they are at formulating aims. (Myself included.)

Robert Johnstone

pure pressure work is the obvious danger for any organisation that becomes prestigious and mindful of its swelling image.

Fourthly, and connected with this last point is the structure of an organisation like AI as it grows. In this situation an already elitist structure with an inner cabinet system (though with a democratic facade that is quite striking) becomes more and more hierarchical unless AI develops a largely radical membership concerned with this issue and constantly questioning decisions. Structure is important not only for the membership, the "grass-roots" members and workers, but ultimately for the prisoners who are their *raison d'être*, affecting as it does the quality and degree of AI's work as a pressure group and the undoubted value of publishing accurate and detailed information on human rights violations.

From an anarchist point of view, of course, the whole concept of human rights is the product of a non-anarchist society, for "rights" imply concessions granted by an authority above the individual, and do not mean freedom so much as the imposed definition of the legal restrictions of freedom.

Thus, anarchists will have an equivocal attitude to the whole human rights movement. But, while governments exist, it concerns anarchists to put these kinds of question to organisations

like Amnesty International and to support the new pressure groups that carry out this function constructively.

Grass Root

Anti-Squatting Campaign

"USUALLY we salvage the slates, but we were told to do an express job here" —on No. 91 St. Agnes Place, Lambeth S.E. London—said one of the workmen tearing off the roof, ripping up the floor boards and smashing the plumbing. The *Observer* has in the past few weeks featured the tearing down of this terrace in a borough which has 17,000 families awaiting council housing, and 200 families boarded out by the council in bed-and-breakfast hotels.

The street runs between two parks and is being removed so as to join the two into one. A real conflict of conflicting interests: London with its overcrowding of people and houses in all but the financial and state administration areas, would be unbreathable in without its interior green spaces. So it would have been a lofty-minded plan when drawn up 10 years ago. But it was planned for people who don't want to be rehoused and people who, reported *The Observer* a few weeks ago, prefer to send and take their children to play in a smaller park. (Kennington Park, one of the two, is sizeable—say about three-quarters the size of St. James's.)

As people have been moved out, squatters have moved in and tried to halt the demolition. Lambeth council has become bloody-minded about sticking to its plan, are not ashamed of vandalising (housing chairman's word) 18 houses a month (to keep out squatters): "...if it wasn't for the squatters we'd have had all these down months ago and nobody would have noticed". They have an ally in the *Evening Standard* whose issue of 10 December flaunts this miserable dishonesty on its front page contents column to whet its readers' indignation for the longer story and larger picture inside, with one sentence in the middle to say that the council wants to demolish the street. It mentions that

STANDARD

Tears as the squatters arrive



Mrs. Thompson has lived for thirty years in No. 85 and was due to be rehoused that day. Its readers would have to read the *Times* of 11 December to find out that Mrs. T. did not want to be rehoused, and that the squatters, and "self-help" housing groups occupying sub-standard property on short lease, had proposed a plan to recondition 40 houses for five years' habitation.

M.C.

P.O.C.s

out by the Warwick anarchists in their statement when occupying the Secretariat. AI has denied that Conor Cruise O'Brien and Garret FitzGerald are AI members. However, they could be members, and that is the real point.

Thirdly, there is the manner of AI's dealings with governments. The whole liberal reformist myth that saturates the organisation is that governments can be "educated" in human rights and that consequent legal reforms can lead to greater justice in a fundamental sense. Of course, such "education" (though, more likely, economic pressures) may lead to progressive abolition of torture and capital punishment, or to exclusion of classic human rights violation clauses from legal codes in many countries. But this is distinctly utopian, ignoring as it does "reasons of state" and massive vested interests that inevitably condition the behaviour of governments. Hopeful results may take place, but where any real government crisis is involved, no AI-type argument, flourishing UN declarations or covenants or Helsinki agreements can hope to carry weight.

Equally, AI could limit itself to getting information from governments, but they will expect something in return or else refuse to cooperate, and compromises and consequent reduction in

Anarchy in the U.K. £ Sorry?

ADVERTISING pervades our lives. Have you noticed that many TV programmes are 50 minutes long, forfeiting the neat timetabling available for one hour packages? This is because there are only 49 minutes in an American TV hour, the sponsors have the rest. Everything is neatly packaged and sold to us, with beguiling art. But not quite. There's still room for the uncouth sell, especially in the field of pop music. (Although ironically, Worthington E, about the wateriest, gassiest piss available, sells itself as "get drunk with us - a bit more honest than "join the hearty crowd" of most beers). We have seen a succession of prepacked. Even Frank Sinatra was once disapproved of for the exuberance of his fans, and look where it got him. The trick seems to be to get yourself into an unassailable position, then you can sit back and let the flabbiness take over. Elvis Presley managed it, and the Rolling Stones. The vision of ageing stars, producing more and more esoteric music has little appeal for many, so we have attempts to infuse more crude energy, to produce "gut music." Some bands, such as Dr Feelgood, succeeded, others just made noise. However, this is no problem. The essence of advertising is to sell an image, the product is irrelevant. And what better sell than being revolting on peak viewing time?

So we come to "punk rock" and do our little bit to publicise the Sex Pistols. We have had many media plugged waves of fashion. First were the Teds, and the Mods and Rockers (there was an earnest and ill-informed article on them and the influence of the Beatles in FREEDOM in 1963) and the Skinheads and now the Punks. Trying to extricate the original threads from media inspired stunts is difficult. I know that it was only after publicity that I had any dealings (usually unpleasant) with aspiring Mods or Skinheads. The uniting feature about these cults is a uniform mindless image, which perhaps reached its peak in the Divine Light Mission, the WRP of spiritualism. Pop fashions are, by their nature, ephemeral. We had outbreaks of Bonnies and Clydes with attendant newspaper analyses about the dangers of their implicit attitudes, later reprinted almost verbatim for the film "Clockwork Orange." When I taught in a school in North London a few years ago there were a number of recognisable tribes, the spiky haired Rod Stewarts and the two tone David Bowies (both of either sex). We have a "revival" of Glen Millar on Canvey Island; after all you need some escapism if you live there. And at intervals we have a new wave of shock tactics, each needing to be greater than the last.

So why do we bother noting this? For a start because the Sex Pistols express approval for anarchy. The girlfriend of the singer actually states that she is an anarchist. Now I am a little cynical about such things. I note that a touch of uncouthness can work wonders. There's always a horde of people who can get very shrill about such phenomena as grubbiness, swearing, safety

pins through the ears and the dread word "anarchy." And there's nothing like having your record banned on the BBC for boosting sales. However, I'm prepared to be open minded, and if any of the Sex Pistols care to write, expanding their views a little, I'll be glad to adopt a more charitable attitude. There was a time when all rock stars were supposed to be anarchists. I never forgave the Jefferson Airplane for their boy scout song "we are the forces of chaos and anarchy ... and we are very proud of ourselves." Quite so.

It has been pointed out that the "anarchy" involved veers close to fascism, the hordes of identical followers worshipping their leaders. The link between individualism and fascism has been noted before. Stirner's "Ego and his own" was reprinted by "Books of the Right" and the Nietzschean superman has been adopted by both political poles. Colin Wilson has adopted both attitudes. Fascism also crops up around pop music. The afore mentioned David Bowie now seems to believe that he has become the superman that he once saw in a more spiritual sense. He has publicly supported fascism. I have heard rumours that Rod Stewart gives money to the National Front, but I have no idea as to their truth. The trappings of nazism are also adopted, for their shock value. A female member of the Sex Pistols was reported to be upset when she was not allowed to wear swastika insignia on television.

There has also been a consistent left wing thread in popular music, if only because it mirrors the attitudes and hopes of the people. This gave a radical tinge to folk song. Ballads were written about significant events, strikes, disasters etc. Folk traditions were mixed with high minded socialist "hymns" and urban (later, music hall) influences. My grandmother's cousin, Tommy Armstrong, earned a living (and almost kept up with his thirst) songwriting in the Durham coalfields. Later in the American Depression there was Woody Guthrie, a long time supporter of the IWW. The post war folk world adopted a critical stance, symptomised by outbreaks of those tell-tale appendages, beards. Later the whole thing became increasingly self-conscious with "protest songs" (remember "Eve of Destruction"?) and Joan Baez is still at it. By the late '60s everybody was a revolutionary. Some managed it, notably the MC5 and White Panthers. In this country Edgar Broughton attempted exorcism. Many are now wealthy.

Amongst the postures there was one song I really liked by a band I'd not heard of before, or since, "Cressida". In this the narrator finally decides to get things together and apply for a job. "I waited all that morning and I waited all the next, preparing for the interview by reading from the text." However, after all this effort attempting to meet the Establishment half way his letter is lost en route. So he goes out and blows up the Post Office Tower.

Is there a moral in all this? And is it possible to state it without becoming pretentious? For a start, the music of the people only remains that while it is still part of the people, "at street level"; the phrase was a couple of years ago. When the performers become distanced as stars the songs become self-indulgent. And in relation to the fashions and the tribes - the points about the quality of life have been made before (see also "Soccer Violence" in this issue). When we create a society with meaning, these "problems" will no longer be needed. The distinction between Anarchy and anarchism has been made by Paul Goodman. Others avoid the connotations of the former by using "libertarian." In the meantime the media, and popular usage, will misuse the term. And people wanting cheap publicity will continue to adopt it. If you're afraid of the word by all means call yourself a libertarian or liberal. But you may find that when people discover that "anarchists" are people too they soon question other established truths.

DAVID

Mrs W. Spreads Blasphemy

MRS. MARY WHITEHOUSE has been granted a writ to bring a private prosecution against Gay News for blasphemous libel, because of a poem they published last June. Inevitably, the prosecution gives the alleged libel more publicity than the publication. The offending poem has been reproduced by Free Speech Movement who state: "The last successful prosecution for blasphemy was more than half a century ago. We must ensure that this one is either unsuccessful or ineffective. Rights cannot be given but must be taken."

Also inevitably, the right to publish has to be defended and as ever will be defended by people who do not necessarily find the subject of the prosecution to their taste. We have a few copies of the poem, and we understand that for an SAENicolas Walter, 134 Northumberland Road, North Harrow, Middx HA2 7RG is able to supply a copy to people interested in this case.

One of Ours?

A teacher, suspended for illicit relationships with his female pupils, has said "I used to be in the WRP but now I tend towards anarchism."

- Sunday Mirror, 12 December 1976



peace people

Dear Eds

I accept many of the points made by 'R' about the Peace People (last issue) (I'm not quite sure when it changed from The Women's Peace Movement or why) but I still think there was a strong case for supporting the march and rally in Trafalgar Square - which I did.

First off, I am a pacifist, and many Anarchists aren't (most?), so I felt a particular commitment. However, I shared most of the misgivings expressed by 'R' and the Troops Out Movement, whose policy I support entirely. But, the origins of the movement interest me in that they seem to have been at least partially a spontaneous response and also to have cut across traditional political/religious line-ups.

Now those seem to be the most interesting factors to anarchists and it's a pity that anarchists, in particular, should judge the movement by its leaders and so demean the potential of the anonymous thousands who have responded to the rallies and marches. Of course the leaders are suspect figures and so is the tacit support of the British Government, Clergy and Showbiz but they aren't the movement any more than those signatories at the top of CND newspaper were the Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament. I agree with 'M. C.'s point that the emphasis on opposing the Peace People is overstressed - It seems perfectly proper to me to go along with it as far as is possible. Simply because its leaders have ducked the issue of State Violence it doesn't follow that the rank and file of the PP have or will.

As far as the rally itself was concerned, it was the oddest assembly I've ever attended - to be strolling along Park Lane under a banner proclaiming "Muswell Hill Christians" is surreal enough but to be surrounded by thousands of London Irish intoning the Lord's Prayer in Time with our own beloved Archbishop of Cantab was enough to mark the inauguration of the London branch of Dada. I saw one Union Banner (AEU) and the traditional left was marked by its (as far as I could tell) total absence. It's clear that not only the left, but anarchists as well, are finding it very difficult to relate to a movement that has somehow defied the traditional definitions and demarcations.

For myself, the next phase of the PP campaign will be critical. If its supporters allow their leaders to continue a massive PP campaign for joint prayer and fund raising trips to foreign Govts then it's a dodo anyway. If the revulsion against violence leads to an examination and understanding of the role of state violence in N. Ireland then the movement is only just beginning and a comparison with CND will in no way be misjudged.

It still seems a little premature, and more than a little harsh, to write off the whole thing as a machination of the state/media/church - in addition such a view shows minus faith in the "power of the people". If we give up believing in that possibility we are lost.

Yours for Man United!

jeff cloves

Dear Comrades

I am amazed that M. C. (FREEDOM, 20 November) should express support for the Women's Peace Movement in view of the fact that its leaders have repeatedly stressed their support for the British Army. Their hypocritical "pacifism" which has proved so popular with the capitalist press is based on support for the violence of the State. Consequently, they have become a highly successful propaganda campaign for the Army.

It has been suggested that the ordinary, unknown people who make up the movement in N. Ireland may have more radical ideas than the leaders and, if so, we can expect more hopeful developments. However, it must be said that there is no evidence of this. It can be argued that the obvious hypocrisy of this phony "pacifism" will drive people back to the para-militarists and will make more difficult the eventual creation of a genuinely libertarian, non-sectarian, community movement of the people in N. Ireland.

Anyway, one thing is clear. On this side of the Irish Sea the Peace Movement is attracting all the Christian hypocrites whose "pacifism" means supporting the State in violently suppressing anyone who challenges the status quo. Their "peace" is the peace of the prison.

Fraternally

Terry Phillips



political justice

Geoffrey Barfoot (December 4) argues that William Godwin's Political Justice may have had "a wider currency in late nineteenth-century England" than I suggested in my review of the new edition, because in George Gissing's semi-autobiographical novel Born in Exile it is the favourite book of the hero's father and the hero is named Godwin.

I would point out that, although Gissing's novel was published in 1892, he was born in 1857 - at the time when James Watson's edition of Political Justice was enjoying the wide circulation in the socialist and secularist movements which I mentioned. So far as I can discover, the book ceased to be widely available in the early 1870s, and I have seen no discussion of it in the socialist or anarchist press during the next twenty years.

No doubt Geoffrey Barfoot is right in suggesting that many people still knew about Godwin during the last quarter of the nineteenth century, but I doubt whether Political Justice had any significant influence on the development of anarchism then - or ever.

NW

Murrays Reports In Birmingham

On Friday 26 November a Birmingham Murray Defence campaigner, Peter Le Mare, was arrested while leafletting outside the Irish Bank. His mistake was to ask the police what law we were breaking by hanging an effigy from a lamp post, and trying to stop a particularly aggressive policeman from cutting it down. (We had similar trouble the previous week: when it was pointed out to the police that real people, not dummies were to be hanged, one of them said, "I don't care about reality, take it down!") Pete was taken down to the station and held while they tried to think of something to charge him with. They eventually came up with "committing a disorderly act to the annoyance of residents and passengers" (sic), a Birmingham bye-law (1914). They threatened to take mugshots and fingerprints, and kept him in a cell for another hour or so while they "verified his address".

The case comes up on December 21st, and the fine will be up to £20, for which donations will be gratefully received. If Pete gets off the money will of course go to the Murray Defence Fund.

Cheques and donations to Peter Le Mare, c/o Peace Centre, 18 Moor St, Ringway, Birmingham.

Birmingham Defence Group



In Manchester

On the Libertarian Student Network day of action for the Murrays on the 24th November about 35 people marched through the centre of Manchester and occupied the Irish Tourist Office. After being rapidly and physically ejected by the police we picketed the office for about two hours, effectively closing it down. We had many conversations with passers by, most of whom had no knowledge of the case at all, and where they did it was grossly inaccurate. Due to this we marched to the Manchester Evening News and Guardian offices and picketed them and spoke to reporters, and then went to BBC Radio Manchester to picket and also speak to reporters. Despite this we received no press coverage whatever. Manchester Libertarians

FREEDOM:

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 30 December. 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 18 December and for news section is 23 December (Thursday).

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THE LIBERTARIAN Student Network is now functioning. Contact is Peter Baker A06 Allesley House, Rootes Residences Univ. of Warwick, Coventry CV4 7AL PAMPHLETS wanted F A Ridley's The Papacy & Fascism, and The Jesuits. Also books/pamphs dealing w. organised religion. To use for political book in progress. Kindly state cost & return address to Larry Shull, P O Box 3421 Tucson, Arizona 85702 USA

CHRISTIAN anarchists in London If so contact Doug Truman, 166 Cleveland St. London W.1. Flat 18.

PEOPLE with a DISABILITY Liberation Front Box 1976 c/o Rising Free, 142 Drummond St. London NW1

NORTHANTS A S Neill Assn. group Contact Sue and Terry Phillips, 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby

MEETINGS

DOUGLAS KEPPEL invites friends to Christmas gathering of Social Action Projects (Drug Dependents Care Group) on Saturday 18 December at 2.30 pm at 6 Endsleigh St. London W.C.1. Conversation and refreshments.

BWNIC Study Group meets 3.30 pm at 9 Monmouth House, Westhill Rd. SW18 Dec. 18 and fortnightly thereafter.

HYDE PARK Speakers Crnr (Marble Arch) Anarchist Forum alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcomed.

EAST LONDON group holds regular fortnightly mtgs. at 123 Lathom Rd. E6 Phone Ken on 552 3985 for details.

KINGSTON Libertarian Group, interested persons contact Pauline 549 2564

S.E. LONDON Libertarian Group meets Wednesdays. Ring Georgina 460 1823

BIRMINGHAM Black & Red Group regular Sunday mtgs. For info contact Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Rd. Moseley, Birmingham 13

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

GROUPS

ABERYSTWYTH Anarchists c/o Students' Union, Laura Place, Aberystwyth

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

CAMBRIDGE anarchists contact Ron Stephan, 41 York St. Cambridge.

CORBAY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 21A

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

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

EAST ANGLIAN Libertarians, Martyn Everett, 11 Gibson Gardens, Saffron Walden, Essex

LEEDS c/o Cahal McLaughlin, 12 Winston Gardens, Leeds 8

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

MANCHESTER Anarchist Group contact Al on 061-224 3028 for information and meetings

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst St. Oxford

PORTSMOUTH Caroline Cahm, 2 Chaderton Gardens, Pembroke Park, Old Portsmouth

THAMES VALLEY anarchists contact Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 4 Congress Rd. Maidenhead. SL6 3EE (0628 2974)

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation

Aberdeen, Blake, c/o A.P.P. 167 167 King St.

Dundee: Malet, 1 Lynnewood Place (tel. 452063)

Edinburgh: B. Gibson, 7 Union St. (tel. 557 1522)

Fife: 'Haggis' c/o Students Union, University of St. Andrews

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

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

OVERSEAS

AUSTRALIA

Canberra (Change of address):

'Alternative Canberra Group' 10 Beltana Rd. Pialligo, ACT 2609.

Melbourne: Martin Giles Peters, c/o Dept. of Philosophy, Monash Univ. Melbourne.

New South Wales: P. Stones, P O Box 25, Warrawong, N.S.W.

Sydney: Fed. of Aust. Anarchists Box 92 Broadway, 2007 Australia.

NEW ZEALAND

Anarchists resident in or visiting New Zealand contact Christchurch Anarchists, P O Box 22-607 New Zealand.

PRISONERS

Mike Murphy, C01039, H.M. Prison, Winson Green Rd. Birmingham B18 4AS would appreciate letters & books from friends.

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. Stephens Green, Dublin 2, the Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London, SW1X 7HR

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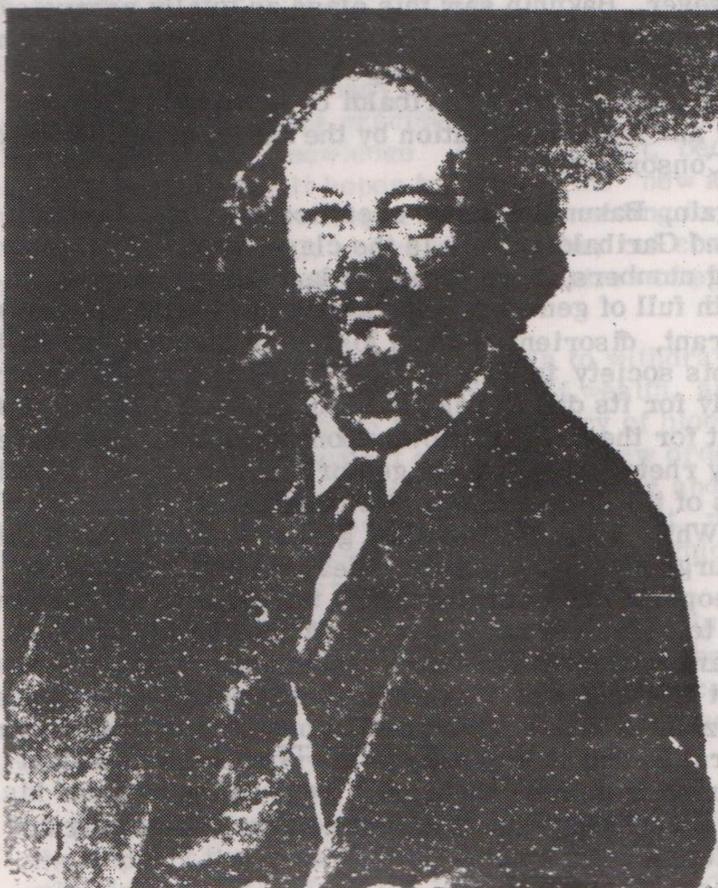
.

When I broke my back I was told by a social worker that I would have psychological problems adjusting to my disability. At the time I laughed and said that I had so much work to do, helping set up multi racial pre-school playgroups and youth clubs that I wouldn't have time to worry about my injury. But that woman was right and most of not all disabled people have psychological as well as physical problems. Sometimes friends and acquaintances help us and sometimes they, unintentionally(?), hurt us. Seven months ago a woman told me that I could never satisfy a woman sexually; I do not know if she was trying to be helpful or cruel but the effect was shattering as I believed her. I should perhaps have known better but the psychological effect of a disability, plus the unbelievable ignorance of doctors and the fact that discussions on the sexual problems of the disabled are non-existent, meant that I had no-one to turn to for help - and some of the suggestions such as 'why didn't I use a prostitute or turn homosexual didn't really help - until this week when I met a woman who did understand and together we made it. So like the rest of us who may have previous contributions, think before you offer help and be careful on the roads this holiday season. To return to the printing - apologies for the photo of Bakunin in the Review section - due to a mix up in London we never did get Cliff's drawing of Bakunin and had to resort to our local library and a very bad photo copy. See you in '77 - Ian the Printer.

FREEDOM'S *Anarchist Review*

18 DECEMBER '76

WHAT FATAL CHARM ?



This issue, the penultimate for 1976, is dedicated to Bakunin on the 100th anniversary of his death. The two articles which take up this issue are concerned with Bakunin's contribution to ideas on class. The first is on his examination of the class structure of the Italian society of his day, produced as an attack on Mazzini's views. The second and longer piece is by the Italian anarchist Luciano Pellicani, on Bakunin's more general examination of Marxism and class. This article was presented by Pellicani at the International Conference of Bakunin Studies between 24-26 in Venice (see FREEDOM of November 6 1976 which also contained an article on Bakunin's impact in Russia by Sam Dolgoff.

ON 22 January this year the *New York Review* carried a long article by Aileen Kelly on three books about Bakunin - Anthony Masters' unsatisfactory biography *Bakunin: The Father of Anarchism*, E.H. Carr's *Michael Bakunin* and *Michael Bakunin: Selected Writings*, edited by Arthur Lehning. Written with a peculiar bitterness, Kelly's review, entitled "The Fatal Charm of the Millennium" was mainly an attack on the claim by Carr that Bakunin represents "one of the completest embodiments in the history of the story of liberty" and on Lehning's "extreme" efforts to show that Bakunin's writings "constitute a coherent social philosophy with a complementary theory of revolutionary practice." Contradicting both Lehning and Carr, Aileen Kelly stresses the innate dictatorial qualities of Bakunin's thinking. In order to do this she dwells on the famous friendship with Nechaev and on sweeping generalisations about the "totalitarianism implicit in all millenarian thought." She quotes Isaiah Berlin's disapproving comment that a serious examination of Bakunin's view of liberty reveals a "confused and meaningless jumble of radical patter, empty tautologies, and the incantations of glib Hegelian claptrap." An example of this is, supposedly, Bakunin's remark that "Freedom can be created only by freedom" - one that most anarchists would have no difficulty in understanding as a clear-sighted and well-founded warning against the dangers of pursuing freedom through authoritarian means.

Another ally sought by Kelly against Lehning and Carr is Turgenev, whose portrait of Bakunin in his novel *Rudin* she asserts to be the most penetrating ever made. (In fact, in their view of Bakunin both Kelly and Berlin seem to have exclusively in mind the long dinner hours at the country house of Darya Lasunsky where an egocentric and intensely ideal-

istic young man with splendid blue eyes holds forth on Truth and Beauty, etc., etc., quite oblivious of the varying, and sometimes dangerous effects he is having on his listeners). But Turgenev, by no means quite unsympathetic to Rudin, knew Bakunin as a student in Berlin in the early 1840s, and he is thinking of the Bakunin of *The Reaction in Germany*. It is this image which has mainly stuck, and which Kelly maintains is the right one. Bakunin, she says, is not concerned with freedom "in the real world" but only in a disembodied form. Again appealing to vast generalisations she claims that "for the millenarian psychology there is nothing incongruous in the combination of liberty and of dictatorship - the second flows naturally from the first, a product of the dualism inherent in all millenarian ideologies."

This emphasis on anarchism as a millenarian ideology, the product of a feverish brain, is typical of those who not only write about it from a distance (and why not?), but who do so (and this is inexcusable) without undertaking even a little homework first. Thus Bakunin is presented as an incompetent fool among knaves - warm, passionate, perversely noble, quixotically brave, but unrealistic and innately authoritarian and dangerous on account of the influence he exerts on others who possess both a greater sense of reality (fewer scruples?), better organisational skills (Nechaev?), and less generosity. His "henchmen" (that is the word she uses) are liars if they deny that he and they were not intending to establish a secret elite within the International under his personal dictatorship. In following Bakunin they had either unwittingly fallen into the totalitarian trap or were born bullies, says Kelly, using against the anarchists the same unjust and sweeping arguments that are used (often by anarchists) against all those who call themselves Marxists.

Faced with this widespread and misleading image of Bakunin as the "idealist exalté" it is worth noting Bakunin's views on one whom Kelly does not mention and who, at least outside Italy, is rarely referred to in any discussion of Bakunin. This is the republican democrat Mazzini who indisputably was an idealist exalté all his life. Bakunin readily acknowledged Mazzini's great services to the struggles for unification, as he acknowledged the great contributions of Marx to the international labour movement, and as he would those of libertarian Marxists today (1) but his attack on Mazzini and the Mazzinian movement was both devastating and constructive, and in view of the kind of remarks that filled January's *New York Review of Books* perhaps it deserves more attention.

Before Italy's unification Mazzinian influence had mainly spread through the nationalist insurrectionary youth organisations, *Giovine Italia*, based on the "carboneria" or "charcoal burners" of the *Risorgimento* (resurgence). This influence continued in the first workers' societies to be run independently of church or aristocratic charity. As such these societies played a key role in the emergence of a labour movement in Italy. But Mazzini was adamant that they should confine themselves to purely reformist economic demands and in no way offend the bourgeoisie by the kind of rash actions in which the young bourgeois patriots had themselves indulged before unification. He repudiated any sort of class analysis and while his concept of the "worker" was vague, his notion of the peasantry - by far the largest section of the Italian population - was virtually non-existent.

Bakunin arrived in Italy in 1864 as representative of the First International. It was the very same year in which Mazzini succeeded in getting approval for his "pact of brotherhood" between the workers' societies and thus a guarantee of continued Mazzinian influence over the labour movement. When Bakunin moved from Florence to Naples in search of a more amenable and receptive base for his activities one can imagine the consternation of the old patriot. The "materialist", "scientific" and "internationalist" philosophy which Bakunin represented was a clear threat to the pious patriotism and spirit of cooperation with authority he had striven so long and

so zealously to generate among the Italian workers. In the past his main quarrel had been with the radical federalist Cattaneo who, with great intelligence, had defended the political and economic autonomy of the old regions and city republics against the idea of unity on the terms of Piedmontese supremacy and centralised government. Now the charge Mazzini had brought against Cattaneo - lack of patriotism - was levelled against the budding social revolutionary movement and reached its climax with the rise and fall of the Paris Commune in 1871. Mazzini lashed out against the Commune's anti-nationalism, anti-unitarism, materialism, class basis. His condemnation marks a turning point in the history of the Italian labour movement but also in that of anarchism. In his excellent anthology of the labour movement in Italy, G. Manacorda describes Bakunin as providing the "effective expression of the consciousness of the revolutionary post-Mazzinian generation."

Certainly his writings at this crucial time just after the Commune and as Mazzini was planning a last desperate attempt to recuperate the workers' societies in a new Pact of Brotherhood, may be numbered among the most lucid and constructive of all his work. It would, however, be a mistake to attribute to Bakunin alone the impact of anarchist thought on the young generation. The "noonday" south had a rebellious and rich humanist, illuminist tradition. The Neapolitan nobleman and soldier Carlo Pisacane, only seven years before Bakunin's arrival in Italy, had died in an inadequately organised attempt to spark off social revolution from Sapri. Writing to Cattaneo in 1851 he had referred to the "anarchy of Proudhon" as the only just form of government (2) and among southern revolutionaries he had helped spread the ideas of anarchic communism. Fanelli, a close friend and collaborator of Pisacane, better known by anarchists for his later work in Spain, was now one of Bakunin's circle with, among others, Caffero and Tucci. There can therefore be no doubt that Bakunin became acquainted with Pisacane's ideas during his time in the Mezzogiorno, if not before, and that he made good use of them. It would indeed be a worthwhile task to study the connections between Pisacane and Cattaneo and Bakunin in detail.

Bakunin's writings at this period of his life include his reply to Mazzini's attack on the Commune and his "Political Theology of Mazzini" (both in *Selected Writings*) and his less well-known but clear and interesting analysis of "The Social Classes in Italy" (3). In these essays Bakunin reiterates Pisacane's criticisms of Mazzinian formalism and idealism ("he abandons the earth and seeks it in the sky" wrote Pisacane). In "The Social Classes in Italy" Bakunin refutes Mazzini's attack on the Commune by juxtaposing a detailed study of the country's class structure with Mazzini's emphasis on social unity. And in this context it is also worth noting Bakunin's later criticism of Marx for basing his entire revolutionary theory on the study of one advanced industrial society (England). Before their famous quarrel split the International Bakunin, in this essay, is pointing to the necessity of basing revolutionary strategy on the needs and characteristics of each country, region and commune in question, and warning against the application of a universal doctrine.

Bakunin's class analysis of Italian society (and note, not simply his "class analysis!") is more detailed than that of Marx and Engels, since his division of the country into "five nations" is based on more than the criterion of economic production. A distinction is drawn between the clerical nation and the rest, between the haute bourgeoisie or Consortium, as he calls it, and the medium and small bourgeoisie, between the factory and urban proletariat and the peasants. Bakunin is ready to add to these a further quantity of divisions, mentioning for example a military and a bureaucratic caste. Here his approach is close to the more modern - and also pre-Marxist - tendency to analyse class structure from a wider social as well as economic viewpoint.

The Consortium was Bakunin's term for a new class comprising that part of the more or less wealthy aristocracy who were not integrated into the clerical caste, together with the wealthy bourgeoisie which had formed through massive industrial, financial and commercial transactions in the years following unification. The Consortium he named "the State par excellence". It represented the heavy centralisation of the state since unity had been achieved and reinforced by big business, massive speculation and colossal fraud. The Consort-

ium was the most important ally of the Church and, no more arrogant than its English counterparts, absorbed into its ranks an intelligentsia which might have otherwise rebelled against it. Unlike the clerical caste the Consortium was by no means patriotic. It aimed only at increasing its own wealth "at the expense of national prosperity." On the other hand the medium and small bourgeoisie was the real "patriotic class". Like Marx Bakunin freely recognised its positive contribution to western civilisation. With the achievement of political revolution, however, Bakunin saw this class as totally exhausted, sterile "like a lemon from which so long and distinguished a history has squeezed the last drop of juice." Not even the "dictatorial heroism" of a Garibaldi could save it from its own decay and from exploitation by the Bank, supreme weapon of the Consortium.

Here again, Bakunin returns specifically to his attack on Mazzini and Garibaldi. This is the class from which, in ever decreasing numbers, have come the last partisans of unity - "poor youth full of generous aspirations and ideals, but excessively ignorant, disorientated and lost .. in the corrupt reality of bourgeois society in Italy today." This passage is important not only for its direct relevance to the time in which it was written but for the light it throws upon Bakunin's impatience with empty rhetoric and heroic gesturing, and above all on his awareness of the dangers, even immorality, of Mazzinian oratory. While inspiring the most generous sacrifices on the part of bourgeois youth, abstract idealism had led them to feel the people bound in gratitude for the gains of unification, and bound to serve the state now it had become independent. The brilliant young revolutionary Gobetti was to make the same point on the eve of the fascist dictatorship when he described Mazzini's book *I doveri dell'uomo* (The duties of man) as "immoral in that it proposes to the worker an ideal that does not arise from his own heart," persuading him and his fellows to accept the fraud of parliamentary democracy and its rhetoric.

Bakunin places the small or "petty" bourgeoisie close to the proletariat in terms of exploitation and misfortune and assumes that though it would not be the prime mover of social revolution it would throw itself wholeheartedly into the struggle. Where the urban proletariat and the peasantry are concerned, again Bakunin's views come very close to those of Pisacane, whose conversion to revolutionary socialism was quickened and stimulated by his close contacts with both emigré and English radical groups in London (4). Pisacane saw the urban proletariat and the peasantry as the liberation army of social revolution, organised on the basis of voluntary association. Bakunin adhered to this view. He felt the urban proletariat had to some extent shared the same experience as the bourgeoisie in the municipal struggles and developments of the middle ages and much later again in the upheavals of the Risorgimento. But the condition of the proletariat being one of hunger and misery, they necessarily had "the morality and the logic of labour." The Mazzinian/Garibaldine slogans they uttered rang hollow to Bakunin's ears and it was to the social revolution and to the historically, politically virgin peasantry that they would bring all the benefits of their experience.

In later years Gramsci would echo both Pisacane and Bakunin when emphasising, in Bakunin's words, the need to study the means of "breaking the ice that separates the proletariat of the city from the people of the countryside."

An analysis of the kind attempted in *The Social Classes in Italy* is outstanding not only for its "theoretical rigour", as Manacorda calls it, its shrewd observations of the political and social effects of historical development on each of the various "nations" within Italian society, its premonitions of the "ethical state" of fascist ideology (as defined for instance in Gentile's famous entry in the Encyclopaedia), or its warnings about the "political and historical lie" of the tradition of regional federalism as distinct from federalism organised on the basis of the association and commune. All these points have been encapsulated in Bakunin's essay, but when one remembers the caricature of the exalted idealist, oblivious of what is going on around him, what is also interesting is his quick eye for customs, mannerisms, social and psychological effects on personality and class. Bakunin notes the reciprocal disdain of urban worker and peasant - resembling that of the disdain between organised worker and "lumpen-proletarian" in the sprawling southern cities of today. He notes

for instance, the linguistic forms expressing scepticism or indifference in the tired Florentine bourgeoisie, the superstition rather than religion of the peasantry, the subtle relationship between peasant and village priest, who, while "gently exploiting" this superstition, shares in the peasants' miserable life and to some extent breaks its wretched monotony by playing the role of the "good devil" or clown.

Bakunin's approach to class, unlike that of the mass of crude class-war literature turned out by the left-wing press today, is refreshingly devoid of cliché, more sophisticated and empirical (and this in total contrast to the misty idealism of Mazzinian thought as well). For Bakunin class exploitation works on a variety of different levels - not just the simple plane of capitalist (or bureaucrat) versus worker, but of high finance versus medium and lower middle class, of church aristocracy versus subaltern priest and peasant together, of idealistic political fervour versus the basic needs of urban worker and peasant, etc.

Another interesting aspect of his essay when one refers back to Kelly's picture or to that of the Catechism of the Revolutionary, is Bakunin's view of the way in which social revolution will be accomplished. Here it is founded on a deterministic approach to class exploitation: "Socialism is not ferocious; it is a thousand times more humane than jacobinism, that is than political revolution; it has nothing whatever against individuals, even the most wicked, knowing very well that all individuals, good or bad, are but the product of the social position that history and society have created for them." This view is identical to that of Paine in Rights of Man, when too prematurely brushing aside Burke's fears of a jacobin terror.

True, in Bakunin's assurance that after the whirlwind of popular fury against the rulers the socialist revolutionaries would vigorously oppose all cold-blooded butchery, one may detect something of Kelly's Bakunin, assuring Wagner that Beethoven's Ninth symphony would be spared the holocaust! His distaste for the terror tactics of a Robespierre or Herbert, as opposed to what he felt would be the inevitable release of pent-up emotion on the part of the people as a whole, is quite clear. But Bakunin is not much good at reassurance, and the occasional references in his work to the role of a powerless élite or dictatorship remain unconvincing. This is the area, indeed, where Aileen Kelly has a case and where a millenarian or insurrectionary approach to revolution always runs into trouble from a libertarian viewpoint. Pisacane had the same difficulty when he suggested that responsibility for public administration, and maintenance of unity and coherence of action, be confided to a "genio" or single individual who would be controlled from below and subject to recall. Again this reassurance does not convince, and the contradiction between the awarding of specific roles to individuals and the general anti-authoritarian framework remains unsolved.

Yet, to build a picture of Pisacane on this particular flaw in the quality of his thought would be both absurd and intellectually dishonest, just as in the case of Bakunin. In the industrially backward countries for which he mainly wrote, his influence, as we know, was highly positive; and in Italy Bakunin was able to make good use of the wealth of ideas that had been generated by the numerous past struggles against domination. From Sapri to Bologna the millenarian-type attempts to bring social revolution ended in tragedy or farce, or at the least in several inches of rain... but anarchism here was not rapidly suppressed in a revolutionary power struggle and blossomed from the Rimini congress onwards into a large-scale anarchist movement (from which the socialist and communist parties were eventually to break away).

Bakunin's successors in Italy, anarchist communists or anarcho-syndicalists, were often people of high integrity, lucidly aware - like Malatesta - of the constant self-criticism and self-discipline necessary to a mature society in which anarchism can prosper. None of them would have denied their debt to Bakunin, and today, Kelly notes, the relevance of his ideas to present day problems "is being defended with increasing vehemence", just as his method of approach to social analysis is being given more attention.

It is intriguing that she should observe this renewed interest with such intense disgust, and a pity that her criticisms consist of such sweeping and misleading generalisations and such crude efforts at psychological appraisal.

Notes (1) In their appeal of 30 July 1975 to the Constitutional Court of Yugoslavia against expulsion from Belgrade University, the members of the Praxis group make an interesting statement of their view on the "withering away" of the state. They strongly criticise moves since 1963 to halt the process of "transformation of the organs of the state into organs of self-government" and critics who show "an extraordinary spiritual poverty since they assumed that the only choice was between "statism" and "liberalism." The appeal goes on to assert that "The historical truth lies with a third alternative: democratic, self-managing coordination and direction, real equalisation of the conditions of economic activity... There is no other way for radical liberation of the working class from the tutelage of state and bureaucracy." The Praxis appeal stresses the need to keep strictly to the League of Communists of Yugoslavia's programme. Clause 1 calls for the abolition of wage labour. Clause 2 calls for the "Abolition of all forms of political oppression; including the 'withering away of the state in general' and the establishment of proper self-managing institutions.

(2) From Pisacane, La Rivoluzione, ed. Einaudi, introduction by Franco della Peruta, 1970

(3) Il socialismo nella storia d'Italia, G. Manacorda, Laterza, 1966

(4) Franco della Peruta, introduction, La Rivoluzione

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Luciano Pellicani

The Red Bureaucracy

THIS ARTICLE was a paper "La Critica Bakuniana del Marxismo Come Ideologia di Classe dell' Intelligenza Proletarizzata" read at the Conference.

ONE OF THE MOST IMPORTANT social phenomena of the 20th century has undoubtedly been the rise to political power of a "new class" which the Marxists in no way anticipated and which on the other hand the anarchists - especially Bakunin and Machajski - "foretold" with surprising precision, plumbing the depths of the working class movement (1). This phenomenon and the way in which it was predicted have not yet, however, attained full citizen status in contemporary culture. What has happened is that the spreading of Marxism and its cultural supremacy have considerably distorted most people's perception and brought about a real intellectual blindness, hard to cure because people affected by it are convinced that they have the key to the real meaning of all past, present and future events. But this is not surprising, given that it is Marxism itself that has supplied the "new class" with the ideological weaponry for gaining and firmly maintaining power. Put in another way: not only has Marxism prevented a quick understanding of the bureaucratic-managerial revolution which brought the oligarchy of knowledge and technical-administrative competence to the summit of the social hierarchy, it has also allowed it and reinforced it, since it has given the "new bosses" the ideal political formula for legitimising their class power before themselves and the people.

First of all we must discuss one of the most common clichés, most common but at the same time, and indeed for that very reason, one of the most deceptive. And because of this the real nature of communism is still masked, or seen in reverse. This cliché - which in certain circles has become politically very "advanced", a real article of faith and shibboleth for

rapidly identifying the enemies of socialism - can be expressed in this way: Marxism is the ideology ("scientific" naturally) of the industrial proletariat; thanks to this it has gained power in several countries - arbitrarily baptised socialist - and today poses as the historical heir of the capitalist bourgeoisie.

Things, naturally, are quite different and one can say without hesitation that rarely was any proposition further from reality and thus more deceptive than this historical identity between Marxism and working class, communist alternative and emancipation of the workers. Here reality is literally turned upside down as in a camera obscura. This is due to a "derivation" (in the Paretian sense) and is to be considered as one of the most amazing results of the power of deception and self-deception which man possesses. According to this "derivation" Marxism is the accurate expression of the interests of the working classes. History rather shows that communist revolutions have brought to power a new oligarchy which monopolises the leading functions of social life through control of the intellectual, cognitive and technical resources. This new ruling class is made up of bureaucrats, managers, technicians and scientists, it is in other words a mosaic of quite different groups which have nevertheless been made sufficiently homogeneous by the monopoly of "know-how" and this is the solid base of its social and political supremacy.

As well, this oligarchy of know-how has been able to establish a form of total dominion from the very fact that the revolution carried out in the name of Marx's doctrine have concentrated all power in the Party-State; and this therefore becomes the sole controller of social life.

From the viewpoint of historical materialism such a phenomenon is inexplicable as the existence of a class is made to coincide with the existence of private property. And, in effect, the orthodox Marxists either deny the existence of the

new ruling class of the so-called socialist societies or are compelled to regard the totalitarian rule of bureaucracy and the managerial intelligentsia as a degeneration or passing ex-crescence, destined to disappear as soon as the proletariat takes over the usurped power of the Communist party functionaries (2). Except that the "new class" described in more or less analogous terms by Bruno Rizzi, James Burnham, Max Schachtman and Milovan Djilas (3) not only exists, but is so stable that it is difficult to describe its formation as a deviation from that one-way traffic which is the Marxist interpretation of History. Moreover, the formation of a new ruling class within the workers' organisations led by the Marxists was clearly foreseen by Bakunin who repeatedly warned the European workers of the "red bureaucracy." Bakunin also realised that through Marx's authoritarian and centralised systems the (promised) emancipation of the working class would not take place, but on the contrary the installation of a new form of class rule based no longer on the private ownership of the means of production but on the monopoly of knowledge and the integral state takeover of social life, which would be able to "pervert" the popular revolutions if their anti-bodies were not quickly discovered.

Hence his continual polemic against the Marxist doctrinaires in whom he saw the "new masters" of society to come, the oligarchy which, using the workers' movement for spring-board, would instal its own class dictatorship in the guise of the popular State.

Bakunin came to this most remarkable anticipation of the future developments of communism through an analysis of two kinds of phenomena: the presence in the European workers' movement of a plethora of proletarianised intellectuals (intelletuali proletarizzati) in search of power and the particular nature, at once authoritarian and doctrinaire, of Marxism. He went on to link these two phenomena - alienated intelligentsia and Marxist ideology - and quickly saw the political result which, combined, they would produce: the "colonisation" of the working class by the revolutionary doctrinaires to be followed by the dictatorship of the intellectuals over the proletarian masses wherever a victorious popular revolution took place.

The Root Evil

What led Bakunin to foresee the involution in an oligarchic and class sense, of the communist revolution? Undoubtedly a rather more realistic idea of power than that on which the whole impressive edifice of Marxian sociology depends. According to this the unique source of power by man over man is private property which has unleashed class war by throwing a solid and compact primitive society into disarray. This is described by Engels in the following terms: "The power of the natural community had to be smashed; and in fact it was. But it was smashed by the influences which appear to us to have been from the beginning a degradation and a culpable fall from the simple heights of aristocratic society. The basest interests - vulgar greed, brutal cupidity, sordid avarice, egoistical plunder of common plunder - inaugurated the new uncivilised society, the class society" (4). The historical agent which broke up the intellectual and moral unity of primitive humanity was that very private property which the theory assumes for this reason alone to be the source of the root evil. Thus to the Christian doctrine of original sin which places the root evil in the heart of man, Marx and Engels opposed a "revised" version of the gnostic doctrine of the fall and of alienation. An exquisitely and irremediably mythical doctrine (5) but indispensable because without it the whole Marxist theoretical edifice crumbles, and what especially crumbles is the metastatic hope of creating a classless and stateless society through the suppression of private property.

The reasoning behind this strange concept of power borrowed directly from Rousseau, Morelly and Babeuf, is the following: the rule of man over man derives not from a psychological but from an economic and social base. It is closely linked to the penury in which men found themselves in nature and to the institution of private property. The first obstacle between class and classless society being removed by the industrial revolution - hence the mystical exaltation by Marx of the development of productive forces which he saw as a sine qua non for liberating man from slavery and evil - it only remains

to eliminate private property, that is, to collectivise all the means of production.

Put in these terms the problem of the building of socialism is one of exhilarating simplicity: only suppress the expropriators and sooner or later humanity, though it may be through intense and dramatic struggles, will find its original lost unity. To Marx and to the Marxists the idea that the transitory dictatorship could change into a new form of class dominion seemed really absurd? Was private property not the only source of power? Then how would the existence of the State and of classes in a society free from the root evil, be possible? As is known this was the argument made by Trotsky against what, in a revealing expression, he called the "bureaucratic usurpation" of power to the detriment of the working class; and this continues to be the more or less explicit argument of the Marxists; even when the communist societies make recourse to terror, brainwashing, persecution of dissidents and repression of every form of protest by the working class, they conserve for Marxists an indisputable moral superiority over the capitalist societies based on private property.

All this happens because the Marxists are convinced that the root evil is not a part of human nature, but the product of an institution - private property - which has perverted everything and must therefore be suppressed in order to restore the unity it broke. Only then would reality be what it was in the beginning: a perfectly harmonious totality.

As can be seen, we have here a real theological dogma or article of faith with which the Marxist identifies himself totally. So much so that he is ready to defend it by any means, including the persecution of unbelievers and heretics - since on this depends the possibility for the salvation of humanity. In fact humanity can be freed and redeemed only on condition that the root evil is external to human nature. This is pure gnosticism. (6)

Such mysticism, slyly masquerading as science, was at once condemned by the anarchists who, to the Marxian theory of power opposed the following concept: "the State is in no way an organic product of society, nor the consequence of class antagonisms, but the cause of them... The unsustainable character of the hypothesis of the birth of the State and above all the refusal of the Marxist utopia of the 'suppression' of the State through the dialectical development of the process of production, requires in consequence an utterly different position on the question of the transition to socialism, that is, to a society meriting the description of classless and stateless. Anarchist socialism takes it as an accomplished fact that history is the history of class struggle and, like Marx, recognises that it is the duty of the proletariat to suppress class antagonisms in struggle against the capitalist class with the aim of destroying the monopoly of its economic power. But this monopoly was made possible through a monopoly of power - that is through that force organised as State which first gave it birth and then, through this double monopoly, allowed its ever greater development: hence the need to destroy both the monopoly of the political State and the economic monopoly" (7).

Obviously the Marxists followed a path opposed to that of the anarchists and, in perfect consistency with their concept of nature and the origins of the root evil installed, wherever they succeeded, a State combining in itself both the monopoly of political and economic power. Thus not only did the suppression of the State by society not take place, on the contrary, society was suppressed by the State. A totalitarian system was set up, managed by an oligarchy monopolising knowledge and controlling all social life through an omni-pervasive bureaucratic-managerial machine. In this way a theoretical error - the arbitrary identification of power with private property - engendered a political process leading to an exactly opposite result from that promised and "scientifically" foreseen by the doctrine.

Bakunin was the first to see, with extreme accuracy, the bureaucratic-totalitarian outcome of the Marxist revolution in that he understood that the private ownership of the means of production is in no way the unique source of power, and that power can arise as the spontaneous product of the organisation and monopoly of knowledge. Suppressing private property without dismantling the political structures - this is in

brief his thesis - the Marxists automatically "exalted" the controllers of the State bureaucratic machine and the social groups in possession of a cognitive patrimony superior to that of simple workers. This enabled him not only to foresee the classist outcome of the instauration of revolutionary dictatorship, but also to detect in Marxism the ideology of a marginal intelligentsia aspiring to its own class dominion through the expropriation of the capitalists in the name of the people.

Let us examine more closely the physiognomy of the Bakunian interpretation of Marxism as a class ideology of the "proletarianised" intelligentsia

Dictatorship of the Proletariat?

Bakunin's criticisms in the first place concern the Marxian concept of the dictatorship of the proletariat. "If the proletariat", wrote the great Russian anarchist, "becomes the ruling class, over whom will it rule? This means that another proletariat will be subjected under the new State. For example the peasant rabble, who, as is known, do not enjoy the favour of the Marxists and who, being at the lowest level of culture, will be evidently governed by the proletariat of the cities and the factories. Or if we consider the question from a nationalist point of view, taking the Slavs in respect to the Germans, the former will in just the same way be subjected by the German proletariat after their victory over their bourgeoisie. Where there is State, there inevitably is there domination and in consequence slavery; the State without slavery, open or hidden, is inconceivable. This is why we are the enemies of the State. What can it mean, the proletariat organised as ruling class? Is it possible for the whole proletariat to place itself at the head of government? That all the people govern and that no-one is governed? In that situation there would be no government, and no State; but if there is a State there will be subjects, there will be slaves." (8)

The objection, we can see, is not a minor one, and it will be repeated many times by anarchists against the partisans of the state-centred concept of building socialism. But what is more interesting and instructive in the Bakunian analysis of the Marxist theory of the dictatorship of the proletariat is the singling out of the dangers inherent in the change of mentality of the revolutionary elite as soon as it takes possession of the State machine. As we know, in Marxism the psychological variables are cancelled out or, more precisely, reduced to symptoms of the corruption of humanity generated by private property. In consequence the idea that even in a society without private ownership a class can be formed with interests and a mentality distinct from that of the mass of the workers is disdainfully brushed aside as a reactionary and anti-scientific bourgeois prejudice. Instead Bakunin was quick to warn that things are very different from the way Marxists imagine them, and that the egoistic and authoritarian tendencies of human nature do not derive from the existence of private property. He continues in fact: "This dilemma is solved simplistically by Marxian theory. By popular government they mean government of the people by a small number of the representatives elected by the people; the self-styled representatives of the people and the governors of the State. That is the last word of the Marxists as of the democratic school; it is a lie concealing the despotism of a ruling minority, all the more perilous in that it presents itself as the expression of the so-called will of the people. Thus from whatever angle one looks at it, one always arrives at the same unpleasant result: the government of the vast majority of the people by a privileged minority. But this minority, the Marxists tell us, will be workers. Yes, certainly, ex-workers who, as soon as they become governors or representatives of the people, are no longer workers and will look upon the world of manual labour from the heights of the State. They will no longer represent the people but themselves, and their own pretensions of wanting to govern the people. Anyone who doubts this knows nothing of human nature." (9)

So the theory of the preparatory dictatorship is condemned as a dangerous sophism pregnant with consequences in open conflict with the ultimate goal of socialism, which is to free

man. What is also criticised with great precision is the unrealistic conception of human nature as an anthropological back drop to such a doctrine. The State in transition - says Bakunin - will automatically generate a ruling class, since the exercise of power will mould the psychology of the ex-workers and doctrinaires and will change them into governors with all the typical defects of the privileged classes. In this context Bakunin's thesis is extremely radical: either one destroys the State or one must accept "the vilest and most fearful lie of our century: the red bureaucracy" (10).

Tertium non datur. Or rather, in principle a third solution is possible: the liberal one, based on the mutual control of the centres of power through the pluralistic structure of society and the establishment of the constitutional State. But Bakunin, naturally, is not disposed even to take this into consideration. His revolutionary romanticism leads him to establish a dilemma between the illimited despotism of the bureaucracy ("white" or "red") and anarchic liberty. A dilemma which Marx does not succeed even in perceiving, persuaded as he is that History has a one-way direction and that, thanks to "scientific" socialism, he is already well aware of the dialectically necessary outcome. In his *Weltanschauung* there is no place for subjective elements which may divert humanity's journey to the Promised Land. But Bakunin does not in the least share Marx's mystical faith in the necessarian laws of History and can therefore see the dangers that exist in the restoration of the authoritarian principle under the flags of socialism

The Doctrinal Revolutionaries

But, as has been pointed out, there is in the Bakunian analysis something more than a simple invitation to take the psychological variables into serious consideration. There is the perception of the real class nature of the Marxist revolution. In this Bakunin saw the political operation by means of which the intellectuals would take possession of the City of Command using the proletarian mass as basic material for winning their fight against the propertied classes. Who are the Marxists, partisans of so-called scientific socialism? asks Bakunin. They are the *doctrinal revolutionaries* "who have assumed the mission of destroying the existing powers and orders to create their own dictatorship upon their ruins. They are enemies of the actual powers only because they wish to take them over; enemies of the actual political institutions only because they exclude the possibility of their dictatorship; but they are nevertheless the most ardent friends of the State power which must be maintained, without which the revolution, after having really liberated the people, would remove from this pseudo-revolutionary minority any hope of fastening them to a new harness and winning their favour with government measures" (11).

Applying what sociologists have subsequently defined as the "unmasking technique" Bakunin does not hesitate in seeing in the ends and ideals proclaimed by the Marxist revolutionaries a mere ideological gloss. This conceals to themselves and above all to the workers, the real motivations for those actions springing spontaneously from their abnormal social condition. The doctrinaires in fact do not come either from the popular classes (*classi popolari*) or from the ruling classes; they are thus half-way between the governed masses and the power élites. Their area of recruitment is the proletarianised intelligentsia, typical product of a rapid spread of education unaccompanied by an equally rapid absorption of intellectual workers (*lavoratori intellettuali*) by the market. They are therefore intellectuals deprived of a status responding to their very high expectations, for this reason condemned to a "social marginality."

Outside the Command City and the central institutions which mould the life of the masses, these "pariahs of the intelligentsia" - the definition, extremely illuminating, is from Blanqui, one of the most consequential theoreticians of the right of the *déclassé* intellectuals to exercise political power - aspire to a direct influence over the historical destinies of the European peoples. They have a superior culture, and this makes them feel they are destined to direct the uncultivated masses; yet they feel "excluded", thus morally assimilated with

the proletariat, since bourgeois society favours wealth and economic power of which they for their part are completely deprived.

Bakunin defines this plethora of déclassé intellectuals "the favourite daughter of modern doctrinarianism" and sees in it "the last refuge of the will of domination, which from the beginning of history has afflicted and constituted and sanctioned all States" (12). While the nobility depended for its power on military superiority and religious legitimacy and the capitalist bourgeoisie built its class dominion upon the possession of wealth, the intelligentsia has only one means of establishing its social supremacy and satisfying its will to dominate: education, or more precisely the monopoly of production and management of knowledge. And, in effect, because of its cognitive supremacy it hopes to become the "new aristocracy" (13) and to direct the whole of society according to its interests and ideas, proudly aware of its value, but continually frustrated because excluded from the centres of effective power.

Hence the efforts of the intelligentsia to withdraw control of economic life from the aristocracy of wealth, and control of the state apparatus from the aristocracy of blood. Hence too the state-centred project of building a new order on the monopoly of scientific power, economic power and political power. As for the masses they, being ignorant, must trust themselves to the illuminated and illuminating guidance of the "scientific" revolutionaries.

Bakunin's diagnosis is extremely precise on this point. He detects with great acuteness the exiological link between the marginal position of the aristocracy of intelligence and the state-centred concept of the building of socialist society, expressed in these highly instructive terms;

Idealists of all kinds—metaphysicians, positivists, those who support the rule of science over life, doctrinaire revolutionaries—all defend the idea of the state and state power with equal eloquence, because, quite logically, they see in it the only salvation for society. Quite logically, since they have accepted the basic premise, which we consider completely mistaken, that thought precedes life, that theory is prior to social experience, and therefore, that social science has to be the starting point for all social upheavals and reconstructions. They then, unavoidably, arrive at the conclusion that because thought, theory and science, at least in our own times, are in the possession of very few, these few ought to be the leaders of social life, not only the imitators, but also the leaders of all popular movements. On the day following the revolution, the new social order should not be organised by the free association of people's organisations or unions, local and regional, from the bottom up, in accordance with the demands and instincts of the people, but only by the dictatorial power of this learned minority, which presumes to express the will of the people. (14)

From this point of view the real historical-political significance of the so-called "dictatorship of the proletariat" is revealed with crystal clarity. Power is placed not in the hands of the working class, which does not have the heritage of knowledge that is indispensable for directing public affairs, but in the hands of a minority of doctrinaire revolutionaries, that is the oligarchy with the monopoly of science. "The expressions 'scientific socialists', 'scientific socialism', " we read in one of the most acute pages of *State and anarchy*, "which continually appear in the speeches and writings of the followers of Lassalle and Marx, prove that the so-called people's State will be nothing but a despotic control of the people by a new and very restricted aristocracy of real or pseudo-scientists. The people, being uneducated, will be totally relieved of the cares of government and will be treated en masse as a regimented herd. A beautiful liberation indeed! The Marxists are aware of this contradiction and realising that a government of scientists, the most oppressive, repressive in the world will be a real dictatorship despite its democratic forms, console themselves with the idea that this dictatorship will be provisory and brief. They say that its only task and only intention will be to educate and raise the people economically and politically to a level at which any government would soon become unnecessary, and the State,

losing its political and hence also its coercive character, will be automatically transformed into a completely free organisation of economic interests and communes... They say that such a yoke-dictatorship is a transitory step necessary for achieving full freedom for the people: anarchy or freedom is the aim, while State and dictatorship are the means. And so, to free the masses they have first to be enslaved." (15).

The sophistic nature of the dictatorship of the proletariat is evident for Bakunin and equally evident is the danger it contains: despotic power, behind the "democratic-popular" facade, of an intellectual aristocracy which, by virtue of its negative superiority—these are the external bearers of right thinking since they have the monopoly of dialectical Science—automatically assume the task of directing the uncultivated masses towards communist society. Consequently the working classes must guard themselves against this paternalistic pretext of the Marxist doctrinaires to govern the masses dictatorially, pretext all the more treacherous in that it poses as the combined expression of science and the real interests of the proletariat.

Bakunin also foresaw the social and psychological metamorphosis of the Marxist dictators. They would change from intellectuals into the professional administrators of political and economic power and would therefore become that red bureaucracy in which he had prophetically seen the most dangerous snare hiding behind the oligarchic and authoritarian tendencies of the European workers' movement. The passage from the ideocratic dictatorship of the priestly guardians of scientific socialism to the bureaucratic dictatorship of the technicians of the state apparatus, would then be accomplished. Unfortunately the communist revolutions of our century have accurately confirmed Bakunin's pessimistic forecast, and in part because his valuable warnings were submerged by Marxist-Leninist conformism.

This, briefly, is the Bakunian interpretation of Marxism as class ideology of the proletarianised intelligentsia. It was subsequently taken up by another anarchist thinker: the Pole Vaclav Machajski. In his monograph on the "intellectual worker" distributed by his friend Max Nomad in a series of essays (16), which unfortunately have not had the attention they deserve from the scholars of our time. Hundreds of studies have been dedicated to the prophecies of Marx and the Marxists, almost all resoundingly disproved by history, while an inexplicable silence has fallen on those few who, so much in advance of their time and with remarkable analytic lucidity, had foreseen the real developments of political regimes built on the basis of a monopoly of political and economic power. Despite the repeated setbacks of the communist project in constructing socialism through the single Party and suppression of the market, a distorting interpretation of the real historical role of Marx's philosophy still reigns today in consequence. It is still presented as the ideology of the working class, while in reality it is no more than an ingenious "derivation" through which the élitist significance of its alternative to capitalist-bourgeois society has been hidden. To use a concept typical of Marxian sociology we find ourselves face to face with an "ideological self-deception" or, if one prefers Max Scheler's term, an "organic lie" which has allowed the communist intellectuals to identify their own unbounded will to power with the presumed revolutionary vocation of the working class. Thus, camouflaged behind the ideological formula "dictatorship of the proletariat" is the totalitarian control of a new exploiting and privileged class which we may unhesitatingly call after Bakunin's phrase red bureaucracy.

Marxist Mysticism

How and why all this happened is a theme requiring a historical and sociological analysis of vast proportions. Here I shall limit myself to underlining, along the lines of Bakunin's critical analysis, the ideological character of Marxist philosophy—in the sense of being a typical product of the "false consciousness" of the proletarianised intelligentsia—applying to it the same analytical categories elaborated by Marx. The Marxists sometimes say that one must make a Marxist analysis of Marxism. But they have never done so because the results would be disastrous to their faith in the coming of the

Kingdom and especially to the "good conscience" that it provides them with. In fact, if it is true that all the products of thought are conditioned—and distorted—by the class one belongs to, it is not clear how and why Marxism should be an exception to this necessarian and inescapable sociological law, which represents one of the pillars of historical materialism. To respect the rules of correct reasoning Marxism also should be considered as an ideology, that is as a distorted and distorting vision of reality expressing precise and unavowable class interests in disguise. Once the principle of pan-ideologism is formulated, one must accept all the consequences deriving from it and apply the unmasking technique to all and everything. Just as the Oedipus complex not only affects the patient but also the analyst, so the fact of belonging to a class affects all political doctrines including that of Marx.

And in effect, an examination of the doctrine of the historical mission of the proletariat that is not limited to its formal meaning, but attempts to clarify its essential meaning, leads to the confirmation of Bakunin's interpretation—and criticism. Marx's basic metaphysical supposition is the Hegelian theory of the different levels of consciousness which humanity attains throughout its historical development. This theory is based on the axiom of romantic idealism: the identity between finite and infinite, so that the "conscious part", which is always a minority, speaks for the Whole. This brings Marx to distinguish between a proletariat *für sich* and a proletariat *an sich*. This is the empirical theme of the revolution in that it is a negation of capitalist-bourgeois society, but is the first to incarnate the consciousness of the communist revolution. In other words, they, Marx and his faithful disciples, are the bearers of the so-called "proletarian science"—those who actually embody the *Weltgeist*, the historical interests of the "general class" and thus of the whole of humankind. Thanks to the dialectic, in fact, they have a preview of the ultimate end of History, which is the Reign of Liberty. To them, therefore, we must look for political and ideological guidance of the proletarian movement. "The Communists, ... theoretically," says the *Manifesto*, "have over the great mass of the proletariat the advantage of clearly understanding the line of march, the conditions, and the ultimate general results of the proletarian movement." (17). This amounts to saying that they represent the viewpoint of scientific socialism, the only viewpoint able to show, outside the bourgeois deceit, what humanity must do to free itself from capitalist slavery and reach the Kingdom of Liberty.

Here, behind the distinction between "proletarian science" and "bourgeois science", we find the gnostic dichotomy between the *Gnosis* and the *pistis*: while this is the reversed expression of the reversed world—reality was overturned by the appearance of private property: a genuine moral catastrophe of cosmic proportions—this is the Science that points to the way of salvation. As a result only those who have gone beyond the partial and distorted viewpoint of bourgeois science can see the essence of things and, above all, can foresee the necessary dialectical outcome of the war in progress between the old and new worlds. In this way the bearers of proletarian science become the conscious avant-garde of humanity, those who, knowing, have the right and duty to take into their hands the historical destiny of the proletarian masses—corrupted by bourgeois ideology—and guide them towards the Promised Land. Conclusion: the dictatorship of the proletariat has to be—and could not be otherwise, given the basic metaphysical presuppositions—the dictatorship of the Marxist intellectuals (18).

This is how, at the very same time in which it proclaims the historical right of the working class to free itself from capitalist exploitation, Marxism creates the theory of the subordination of that class to the conscious part, to the doctrinarians who have identified themselves with the cause of socialism and acquired a superior understanding of past, present and future events through dialectical Science. It remained for Lenin to transpose this singular concept of the liberation of humanity from utopia to reality, creating the most suitable organised weapon for establishing, when historical circumstances allowed the mastery of those who know what human destiny is and the techniques necessary to achieve it. His doctrine of the Party of professional revolutionaries as conscious avant-garde is not a distortion of the

spirit of Marxism, but a faithful application of its dictates. Only those who have got a precise understanding of the *telos* of History can—and must—guide humanity autocratically to prevent it deviating from the pre-established plan and getting entangled with opportunism and revisionism. So it is in Leninist practice that Marxism finds its consequential historical realisation and it is Leninist practice that fully reveals its real nature: an ideology with a gnostic-millenarian character which has legitimised the desire of the alienated intellectuals with a strong prophetic-soteriological vocation to take control in the name of the real interests of the victims of a class society.

One also understands why, once the City of Command was conquered, Marxist intellectuals built up then, a Church aspiring to universality, and the restoration of the Great Universal Harmony. Following the gnostic activists of the permanent revolution are the professional managers of the *Gnosis*, that is the "charismatic bureaucracy" (19). This, owing to its monopoly of technical organisational know-how and the correct interpretation of the sacrosanct texts can govern society totally. Thus, once again, the renewed Messianic tradition—which in Marxism found its most secularised avatar—has ended in a failure the more painful and terrible the more millions of victims and noble sacrifices it costs.

To paraphrase Loisy, we may say that the Marxists expected from revolutionary dictatorship the advent of the Reign of Liberty; instead came the reign of the Party and red bureaucracy. This is certainly not an edifying conclusion, but it at least contains a valuable lesson, do not trust the monopoly of power to any oligarchy. They will not use it—as Bakunin many times warned—to free the working classes from exploitation, but to subject them entirely to their power.

NOTES

- (1) Cfr. N Berti, *Anticipazioni anarchiche sui "nuovi padroni", "Interrogations", March 1976*
- (2) Cfr. P Naville, *Burocrazia e rivoluzione*, Jaca Book, Milan 1973 and D. Russet, *La societ e eclat ee*, Grasset, Paris 1973
- (3) B. Rizzi, *Il collettivismo burocratico*, Galeati, Imola 1969
J Burnham, *La rivoluzione dei tecnici*, Mondadori, Milan 1947,
M. Djilas, *La nuova classe*, Il Mulino, Bologna 1958, M Schachtman, *The Bureaucratic Revolution*, Donald Press, New York 1962
- (4) F. Engels, *L'origine della famiglia, della propriet a privata e dello Stato*, Rinascita, Rome 1950, p. 100
- (5) The Marxist doctrine of private property as source of the root evil is completely arbitrary when compared with the "discoveries" of psychoanalysis, which confirm the correctness of the Judaic Christian myth of original sin. From this viewpoint Marxism and psychoanalysis are at opposite poles, even if there has been a recent proliferation of literature tending to reconcile them. To accept the principal theorems of Freudian anthropology means to renounce the metastatic hope that animates Marxism and to recognise that the root evil is ineradicable (Cfr A. Besancon, *Storia e psicanalisi*, Guida, Naples 1976)
- (6) Cfr L Pellicani, *I rivoluzionari di professione*, Vallecchi, Florence 1975
- (7) A Lehning, *Marxismo e anarchismo nella Rivoluzione russa*, Ed. L'Antistato, Cesena 1973, pp. 48-49. The most recent ethnological and sociological research confirms the anarchist theory of the origin of the State, not certainly that of Marxism: violence is at the origin of dominion, not private property. Thus to abolish private property does not mean to abolish the dominion of man over man, but to transfer control from the owners of the means of production to the managers of the means of administration. A point that was seen very clearly by Max Weber before 1917 and which the bolshevik revolution confirmed creating the conditions for the birth of the "bureaucratic-totalitarian State" (L Trotsky, *La rivoluzione tradita*, Schwartz, Milan 1956, p. 110).
- (8) M Bakunin, *Stato e anarchia e altri scritti*, Feltrinelli, Milan 1968, p 190: (9) *Ibidem*, pp 190-191: (10) *Corrispondece de Michel Bakunine*, Perrin et Cie, Paris 1896: (11) M Bakunin, *Stato e anarchia*, cit, p 148: (12)-(15) *Ibidem*: (16) M Nomad, *Apostles of Revolution*, Collier Books, New York 1962 and *Aspects of Revolt*, Noonday Press, New York 1961: (17) K Marx and F Engels, *Manifesto del Partito comunista*, in *Opere scelte* Editori Riuniti, Rome 1968: (18) Cfr. L Pellicani, *I rivoluzionari di professione*, cit.: (19) Cfr. V Belohradsky, *Burocrazia carismatica*, in L Pellicani (edited by), *Sociologia delle rivoluzioni*, Guida, Naples 1976