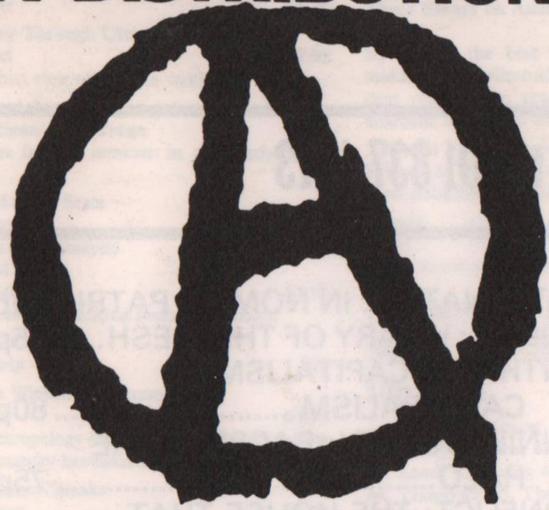


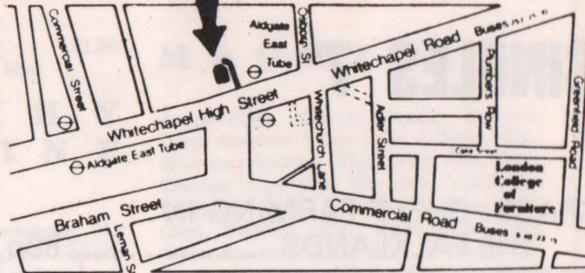
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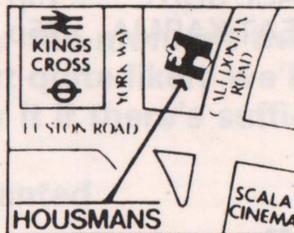
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Henri Simon  
**Poland: 1980-82**

Class Struggle  
 and  
 the Crisis of Capital

Black & Red  
 1985

# KROPOTKIN



# POLAND

# NATIONALISM

Fredy Perlman  
**THE CONTINUING APPEAL OF  
 NATIONALISM**



Black & Red

# COLIN WARD

**WHEN WE BUILD AGAIN**  
 Let's have housing that works!  
 Colin Ward



**NEW  
ANARCHIST  
REVIEW**

**SEPTEMBER  
1985**

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**WHEN WE BUILD AGAIN**

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Soon, the fun and games will begin again. At the next Party Conference, the Labour leadership, one nervous eye on that slender opinion poll lead, will start humming and hawing about council house sales. The holier-than-thou Left, sensing equivocation and betrayal, will go on the offensive. In all the hullaballoo, no-one will ask themselves the most obvious questions. If the Tories' policy on council house sales is so divisive and unfair, why is it so popular? Why are so many people living on inner-city council estates disenchanted with Labour? And what has all this to tell us about a socialist housing policy?

This book is subtitled 'Let's have housing that works!' — and one thing's for sure, post-war mass housing provision, now in decline, has worked very badly. Disappointingly, Ward doesn't provide the blueprint for public housing policy that was so conspicuously missing from the 1983 Labour manifesto, but then he doesn't attempt that task.

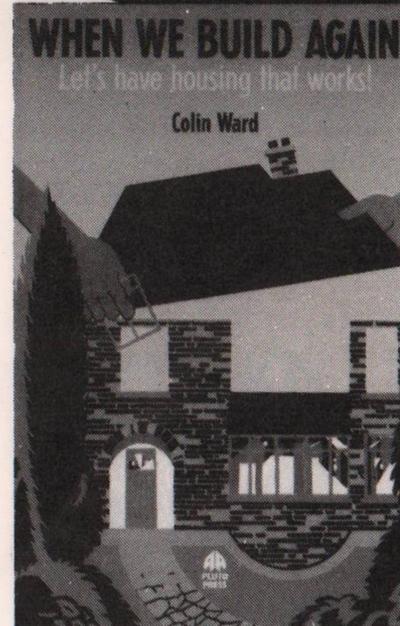
What he does do marvellously well in 128 pages is scotch a few pious half-truths and begin to lay the theoretical foundations for a fresh start, if and when that should happen. Beginning from the observation 'we don't have a housing shortage, just a

poverty problem', he goes on to develop his central thesis that mass housing programmes, developed by an unholy alliance of architects, bureaucrats, property developers, 'progressive' politicians and Ladies Bountiful, have all been based on the same assumption that everybody knows best except the people being housed.

Whether we're talking about tower blocks or the more recent and fashionable low-rise developments, the same highly centralised solutions based on the same arrogant assumptions about what people need have repeatedly failed.



Ward demonstrates by many examples from Britain and abroad 'the capacity of poor



people to house themselves if helped rather than hindered', and to feel pride in their homes. Far from being the petty bourgeois individualism sneered at by some socialists, this sense of ownership is crucial for a successful community — quoting Proudhon and George Woodcock, 'the cornerstone of liberty' — and is precisely what is inhibited by council housing with its anonymity, centralised control and petty rules and regulations.

Perhaps Ward devotes too much space to self-build projects, which are always likely to be a minority interest, and too little to alternative forms of managing existing housing provision or to other forms of tenure, such as housing co-ops (a surprisingly recent development in this country). Nevertheless, his provocative and heretical book should be required reading for every Housing Committee member of every local council — and for anyone who's concerned about the appalling state of our public housing.

Ken Edwards

Henri Simon

## Poland: 1980-82

Class Struggle  
and  
the Crisis of Capital

Translated by Lorraine Perlman

Black & Red  
Detroit  
1985

It is a paradox that 'the anarchist tradition' nowadays expresses revulsion of Marxism and yet a significant part of the literature in circulation among anarchists most definitely also falls within Marxist traditions.

Black & Red is more than an anarchist publisher, its roots stretch through a wider range of revolutionary roots, most of which are 'tainted' by forms of Marxism. It is distinguished by a drive to develop understanding rather than confirm dogma.

Henri Simon's book is exemplary in both method and content. *Poland 1980-82* is the third in a series of texts by members of *Echanges* and their sustained collective effort has borne fruit. It is a serious work, but in no way can it be passed off as a dry academic study — it is an absorbing blow-by-blow account of one of the most stirring and heroic passages of class struggle in recent European history.

4 The text follows the rank-and-file movement from the first wildcat strikes through the development of Solidarity, the independent trade union.

# POLAND

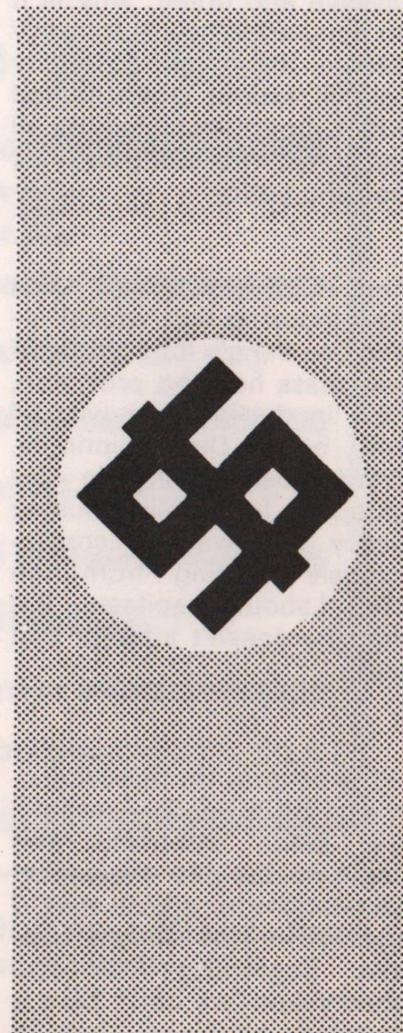
Henri Simon  
Black and Red  
paperback  
£3.95

Trade: Housmans Distribution  
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Simon argues that for capital to return Poland to profitable productivity the periodic unrest had to be damped and regulated. It soon became clear that though it was unorthodox for Eastern Europe, the more western-style 'opposition' union would have to be accommodated, and integrated as a pillar of the capitalist class in Poland.

The interplay of international finance, the state bureaucra-

cies, the church and various oppositional groups is clearly exposed. The perspective of the book is *proletarian* support for the working class is not contingent on their adherence to an externally formulated programme. Nor has the author set out to catalogue facts in order to short-circuit our understanding into foregone *general* conclusions, but seeks rather to outline the *particular* features of the world crisis as experienced in Poland.



# NATIONALISM

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Fredy Perlman  
Black and Red  
paperback  
£1.75

After the last book by Fredy Perlman, this new effort is something of a relief. *Against His-story, Against Leviathan* had me floundering to follow the strands of plausibility through the elaborate metaphors and patches of encyclopaedic details. *The Continuing Appeal of Nationalism* thankfully returns to a more familiar and 'traditional' polemic style while continuing to develop Perlman's theory of the re-

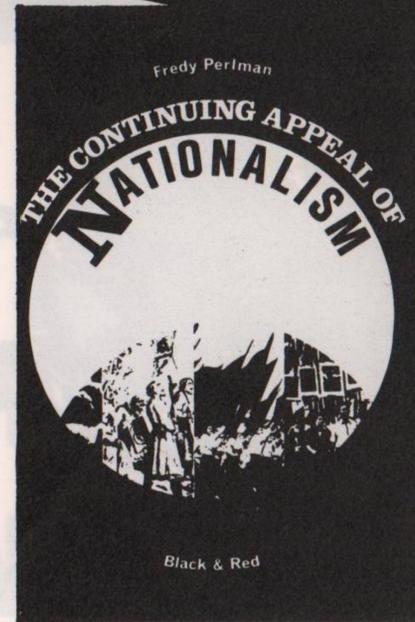
lationship between capital and state.

This project was initiated ten years ago with the spoof *Manual for Revolutionary Leaders* and given impetus by the disturbing response to that book — a large number of requests for which seemed to be from aspiring state-buil0617ers who took it seriously.

Perlman sees nationalism not as force opposed to imperialism, but as its internal equivalent for the nation-state. The core of his thesis is derived from the work of an early soviet economist, Proebrazhensky, on 'primitive accumulation'. What Marx saw as the initial phase of capitalist development, the crude plunder of resources, is rather a recurrent feature of the capitalist process.

The system of regular and expected profits which is prone to endemic crisis as described by Marx, is supplemented and rejuvenated by the windfalls and forward leaps provided by primitive accumulation.

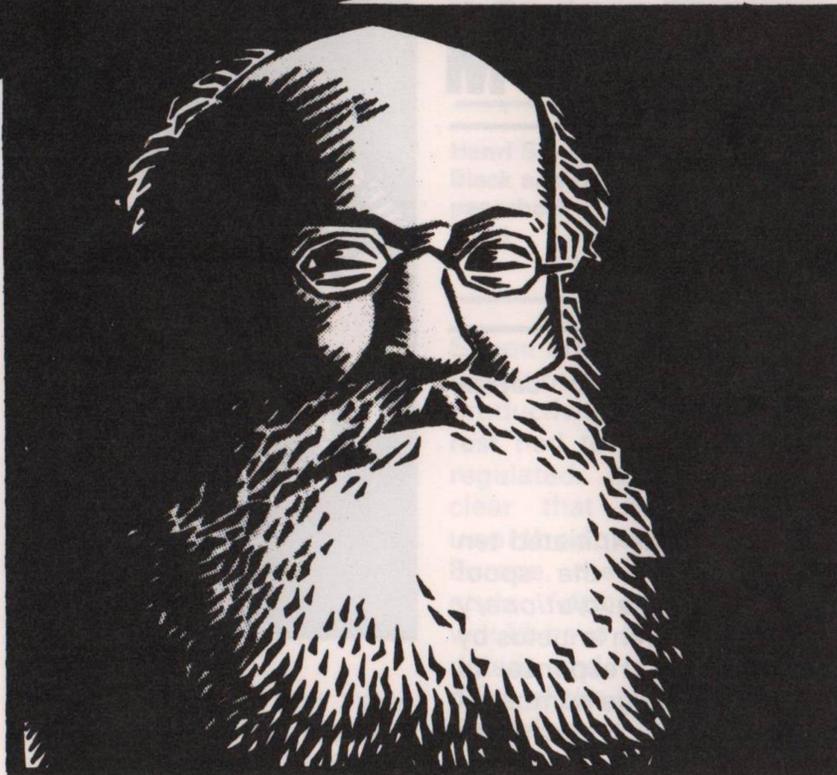
5 In this way genocide becomes not an aberration, but a prerequisite of progress, and the slaughter of American Indians, the gassing of European Jews and Stalin's terror all became part of a common



process of capital funding its further progress.

Nationalism and racism are the ideological products of capitalism which oil the wheels and define the parasites that need to be exterminated to enable primitive accumulation to take place. National liberation offers an escape route for the persecuted, an 'applied science' which can transform them into persecutors.

In comparison to *Poland 1980-82*, Perlman's book has more in common with the traditional anarchist "a plague on all your houses" approach to history. *Nationalism* is not without elegance — it is well argued and easily followed, however Perlman's weakness is the strength of the negative. As with *Against His-story*, history and its iniquities are explained but the process lacks that extra dimension to provide a dialectical perspective that would bring the picture more to life — a positive side, the stores of potential within the process that make our struggle more than just revenge for past genocide.



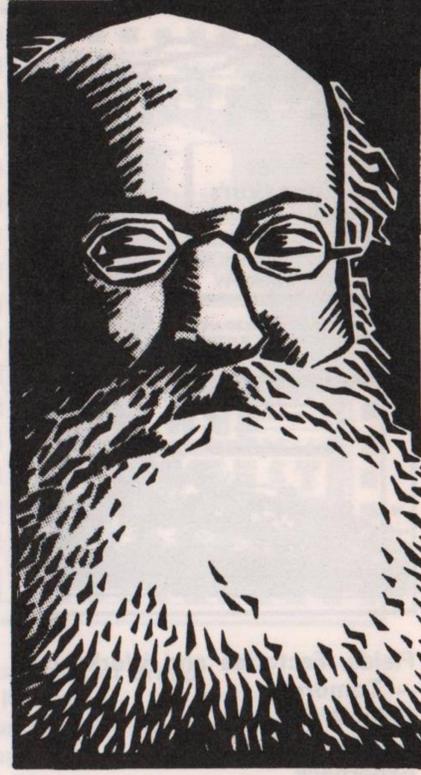
6 Peter Kropotkin is the best-known and most influential of anarchist thinkers. He was born in Russia in 1842 but although he died there in 1921 most of his adult life was spent in exile. He rejected his aristocratic background early on and in 1874 was jailed for helping to run an anarchist group. He escaped from prison two years later and fled from Russia (only returning in 1917 after the Russian Revolution had broken out). In the West he resumed his activities, writing, speaking and organizing, and was expelled from Switzerland in 1881 at the instigation of the Russian government. In 1883 he was jailed for five years in France on a charge of belonging to the International Working Mens Association. He served three years and on release came to Britain where he wrote the books, often compilations from his earlier anarchist journalism, that established him as the leading anarchist thinker of his time. (He was also one of the founders of *Freedom*.) He wrote on many subjects — science and anarchism, the

technical feasibility of an anarchist society, a history of the French Revolution, his autobiography, the social implications of part of the theory of evolution, and more. His last writings, after he had returned to Russia, include a warning against the emerging Communist dictatorship.

Kropotkin succeeded Bakunin as the intellectual leader of anarchism. He supplemented Bakunin's denunciation of capitalist society and call to revolt with reasoning based on statistics, pointing out the practicality of an anarchist society. Kropotkin's belief in science was an essential element of his thought and he tried to develop scientific anarchism just as Marx had tried to develop scientific socialism. The importance of science for Kropotkin is clearly evident in his best-known book, *Mutual Aid*, which is an attempt to find a basis for anarchist morality in nature. In fact Kropotkin went too far and a better connection between anarchism and science was suggested by his most perceptive anarchist critic,

Errico Malatesta, who thought it was enough for anarchism to be compatible with science and not necessary for the two to be identical. Kropotkin is anarchism's most original thinker but his ideas have their limitations, particularly concerning the imminence of revolution and Malatesta's criticisms are very acute. Anarchists should be the last people to uncritically accept what their intellectual leaders say, even one as prominent as Kropotkin.

In particular there was the period when Kropotkin made a huge mistake. During the First World War he forgot his internationalist and anti-militarist ideas and instead of opposing both sides in this dispute over who would plunder the Third World, he backed the Allies. (He thought that a victory for the German government would be a disaster for the revolutionary cause.) The majority of anarchists stuck to their principles and so when revolution occurred in Russia and Kropotkin was able to return home, he was isolated from



# PETER KROPOTKIN

his former comrades. He had lost his immense prestige in the anarchist movement and when he died four years later his funeral took place against the background of the Communist suppression of all those, including the anarchists, opposed to their fast-growing dictatorship.

Given Kropotkin's importance to anarchist ideas it is nothing short of scandalous that it is only now that his major works are being made available again. *Conquest of Bread* and *Fields, Factories and Workshops* have just been reprinted after a long absence and a new edition of *Mutual Aid*, cheaper than the imported one currently available, is planned. Hopefully it won't be too long before all of Kropotkin's anarchist writings are once again available.

**Brian Moseley**

## **Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow**

Kropotkin's original book was published in 1899 and was made up of articles written earlier. This edition was made

by Colin Ward who has dropped Kropotkin's outdated statistics and written new material examining the relevance of Kropotkin's ideas to today. Ward's additions are worth reading in their own right but here is the gist of Kropotkin's original four main points.

Against the tendency of his contemporaries to stress the allegedly inevitable growth of large scale industry, Kropotkin points to the continued importance of small scale industry. He says that new agricultural techniques could make Britain self-sufficient in food and advocates the integration of small-scale industry and intensive agriculture and also an educational system that combines physical and intellectual work. Written the better part of a century before the current interest in the subject, *Fields, Factories and Workshops* is an early ecology text.

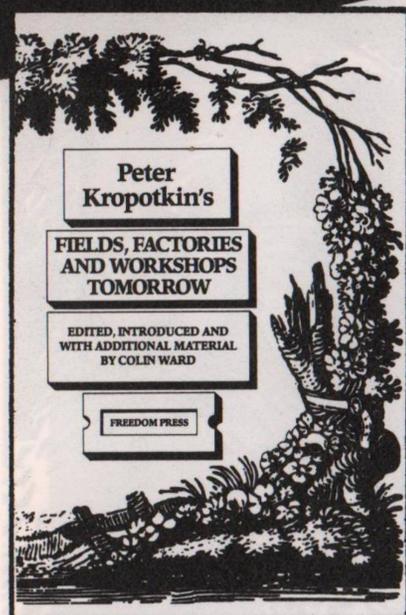
## **Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets**

This is the only collection of Kropotkin's shorter writings

available. It includes his essay on revolutionary government (two contradictory ideas) and his entry on anarchism for the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*. Plus *Appeal to the Young*, *Modern Science and Anarchism*, *Anarchist Communism* and more. In *Letter to the Workers of Western Europe*, dated 28 April 1919, Kropotkin asks for efforts to stop the Allied governments' armed attack on Russia which he saw as strengthening the emerging Bolshevik dictatorship. On the subject of the Bolshevik dictatorship he wrote "I owe it to you to say frankly that, according to my view, this effort to build a communist republic on the basis of a strongly centralized state communism under the iron law of party dictatorship is bound to end in failure. We are learning to know in Russia how NOT to introduce Communism..."

## **Fighting the Revolution 2**

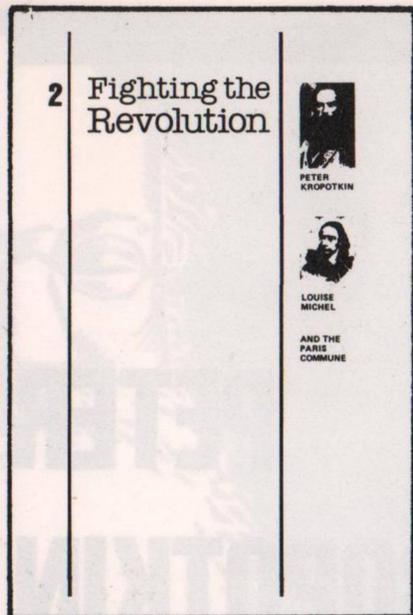
Kropotkin returned to Russia in 1917 but died four years later aged almost eighty and



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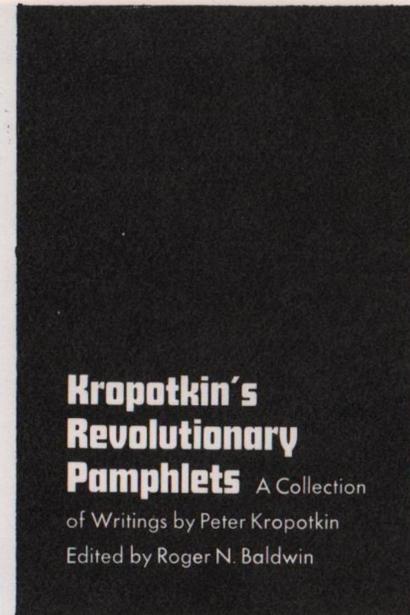
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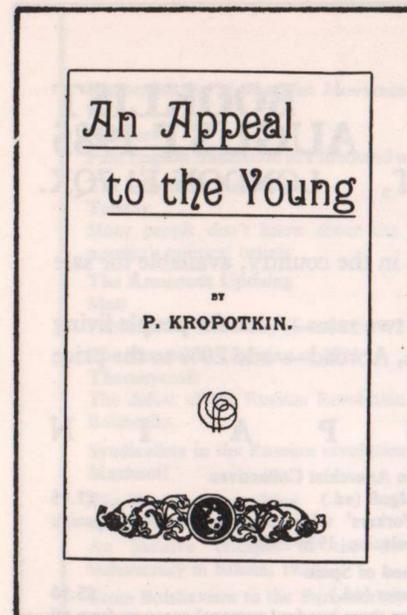
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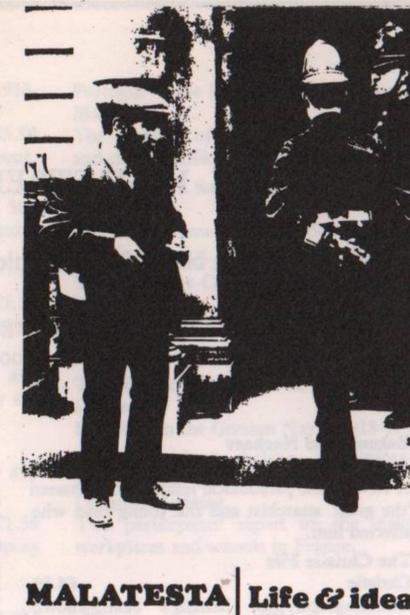
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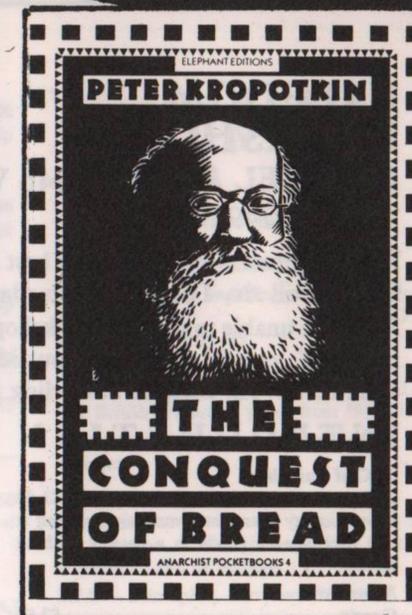
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so the most important political event of his active career was not the Russian Revolution but the Paris Commune. He wrote extensively on the Commune and his advocacy of regional self-sufficiency was connected with the idea of a Commune able to defend itself against outside attack. This pamphlet includes a major article by Kropotkin on the Commune, plus articles by him on other subjects and two further pieces on the Commune. An introduction to the subject by Nicolas Walter and the speech delivered by Louise Michel when she was on trial for her part in the Commune.

### Appeal to the Young

Kropotkin's appeal to the young (in heart and mind), to

doctors and scientists, to lawyers and engineers, to teachers and artists, and to working class youth, to work for the social revolution. Patronizing in places but still good. This pamphlet is included in *Kropotkin's Revolutionary Pamphlets* but is also available separately. Not sure how stocks of this obviously old printing are still available.

### Kropotkin by Martin A Miller

This is the only biography of Kropotkin in print and is also the first to have made use of Soviet sources as well as Western. Miller's book covers the whole of Kropotkin's life and is a critical biography rather than just a narrative one since it includes consider-

able discussion of Kropotkin's ideas. All of Kropotkin's thought is dealt with but in particular, his stand in the First World War is gone into, with references to his attitude to Germany as shown in earlier writings. There are comprehensive notes and an intimidating bibliography.

### Mutual Aid

Social Darwinism, an application of evolutionary theory to human society, stresses the role of competition in society and justifies any and every type of inequality and oppression on the grounds that those on the receiving end have failed in life's great competition. *Mutual Aid* is Kropotkin's answer to social Darwinism. He stresses the

importance of co-operation as opposed to competition and examines the operation of mutual aid, as he calls it, among both animals and people. From primitive peoples through the Medieval European city to the unions of his time, Kropotkin gives an alternative to the dominant, authoritarian trend in the debate now known as sociobiology.

### Malatesta — Life and Ideas

Errico Malatesta, 1853-1932, was a personal friend of Kropotkin and this selection of Malatesta's writings includes several pieces which, either directly or indirectly, are about Kropotkin. "Recollections and Criticisms of an Old Friend" stresses Kropot-

kin's originality as a thinker and his influence on anarchist thinking but says that Kropotkin's eminence had drawbacks. People were too ready to quote Kropotkin instead of thinking for themselves and Kropotkin's thought was flawed by incorrigible optimism which caused him to oversimplify. Two other pieces oppose the inexplicable attitude taken by Kropotkin and others during the First World War and one of them is succinctly titled "Anarchists have Forgotten their Principles".

### The Conquest of Bread

This is Kropotkin's most radical and innovative work. It is devoted to the idea that "Well-being for all is not a

dream. It is possible, realizable, owing to all that our ancestors have done to increase our powers of production" and Kropotkin shows that the technological potential of his time, almost a century ago, was sufficient for the purpose. Kropotkin rejects the division of labour advocated by Adam Smith and also Karl Marx's account of surplus value; he suggests a view of economics starting not with production but with consumption and rejects the wages system in favour of his theory of anarchist communism, of free distribution of material goods. "No more of such vague formulas as 'The right to work', or 'To each the whole result of his labour'. What we proclaim is THE RIGHT TO WELL-BEING: WELL-BEING FOR ALL!"

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