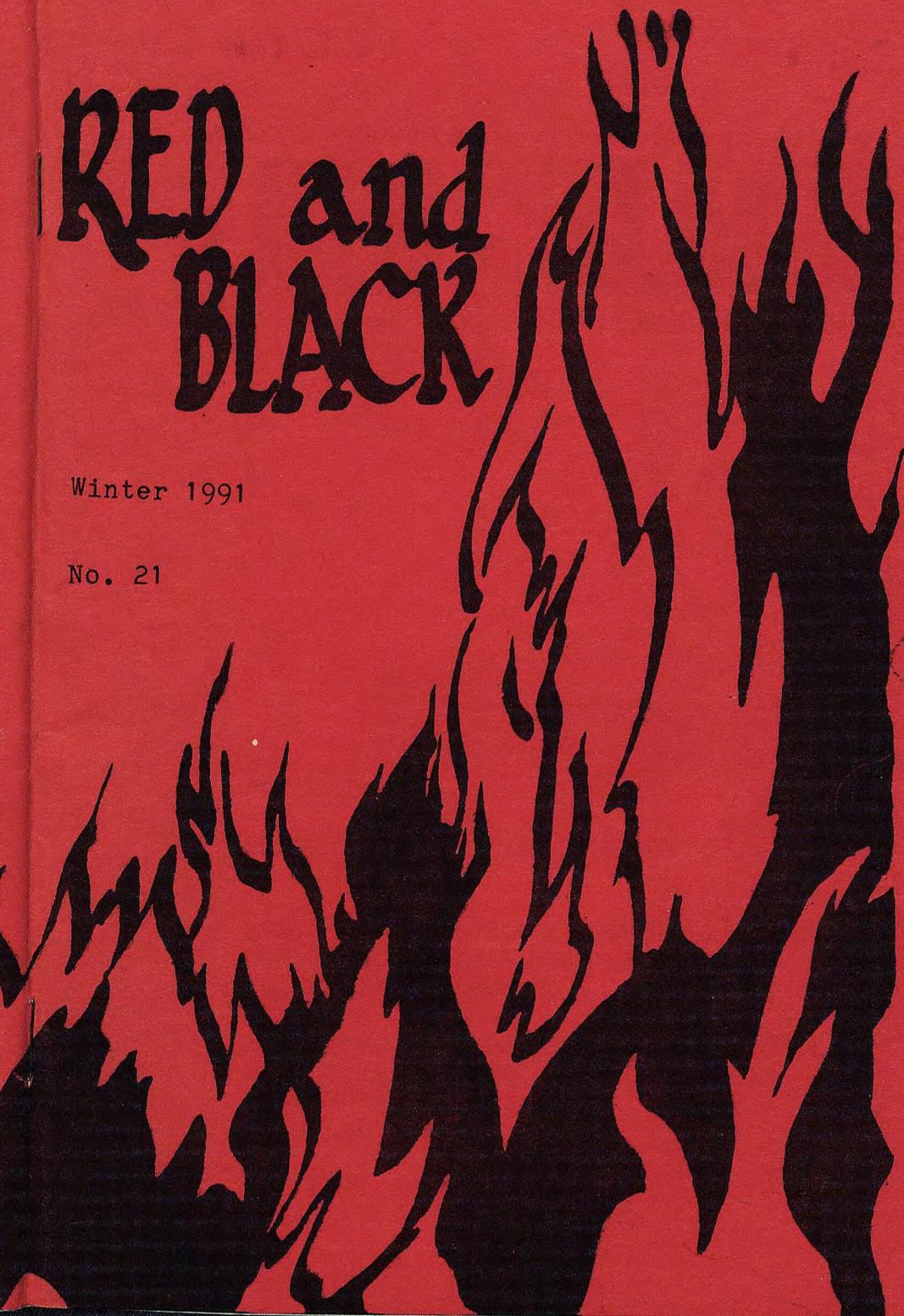
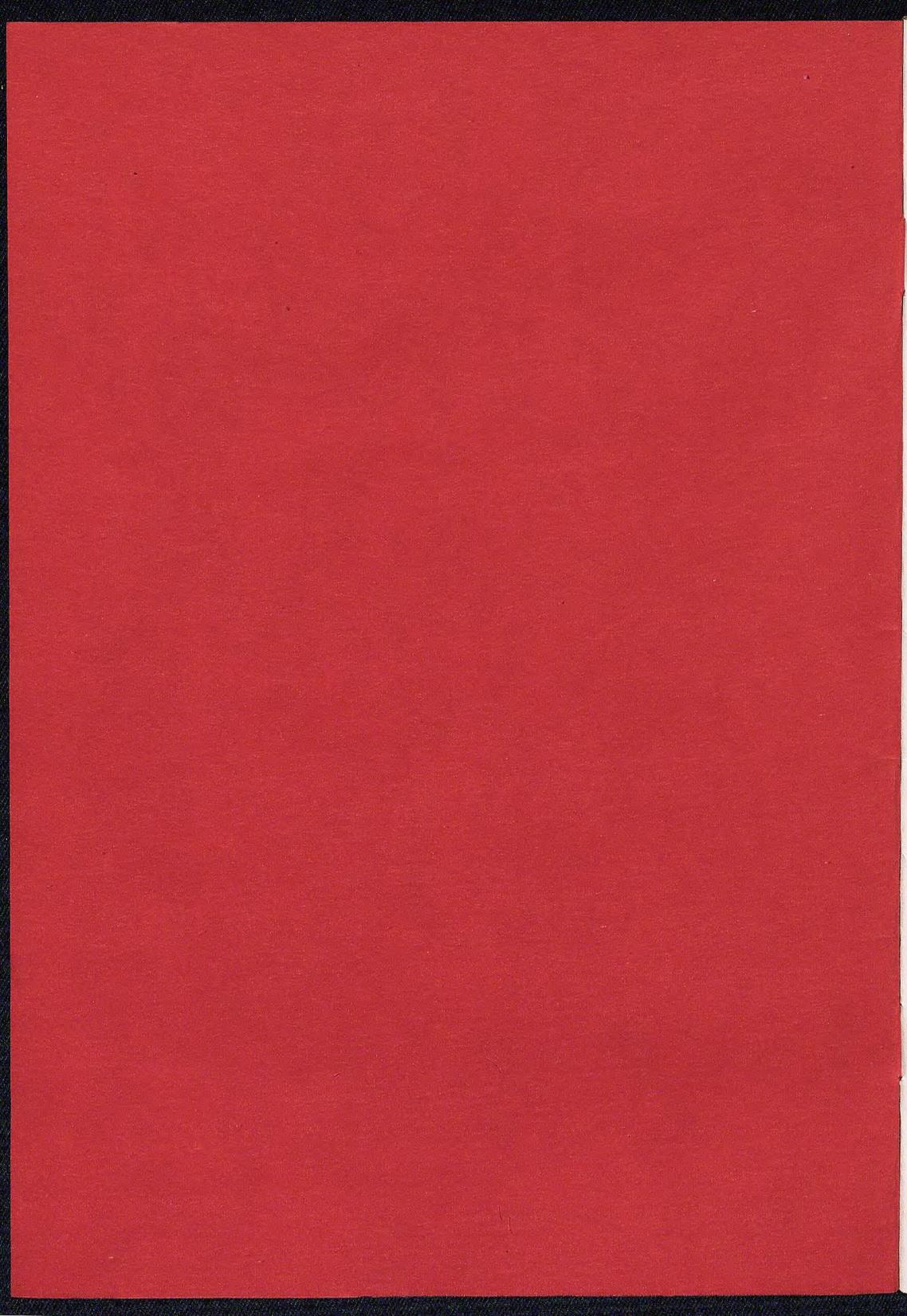


# RED and BLACK

Winter 1991

No. 21





# RED & BLACK

No 21.....Winter 1991

## CONTENTS

- EDITORIAL..... p. 3
- BULGARIAN ANARCHIST MOVEMENT..... p. 7  
by Jack
- BASIC ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES OF A  
WORLD SOCIAL ANARCHIST ORDER..... p. 9  
by Graham Purchase
- ZAPATISMO AND MAKHNOVSHCHINA: AN OUTLINE  
OF THE IDEOLOGIES OF TWO AGRARIAN  
MOVEMENTS..... p. 22  
by Sergo Cipko
- REVIEWS..... p. 36

Please note CHANGE OF ADDRESS

The NEW ADDRESS is:

RED & BLACK,

P.O. Box 12, QUAAMA, N.S.W.

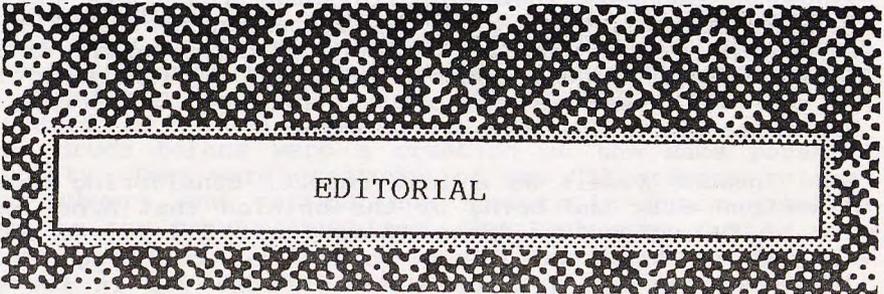
AUSTRALIA. 2550

EDITOR: Jack Grancharoff

RED & BLACK

An Anarchist Journal  
Published twice a year.

SUBSCRIPTIONS: \$ 5.00 per year. Make all  
cheques out to J. Grancharoff, including  
those for the Bulgarian Anarchist  
Movement. All donations welcome.



## EDITORIAL

This is a belated post-mortem but, nonetheless, a reminder of how weak the collective consciousness is in relation to the war machinery and how the lack of clarity, combined with subservience to political expediency, prevented us from forming an articulate opposition against the government, oppression and the war. Instead the Gulf War became a glamorized T.V. adventure filling the vacuum of our emotional emptiness and capturing the sado-masochistic fantasies of alienated consciousness.

The USA won. The cloud that haunted the U.S.A. machoist image disappeared. As Bush triumphantly stated: "By God we kicked Vietnam syndrome once for all!" Finally the USA regained its virility, wounded in Vietnam. No doubt its rocket ejaculation was more than a match for the Iraqi boisterous but groundless assertions. Its surgical precision excited many T.V. viewers who shivered with passion at such orgasmic sights as 'patriots' and bombs continued to penetrate the viscera of Iraqi land.

But an ego-trip of masculine vigour needed an equal counter figure: formidable, strong and powerful, so that its destruction would appear more impressive. Such was found in the ego of the knight of the sorrowful countenance, Saddam Hussein. They built him a fortress by supplying him with semi-modern weapons and poisonous gasses and they boosted him psychologically as a crusader against the evil embodied in A. Khomeini. Being a chosen pawn in the service of the Western, and more precisely, the USA interests, his self-esteem grew out of proportion. A puppet he was, but he had shown his strength in the imprisoning, torturing, killing and gassing of thousands of his enemies and opponents. An accepted cruelty when in service of the master's interests, when an instrumental reason of capitalism. He tried to soothe the wounded pride of the USA in the region by defeating, naturally helped by his master, the Shiite fundamentalist threat to the Oil companies.

But as soon as that war finished, its costs and the fall in the price of oil, the latter orchestrated by US interests, found Iraq in the grip of an economic crisis. To sweeten it Saddam Hussein appealed to Kuwait to keep to its 40% quota as established by OPEC countries, but his voice was a vox clamanti in deserto.

He invaded Kuwait as a last resort, considering himself a western ally and being of the opinion that Arab issues are to be solved by Arabs themselves. Did he forget or did he not know the famous warning of the Dragon Lady: "The American are friends who will stab you in the back where their interests dictate so". He also overlooked a minor historical fact: most dictators in Third World Countries are at the mercy of the West. Any attempts to meddle in the latter's interests, to act independently from them, or in some way to threaten their economic position are doomed and their protagonists ditto. Hussein was not an exception.

The USA was looking for an opportunity to establish a dominant role in the oil regions. Saddam provided it by making a false move in a game orchestrated by the USA. The latter's War machinery was ready and as soon as the opportunity came it began to move accompanied by a powerful propaganda machine, the media, that even Goebels could envy. It dexterously manipulated facts and information to appease, to convince, to brain wash, and to convey to the world that the its interests and that of the industrial north were identical. A barrage of propaganda attack was fired at Saddam Hussein. His files were made known to the world. He was a monster because he gassed his own people whereas Bush and his acolytes were as innocent as lambs, despite support of Cambodian guerrillas or the invasion of Panama: as if the function of death squads was a charitable fact when on "our" side. Hussein was a new Hitler and had to be stopped if the world has to live in peace.

Bush, the arch-pragmatist of world capitalism, is a multi-national crusader who will not tolerate anyone who tries to interfere in its interests. The Bush administration declared, to quote Chomsky: "In case where the USA confronts much weaker enemies, our challenge will be not simply to defeat them, but to defeat them decisively and rapidly."

Chomsky continues: "Much weaker enemies pose only one threat to the USA: the threat of independence always intolerable. The USA will support the most murderous tyrant as long as he plays along and will labour to overthrow

third world democrats if they depart from their service function." Thus, the same Bush ordered the invasion of Panama, that cost the lives of thousands, just to capture an ex-C.I.A agent who had turned a drug dealer for his own benefit rather than that of the USA. This act was presented to us as parental protection when, in fact, these drugs barons were a creation of the same parental authority. They were creatures of the CIA ordered to combat, subvert and corrupt any democratic process taking place in the banana republics. Did Bush ever try to stop the near genocide in East Timor or was oil more important to him?. It was the same "virtuous" person who so vehemently defended human rights and national sovereignty but who went against Security Council Resolution 425 which called for the Israeli withdrawal from Lebanon. And why did the Kurds suddenly become an issue when their genocide had been taking place long before the Iraqi conflict?. It is not the Kurds, but oil that is important to Bush. And is his new friend Hafez-el Assad still a terrorist, or, are his sins forgiven by the god of capitalism - Bush?

And now this virtuous knight sides with the rich Arabs whose pro-Western orientation and petro-dollars make them members of the prestige saloons of the World Capitalist brotherhood or sisterhood. The Arab Monetary Fund, which was created to help the poor Arab countries, has channelled more of its investments towards America than to the former and has thus helped to absorb, to a great extent, the American deficit. At the same time the poor Arab countries have acquired a huge debt as a result of increasing imports and the fall in the price of raw materials. For example, at the beginning of the 70's Arab countries imported food for 2.5 milliards while in 1989 this figure jumped to 25 milliards. Also poverty went inversely to the militarisation of Arab society. According to UNESCO the cost of a soldier is equivalent to the education of 80 children. But Bush and his acolytes are not interested in such matters. They have to divide people in order to help the militarisation of their societies so that they can sell them obsolete weapons and keep the prices of raw materials as low as possible in order to make more profits. After all, for the pragmatist Bush, the poor are dispensable numbers and their pauperisation is the enrichment of the West. Or, in the words of Jesus: "The poor you always have with you, but you do not always have me."

In the face of the abject poverty of the fellah and the Arab proletariat, of thousands of destitute refugees and homeless people, Bush announced his new order to pretend to atone for the inhumanity of the West. It was sup-

ported by the UNO, a hostage of the USA. The same UNO which was quick to legitimize the invasion of Iraq but which procrastinated on the Palestinian issue. It has failed to act, many times, when such action might hurt USA interests. For example, it was silent when the USA attacked Libya.

It is a well established fact that Capitalism has no interest in human issues unless they are related to productivity, investment, growth of capital, oil and raw materials. The Bush New Order is its order. It is an order of fire, slaughter, destruction, smart bombs, intelligent missiles, military virility and propaganda: the hegemony of the old world as represented by the Industrial North over the underdeveloped South. It is an order of high-tech militarisation and exploitation. It is based, not on racial but on industrial superiority, on capitalist instrumental reason and ethical bankruptcy. It is lubricated by a servile press spewing poisonous mystifications and providing soporific pills for the masses.

Where do we stand in this world of cold blooded pragmatism, self-centredness and egotism? The Left, that once used to mobilise the masses in protest rallies, has disappeared because their Gods have failed them. They failed a long time ago but Koestler was not taken seriously until the Socialist temples crumbled too. All that remains of the Left edifice are its ruins. How left can you be when there is no left left? Many prodigal sons and daughters of the Left are accommodating themselves to Social Democracy: the left wing of the multi-national capitalist transformation. Those who are still clinging to power are reconsidering capitalist values as if their own values were never even capitalist. They accost the IMF trying to get some monetary help to mend their bankrupt socialist ventures. They failed, and are failing, because they failed to recognise that the society they were building did not consist of abstract but of real individuals, and that humanity was a real issue and not a bourgeois aberration and that it needs space, air and freedom to live, develop and survive.

Humanity is a cluster of individuals and, like the latter, prone to joy, pain and suffering. To accept and recognise it we have to reject the reified person, a capitalist-bourgeois product which equates the individual with a thing, makes her/him a statistical object or a productive unit to be used, her/his energy sapped and discarded as a useless commodity. Human beings are not numbers, things, statistics, to serve schemes that ignore freedom, independence, self-realisation and communality.

These are the schemes of the State, of Capitalism, of Authority and Power, where slavery appears or is promoted as freedom; dependence as independence; and regimentation as self-realisation and self-expression.

We are on the edge of a precipice. The New Order of Bush is the old order of oppression, fear, militarism. Wrapped in the lofty mantle of democracy, it asserts the dominance of the North over the South. It mutilates not only those who oppose it but also the consciousness and emotions of its own subjects. The Iraqi War was a glaring example of how maimed the Consciousness of the West is. When people still put their faith in the hands of Gods, States and politicians there is no hope for them to alter the world, to change their ecology or to opt out of their hopeless situation. The Iraqi war, and what is going on around us, is only a reminder that our culture is rampant barbarism, a monster that will destroy not only its supporters but the entire earth unless we marshal enough forces to oppose it: to do so we must forge a libertarian present and an anarchist future.

#### Bulgarian Anarchist Movement

After the dark ages of State Communism, the Bulgarian Anarchist Movement has finally been resurrected from the ashes of the Bolshevik ruins. Whilst it lacks the vigour of its previous experiences it, nonetheless, has improved considerably. Already 7 issues of its official organ, Free Thought, have appeared. The difficulty the movement faces now is on the level of ideas. To perceive and define freedom as the negation of communism is an easier task than to perceive and define freedom in real social terms. For many who have grown up under the shadow of the sword of Damocles, freedom is anything that is not communism. People are emasculated to such a point that they lack individuality and real social being and, therefore, are prone to fall for the splendid illusion that liberation comes from outside. Especially when these illusions are painted as friendly, beneficial, overflowing with generous spirit and caring for the downtrodden forces, such as the case of Western capitalism is presented. Therefore, everyone is begging for Western style democratic institutions and relationships and are blind to the reality of their exploitative, anti-human and ecologically destructive nature - dictated by profits and the amassing of fortunes. In such a climate any libertarian proposition

The article The Basic Organizational Features of a World Social Anarchist Order will appear in two parts: A) Micro Level Components of Anarchist Society in this issue and B) Macro Level Components of Anarchist Society in the following issue.

The major aim is an attempt to advance a "general outline of the major components of Anarchist society" as an alternative to rigid state-centralized organization. The emphasis is on the city as against the state, but a city as a self-sufficient unit where cultural, economic and ecological systems are fused as an organic unit, which are freely associated and then federated. This encompasses the basic Anarchist principle.

The author is aware of the short comings of traditional communities, which more often hinder individuation and liberation rather than enhance them.

His emphasis is on autonomous cities within a given agro-industrial-ecological system. His concept of the city approximates, at times, that of Bookchin but, unlike him, does not dwell on the idea of the decolonization of the metropolis but, rather, prefers to solve the problem within the metropolis. To give weight to his view he argues that the human species is, by nature and behaviour, cooperative. "The ecologically integrated self-sufficient city is rooted in the co-operative nature and behaviour of the species" or, as Kropotkin argues, mutual aid is the factor of evolution rather than Social Darwinism which assumes "Nature, red in tooth and claw." (Tennyson).

The author also points out that modern communication will enhance co-operation and understanding, provided that they are not in the hands of the state and capital.

Although he emphasizes city and regional autonomy as prerequisite of anarchism he, nonetheless, is aware that as they appear in our political and social frame of reference today they are not favourable to human emancipation or to the spirit of human co-operation.

Whilst offering no comment on the virtues or demerits of each "workable pattern", it is rewarding to read material that goes beyond the "Smash the State" syndrome and tries to offer some concrete proposals.

## BASIC ORGANIZATIONAL FEATURES OF A WORLD ANARCHIST ORDER

The organization of complex modern societies is not something that can be the subject of a single plan, however brilliant, inspired or rational. The desire to externally impose a rigid and dogmatic societal blue-print is of course one of the greatest follies of state communism, with its five-year-plans, compulsory quotas and enforced collectivization schemes. All such attempts representing terrifying and totalitarian examples of large scale social engineering that have always failed both economically and politically. Nonetheless, the bare assertion, although true, that humans in the absence of centralised state control will somehow manage to develop a workable pattern of social organization fails to convince the general enquirer of the possibility and desirability of anarchy. It is necessary therefore, drawing upon imaginative theoretical projection and the actual history of more or less anarchist inspired social movements of the past, to provide a general outline of the major structural components of anarchist society. A brief summary of these components, which will be discussed in order is provided below.

### PART A MICRO LEVEL COMPONENTS OF ANARCHIST SOCIETY (This issue)

1. The Ecologically integrated, self-sufficient and autonomous city.
2. Mutual Aid Associations.
3. Skill exchanges, co-operatives and Trade Unions.

### PART B MACRO LEVEL COMPONENTS OF ANARCHIST SOCIETY (Next issue)

1. Cultural Region.
2. Biological Region.
3. Economic Region.

## 1. ECOLOGICALLY INTEGRATED, SELF SUFFICIENT AND AUTONOMOUS CITY.

Anarchists regard the city, not the nation-state, as the natural focus of social, political and economic activity. With the destruction of the Nation-State, the free, independent and self-governing city would become the primary or basic unit of civil life.

Humans have never lived individually nor for that matter in loose anonymous herds - they have lived in communities. For millions of years we have lived in small scale face-to-face communities. Communities it must be noted that were for the most part successfully able to control antisocial behaviour without recourse to the police person or the gallows. For the state is only a very recent arrival in the social history of our species and the majority of our species have, only in the last couple of centuries, come to take the view that the state and its agencies should take responsibility for matters that were at one time the common concern of all the members of the social group. In the absence of the state, the deep-rooted need and socially stabilizing tendencies of human community in the evolution of our species would after a brief period of re-adjustment quickly reassert itself - and many, if not all, of those vital social functions and practices which through laziness we have foolishly left in the hands of bureaucrats and state officials would once again be performed in an infinitely more humane way by the internally self-regulating community. Anarchism asserts there will be no solution to crime and anti-social behaviour without the resurrection of the human community, albeit within the context of the modern city, and this can only come about with the destruction of capitalism and state. Anarchism in asking us to look more carefully at community as the primary means of maintaining social health and stability does not advocate a return to small and isolated community lifestyles of a past era. Anarchism regards the city as a natural product of a large and social species and understands the need for individual space and appreciates that the vast majority of our species are pleased to have escaped from the potentially suffocating nature of "traditional" communities. Malicious gossip, ridicule, narrow mindedness and the constant peer from behind the net-curtains can be as equally cruel and morally damaging as the secret police and the prison cell. In advocating the 'selfgoverning city' anarchism hopes to find a midway point between the isolated nuclear family and the nation-state or the tribal or smallscale communal life of old. Anarchism wishes to take advantage of the stabilizing effects of allowing ordinary people to once again

take charge of their cities and suburban communities for themselves whilst avoiding the alienation, powerlessness, lawlessness and loneliness of the modern capital city and looks towards a vision of city life consisting of an agglomeration of extended-urban neighbourhood communities or townships sharing a common cultural centre

In a future and more ecologically informed world the ideal conception of city-life and organization would be one that had achieved total self-sufficiency, a city functioning as a living entity which grows its own food, provides its own energy and recycles its wastes so efficiently that it effectively becomes an eco-system in its own right. An ecologically integrated, self-sufficient and autonomous city behaving like any other naturally occurring system, such as a forest which recycles all of its organic matter (leaves, trunks, and dead animals) in a self-renewing and ever-ongoing natural cycle that takes nothing from outside of itself except oxygen, carbon dioxide and sunlight.

Our cities, which currently import hundreds of millions of tons of food, fuel and water (and much more besides) and spew out hundreds of millions of tons of garbage and human waste into the surrounding biosphere (usually in an extremely reckless manner) with no attempt at internally recycling or reprocessing, is an eco-system which stands little or no chance of long term survival and would seem to attempt to operate along lines that are directly opposite to the fundamental precepts of a biologically realistic and ecologically rational life-philosophy. If our cities are to survive we must begin to mix the matrix to organic and organic components from which our cities are composed into an integrated and self-renewing macrobiological entity capable of surviving in the absence of large-scale inputs of energy, food and water.

That the concept of the "green city" represents an exciting and rational alternative to the lifeless inorganic sprawl of today is undoubted! "But" ask most people "What is the practical possibility of restructuring our cities

in this way? Surely it represents an enormous technical and cultural challenge with barriers that are perhaps insurmountable?"

Creating a green city does however frequently involve nothing more than solving quite simple problems in a more imaginative and ecologically informed way! For example, instead of merely pumping our sewerage into our rivers and oceans as we are doing today -solid waste can be composted in order to grow fruit and vegetables or alter

natively fed to fish in especially designed ponds, for human consumption. (This form of "aqua-culture" in which fish are used as a "living filter" for solid human waste is very old and is still practised in many parts of India and China). Secondary, less solid waste can be sprayed in measured amounts on the floor of specially monitored "urban forests". Trees are seen to grow 2 to 3 times faster and if they are positioned correctly in relation to existing water courses, tolerably clean water can be obtained down-stream (again using the forest as a "living filter"). The use of clean energy sources such as natural gas, wind and solar etc., could also significantly reduce the city's daily intake of externally produced energy from finite resources and sources which cause large scale environmental hazards. The possibilities of this technology are much, much greater than is generally supposed due to deliberate lying and the suppression of information and development of this potentially booming area of technological development by the state/corporate elite (oil and electrical companies and the state sponsored nuclear industry - see Ray Reece, The Sun Betrayed: The Corporate Seizure of US Solar Energy. Black Rose 1979, \$4 Jura Books). Derelict and under-utilized land can (as has been shown in ecology parks, Botanic gardens) be used to establish urban nature reserves and thereby "greening" significant sections of the city. This can also be achieved through coming to regard rivers, roads, railways and other utility paths as not only highways for human traffic but also passages by which a variety of plants, animals and trees may also enter and establish themselves in our cities. The leaves of the trees providing a living filter to the air and a habitat which is capable of supporting a rich array of native animal and insect life to delight and enthrall the city's inhabitants.

The obstacles involved in creating a self-sustaining city carefully integrated with its surrounding ecological regions may be great but they are hardly insurmountable. In the simple act of attempting to recycle our sewerage (currently desecrating our metropolitan waters) - the green city can not only obtain valuable supplies of meat, timber, vegetables and water but can also significantly lessen its impact upon its surrounding wilderness and country areas. Such efficiencies, when combined with the intelligent utilization of "ecological architecture" and locally available clean energy sources (just a few of the many social ecological adjustments and improvements that could be undertaken by the modern city) could significantly enhance the economic and ecological viability of human city life, whilst greatly increasing its capacities for independence and survival in what is becoming an incre-

asingly barren and resource depleted planet. Although the realisation of a city-region which had reached its maximum survival capacity and achieved total self-sufficiency is perhaps a utopian and unnecessarily extreme vision at this present point of urban evolution, the directions that we must take are technologically uncomplicated and both obvious and practical.

## 2. MUTUAL-AID ASSOCIATIONS

Evolutionary biology is, unfortunately, still associated in the popular mind with the crude and outdated notion of the "survival of the fittest". Although at an obvious level only those individuals or species which are healthy or are able to successfully 'fit' into an ecosystem will survive and be able to pass on their genes to a new generation - such a process is in no way dependant upon a fierce, bloody, and individualistic "struggle for existence" with which the term "survival of the fittest" is wrongly associated. Such a view of the evolutionary process, although containing a certain amount of truth, is only a very small part of the overall picture. This is especially true of the emphasis upon individualistic conflict - which has been promoted because of its compatability with capitalist ideology rather than from an objective observation of nature and the evolutionary process. Most animals when faced with danger would rather run than fight and 'fitness' must be understood in a much wider sense than that of a boxing match between two conflicting individuals. Besides, peaceful and co-operative behaviour represents a force equally as potent as that of individual conflict.

At the very beginning of biological time, when the sum of the world's life consisted only of single-celled organisms - such organisms had available two or three major strategies by which they could avoid being eaten or otherwise surviving to a reproductive age. Either they could develop protective measures - such as defensive "cell walls" and chemical and other deterrents - alternatively they could co-operate amongst themselves to create larger many-celled organisms. That multi-cellular life exists at all is evidence that co-operation amongst living things occurred in the first stirrings of the primeval soup. Even the very simplest of plants contain many hundreds of thousands of cells - all of which are capable of individually regulating themselves - controlling the flow of nutrients, wastes and water through their surrounding membranes - but who nonetheless interact with one another in an ordered, co-operative and peaceful manner. The individual human being contains a great diversity and many hundreds of millions of individual cells all

of which perform specialist functions and work and co ordinate with one another with remarkable efficiency

The constructive and co operative behaviour amidst unicellular life can likewise be observed in the interactions between larger and more complex animals. The way in which ants and termites work with one another in the formation of a nest or the unity of action and purpose of a flock of birds in flight are prominent examples of co-operation and mutuality in nature. Despite all of the talk of individualist struggle in nature the survival values of living socially and co-operatively are enormous, and have been far more influential than conflict in the evolution of intelligent life. Birds, for example (who, like reptiles are much more directly related to the dinosaurs than mammals) have long understood the value of co-operation. Social birds are able to help their mates remove harmful parasites through preening one another; teach their young the whereabouts of favoured feeding sites and hunting skills -as well as guard against attack through giving warning signals. Within the vast majority of mammal species co-operative behaviour is no longer simply instinctual. Rats, monkeys and humans not only co-operate with one another in order to simply "survive" but have a deep rooted psychological need to play, touch and feel other living and kindred beings. What is the direct survival value of the dolphins which come into shore at Monkey Mia in Western Australia in order to play with human beings? Mammals love to play, cuddle, amuse and enjoy themselves in the company of others.

These basic communicative and co-operative skills are expanded thousand-fold within the human species. Humans associate, communicate and federate for a seemingly infinite number of reasons corresponding to every interest or need and representing every manifestation of the human mind. Even now the world is crossed by millions upon millions of voluntary associations, 99% of which operate completely independently of any kind of governmental interference whatsoever. To make a list of these would prove impossible - there are international cancer foundations, literary societies, computer clubs, pensioner self-help groups, automobile associations, etc., etc., ad infinitum. If there are common needs or interests you can guarantee that people will organize to meet them.

When anarchists speak of overthrowing the state to people unfamiliar with anarchist theory and practice, they are frequently met with the rejoinder: "And what do you intend to replace it with? Where is your programme? Surely the absence of the state will mean the destruction

of organized social life and simply result in chaos?

Humankind is however naturally social and cannot help but develop complex patterns of socially beneficial organization. Local baby sitting networks, hobby groups, sports clubs, trade unions, as well as international groups such as the red cross or Amnesty International, are all examples of successful social organizations that have been developed and function independently of governmental or centralized state control. Anarchist believe, that the people committed to the destruction of the state would soon elaborate networks of social co-operation to provide for the varied and ever-changing needs and requirements of human social existence

The era of tribalism and cultural isolationism, itself the cause of so much war and conflict, is decaying in the face of communications-technological advances, which increase the potentiality for the mutually co-operative and federative exchange of information, to proportions we are only just begining to understand.

Already billions upon billions upon billions of bits of data concerning every possible human interest whiz around our globe every part of a second. The communication-technological revolution, as yet but a few years old, opens up opportunities for information exchange and mutual assistance, both locally and globally, which are truly enormous. Although much of this communications wizardry has been in the hands of the Media, Big Business and the military, already it is technologically possible for coal miners or cat breeders in the most remote oupost of human settlement to be able - via a home computer and a telephone - to a communicate with other cat breeders and coal miners anywhere in the world. Information and communication networks if freed from state-capitalist control would allow for the global exchange of information and services between ordinary everyday people on what ever is of interest or concern to them. Up until now specialist journals and publications have been the primary means of exchanging information and services - soon all this is to be replaced by a more interactive and immediate approach - where all people with an interest in a particular trade, topic, issue or dispute can communicate freely, openly and continuously both locally and globally from the comfort of their own lounge room. The anarchist's dream of a world in which people involved in every interest, trade or industry could self-organize their affairs in an informed and constructive manner in the absence of hierarchy and large-scale control and administation centres is everyday becoming clearer.

Anarchism envisages that modern communication and transport technologies would allow for the social, economic and intellectual benefits of the "big city" to be compatible with decentralized community life-styles. Intercommunal federations of trade and interest would provide for those needs and requirements uncatered for at the level of the individual community or township. These intercommunal social linkages would naturally seek to create, elaborate and operate their own unique modes and networks of organization and inter-federation according to their individually self-determined needs and aspirations.

### 3. Co-operatives, Skill-Exchanges and Industrial Unionism

The co-operative exchange of services within the community according to contemporary economic theory must either be dictated by the market or managed through centralized state planning and control. Both of these systems fail to take account of, in fact actively distrust, the immense power of the naturally occurring community in the provision of many of the services which are presently obtained through government agencies or by private and profit-before-people orientated companies. Anarchism, distrustful of the inequalities of capitalism and abhorrent of the inefficient and totalitarian consequences of state-communism, has in its commitment to the ecologically integrated, self-governing and self-sufficient city always recognized the economic possibilities of community life. In the absence of government and constitutional law people will have to take far more responsibility for their own safety and prosperity. The need to maintain basic services and the control of anti-social behaviour will automatically bring local people closer. Many of those services and social problems presently mediated or dealt with by the impersonal agencies of capital and state will be spontaneously handled, rather than being applied or paid for, through the reemergence of a revitalized community consciousness and pride.

Most people however do not want to be dependent upon a relative handful of the same people; preferring instead to socialise with a large diversity of people and the freedom to choose who they ask to perform professional services or provide for special needs. There are many good reasons why people prefer to consult a professional who is a stranger and besides small communities cannot, in our modern and complex world, ever hope to contain a sufficiently diverse skill-base. It is the city, not the isolated town or suburban community, that must be the arena of social, economic and political life.

Thankfully, modern communications, accounting and information systems allow for many basic goods and services to be provided by means of "skill-exchanges" in a more formalized manner and on a city-wide basis. The L.E.T.S. (Local Exchange and Trading System) in Australia is an example that in a small way demonstrates the enormous potentiality of formalized skill-exchange systems. The Local Employment and Trading System is a non-profit community exchange method of using neighbourhood skills. It is based on the idea that all people have skills they can offer to help others. Each member has an account held in the L.E.T.S. office. Points are credited to the person providing the goods and services and the same number of points is to be debited from the receivers' account. Accounts may go into debit before earning credit and no interest is earned on either debit or credit accounts. Thus a very wide diversity of goods and services can be exchanged on a community basis without the use of money or capitalist entrepreneurs - accommodation, animal care, art and graphic work, healing, cooking, counselling, domestic help, mechanical repairs, training, transport, entertainment, gardening, produce, personal and other professional trades work. Most cities have a version of the yellow pages, in which the telephone numbers of tradespeople are listed, and there is no good reason why skill-exchange systems such as L.E.T.S., which are currently operating on a relatively small-scale, could not become workable on a city-wide basis.

Co-operatives, from a group of people wishing to run a local chicken breeding farm to the vast co-operative societies of the Basques, have long been regarded as an alternative, non-capitalist method of agricultural and industrial production. Co-operatives, rather than seeking to exchange skills on an individualistic basis, attempt to bring people with common skills, needs, purposes and interests to pool their resources and work co-operatively within a collective framework. Throughout history and in every conceivable trade, industry or profession humans have found it useful to work together on the basis of equality, collective ownership and shared responsibility to pursue common aims and purposes. Hundreds of thousands, if not millions, of enterprises world wide, at this very moment, choose to organise their business and working affairs upon such a basis.

Through expansion and utilization of the co-operative movement and skill-exchange systems, combined with a new sense of Civil Independence and Pride which would accompany the liberation of the community from the claws of centralized authority, anarchism hopes that the autonomous city

could achieve cohesion and stability. A friendly and self-sufficient city whose inhabitants share a common concern for the health of their environment and fellow citizens and who work together in a spirit of equality and unity of purpose.

Something approximating to this vision can be found in the Graft Guilds of early Medieval European city life. At this time, before the consolidation of a centralised Monarchical order and the later ascendancy of the merchant and middle classes, cities were self-governing, self-sufficient and autonomous to a very high degree. Each trade, craft or industry - bakers, founders, smiths, tanners, cask makers, builders, stone masons, etc - were represented by their own Craft Guild. Unlike the trades-unions of today, with a passive membership and a small body of full-time paid officials who no longer take an active part in the everyday working life of its members, the craft guilds consisted of all the bakers or stone masons within the city, all of whom took an active part in the control and organization of their trade - in all aspects - production, consumption and exchange. Conflicts between individual guild members were decided by arbiters and disputes between different guilds by persons elected by both parties. The close integration of economic, political and social life within the context of an individual city commune meant that if really serious disputes arose between different crafts and trades it was all the citizens, the city itself, which ultimately resolved them. Although the early vigour and the popular democratic nature of the guilds tended to wane and eventually fell prey to the narrow interests of the aristocracy, church and middle classes, the technical know-how preserved and developed during this period as craft secrets laid the foundation for all the great cities of Europe today.

Although the self-governing city represents the most basic social, economic and political unit of anarchist society - the global nature of 20th century industrial life requires elaborate and extensive systems of industrial organization whose operations and activities must operate inter-regionally or on a world scale. Cities must become considerably more integrated and economically self-sufficient than they are today. The need to maintain transport and communication links between cities (roads, railways, cables, etc.) and the unequal distribution of scarce resources (timber, minerals, etc.), which are found in relatively few places but are universally needed in every city around the world, requires extensive and powerful industrial and economic structures whose proper and efficient functioning is of inter-regional and global interest.

and importance. Even the early craft guilds found it necessary to hold regular conferences where guilds from separate cities involved in the same trade came together to discuss problems of common concern.

Supporters of capitalism and state have continuously argued that the "inter-national nature of the global economy" necessitates some form of centralized control agency. The Marxists of the former "communist block" believe that every aspect and detail of economic and industrial life should be centrally planned. Apologists for capitalism have argued that the worst moral, social and environmental excesses inherent in the economic and social contradictions of the "free-market" and the "class-system" - environmental destruction, structural unemployment, monopoly, instability, wild and irrational fluctuations in market confidence, gross inequality, sexual exploitation, etc., - need to be controlled by the institutions of the "liberal democratic state" in the form of welfare management, resource security legislation and other market controls.

Anarchism believes that there is an alternative, and rather than placing its faith in capital and state to administer industrial concerns and inter-regional economic life, hopes rather, that ordinary working people will organize their affairs from the bottom upwards and run their industry for themselves through the development of democratic work-place practices and trades-unionism. When anarchists speak of trades-unionism however they do not talk in favour of the large scale, bureaucratic and centralized structures of today, capable of doing little more than meekly arbitrating with their state-capitalist oppressors for the right to remain wage-slaves. Anarchists look rather, towards a conception of trades-unionism which demands only that the workers regain control of their working lives and, like the artisans, trades and journeypeople of the medieval guilds, again become masters of their trade and rather than working for the state or a handful of capitalist barons, to administer, develop and perfect their work for the benefit of themselves, their fellow workers, their family, their city and humanity at large.

Such ideas are not mere daydreams and were once common amongst trades-unionists of the 19th and early 20th Centuries. Organizations such as the I.W.A (International Workers Association), the I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) and the Spanish C.N.T. (National Trades Confederation) attracted millions upon millions of ordinary working people who were inspired by a vision of regional, national and global working class organization - where the workers

in each trade and industry in every region of the globe would co-operate with one another not for the pleasure of a powerful few but for the common benefit of all working people. The histories of these now seldom heard of organizations were both tragic and violent - the combined forces of capitalism and the military-state successfully dedicating themselves to their destruction. These early trades-union movements were however extremely influential and, although their achievements fell far short of their original aims, many of the benefits that workers enjoy all over the world, such as that of the Eight Hour Day or equality of sexual access, were won or first aired, in great cost in human blood, by workers in organizations such as the I.W.W., whose hate of government and the state was equalled only by their contempt for the capitalist classes. Anarchism hopes that the original aims and ideals of the international trades-union movement will once again inspire the working classes to self-activity and, guided by a renewed faith in their ability to directly manage human affairs, they will not only "inherit the Earth" but successfully and sustainably organize economic and industrial life for the benefit of themselves, their industry and their fellow workers.

Like the artisans of old the workers would take charge of their industry - and beginning at the level of the individual farm, factory or depot begin to organize regional and inter-regional economic and industrial life. Anarcho-syndicalism by encouraging self-organization at the point of production attempts to avoid centralized hierarchical structures associated with contemporary unionism. Where regional, inter-regional structures are deemed necessary by the workers themselves associated administrative positions are to be filled by persons elected by direct democracy and rotated frequently - office holders returning directly to the workforce. Trades-unions or syndicates would organize to supply the basic necessities of the individual city-region - transport, energy, raw materials, bulk food, consumer products etc., - and to ensure their equitable distribution. Modern computer aided communications and accounting systems already make the boss redundant and could, if used intelligently, considerably improve the possibility that such a conception of economic life is not only possible but may be considerably more smooth running than the economic and individualistic chaos of free market capitalism or the bureaucratic ineptitude of central planning. In fact the inter-communicative potential of modern society means that the choice of either a centrally planned or capitalist economy (or a mixture of both - as is usually the case) is an increasingly dated one. The organization of an industry in a regionally and

globally co-ordinated and rational manner no longer implies the existence of large, troublesome and hierarchical bureaucracies already the work of thousands of bureaucrats and company accountants can be replaced by one small computer and communication systems can disseminate a constant flow of data and information at lightning speed to any corner of our globe. Goods and services can be produced in their right amounts and delivered and distributed to where they are most needed anywhere in the world, not according to profit or directives from a central-state computer but by the workers themselves upon the basis of accurate and up-to-date information from suppliers and consumers arriving at their factory, farm or workshop every minute of the day. Each industry rather than being under the administrative control of company chairpeople or the state would become a trade-organization in its own right, managed by all of the workers of which it is composed and co-ordinating its activities both locally and globally for the common good of all.

Cont'd from p.7

is difficult to accept. Slaves always search for new masters, new gods, new religions and new authoritarian images as a way of salvation from their tragic predicament. Unfortunately, the new masters are made of the same material as the previous ones and, like them, flourish, reproduce and grow in similar conditions: state, hierarchies, authoritarian relationships and in real pauperism in spheres of ideas and praxis of the people.

Since communism has become a boggy word, work in advancing the case of anarchism is hindered. Any emphasis on communalism, common ownership of the means of production and distribution, of socialisation and collective ownership, evokes in people's memory a society of barbed wire and chattel slavery. Therefore, the comrades have to choose carefully a language that does not remind them of these dark moments, to explain the significance of anarchism as an idea, as an alternative and as a praxis. Nonetheless, in such an emotionally charged atmosphere the comrades are finding sufficient forces to put their case as clearly as the conditions allow.

In their declaration on principles, published in the first issue of Free Thought they demanded:

Cont'd on p.35

ZAPATISMO AND MAKHNOVSHCHINA: AN OUTLINE OF THE IDEOLOGIES OF TWO AGRARIAN MOVEMENTS.

In his study of libertarian ideas and movements, George Woodcock asserted that the activities of the Mexican revolutionary leader, Emiliano Zapata, resembled "remarkably those of Makhno in the Ukraine " Such an analogy can only whet one's curiosity: what possibly could two agrarian movements, separated by considerable distance and operating in countries foreign to each other in terms of culture and historical development, have in common? A cursory glance at the two movements would suggest striking similarities: as Woodcock points out, both movements were plebeian in origin, whose leaders had deep local roots, and whose followers were simultaneously peasant labourers and partisans. Furthermore, both shared a certain distrust of central authority and a desire for popular agrarian reform. A more careful examination, however, yields a conclusion approaching that of Alan Knight's: that Zapata's movement was implicitly anarchist (i.e it tended towards anarchism), whereas Makhno's was explicitly so. (2)

The fact that the two movements almost coincided with each other (the Makhnovshchina developed between 1917 and 1921, the Zapatista between 1910 and 1919), and were both strongly agrarian in composition and character, suggests that a compare and contrast type of study is warranted to highlight the common denominators of their ideologies as well as those aspects that set them apart. This paper draws on a limited sample of secondary material and as such the conclusions reached here could be considered tentative. It is acknowledged that to rely solely on secondary sources can present grave problems, particularly as errors and fallacies can be repeated. It is hoped that by scrutinising critically the material selected for this exercise such pitfalls are avoided.

The two movements emerged as a response to the abuses of large landowners and in particular their monopolies over local resources. The Zapata movement was centred in the state of Morelos, which adjoins the Federal District of Mexico and on the eve of the Mexican Revolution was one of the smallest and most densely populated regions

in the republic. The population of Morelos, largely of Mestizo and Indian origin, was concentrated in the valleys of Amilpas and Cuernavaca, where sugar production was the main economic activity. Essentially, there prevailed two main types of land tenure systems: communal village holdings in municipalities dating back to colonial times; and latifundia, a legacy of the special land grants awarded by the Spanish Crown to privileged members of colonial Mexican society. These two types coexisted with one another, with independent small-holdings and usufruct forming a weak intermediary. In the 1870s, the sugar industry received a boost when new milling machines were developed which extracted large quantities of sugar from the stalks. A decade later the sugar industry was experiencing a boom. Roger Parkinson describes this process:

Production soared with increasing international demand. But the need for complex and expensive machinery entailed large-scale production: this in turn meant increased yield from existing land, and beyond this the acquisition of new areas by the hacienda owners. Plantations grew in size and importance until they became company towns, organized on an agricultural factory basis. Small haciendas were either swallowed or merged with others into larger, more economical units. Always the pressure for more territory remained, spurred by the fear that present production might exhaust the dark volcanic soil (3).

The hacienda owners often used extralegal means to exact additional land from communal villages. The villagers resisted by filing law suits, but rarely did the courts rule in their favour. The hacienda expansion continued unabated displacing still more villagers. The diffusion had reached such a point that one town, "was so imprisoned by adjacent large holdings that the houses on one of its suburban streets belonged to a hacienda." (4) By 1905 the people of Yautepec, frustrated in their efforts to seek justice through local legal channels, organised a committee, which included Emiliano Zapata, and duly dispatched it straight to the capital city. There the delegation was granted an audience with President Diaz, who assured it that he would personally investigate the charges against a certain local hacendado, Pablo Escandon. The matter was never resolved, the abuses persisted and to add insult to injury, Escandon was appointed governor of Morelos. In despair, the villagers decided to assume a more aggressive approach to recover their lands. In the municipality of San Miguel Anenecuilco, a defence committee was initiated which elected Emiliano Zapata, a local small-scale rancher, at its head. Beginning as a body whose principle task was to put in order the commu-

nity's legal documents, the committee soon adopted confrontational tactics, breaking down the fences erected by the hacendados and conducting a redistribution of the land that had been taken from the villagers. (5) In May 1910, President Porfirio Diaz stepped down from power and this afforded the opportunity for the Morelos land dispute to be settled with the intervention of the new, democratically-elected Liberal government of Francisco Madero. When no guarantees were forthcoming, the villagers of Morelos took the initiative to redress their wrongs themselves. What had begun as a legal dispute between local villagers and planters, evolved into a radical agrarian movement which would assume national significance.

From the sugar plantations of Morelos we turn now to the sugar beet fields of Huliai Pole, Ukraine. The Huliai Pole region, situated in the Katerynoslav province (now in the Zaporozhia district), was traditionally inhabited by the Zaporozhian Kozaks, a group of fugitive serfs turned warriors who led a libertarian-like existence between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. Having been subjugated by successive Tsarist regimes in the late Eighteenth Century, some Kozaks migrated eastward to the Kuban basin where they took up farming as free settlers, while those who remained behind became enserfed. During the turn of the Nineteenth Century, the indigenous population was supplemented by the arrival of foreign colonists: Germans, Italians, Armenians, Bulgarians, Jews, Greeks, Moldavians, Russians, Serbs, and Wallachians - who were awarded land concessions in the areas vacated by the departing Kozaks. The new colonists and their serf counterparts specialised in wheat and sugar beet cultivation, these commodities finding ready markets in the burgeoning nearby cities of Katerynoslav (Dnipropetrovsk) and Olexandrivsk (Zaporozhia). The abolition of serfdom in 1861 did not have any lasting effect in emancipating the serfs from prevailing social ills. Some land left the landlords and was organized into communal landholdings (the mir), similar to those of Morelos, but not all ex-serfs gained access to land. Furthermore, some constraints to personal liberty remained: the ex-serfs were under state supervision, faced travel restrictions and attained limited access to education. The expectations which accompanied the peasants with the abolition act were dashed when they realised that although they had been freed de jure, in practice they found themselves more vulnerable than ever. Michael Palij describes the general sentiment of the Ukrainian ex-serfs following abolition.

The peasants hardly understood the allotment and compensation provisions and found it difficult to believe that they had received freedom without free use of the land, pasture and forest resources.

The ex-serfs responded to the new conditions by taking direct action: 88 uprisings encompassing 188 villages in the Katerynoslav province were reported in the 1860s decade. (6)

The situation was exacerbated when steady population growth in the 1870s onwards placed intense pressures on the land. Consecutive subdivisions of land meant that those with small parcels were often compelled to surrender their plots to the wealthier peasants, and the displaced peasants were forced by these circumstances to enter into tenancy agreements with the latter under unfavourable terms. Peasant resistance to the new conditions continued through the 1880s in a radical fashion, as can be inferred from the report by the Marshal of the Nobility of Katerynoslav province to the Minister of the Interior, D.A. Tolstoi, in 1888, which stated:

The peasants firmly declared that they would take the land they considered theirs away from the landlords. They reasoned that even if the land was appropriated to the landlords in the past, this was unjust because the land was acquired by the blood of their parents and their peasant ancestors. (7)

Peasant uprising flared up again in 1905 and the roots of discontent had not been tackled by the eve of the Revolution of 1917, notwithstanding Stolypin's reforms of 1906, which only served to strengthen the middle peasantry. By 1917, therefore, a land-hungry proletarianised peasantry, composed of ex-serfs, had formed in the Katerynoslav countryside. At the same time, marked class differentiation had developed among the foreign colonists, and the poorer elements joined in common cause with the landless and minifundista ex-serfs to furnish the backbone of the future Makhnovite movement.

The collapse of the Tsarist regime in February 1917, as had happened in Mexico with the fall of Diaz, gave hopes to the peasantry that a new era was impending in which some of their concerns could be met. In the spring of 1917, a young anarchist by the name of Nestor Makhno, who had been imprisoned in a Moscow jail from 1906 for conducting revolutionary activity in his home settlement

of Huliai Pole (a rural centre of 30,000 inhabitants), returned and began to organise local soviets charged with expropriating the land of the local gentry. Thus, the Makhnovite movement was born.

Both movements, then, arose as a response to landlord abuse and encroachment of resources and rights the peasantry considered theirs. How strongly these issues shaped the ideology of the Zapata movement can be gleaned from the Plan de Ayala, the Zapatista manifesto issued in 1911, which stipulated that, "To the pueblos there be given what in justice they deserve as to lands, timber and water".(8) The Makhnovites never issued a manifesto, but their principles and ideology are apparent in the many proclamations of the movement, the movement's press organs, and in the writings of the ideologues. Unfortunately, little of the Makhnovite literature is available in the West, and to date there has been no possibility of examining Makhnovite-related matter in the USSR, since the Soviet regimes, from the demise of the movement in 1921, have consistently denounced it. However, Makhno himself, who managed to flee to the West in late 1921, has left behind a body of his own writings. From these we can detect the ideology of the protagonist of the movement, and among some of the concerns raised in these writings, were those akin to the Zapata movement. Like Zapata, Makhno resented the monopoly over resources by a privileged minority and in his ABC of revolutionary Anarchism, he called for their socialisation.(9) In this respect, Makhno was more radical than Zapata who urged for a mixed economy, but not complete socialisation. Those scholars who have attributed anarchism to the Zapata movement appear to have done so arbitrarily and the issue thus merits discussion. Anarchist-like tendencies were certainly present in the movement and in this sense one can refer to the Zapata movement as implicitly anarchist, but not explicit as in the case of Makhno's. The leadership of the Zapata movement, unlike Makhno's, had never declared itself anarchist. According to Antonio Diaz Soto y Gama, one of the ideologues of the Zapata movement (whom Robert Quirk erroneously labels an anarchist), Zapata was in fact acquainted with anarchist doctrine, but doubted its usefulness for the type of society he envisaged for the near future. Diaz Soto y Gama recounts that a certain Prudencio Casals, a colonel in the Zapata army, presented his leader with a book (sometime in 1916 or 1917) which contained the basic premises of anarchist ideology. Having read it, Zapata then passed his verdict:3

I have carefully read the contents of the book and I tell you frankly. that, although I am not averse to

all the ideas specified, I am aware that it would take a long, long time for them to be put into practice (10)

Zapata added that he did not consider it essential to amend the Plan de Ayala to incorporate the concepts detailed in that particular book (unfortunately, Diaz Soto y Gama does not recall the title). For the time being, he insisted, the Plan de Ayala as it stood would remain the formula:

I firmly believe that for now, what the Plan de Ayala is accomplishing - the distribution of land to the campesinos - will suffice to raise standards of living, not only in the rural sector, but both rural and urban labourers alike will be positively affected. In this way, agriculture, the livestock economy, mining, industry and commerce will progress.(11).

If Zapata was not an explicit anarchist, then neither were the ideological cadres of the movement. As John Womack notes, those refugees of the Casa del Obrero Mundial, a left wing organisation based in Mexico City which was banned during the Huerta administration, who joined the Zapata movement from 1914, followed no special anarchist line, with the possible exception of Octavio Jahn, a French anarcho-syndicalist and reputedly a veteran of the 1871 Paris Commune. Diaz Soto y Gama had never designated himself an anarchist and was, according to Womack, closely associated with the modes of thought of the Russian narodniks (agrarian populists) of the Nineteenth Century.(12) Knight concurs: the intellectuals of the movement espoused no consistent ideology and professed a concoction of liberalism, socialism and indigenismo.(13)

At the same time, the movement did contain some anarchist influences. Eric Wolf notes that Zapata was affected by the newspaper Regeneracion, edited by the anarcho-syndicalist, Ricardo Flores Magon, whom Wolf describes as the 'precursor of the Mexican Revolution'. Wolf states that although Flores Magon spent much of his time after 1911 in and out of U.S. jails, "The anarchist theme of a society organized into small communities, however, survived, underwriting the restoration of Indian communities in the land reforms which were to follow the Revolution."(14)

Wolf proffers two essential ingredients which shaped the character of the Zapata movement: the defection to the movement of disaffected intellectuals with urban ties;

and the participation of a peasant group with sufficient independent resources of its own to embark on the road to autonomous political action. Accordingly:

The anarcho-syndicalist idiom served as a bond between them. From Ricardo Flores Magon came the slogan Tierra y Libertad, first pronounced by the anarchist leader in Regeneracion on November 19, 1910, and a sweet sound to ears of the Indians who had risen to defend and regain their lands. Having begun land distributions as head of the defense committee of Anenecuilco, Zapata made this the main purpose of his movement. (15)

Wolf, however, perhaps influenced by Quirk's study of the Mexican Revolution (his main source of information of the Zapata movement), attaches too much significance to the anarchist tendencies in the movement. Knight and Womack, for example, agree that the Zapata movement moved in an anarchist-like direction, but caution that the movement was not anarchist per se. Certain features which are intrinsic to the anarchist ideal were present, as is evident in Womack's assessment of Morelos society which he states was organised along the lines of the "utopia of a free association of rural clans" and moved toward the "establishment of democratic municipalities, country neighbourhoods where every family had influence in the disposition of local resources". (16)

But rather than constituting a witting manifestation of anarchist doctrine, the ideology that conducted this 'utopia' was steeped in local tradition. The Plan de Ayala, the philosophical guide of the Zapata movement, was drafted with little recourse to existing universal dogma, anarchist or otherwise. Rather, it looked to local tradition and popular Mexican history for inspiration. Nevertheless, it was a natural foundation upon which anarchism could be developed, perhaps in the distant future, as Zapata himself had suggested. The direction the Zapata movement assumed was closer to the anarchist ideal than to any other universal ideology, but it fell short of fulfilling the anarchist category for a number of reasons, as is apparent when we compare it to the Makhnovshchina.

Both Makhno and the ideological cadres of his movement were self-proclaimed anarchists, following the tenets of Peter Kropotkin's anarcho-communism. Simply put, anarcho-communism calls for a free federation of stateless communities in which the social unit would consist of the commune. The "free association of communes", envisaged Makhno, "would be directed by elected councils, or soviets,

Who would foster their producers and consumers' Co-opera-

tives"(17) The labourers in these communes would be rewarded according to their needs. Following closely the guidelines of anarcho-communism, the Makhnovshchina, became far more radical and militant than its Zapatista counterpart. Under the Makhnovshchina, for instance, land was to be expropriated from the local gentry without indemnification. Those dispossessed were permitted to retain a share of the land equal to that of the labourers, as well as tools and livestock. In the Zapatista case, under the Plan de Ayala, expropriation measures were to apply only to one third of haciendas, but the owners (except for those considered to be 'enemies of the Revolution') were to be compensated for their losses. Zapata believed that communal lands could coexist with individual usufruct and hacienda systems. He strove to restore the balance between the hacienda and free villages, which had been upset by the rapid sugar plantation expansion into communal holdings. But although the hacienda system would be allowed to remain, the communal villagers and independent farmers would be ensured protection from the abuses of the sugar planters and caciques, and all monopolies over land, water and labour resources were to be eliminated.

To Makhno, as noted, the ideal agrarian type (and the only one) was the commune. During a rare respite of peace in his region, between the end of 1918 and late spring of 1919, several communes were founded which ran along lines quite similar to the communal villages of Morelos during the Zapata period. Membership in these Ukrainian communes was voluntary and they did not become the established norm in the Makhnovite region. Their further diffusion was curtailed by the Bolshevik invasion of the summer of 1919, the Bolsheviks immediately dissolving all anarchist communes during their occupation of the Makhnovite region. Thereafter, the exigencies of war with the Whites and Bolsheviks compelled the Makhnovites to abandon their social experiments and concentrate on defending their region.

Another important difference between the Zapatistas and Makhnovites concerns their attitudes toward the state. Makhno called for the dismantlement of the state, but this was not true of Zapata, who endorsed Francisco Madero's political programme of Plan de San Luis, if only as a prerequisite for agrarian reform. In other words, Zapata sought cooperation with any central government which would implement agrarian reform and acknowledge the postulates of the Plan de Ayala. Makhno, by contrast, refused to recognise any government, although he was willing to come to terms with the Bolsheviks, whom he consider-

ed revolutionary cousins so long as they recognised the self determination of the anarchists. When the Bolsheviks refused to accede to this proposal the Makhnovites' militant attitude toward any type of centrifugal forces strengthened.

Both Zapata and Makhno extended their concern for their urban proletariat counterparts. But although Makhno envisaged a workers' society where the self-management of the proletariat would be the standard, Zapata urged labour legislation to protect workers' welfare and rights, but did not call for an end to capitalist property relations; rather, he intended to do away with monopolies and encourage in their stead small-scale enterprises (18)

It should be noted here that both Zapata and Makhno tried to form a peasant-worker nexus, but they were unsuccessful in this endeavour for reasons still unclear (none of the sources consulted for this paper provide satisfactory explanations). Among the theories advanced to account for this is the *patria chica* syndrome, a kind of local patriotism of which both movements have been accused. One of its more aggressive proponents, Robert Quirk, writes:

To the men of Zapata their country was not Mexico, the Republic, but the *patria chica* of Morelos. (19)

However, Quirk himself provides evidence of how misleading this statement is when, elsewhere, in referring to the Mexico City-Aguascalientes Convention of January 1915, he remarks: "(the Zapatistas) saw a rare opportunity to achieve at once their aim of a parliamentary government for Mexico (my emphasis), and in this instance the Zapatistas prevailed." (20) Similar contradictions are apparent in a single paragraph, when we learn first that Zapata envisioned a "state of happy anarchy for his Mexico", and later, "But his interest was only with Morelos" (21) Michael Paliy has made a similar charge of Makhno, and likewise has produced contradictory statements that enervate this claim.

Those who have studied the Plan de Ayala and Zapatista literature, and in the case of the Makhnovites, their proclamations and press, will detect that the reforms proposed by both movements were intended for the people of Mexico and Ukraine, respectively (the Makhnovites also issued proclamations to peoples living outside the boundaries of Ukraine), and not for the people of Morelos and the Huliai Pole region exclusively. The jacqueries that sprung up during the Revolutions of both countries more appropriately fit the criteria of *patria chica* oriented

movements. As Eric Wolf notes: "Peasants often harbor a deep sense of injustice, but this sense of injustice must be given shape and expression in organization before it can become active on the political scene."(22)

Both the Zapatista and Makhnovite movements had achieved 'shape and expression in organization', and this is what set them apart from the spontaneous uprisings, or jacqueries, that engulfed parts of the Mexican and Ukrainian countrysides. Indeed, both movements even had emissaries working for them abroad. The question then arises as to why both movements failed to make a greater impact, particularly in urban centres. The question is a complex one and deserves a wider treatment that can be provided here. In an attempt to offer some suggestion, we return once more to Wolf, who in discussing the failures of the two movements, asserts:

Certain resemblances - reliance on local support within a circumscribed area marked by a common history and identity; dominance of a libertarian ideology with an emphasis on the organization of communes; lack of a formal organization of supplies; use of guerrilla tactics; inability to understand the problems of urban workers and to establish viable contacts with them - make the Makhnovshchina comparable to the Zapatista movement in Mexico. Similar also, in both areas, was the inability - or unwillingness - of both movements to develop an organizational framework capable of sustaining the structure of a state. Final victory in both areas fell to men who understood the importance of organization: to the Constitutionals in Mexico, to the Bolsheviks in Russia.(23).

The inability to understand the problems of urban workers was surely mutual, as there is no evidence to suggest that the workers in both countries were any better equipped to appreciate the concerns of their rural counterparts. There is, however, a fundamental difference: the Zapatistas, for instance, issued a programme that could appeal to the urban working class - legislation limiting work hours, protective measures for working women and children, industrial accident insurance, the establishment of cooperatives and mutual aid societies, secular education, the formation of trade unions, and the right to strike - while the Makhnovites, in the very short spell they held cities in southeastern Ukraine, urged workers to engage in industrial self-management. Conversely, in neither case was there any reciprocity, for urban workers in both countries did not engage in actions or formulate programmes which

had the foremost interests of the peasants in mind. The efforts, then, appear to have been a one-way avenue. From the rural perspective, therefore, there is no evidence to suggest that the urban-led movements in both countries had a thorough comprehension of the needs and interests of the peasants, and, indeed, they never knew how to attract their support - how else to account for the flourishing of movements such as Zapata's and Makhno's? In view of this, the notion (and unfortunately, Wolf, who surprisingly takes an urban-centric view on this matter, insinuates this, too) that the proletariat (or, indeed, any social strata) should lead the rural masses in making the revolution is not only preposterous, but, given the evidence, blatantly chauvinistic: it evinces the subordination of one social strata (approximately 90% of the population in both cases) by another (less than 10%). That both movements failed to command sufficient urban support can be attributed to other factors, but not to any shortcomings in their ideologies. The movements' rivals, for instance, having been nurtured in the cities, were already in close contact with the urban working classes, long before the rural insurgents had reached the gates of any urban centre. They therefore had the time as well as the know-how and resources to build up an infrastructure there (but not in the countryside). The Zapatistas, for instance, did not have a well-developed press which could make their views better known in the cities, while the Makhnovites, who did have this medium, found that circulation in the cities was precluded by the fact that these were nearly always commanded by their rivals.

That both movements failed had more to do with material than to ideological shortcomings. The Zapatistas and Makhnovites were limited in their ability to obtain munitions and to supply their home base and surrounding areas. Therefore, they were unable to extend military operations effectively outside their vicinities; material shortages and not anachronistic peasant thinking prevented both movements from encompassing wider territory. A primary factor in the defeat of both movements was thus unequal access to resources - their opponents wielding control over key sectors of the economy and able to use this leverage to their utmost advantage. Ultimately, severe food shortages, particularly in the Huliai Pole region where a terrible famine broke out in 1921, debilitated the resistance of the two movements and facilitated the occupation of their regions by their opponents.

But although militarily defeated, the activities of the two movements had left behind a radical consciousness in the regions they operated, one which forced the governments of the day to come to terms, for no amount of atroci

ties perpetrated in either case could pacify the populace of these regions until their principles, embodied in the slogans of the two movements - 'Land and Liberty' - were addressed. Both the Mexican Constitutionalists and the Soviet Bolsheviks had come to realise that if they were to control the countryside, they had to implement popular measures in the rural sector to satisfy the agrarian needs of the peasantry.

Emiliano Zapata was assassinated in 1919, but, notes Francois Chevalier:

The [Zapatista] insurrection did not end with the death of the caudillo, for the surviving chiefs appointed general Gildardo Magaña as commander of the troops. Certainly the situation was a sombre one for the Morelos rebels. But with the departure of Carranza, general Obregon was steadily gaining strength and was about to eliminate him. His ideas were closer to the agrarian ideals of the Morelos campesinos. Between him and the insurgents there didn't exist the bloody feuds and mutual hatred of five years of war. Therefore, an agreement acceptable to all parties could be reached. The villages retained the land which Zapata had returned to them. The legal and constitutional bases of agrarian reform were already fixed and the nation was soon to experience them, from the Obregon regime - in which the National Agrarian Party of Soto y Gama wielded influence - to the Cardenas presidency. In spite of his tragic end, Zapata had won the war. (24)

In Ukraine, the Makhnovschina had also forced the new government to pay close attention to the agrarian issue, and Lenin's New Economic Policy of March 1921 can be considered a compromise with the peasantry. As for Makhno, hounded relentlessly by the Bolsheviks across Ukraine during the latter stages of the Revolution, he was forced to flee the country in late August of 1921 and eventually moved to Paris, where, until his death in 1934, he continued the struggle, as Alexandre Skirda puts it, "the pen replacing the sabre".

#### REFERENCES

General

George Woodcock. Anarchism: A History of Libertarian

Ideas and Movements (Cleveland and New York: World Publishing Company, 1962)

Eric R. Wolf. Peasant Wars of the Twentieth Century (New

York: Harper and Row, 1969)

### Zapatismo

- Antonio Diaz Soto y Gama. La Revolucion Agraria del Sur y Emiliano Zapata, su Caudillo (Mexico City, 1960)
- Francois Chevalier. "Un factor decisivo de la Revolucion Agraria de Mexico: 'El Levantamiento de Zapata' (1911-1919)" Cuadernos Americanos CXIII, num.6 (1960): 165-187.
- Robert E. Quirk. The Mexican Revolution 1914-1915: The Convention of Aguascalientes (New York: The Citadel Press, 1963)
- John H. Mc Neely. "Origins of the Zapata Revolt in Morelos" Hispanic American Historical Review XLVI, no.2 (1966): 153-169.
- Robert P. Millon. Zapata: The Ideology of a Peasant Revolutionary (New York: International Publishers, 1969)
- John Womack (Jr). Zapata and the Mexican Revolution (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1970)
- Peter Parkinson. Zapata: A Biography. (New York: Stein and Day, 1975)
- Alan Knight. The Mexican Revolution, Volume I: Porfirians, Liberals and Peasants (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986)

### Makhnovshchina

- Machael Paliij. The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno, 1917-1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution (Seattle and London: University of Washington Press, 1976)
- Yves Ternon. Makhno: La Revolte Anarchiste: (Brussels: Le Scorpion, 1981)
- Michael Malet. Nestor Makhno in the Russian Civil War (London: Macmillan Press Ltd., 1982)
- Alexandre Skirda. Nestor Makhno: Le Cosaque de l'Anarchie (Millau, France: A.S. 1982)
- Nestor Makhno, La Lutte contre l'Etat et autres ecrits (Carrare, Italy: J.P. Ducret, 1984)

### NOTES

1. Woodcock, 427.
2. Knight, 312.
3. Parkinson, 22.
4. McNeely, 153.
5. Ibid, 154-155.
6. Paliij, 49.
7. Cited in *ibid*, 50.
8. Cited in Womack, 394
9. Makhno 90

10. Diaz Soto y Gama, 273.
11. Ibid, 274
12. Womack, 193.
13. Knight, 311.
14. Wolf, 25.
15. Ibid 31.
16. Womack, 224.
17. Makhno, 90.
18. Millon, 66-67.
19. Quirk, 141.
20. Ibid, 169.
21. Ibid, 230.
22. Wolf, xiii.
23. Ibid, 97.
24. Chevalier, 187.

Cont'd from p.21

Freedom of speech and publishing; they insisted on the validity of the federative principle of organisation; urged that the land remain the property of Obshchina (Municipality); that people have the right to choose different forms of cultivation but they have no right to sell it or to trade; they insisted on the expropriation of the wealth of individuals and groups who have amassed fortunes and the latter to become the property of society for the benefit of all its members; they also emphasized an education free from political, class and religious interference.

In Free Thought are published various articles on and by the classical anarchists, such as Kropotkin, in an endeavour to clarify anarchist theory and to emphasise the fact that anarchism is not chaos, but a social relationship where the individual is to find her/his complete realisation in an atmosphere where freedom and creative reality are based on solidarity and mutual aid.

The painstaking efforts to mount a proper defence of anarchism are limited by the disappearance of many excellent anarchists in the labyrinth of red state terror. Many of those who have survived the struggle against the bestiality of a regime that, in the name of communism, not only despised the workers but reduced them to a state of helplessness, are tired and exhausted. Nonetheless, despite concentration camps, prisons and persecutions it appears, by reading Free Thought, that there are sufficient forces left to, once again, bring anarchism to the fore of Bulgarian political life. However, they need urgent financial help to realise this important task. Send your donations to the editor until a reliable address is available.

Jack

Solidarity Forever: An oral history of the I.W.W. edited by S.Bird, D.Georgakas & D.Schaffer. Chicago; Lake View Press, 1985 ISBN 094170212X

- The I.W.W. (Industrial Workers of the World) was a 'grass-roots' trades union organization founded in Chicago in 1905. Unlike reformist trades unions of today which are merely content to negotiate through vast impersonal bureaucracies like puppy dogs in a state-supported employer-employee 'relationship' the I.W.W. encouraged direct democracy amongst its members and bluntly asserted that the working and employing classes had absolutely nothing in common. Organizing in a variety of industries - logging, textile, farming, mining, railways, waterside etc., - the I.W.W. attempted to get their adherents and activists to think of themselves as being first and foremost members of the working classes with specific interests and possibilities globally united in opposition to capitalism under the banner of "One Big Union" of working people. By pushing for gains and improvements in the working conditions in specific industries the Wobblies (as the I.W.W.'ers became known) hoped that they would in time gain sufficient influence and strength to initiate the 'general strike' which would overthrow the state/capitalist order forever and replace the agencies of the state and the ruling classes with federations of 'worker controlled' industrial unions which would use their profits and expertise to satisfy the social needs of the workers themselves rather than to fill the pockets of the rich and powerful.

The I.W.W. although failing to realize its vision of a future when ordinary working people would control the earth nonetheless managed to organize or at least influence millions of Americans to oppose the prevailing state-capitalist order and to work and fight for a better world. Its emphasis on unified or global working class consciousness enabled it to bypass traditional racial and sexual barriers and it included amongst its leading organizers and agitators lesbians, blacks, Asians and native American Indians. It unionised significant numbers of negroes in America's deep-south and had extensive organizational networks within many newly arriving immigrant groups - simultaneously publishing its newspapers and pamphlets in about 12-15 languages. Its ability to introduce radical and progressive ideologies on class, sex and race issues to American born workers in industries such as logging and mining at such an early period of industrial history is moreover a trend that continues today by contemporary I.W.W. organizers who have managed to bring round loggers

to the views of radical greens in their attempt to save what remains of America's old growth red-wood forests (The inability of Australia's green movement to work with the working class at a grass-roots level has in my opinion perhaps been its greatest failing to date )

Although, as just indicated, the I.W.W. continues to exist today its influence and the scope of its activities is considerably less than it was 60 or 70 years ago. This is not however due to the unappealing nature of their vision or to failings in communication and practical organizational abilities, but rather due to consistent repression and violence at the hands of the agencies of the state-capitalist order. I.W.W. leaders and activists were hung, shot, clubbed, black-listed and deported. Strikes were brutally repressed and frequently resulted in significant loss of life. A trend that continues today in the bombing and attempted assassination/frame-up of Earth First!/I.W.W. organizers last year. The I.W.W. fell into decline not because of any inherent failings but in the wake of defeat by the overwhelming might of America's military-legal machine. The I.W.W. in its love for direct democracy and its hate of capitalism, bureaucracy, government and parliamentary politicking has much in common with the goals and ideals of anarchism and indeed the I.W.W. was both influenced by and in turn influenced both syndicalism and the wider anarchist movement. The history, ideals and organization of the I.W.W. is therefore of profound interest and importance to all anarchists who are actively seeking to create the realization of an equitable and harmonious planet through the elimination of capitalist exploitation and constituted governmental authority.

Solidarity Forever: An Oral History of the I.W.W. is a book that ideally serves the purpose of providing a lively, readable and accessible account of the history of this important organization and the heroic and practical efforts of thousands of Americans to turn their dreams of democracy, equality and freedom into concrete reality. The book which developed from a film entitled The Wobblies (First Run Features, 153 Waverly Place, New York 10014) consists of a series of interviews with I.W.W. old timers about their views and experiences. These interviews have been organized into segments according to specific industries or issues by the editors who contribute a brief introductory piece at the beginning of each section. I have not seen the original film, but judging from the fluidity and overall readability of their text they have

performed a first-rate job of organizing and presenting the material and their introductory sketches are well-researched, informative and helpful. The fact that the text originates from real-life interviews provides the reader with a 'first-hand' account of the I.W.W. that has an intimate, enlivening and personal appeal that is infinitely more enjoyable than any dry historical study (however non-academic in its approach) could ever hope to have been. It is furthermore richly illustrated by a large number of carefully chosen photographs and cartoons from the period which serves to make it a complete historical document which is capable of being enjoyed by the high school student and professional university historian alike. It is fully indexed and contains a brief bibliography to aid further study. I have nothing to say in criticism of the book - which I have the greatest pleasure in heartily recommending and I am sure that you will be both inspired and appalled by the heroism and brutality of the I.W.W. story.

Graham Purchase.

OUR FOUNDING MURDERING FATHER: Angus McMillan and the Kurnai Tribe of Gippsland 1839-1865. by P.D. Gardner. 2nd Ed., 1990. Illus. and indexed. Ngarak Press P.O. Box 18, Ensay, Australia. 3895. Available from Jura and Black Rose, \$13.95.

This is an appealing, albeit rather strange, book. Appealing in that the author's care and commitment are so clearly evoked and strange in that his main thesis seems oddly minor given the canvass he is depicting.

Essentially this is a history of the 'discovery' and settlement by 'newcomers' of the Gippsland area in Victoria between 1839 and 1865. The major canvass is depicted eloquently on p. 12.

The first and most obvious fact about the discovery debate is that Gippsland could not have been 'discovered' because it was already occupied. The five clans of the Kurnai, numbering about three thousand, occupied most of Gippsland. Since the lands were already occupied, to discover and settle the country was merely a euphemism for theft. Indeed the quaint vocabulary built up to justify this small, but important part, of British imperialism would be amusing were it not so macabre. Thus the newcomers were not invaders but explorers and they were occupying 'unused'

or 'empty lands' inhabited only by a 'few blacks' or 'Warrigals'.

The tragedy of the Kurnai Tribe throughout the 30-odd years covered in this history is heartfully, but briefly, exposed.

The main thesis seems to be a) who was the real i.e. first 'explorer' and b) was Angus McMillan (whether or not he was the first 'explorer') a man of, to quote p.5, "a much flawed character". However, the 'flaws' enumerated seem to have little to do with the major canvass excepting, of course, that McMillan was one of the original invaders, a topic, however, not enlarged upon. The 'flaws' cited against him include: maybe suffering from venereal disease; drinking "even nips and sherry with breakfast"(p.59); exploring in order to obtain new runs; perhaps being a bad bushman; adopting the high living ways of a laird; and, being a bad financial manager.

If any of these aspects of Mcmillan had been related to his attitude to, and relations with, the Kurnai then the link between thesis and canvass would have been made. As it is the book is an eloquent evocation of a certainly 'flawed' personality (who isn't?) which leaves me with a desire to know more about the Kurnai Tribe's history and also more about the flawed McMillan. Was his death, as suggested, a suicide? If so, what "vain gaiety, vain battle, vain repose" spurred him on?

Eugenia Lovelace.

Anarchist Society & Its Practical Realisation by Graham Purchase. San Francisco, See Sharp Press, 1990.

This pamphlet outlines some aspects of how an Anarchist society might be organized in reality. The first two sections discuss the failure of the Marxist-Communist state and the place of government and the nation state in social evolution. The point is well made that the Marxist-Communist state has proven as disastrous as the Capitalist state. It is also argued that the nation state is of relatively recent origin (in evolutionary terms) and furthermore: "We as a species constructed the institutions of government and state, and likewise we can dismantle them." (p.5)

The next 4 sections deal with concrete proposals of how, in an Anarchist society, technology, social ecology, the

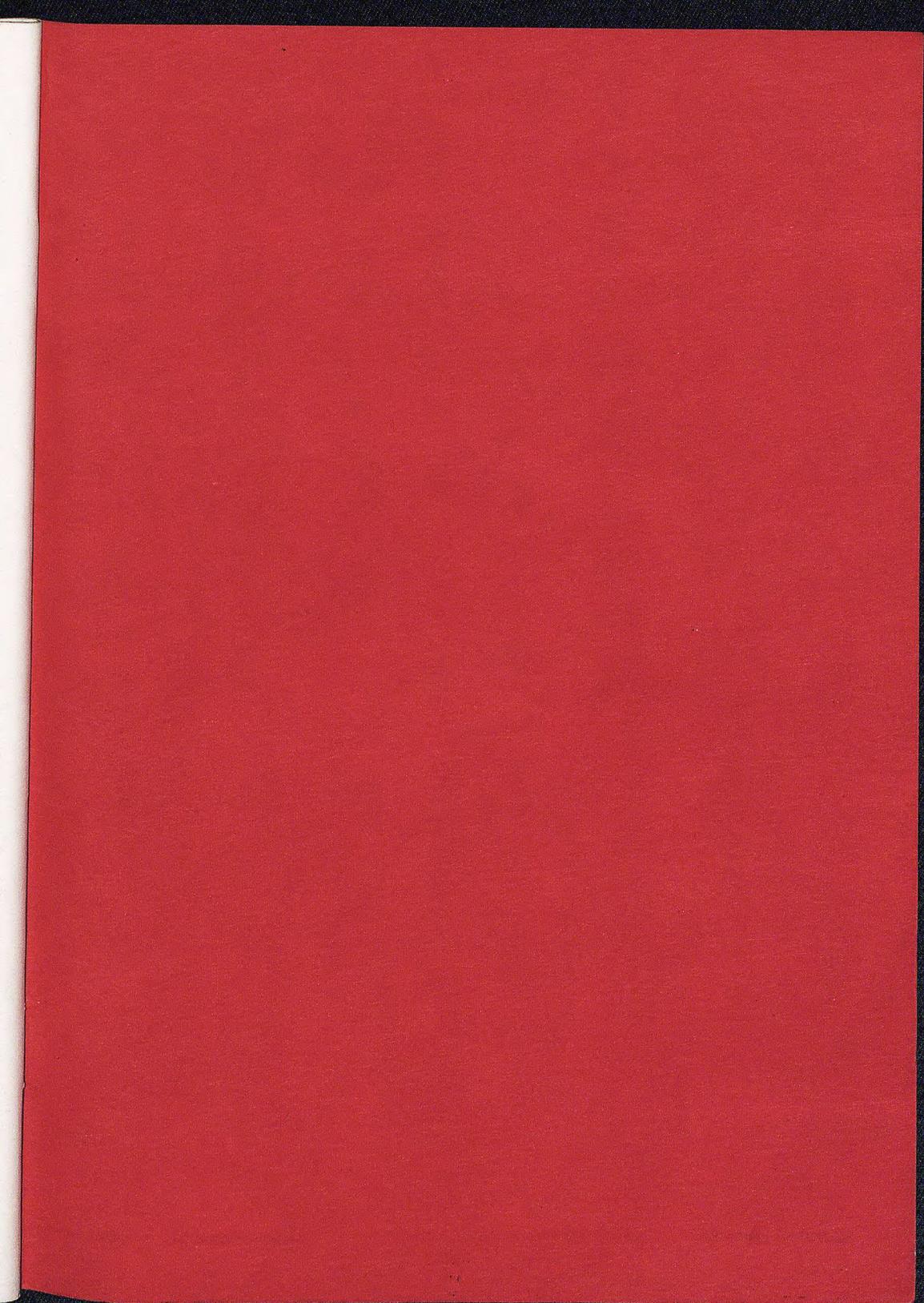
free-city-commune and Trade Unionism might be organized. The final section, "Anarchism and Revolution", makes the point, among others, that "Revolution and government contradict and destroy one another." (p.14) Whilst not denying the libertarian ethos that is evident in the proposals, and whilst also recognising that no "proposal", especially in a pamphlet of this size, can be finalised in all its details, there still remain matters worth questioning.

For example, non-governmental organizations, such as hobby groups, Greenpeace etc., are mooted as: "... just a few examples of how millions of voluntary social organizations, formed and developed independently of government in order to answer the needs and interests of our species." (p.6) However, the fact that an organization is non-governmental does not mean that it will be egalitarian, non-hierarchical etc. Big fish in little ponds do grow as surely as big oaks from little acorns grow.

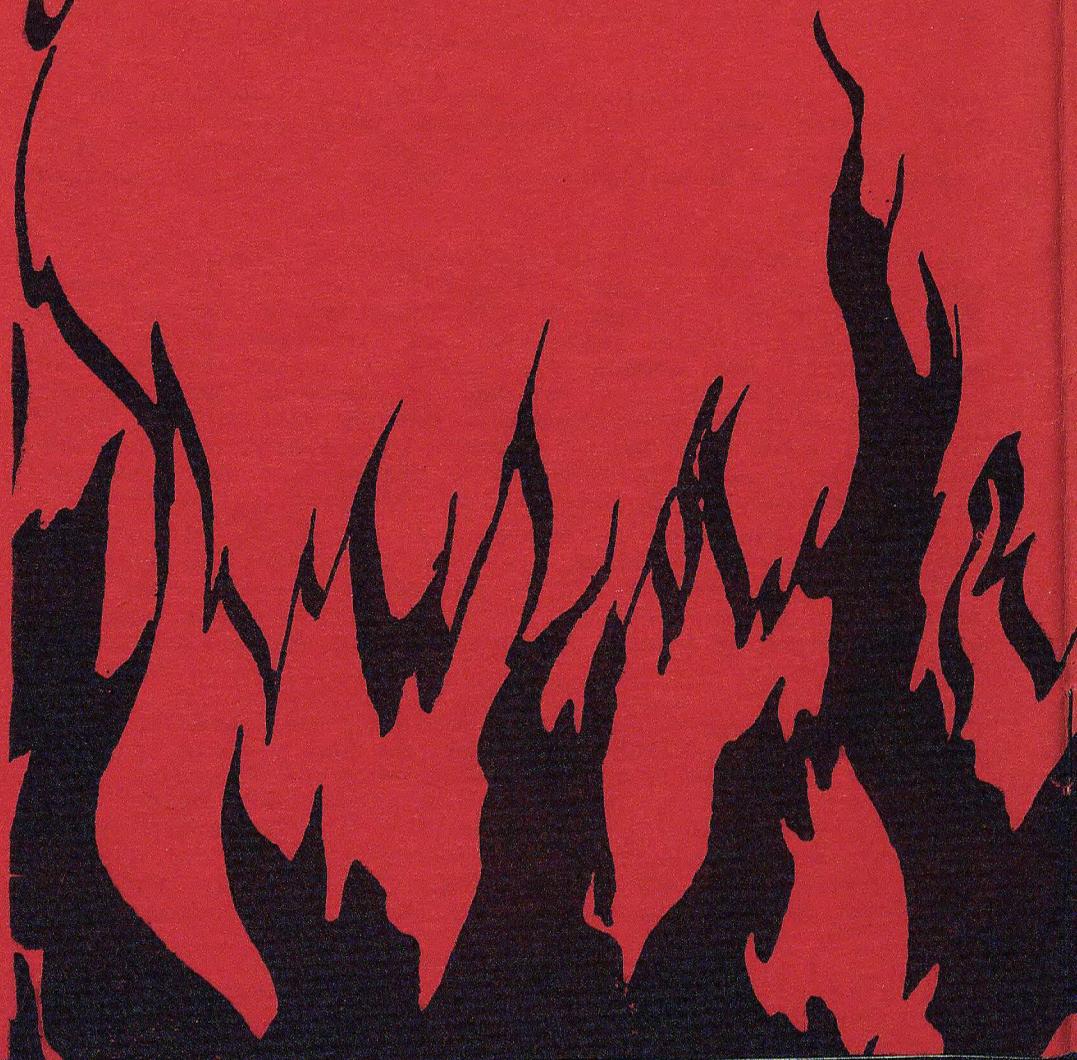
The statement on p.8 about anarchists arguing "... for the computer-assisted management of things rather than people." smacks of Engel's claim that "The government of persons is replaced by the administration of things." (Anti-Duhring)

On the topic of "A Social Revolution and the Free-City-Commune" it is stated: "Social anarchists argue that the most natural and primary unit of social life ought to be the free, independent, self-governing city." (p.10) Is this an argument based on authority? Whence the "ought"? The section then proceeds to outline how the citizens "... would meet on the squares and boulevards to freely discuss the pressing problems of the day." But what about the rural community? What if people do NOT WANT to be part of an urban community? Are they to be excluded from decision-making? The Free-City-Commune is promoted as one that would "... initiate a flourishing of civic awareness such as has not been seen since the decline of the ancient Greek or early European medieval cities ...". (p.11) However, the former was buttressed by slavery and the latter by serfdom or its remnants.

There are other points that may raise questions in readers' minds - such as the phrase "ordinary people". "Ordinary" compared to whom? However, since debating, querying, questioning are essential processes in "... the social construction of a rationally conceived, self-organized society ..." (p.14) a pamphlet that encourages such processes is worth reading and questioning. The libertarian ethos underlying it suggests that such questioning would be welcomed.



44



# RED and BLACK

Winter 1991

No. 21

