

FREEDOM ANARCHIST FORTNIGHTLY

OCTOBER 23'76

VOLUME 37 No 21

TWELVE PENCE

United Farmworkers p3 ~ Italy p4 ~ Fascist Economics p9

State Curriculum TRAINEE WAGE SLAVES REPLY!

GOING TO SCHOOL is no fun. Specially when you're the lowest of the low: a school-student. From 5 to 16 you've got no say in the matter: you have to go - a prison sentence for 11 years. To those outside, it's hard to describe the reality of being an inmate. Like prisoners we have no control over our own lives. Every weekday, day in - day out, for weeks, months and years on end, it's a slog. The same old routine over and over and over again. What we do, what we say, where we go, how we dress, when we eat, when to move, when to stay still, when to talk, when to stay silent is decided by others. Democracy Never heard of it - what's that? It's no joke. It's time our oppression, our only too real oppression was recognised. There is no way words can accurately describe our emotions; powerlessness, helplessness, anger, resentment, hate, bitterness, rage, loathing, fear, boredom, monotony ... all are only clues.

Our pain is bestowed upon us by what is laughingly called an "education system" whose workings are shrouded behind verbiage and mysticism, but is really crystal clear. Its structure forms the classic pyramid. It is, however, a pyramid within an even larger pyramid.

At the very top of this larger pyramid is the Puppet Master; the banks, the multinational corporations, and the men in the City who walk around in dark suits with £ signs in their eyes. These are the Capitalists; the men who hold and pull the strings that directly or indirectly control the movements of all underneath.

Take one step down and you get to the State; whether the Government of the day be Lab, Lib, Con or Nat. Front, is immaterial. Governments are intent on one thing - keeping Capitalism in power. There is NO government which is ANTI-capitalist. Lessen it, curb it, restrict it, change it - yes, maybe. But for fucksake don't let Them (ie us) abolish it! To keep Capitalism in power many "arms" of the State exist to protect it, and ensure its continuance. These include the Armed Forces, "Law"; Police, Prisons, Organized Religion, and also of course the "Education System."

So one rung down, and you have the State's "education" arm; the Department

of Education and Science or DES as he's sometimes known. (DES is the tip of the education system pyramid). He does things like set up Special Working Parties with the Home Office to investigate the current dramatic increase of deliberate fires at schools, and generally sees that Government policy on education is carried out by the next lower order: Local Education Authorities.

Local Education Authorities (LEAs) have control over what happens (broadly speaking) in and to - all the schools in their area. Thus ILEA, the Inner London Education Authority, has said to all the primary schools in its area "no caning", whereas in other areas where LEAs have made no such rule, caning

carries on mercilessly. They control the money that comes from DES and central Government, and decide how and what to spend it on.

The actual school itself is the next step down and is governed theoretically by a Board of Governors (BOG) who are usually composed of just a handful of people; local politicians, and predominantly wealthy upright and responsible citizens who appoint the Headmaster and give an indication as to how they would like to see the school run and what is taught. They are rarely if ever actually seen at school and prefer to keep at a distance from its usually harsh reality.

Next, the Headmaster; the figure head

Murrays: TORCHLIGHT MARCH



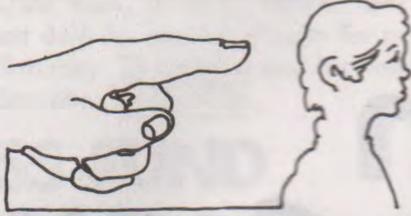
On Friday October 8th, about 150 people marched through London on a torchlight demonstration in solidarity with Noel and Marie Murray.

Those marching included several of Noel's relatives, comrades from Glasgow, Leicester and Warwick plus groups and individuals from London. A piper played at the head of the march from Speakers' Corner to Kilburn, where a street meeting was held. Several speakers stressed the need for more support to make the Defence campaign effective. On Saturday 9th pickets took place in Leicester and Birmingham as well as London.

The next activity planned for London is a 24 hour picket of the Irish Embassy on October 21st.

Abroad activities also took place in Sweden, France and Japan on the 8th. The German Murray Defence Group have sent a petition calling for the immediate release of Noel & Marie to the President of the Supreme Court. Over 15,000 names were collected, including notables such as Jean Paul Sartre and Heinrich Boll. In Italy demonstrations have been taking place in various parts of the country, and a 'day of solidarity' has been called for on the 23rd of October. □

of the school - universally known as The Dictator, Ffhrer, Hitler, The Beak, Head Teeth, Scarface, Baldy etc. etc - an authoritarian, patronising, publicity-seeking, image-conscious man (very occasionally, woman) too busy competing for attention with other Heads, that little, if any administration of the school is done by him.



Instead, it is done by his junior; a Deputy Head who is usually responsible for making out the years timetable of lessons, making sure that the Heads rules and regulations are obeyed, signing reports and generally being pressurised by the Head to see that things are kept as He wants to see them. His main ambition is to do less work and become a Head himself.

Next, Heads of Departments, i.e. Head of Maths, Head of English etc., whose job it is to see that "standards are maintained", that there are high passes in CSE, O and A Levels. Pressured by the Head and Deputy to see that Teachers under him conform/fall into line/do not relate to pupils as people.

Right near the bottom of this pile are the Teachers who are told to "control" the class, keep it in "order", see that they are "respected as elders and betters" by those above them at school, and often pressured at home by their wives/husbands to conform, be up-graded, earn more, gain higher status, and "crawl up the ladder."

Then there is us. We are the "pupils," their charges, the names on a register, the blobs on a duplicated sheet. We are the people who are never asked, the people who just receive orders, instructions, work. We are the people who are shifted about like grains of sand on a busy beach. We are the trampled upon. We call the pyramid as a whole "capitalist society."

And why are we here? Why has Capitalism, the Puppet Master at the top seen it necessary to set up this involved pyramid School exists to serve Society, in order to carry on, needs a work force. Tomorrow we are that work force. From as early an age as possible we are trained to fit into the world of work. We are indoctrinated with the work ethic. In addition to subject teaching, school is an enforcer of a hidden curriculum. What we are ostensibly here for is Maths, English, History, Geography, etc. What we are really here for is the destruction of our deviancy, our spontaneity, our honesty, our "childishness", and the implantation of competition, efficiency, sexism, ageism, punctuality, submission to authority, racism, etc., all the qualities that tie in with business and industry and are useful tools for Capitalism's continuance. This hidden curriculum is almost more important than the subjects we do which lead to exams, which lead to "O" Levels (or lack of them), which lead to employment (or lack of it)/high-

er education/ruling classdom.

As perhaps you can see, I don't like school, I don't like what it's doing to me and my mates. And now as if the seething mass of millions at the bottom of that pyramid didn't even exist, there are plans afoot to do even more to us. The realisation that it's us who're supporting the weight, and that there are some of us dedicated to upset the balance a little, cannot have dawned on the author of a confidential report sent from DES to the Prime Minister. The report* is:

"A plan to introduce a basic national curriculum for Britain's secondary schools."



Fuckmesideways was my immediate reaction. Maybe I'm naive, but in my wildest dreams I never dreamt of measures so drastic, so sweeping, so potentially devastating as these, and with absolutely NO consideration for US; those who it would affect most and with such force. If Callaghan suddenly decided that Britain was really an agricultural country, and that workers on all major industries should go over to crop production and animal husbandry, and this would then be backed up by laws of various kind; would it not perhaps be underestimating the reaction to say that there would probably be a wide spread feeling of discontent? There would be a bloody revolution!

But because we aren't really people to these men, they can be so confident about plans of this nature that they don't really have to worry about such things as 'opinions'. After all, we'd be too young for such things. Too young to understand. Not mature enough to make decisions. Such arrogance. How much more angry it makes me. How much more it confirms beliefs and theories. How much more dedicated it makes me to resist and fight capitalism, the state, the present education system, and ageism—just one of its more despicable traits. This 63-page report is

"...a severe indictment of the failure of secondary schools to produce enough scientists and engineers..."

and the memorandum calls for

"...drastic measures to change the attitude of children entering schools..."

School students have little power, and the general trend for opting to do art subjects rather than science subjects is just about the only sort of power over the economy we have. Even so, this was not an organized campaign, it is something school students have done without prompting. The ability to choose between doing physics, maths, and chemistry as opposed to English, art and history is a false idea of what choice is really about. Given the present circumstances however, it's not something that we'd like to see taken away and replaced by a universal and enforced curriculum where the choice

you have is nil. Where what you learn is geared only to the economic needs of capitalism, and personal interest can go to the wall. Alright, so it's not so different from that already, but this is taking things to extremes, this is a consolidation and exaggeration and the logical extension of all schools eventually being State run. Can the National Union of School Students and others who advocate, quite rightly, the "...phasing out of all grammar schools, public schools, direct grant, and secondary modern schools..." have imagined that their policy of working towards "a co-educational comprehensive system of education..." (i.e. state schools) might lead also to the inclusion in these schools of a centrally decided "national curriculum" for all school students? Nightmares!

The whole tone of the report, as far as I can gather, is heavily influenced by the Rhodes Boyson/Black Paper/William Tyndale Knockers Brigade with



mention of schools becoming "too easy going and demanding too little work" and warnings

"...that less able teachers are not able to cope with modern teaching methods and that there may be a need to correct the balance and return to more formal methods."

The argument about returning to traditional methods of teaching and "correcting the balance" is grossly unfair, particularly in regard to secondary schools. There can be barely a handful of schools whose teaching methods may be said to be "progressive". There may be more "liberal" schools about than there were, but certainly they are no great new radical departure. Their methods of teaching are certainly not one million miles away from "more formal methods".

Apart from the tone, the main theme of the report seems to be to relegate the position of school-students still further (is it possible?!). To make us subservient to the National Interest. A Healthy Economy before a healthy people. The report complains about school-students who choose subjects they may have an inkling of interest in, rather than subjects that would later be of benefit to the economy, i.e. complaints of "unbalanced or not particularly profitable curricula" choices; pupils opting in numbers "insufficient for the country's needs for scientific and technological subjects"; and

"...schools may have over-emphasised the importance of preparing boys and girls for their roles in society compared with the need to prepare them for their economic role."

What if we say we think your economic role stinks!

The theory of the report rests on the idea of a "core curriculum" in all secondary schools at the heart of which, according to the reporter, would be "a return to the study of math-

ematics and science". Maths and Science are already studied at school, however. It's just that not enough of us want to do them. Realistically, how do the authors think they are going to reverse this process? Persuasion?

There is a man about, who after having spent some time 'inside', said, What if that doesn't work. Let's not kid ourselves; these proposals mean force, even if they do hide behind the respectability of Law.

In rejecting and fighting the implementation of this proposal it would be easy to end up defending the status quo. Arguments like 'It would be one step towards Soviet type state-capitalism where the role of education is completely geared to the needs of the economy and the state... at least here, although minimal, there is a degree of freedom...' are in the end counter-productive, because not only are we against the ideas put forward in the report, but as I have tried to indicate at the beginning of this article, we are dead against things as they are NOW. We need to fight the system now as well as fighting any plans which would make our situation worse in future.

'It's the goodwill of the inmates that keeps the prison together. Withdraw that support and the place collapses.'

We want Revolution
 We want the Smashing of the State
 We want an End to "Communism"
 We want a Society without Authority
 We want a Society without Oppression
 We want the End of Elites & Hierarchies
 We want Freedom
 We want Cooperation & Solidarity
 We want Self-Management & Autonomous Struggles
 We want an Ecologically Sound Environment
 We want an End to Chauvinism, Racism & Ageism
 We want the Power to Decide our own Destiny
 We want Control over our own Lives
 We want Revolution

AND WE WANT IT NOW ! □

* All quotes and reference to the Report are taken from The Guardian 13.10.76.

Belfast Meetings

The Anarchist Workers' Solidarity Group in Belfast report that meetings to highlight the plight of Noel and Marie Murray have been organised by the Murray Defence Committee in many parts of Belfast. According to the group the meetings have had the support of People's Democracy, the Red Republican Party, the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the Provisional wing of Sinn Fein, and many others including several Catholic priests. They also mention that the Communist Party and Official Sinn Fein and the Socialist Workers Movement (IS) as well as the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association have not supported the meetings.

The six meetings held in Belfast, some of them in conjunction with the relatives' action committee, were said

to have been successful with an increasing number of people becoming aware of the Murray case.

The solidarity group believes that more pressure must be put on the trade unions in this country, and asks for people to help them with posters, leaflets and newsheets. Comrades would also be welcome to participate in the Belfast campaign. The group can be contacted through: William McDermott, 223 Spamount Street, Belfast 15 □

SRAF

The first general Social-Revolutionary Anarchist Federation (SRAF) meeting in recent years was held in September at the University of Illinois. Held to "plan the tactics and strategy of achieving a free society" the meeting was attended by 75 people from various parts of Canada and the USA. Sam Dolgoff, author of The Anarchist Collectives, gave a seminar on Bakunin. He welcomed the SRAF meeting as a "great achievement" but warned against it being "side-tracked by any kind of esoteric cults or any kind of crap." A meeting was called for late July or August next year in Milwaukee □

Blood On The Grapes



The United Farmworkers Struggle

In this country the size of farms are increasing at an alarming rate. But this process has reached the stage in Kern County in California, where one farm is larger than the whole state of Rhode Island. As Alan Albon has often pointed out in these columns, we no longer farm the land, it has become agri-business. For instance, where there were 136,000 farms in California in 1930, now there are about 73,000.

These facts were given by Jane Fonda before the showing of the United Farm Workers film, 'Fighting for our lives' at the Other Cinema in London. The farms no longer belong to individuals but to the 'corporations'. It is the household names of American industry and commerce who now own, and control, and supply so much of the food for the American people. Corporations like Lockheed, Dow Chemical and the Bank of America - the same corporations who were so much involved with the war in Vietnam now bring, as Jane Fonda explained, us our Christmas dinner.

"And these big agri-businesses are vertically integrated. They've got con-

trol of fertiliser firms and supermarkets. The name of their game is profit. And look at what they are doing to the food in the process. Do you know, they are doing research to create square, thick-skinned tomatoes which will keep better and pack easier. Never mind what they taste like!"

They make these vast profits because they are able to use unorganised, badly paid, migratory labour. They are worked long hours and are paid for what is picked. Men, women and children picking grapes, peaches, lettuces, strawberries for both the American and European markets. Little has changed since John Steinbeck wrote the Grapes of Wrath in 1939. Families live in labour camps without proper sanitary arrangements, they still have to exist on below the minimum poverty limit officially recognised by the government and they are still subject to the violence from the forces of law and order, the owners and the 'scabs'. But they also suffer from the technology of the present age in that 4 out of 5 have contracted some form of pesticide poisoning. The 800,000 children who also work have to suffer these nineteenth century conditions alongside their parents.

In the sixties a five-year struggle to organise the Californian farmworkers and to sign contracts with the owners began. The union, the United Farmworkers Union, was led by Cesar Chavez and after a long series of strikes and a huge campaign of boycotts they succeeded in 1970. But when these 3 year contracts ended the owners refused to renew them or even negotiate with the UFW. Instead they signed up with the Teamsters Union who have over 2 million members mainly employed in road haulage. This notorious gangster outfit was used to break the UFW. The strikes once again brought arrests (over 3000), violence (300 seriously injured) and 2 deaths.

With the teamsters and other 'scabs' picking the grapes, the UFW have called for a boycott in this country of Californian grapes. 'It's the red grapes, the ones with blood on them'. These grapes will be on sale soon in this country. They will be in your grocers stores and especially in the supermarkets. One of these, Safeways, have direct financial links with agri-business, and so pickets will be mounted outside these and other supermarkets who stock these grapes.

With a very successful boycott in the United States, the owners are relying on the European market. So it is important that the boycott is a success here. Success is important to gain protection against the giant financial interests and the reactionary laws which curtail picketing and organisation. A victory could mean that these farmworkers and their families will at last receive a living wage and a decent place to live. Basically it is a reformist struggle with a reformist set of demands, but when people have to suffer the conditions that exist in agri-business they need all the support they can get. Boycott the grapes and the Safeway supermarkets!

The UFW can be contacted at:
 110A Brooke Road, London N.16
 Tel: 01 - 806 5677 □ P. T.

Who Needs Austerity?



"Neither Servants, Nor Masters"



Berlinguer in deviationist mood

Italian And British Workers Face Tough State Measures

"The sacrifices? Yesterday they forced us to give up our meat, today they force us to stop using our cars, tomorrow they'll probably force us to give up television or the glass of wine which we knock back in the evening to forget work. And then? What am I to give my wife and kids to eat? They say that the sacrifices are necessary and that we all have to suffer in order to create new jobs. That's all very well but where are these jobs? Unemployment, instead of getting less, is on the increase".

Newspaper headlines in Britain and Italy have a similar ring nowadays and if it wasn't for the obvious language difference, the Times or the Guardian could almost print the same stories that appear in Corriere della Sera or La Stampa. The common denominator is the economic crisis and the whole of the media is geared towards telling everybody that sacrifices are necessary today so as to ensure that the sun of economic prosperity shines tomorrow (or the day after at least). The quote at the beginning of the article is what a worker at the Pirelli factory in Milan said when asked by a journalist what he thought of the proposed programme of austerity. This worker is angry and, most importantly, not taken in by the government's propaganda.

WILDCAT STRIKES

In fact, many workers in the cities of Milan and Turin have taken part in wildcat strikes over the past week in protest against the austerity programme. Their actions, have not only intensely worried the 'official' government but also the big three confederated unions, not to mention the participating 'shadow' government, the Italian Communist Party (PCI). The confederated unions (CGIL, CISL, UIL) in fact have been forced to take token action against the government mostly against their leaders' wishes. They have obviously not forgotten the 'hot autumn' of 1969 in which

the PCI and the confederated unions virtually lost control of the Italian labour movement and this time they have ensured that they are in a co-ordinating and controlling position over the actions taken.

The confederated unions, therefore, not wishing to lose control of the situation (and the government also does not want them to lose control) have been proposing token strikes and various other proposals. The haggling that has been going on between the CGIL (communist-socialist dominated), CISL (Catholic domination) and UIL (Republican-socialist) has resulted in the types of action being decided upon not only guaranteed to cause the least trouble to the government and capital but also ensured that the workers' participation in the struggle was on a low level. The time for action if it was to be serious and successful was when the austerity programme was announced. Instead the three unions spent the week haggling over what type of action to take. One part wanted a general strike, another regionally-based action and yet another wanted only partial industrial action.

In the Piemonte region (around Turin) the confederated unions called for industrial action last Wednesday. The result was doubtful insofar as the unions claimed a great success with a 70-80 percent participation by workers whilst the FIAT management (whom the action mainly affected) claimed that participation by workers in the industrial action was as low as 30 percent. However, it is hard to imagine how much enthusiasm a worker can have for token industrial action. As the quote at the beginning of this article shows, workers are angry and do not accept that they should be the ones to make sacrifices. In any case they see no evidence to support the mad claim that if they suffer jobs will automatically appear and realise full well that suffering will lead to even more

suffering. So, faced with a labour organisation which proposes nothing concrete and only advocates token action, it may well have been that the industrial action in the Piemonte really was a failure.

For the moment it seems that the confederated unions and the 'historic compromise' have won the day. The Communists, as we all know, are very near to power (in fact, they are already collaborating in the running of the government) and the wildcat action which took place threatened to ruin their bureaucratic and economic hold on power. Their actions and words (both the confederated unions and the PCI) are typical of what we have come to expect, and will still have to put up with in the future. Reformist action is, in Italy, dressed up in exciting words and token action. The workers are managed and cajoled to take part in exciting-sounding action against the austerity package which is not meant to achieve anything. Social democracy is also called 'Communism' and the militants who have sweated their guts out to help the PCI and the unions achieve their present position have not yet come to see that they have been fighting for the coming to power of their 'new bosses' and not for the bettering of their lives.

The present 'piss-taking' of the workers by these 'new bosses' can only last for a certain period of time. The collaboration of the PCI and unions in the solving of the capitalist crisis can only put off for a temporary period an even greater crisis. The list of 'postponed problems' is great and these will increasingly lead the exploited masses to realise where their real interests lie. The difference between North and South in Italy is increasing and not decreasing (and has been doing so for as long as the state has been claiming to be trying to eliminate, or at least lessen, this disparity. The number of unemployed (as in Britain) is still increasing. The number of degree holders, diploma holders and other trained people without jobs is already high and getting still higher. The indices we can use to illustrate this point are manifold and the more of these we look at the more we wonder how long the present 'conning' can continue.

In Britain there seems to be no need for token action even because the self-styled leaders of the labour movement (the Labour Party) are actually the government and any action taken against banker Jim Callaghan and his pals is construed as action against the labour movement itself. Hence, the 'social con-trick' is easily implemented with the TUC playing the role of chief moderator of any demands that certain sections of the workforce may have had at any time. The recent case of the seamen illustrates this very well. The difference in Italy is that the Communist Party is not 'officially' in power yet and so feigned opposition to what they choose to identify as 'the government' serves their purposes admirably. In the future when the PCI do 'officially' become part of the government, stances similar to that of the Labour Party in this country will no doubt be taken.

The oppressed and exploited in Italy will tolerate the sacrifices that they are called upon to take for as long as their faith remains in the ability of the PCI and unions to represent their interests. As the situation gets worse this faith will probably start to crack and, hopefully, workers, unemployed and oppressed of all types will start to see that the taking of direct action is the only way to achieve their demands. The 'hot autumn' of 1969 was not crushed for ever and the events of the last week show that the sparks have already been rekindled. Let us wish the bosses, both 'old' and 'new', a very warm winter indeed □
Francesco

Secondly, the Communists' major claim to the governmental throne is that they control the working classes of Italy and they can only show that by keeping the masses quiet and calm. 500,000 people and more, without prospects and very angry are not very conducive to a calm political scene.

It is not surprising, therefore, to read in *Umanita Nova* (anarchist weekly of the Federazione Anarchica Italiana) that cammorist tactics are being adopted by the Valenzi junta against the Disoccupati Organizzati.

'In plain words, the PCI has turned to the local mafia, has turned to clientel-

ismo S. Giacomo supports has become a commonplace; its a commonplace that everybody talks about the manoeuvres put into action by several leaders of the PCI to split the Disoccupati Organizzati (privileges given to the leaders of the movement to split them from the base, the enlisting of local thugs to intimidate the rebels, the opening of new local 'sections' based on 'phantom' party membership lists to engulf the most combative part of the unemployed, clientelism operating in the handing out of jobs, etc...) but nobody has the courage to publicly denounce (at the very least) the scandalous behaviour of the local PCI'.

The Disoccupati Organizzati developed spontaneously as an expression of anger, but the anger of people who had developed a revolutionary conscience. Unfortunately they have so far accepted the arselicking from the Communists, Socialists, Republicans, and the Proletarian Democrats, thinking that political parties with parliamentary ambitions could actually give a damn about their plight. The sad truth is that political parties need the spontaneous developments such as the Disoccupati Organizzati to help them in their quest for power. When the interests of the people clash with the goal of governmental power it is clear that the parties (and especially the PCI) are very quick to try and control the situation in their favour, but failing that, the use of the local mafia is also a ready expedient □
S. Lucia

NAPLES, Communists And Camorra Unite To Defeat Unemployed

One of the most surprising political developments of the past few years in Italy has been that of the growth of the Disoccupati Organizzati (the Organized Unemployed) in the Naples area. Naples, for a long time under the domination of the Christian Democrats who ruled through simple clientelism and through the camorra (the underworld organisation prevalent in this area) in 1972 gave just over 30 percent of its vote to the neo-fascist MSI.

In 1975, the regional and municipal elections resulted in the halving of the MSI vote and a changeover of power from the Christian Democrats to the Communists and other left-wing or 'democratic' parties. For a long time the local Christian Democrat 'boss' had been trying to put obstacles into the path of the new Communist mayor of Naples, Valenzi. Of course, these criminal attempts against the efforts of the Communists to solve the terrible mess that is Naples (both economically and socially) could lead one to have a great deal of sympathy for Valenzi and the local Communists

The growth in this time of the Disoccupati Organizzati has changed this particular situation. Quite simply, the mass of unemployed around Naples had had enough. They decided to come together and demonstrate their feelings. Several demonstrations were held initially in 1975 one of which attracted well over 500,000 participants (that's equivalent to 5 Wembley cup-final crowds) and of course blocked the whole city. Other actions were also taken such as the blocking of the central railway station and so on.

Unfortunately, the Disoccupati Organizzati have now become an embarrassment for the ruling neopolitan Communists. Firstly, their activities in Naples threaten the Communists long sought after 'historic compromise' with the Christian Democrats (who of course in the space of a few years have been magically transformed from the murdering swines responsible for Piazza Fontana into good anti-fascists - but then again, for the Communists even army generals have now become democratic and anti-fascist).

ism of the most blatant variety and has gone as far as to even threaten those representatives of the unemployed who do not wish to follow the line laid down by the PCI."

'For the neopolitans the fact that the PCI has betrayed the expectations of the Disoccupati Organizzati in the name of the compromise with the neopolitan bourgeoisie which the 'red junta' of Pal-

LATIN AMERICAN INFLATION Dictatorships Make It 'Acceptable'

We are always led to believe in Britain that order and discipline are conducive to economic prosperity, low inflation and so on. If only everyone works hard, asks for very small rewards and trusts the running of the country to the people's representatives (either elected or self-imposed) all will be well. This kind of utopian rubbish can be quickly demolished if we look at areas of the world in which the capitalists (of all varieties), the technobureaucrats and so on, have a free hand in the carrying out of their policies and reap in envious profits (in foreign currency of course) all with the help of no-nonsense military dictators. Chile, Argentina, and Brazil, we all know have tremendous economic difficulties and their rates of inflation run at undreamt-of levels.

In 1975, for instance, the price level in Brazil rose by about 30 percent after much higher rates; in Argentina the rate soared over 300 percent and Chile's was falling from its 1974 peak of over 600 percent. Businessmen (of all varieties) have had to adapt to living with inflation but they have done so at the expense of the people who have had to be kept in check by some of the most ruthless military dictatorships ever seen.

'In Chile and Brazil' the Financial Times tells us "the Government has entrusted financial policy to sound economists, and enforces their rules with vigour". About Brazil we are further told that it "gears foreign exchange to

a crawling peg, and is not too oppressive with its price controls". The way that the military juntas go out of their way to enlist the help of the world's monetary giants is further revealed in looking at what happened in Chile and Argentina.

"Under the Allende Government in Chile, official prices were kept at levels far too low to be realistic; shops became bare and buyers had to depend largely on the black market (which according to widespread belief, got its supplies via corrupt party officials). After Dr. Salvador Allende's fall, most controls were swept away. The shops doubled their prices, but brought out stocks from under the counter".

Senora Maria Estela Peron also made the mistake of favouring price controls to 'monetary correction' (the system which works so well in Chile and Brazil according to the businessmen). "The controls increased in number and absurdity until they could not be effectively enforced. The black market swelled to a size that justified its being renamed the 'parallel economy'. The junta which seized power in March 1976 has set about razing the control fabric".

We are also led to believe that everyone ultimately suffers from severe inflation. However, the 'monetary correction' practised by the Latin American dictatorships ensures that only the people of that country suffer whilst business and the multinationals are helped to get round the difficulties created. ►

" 'Monetary correction' covers many types of adjustment mainly based on a general index. Chile and Brazil make use of the full range. Their national obligations are indexed. So are private contracts - for instance, rents and arrangements for delayed payment. Bank loans and deposits are often indexed if their term stretches beyond six months. Tax debts (both to and of government) are indexed: so are the personal allowances. (Chile defines the latter in terms of a 'tax unit' whose size in pesos jumps each month). The crawling peg and inflation accounting can be regarded as further examples of monetary correction".

In the May 1976 issue of the Italian magazine *Rivista Anarchica* an Argentinian comrade describes the events surrounding the military overthrow of Estela Peron.

For 48 hours the radio and television carried martial music and folk music and 'communiques' dictated by the leaders of the military junta. It was brought to the attention of the population that, confronted with the evident decomposition of the regime which threatened the integrity of the State, the Armed Forces had taken power with the intention of favouring the reconstruction of the country so as to achieve an 'authentic democratic Republic'.

Sentences ranging from 10 years to the death penalty were announced for any person or group taking up arms against the Armed Forces or the police. Tanks in great numbers also appeared on the principal roads. However, nothing happened. The armed forces were expecting some form of popular resistance which failed to materialise.

However, in the economic system which the Armed Forces have to ensure is kept going, only those who have economic and bureaucratic power can benefit and the inevitable price of inflation has to be paid for the transformation of the economy into havens of privilege and undisturbed command. For privilege to exist, however, there has to be a mass of unprivileged people whose consent cannot be guaranteed by social democratic 'social conning'. The only means of guaranteeing their consent is by the use of military might.

Several types of people can be seen to benefit from administering this type of system. Most obviously, the massive economic entities of ITT, IBM, Volkswagen, Ford, Coca Cola, etc... with all their hangers on (from mere bureaucrats to technocrats) are the first ones to benefit from an economic climate undisturbed by workers' demands. Then the army hierarchy also enjoy a great amount of personal privileges in the form of large residences, very high real incomes and so on. That is their reward for carrying out the murder of those who wish to resist on behalf of the bosses. Then there are the so-called 'sound economists' who, whilst not producing anything draft out and administer the important 'monetary correction' policies.

Quite how this situation will develop depends on how the various power elites behave in relation to each other. After all, contradictions exist between the interests of nationalistic military officers

and those of the managers of the multinationals for instance. The various élites now live through a very precarious relationship. If the people can find the ability and the formidable courage required to make their feelings find some kind of expression this precarious balance could be upset and a small part of the work will have been done towards a libertarian revolution N.S.

PURSUIT OF THE UNSPEAKABLE

THE FOX HUNTING season is open, with hunters closely pursued by bands of defenders of animals. Animal Liberation News service reports actions in different parts of the land by different groups of brave people -- because it is brave to measure yourself physically against mounted ex-majors and well-nourished farmers. The Hunt Saboteurs Association has interrupted foxhunts in Hampshire, Hertfordshire, Oxfordshire and here coursing in Norfolk. Their method is to blow hunting horns to distract the hounds, usually with successes in escaped foxes. They report little violence from hunters. The Enfield Chace hunt in Herts called in the police, who impeded proceedings by repeatedly evicting the saboteurs from land where they were blowing their horns, and here one saboteur was arrested but later released without being charged with breach of the peace. There is no report that the huntswoman who tried to ride down a protester and caused him to injure a leg was thought to be likely to cause a breach of the peace. A resident at this place told the saboteurs that the hunt had put young foxes, previously captured, into local woods the night before to ensure there was something to chase. The Hunt Saboteurs directed their most aggressive action at a Wiltshire vicar, turning up at his church 65-strong with banners bearing slogans of which examples are 'Do unto others as you would have them do unto you' and 'Gory Hallelujah', the wretched vicar being waylaid on leaving the church by a St. Francis prepared to hear his confession.

Having had a few years to recover from the custom of Kathy Farr, Harrod's fur department was visited by about 20 members of Animal Activists, who talked and argued with staff and customers about the cruelty involved in obtaining furs. There were scuffles as Harrods bouncers tried to remove the demonstrators, and as this proved difficult Harrods diplomatically ushered customers out and closed the department, and demonstrators left. They had been agreeably surprised by some support from customers, some of whom applauded the demonstrators.

The Animal Liberation Front has openly acknowledged expressing their anger at vivisection by causing damage at two establishments: A Tuck & Sons Ltd. Laboratory Animal Breeding Centre near Rayleigh, Essex, where they painted with slogans and slashed the tyres of a van which they claim was used to transport rats and mice to vivisection laboratories; and OLAC at Redhill Farm, Kings Norton (Birmingham) where anti-vivisection slogans were sprayed on the walls of an office, a phone damaged, and papers and documents taken. A.L.F. also struck a blow at the consciences of ichthyo-vegetarians by damaging several pounds' worth of angling equipment in Woolworths in St. Albans.

THE CHINESE PUZZLE

When a great earthquake hit China recently, it was noteworthy that the news was hushed up to the extent that it has never been known how many Chinese were killed in the 'quake. Now something of a political earthquake has hit China, and the Western press is far more active in speculating about the casualties. It is not only that the press is notoriously callous about other countries' disasters, bearing with fortitude the misfortunes of others, but speculating about the political future of other countries is as fascinating a journalistic exercise as crosswords or jig-saw puzzles.

All the elements of a good newspaper story are present--sex, violence, the stage, political skull-duggery--indeed the secrecy with which the whole story is surrounded is a story in itself. Madame Mao (Chiang Ching), the *femme fatale*: ex-actress, , one-time revolutionary supporter of Mao, joining him on the field of battle and becoming his mistress; the strange death of Lin Biao, killed in an air crash when fleeing to the Soviet Union after the failure of his plot; the reported deaths of three unnamed radicals: you name it, China has it--there is even a Taiwan inspired story that Hua Kuo-Feng is the 'lost' son of Mao.

The Chinese, in common with all totalitarian regimes, has only itself to blame for the wild rumours that take the place of information. At the height of the Russian Communist struggle for power an American paper carried the heading, according to John Dos Passos: "LENIN SHOT BY TROTSKY IN DRUNKEN BRAWL" Behind all this speculation is, and was, an amount of wishful thinking, but in the Chinese situation even this is tempered with a certain caution.

According to the China-watchers, the 'moderates' (whatever that means) are in control. The West, and this has been emphasised in some of the Press, needs China's custom, and China's presumed self-sufficiency and "siege economy" under Mao is thought to be capable of being changed (to the profit of the West) under the new regime.

What the expression "moderate" means is difficult to assess, but devotees of the cyclic theory of revolutionary history will discern already Hua Kuo-Feng as the Stalin to Mao's Lenin. (The 'Guardian' incidentally mystified all by describing the three dead radicals as "Conservatives"). He could be the Trotsky, or the Khrushchev--you pay your penny (or 10 p.)--and takes your pick.

Even Communist revolutions and parties have their own particular pattern, flavour and history. Cuba, Russia, Vietnam and Yugoslavia have only in common the "Communist" label on the tin. China had to rope in poor maverick Albania to fortify her brand image but the 57 varieties ▶

seem a limitation to the possible variations.

Mao Tse-Tung came up the hard way, a self-educated peasant, he survived the political turmoil of the Comintern to lead in a civil war, a guerilla war, and a war of liberation. He survived an alliance with the Kuomintang and the Long March to bring China out as a triumphant ally in the anti-Fascist war. He survived a snub from Moscow in the Sixties—at what price is not yet known. He came to some *modus vivendi* with America which ditched Taiwan (Formosa) and allowed China into the United Nations. If we are to believe the papers, he survived several plots against his person—including his wife's nagging—to die honourably in bed.

His virtues were the military ones and as a Marxist-Leninist he led his people on the paths of regimentation and conformity. It is true that China has probably eradicated poverty, famine (with a little help) and illiteracy, but given the wide powers that Mao had, any reactionary could have planned to the same end. It is well for China that Mao's intentions as a whole were benign and only a minority suffered from the lack of freedom. But since Mao's immediate aim was never freedom but communism he merely echoed Marx, Engels and Lenin, "Don't you want to abolish state power?" "Yes, we want to, but not at the present time. We cannot afford to abolish state power just now (1949)." "Why not?" "Because imperialism still exists. Because, internally, reactionaries still exist and classes still exist."

On the positive side Mao would not (in 1940) keep prisoners—except war-criminals or shoot them! But, on reflection, for a mobile guerilla force, prisoners would merely be an encumbrance. He went to great pains, and this is merely a military virtue, not to antagonize the peasantry—for his troops had to live off the country.

Throughout his life he had a talent for compromise and survival. He worked with Chiang Kai-Shek as long as it was necessary or possible.

He was not above claiming the entire semi-proletariat (whoever they are) and the petty bourgeoisie as "closest friends" but advocated caution against their right-wing tendencies. The "middle peasants" were necessary allies too, but, he says, "...the poor peasants must work on the middle peasants and win them over". He summed the whole thing up pragmatically in 1950 when he said, "Whoever sides with imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat-capitalism is a counter-revolutionary. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in words only but acts otherwise is a revolutionary in speech. Whoever sides with the revolutionary people in deed as well as word is a revolutionary in the full sense."

Mao is gone. Now the myths begin. If, as is possible, we see another bloody struggle for power we shall see another revolution devouring itself. If there is, as is likely, some subtle shift of policy in the direction of enforced collectivization and repression, the revolution will destroy itself. If the Chinese people see, in this exchange of masters, possibilities of their own freedom, possibilities in the communes, for instance, which Mao never fulfilled, there is hope for China. □

Jack Robinson.

LAND NOTES

This Little Piggy

THE NEAREST MOST PEOPLE get to a pig is wrapped up in a plastic container in a supermarket. How it gets there, the way it is produced never enters people's heads except when it fails to appear on the shelves or when the price rises catastrophically. There was a time when nearly every countryman kept a pig which consumed all the waste food and incidentally manured his garden.

The place where the pig was kept was called a sty or hovel, which description often applied to the house of the owner. However, both parties lived in the kind of comfort that varied with the resources, attitudes and capabilities of the people.

But there now seems to be a blanket uniformity in housing and rearing, which is costly and full of hazards. There was on a farming programme, a talk by a veterinary surgeon on the maternity arrangements for pigs. He described these concrete palaces as quite unsuitable for the purpose. They in effect add to the greatest hazard to young pigs, which is enteritis. However, there is little one can do about this as one man under existing methods looks after so many animals. The pig can only protect itself by dying or not doing so well.

The same sort of uniformity is, of course, imposed on human beings. The same objections can be raised about the maternity arrangements for human beings where the same intestinal hazards obtain. But here there is at least an organisation (Natural Child Birth Trust) run by women for women and men to understand these natural processes, which were being organised for the convenience of the professionals. (I digressed here because the veterinary surgeon was stressing that completely antiseptic conditions can separate the young from the natural impurities that are passed on by the mother).

Some years ago Reginald Reynolds, associated with the libertarian pacifist movement, wrote a humorous but pointed book called

Denis Healey's Rubicon



ARTHUR MOYSE

"HOW DARE YOU GO OVER MY HEAD PRIME MINISTER?"

Cleanliness and Godliness, which tried to put things into perspective. Now regulations are imposed in the name of cleanliness, but in the interests of the large vested bodies. Weeds and pests and bacteria are destroyed with gay abandon by such chemicals as dioxin which, prior to the Italian disaster and the revelations from Vietnam on the toxic nature of this chemical, was assured by the manufacturers to be perfectly safe.

One of the lesser known hazards of the drought is that residues of chemicals remain unbroken down and not washed away, so that cereal crops cannot yet be planted. They get washed to some degree into the water supply.

Even parts of the establishment are worried about the problems of plutonium. They may be overruled by blind vested interests which, of course, include the trade unions who, with the notable exception of the Australian building workers, are remarkably obtuse when it comes to these matters.

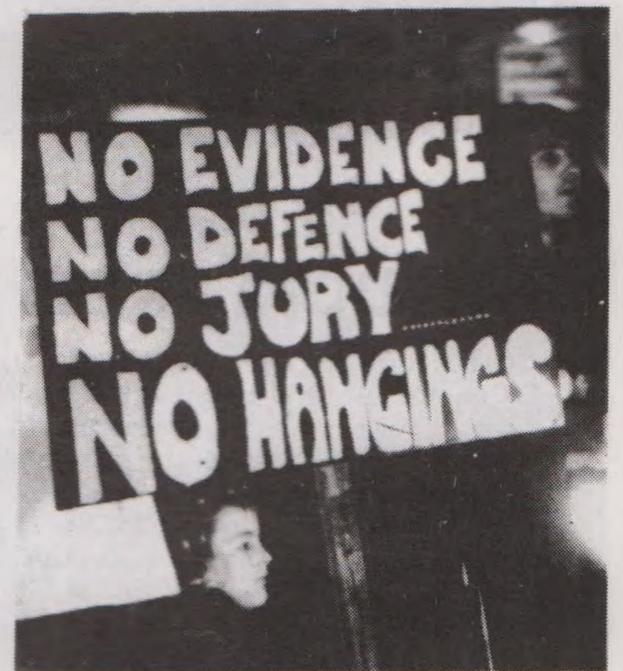
We live in times of technocratic authoritarian disorder and chaos, in which a myriad of powerful governmental supported interests inflict upon people a host of hazards which become more and more dangerous. This is because of the nature of education and communication in a privileged society, which tends to induce people to leave decisions to the experts.

The answer is participation and understanding, which will produce order and anarchy out of chaos and governmental authority.

ALAN ALBON

Comrades!

Help the Murrays



A reader of FREEDOM in Gartree prison collected the massive sum of £62 for the Defence Committee. Prison regulations did not allow this sum to be sent out in a lump sum, so the donors undertook to send their amounts separately. At the demonstration on 8th October the Defence Committee's treasurer was able to announce that £32 had by then been received.

DEFENCE COMMITTEE ADDRESSES:

Ireland: 155 Church Road, Celbridge, County Kildare, Eire.

London: Box 2, Rising Free, 138 Drummond Street, N.W.1.

FREEDOM:

NEXT DESPATCHING date for FREEDOM is Thursday 4 November. Come and help from 2 pm onwards. You are welcome each Thursday afternoon to early evening for folding session and informal get together.

WE WELCOME news, reviews, letters, articles. Latest date for receipt of copy for next Review is Saturday 23 October and for news section is Saturday 30 October.

PRESS FUND

1 - 13 October

BOXFORD: A.A. 35p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. £ 2; J.K.W. 20p; COSHAM: S.B. 34p; NEW YORK: S. & E.D. £ 3.55; OXFORD: Anon £ 1; BOLTON: L.C. 35p; COVENTRY: N.M. £ 1; LONDON E.4. S. & A.G. 50p; CHICAGO: Berkman Aid Fund per I.S.A. £ 14.70; In Shop anon 90p

TOTAL: £ 24.89
Previously acknowledged: £ 978.03

TOTAL TO DATE £ 1002.92

SUBSCRIBE

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

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

(These rates are for surface mail all over the world. Airmail rates on request.)

Please send FREEDOM for issues to:

.....

address.....

FREEDOM PRESS

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, Gaston Leval cloth £ 4.00 (55p) (USA \$10.00)

paper £ 2.00 (55p) (USA \$5.00)

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

THE STATE, ITS HISTORIC ROLE, Peter Kropotkin 20p (11p) USA 65c
ANARCHISM AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM, Rudolf Rocker 20p (9p) USA 65c
BAKUNIN & NECHAEV, Paul Avrich 20p (9p) USA 65c

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

Freedom Pamphlets

(originally issued with FREEDOM (letterpress))

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

CONTACT:

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

ANARCHIVE NEEDS Freedom No.38/1971; Anarchy (Ser. 1) 4, 6, 7, 21, 23, 60, 70, 83, 90, 95-99. Buy or swap. Beni, P.O.B. 609, Ann Arbor, MI 48107, U.S.A.

ARGENTINA: A group of young libertarian comrades wish to exchange correspondence about the political reality of their country and ours. They're also into rock music and publish an underground magazine. All letters can be passed on, in the strictest confidence, via FREEDOM

COMMUNE. Space in libertarian, anti-militarist communal household for four people -- adults and children -- preference for people with 'direction'. Karla, 22 Royal Road, Ramsgate, Kent.

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

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

MEETINGS

BWNIC Study Group mtgs. at 3.30 pm at 9 Monmouth House, West Hill Road, S.W.18. November 6 and every fortnight.

NEW YORK: Libertarian Book Club Fall Lectures, Thursday evenings, 7.30 at Workmen's Circle Center, 8th Avenue and 29 St. (S.W. corner), free admission, coffee & cookies.

Nov. 11: Paul Berman, "The Haymarket Martyrs";

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

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

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

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

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

Anarchist/Libertarians Colchester area interested in local group contact Hilary Lester, 32 Wellesley Rd., Colchester for mtg. details.

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

BIRMINGHAM MURRAY DEFENCE GROUP: Thursday 28th October, 8pm. PUBLIC MEETING at The WELLINGTON Pub. (corner of Bromsgrove St/Bristol Rd. Speakers include Noel's uncle.

BIRMINGHAM BLACK & RED GROUP: Regular Sunday Meetings soon, for info. contact Bob Prew, 40c Trafalgar Road, Moseley, Birmingham 13.

CENTRAL LONDON: Nicolas Walter speaks on "Religion" at a public meeting arranged by the Federation of London Anarchist Groups, at the Roebuck public house, 108a Tottenham Court Road, on Sunday 31st October. 7.30 pm.

INDUSTRIAL NETWORK CONFERENCE. Saturday 30th/Sun 31st October, at IWW Centre, 294 Middleton Road, Oldham. Sleeping Accommodation/Creche Available.

GROUPS

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

CAMBRIDGE Ron Stephen, Botany School Field Station, 34a Storey's Way, Cambridge (tel. 52896).

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

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

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

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

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

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

LEICESTER, Peter and Joan Miller, 41 Norman Road, Leicester (tel. 549652)

OXFORD c/o Jude, 38 Hurst St., Oxford

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

THAMES VALLEY Anarchists contact Adele Dawson, Maymeade, 4 Coxgreen Road, Maidenhead, SL6 3EE (tel. 0628 29741).

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

SCOTTISH LIBERTARIAN Federation:

Aberdeen: Blake, c/o A.P.P., 167 King St. Dundee: Malet, 1 Lynnewood Pl. (tel. 452063)

Edinburgh: B. Gibson, 7 Union St. (557 1532)

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

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

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

CONFERENCE: 4th Scottish Libertarian Federation Conference early November. Details from Aberdeen group.

INTERNATIONAL

AUSTRALIA

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

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

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

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

PRISONERS

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

MARIE MURRAY and NOEL MURRAY protest letters to the Justice Minister, 72-76 St. Stephen's Green, Dublin 2; the Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London SW1X 7HR

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen, Des Keane and Columba Longmore, Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire

PUBLICATIONS

CLYDESIDER no.2 now out. 15p incl. post. Towards a philosophy of anarchist praxis 3pp. SAE or 10p. Both from Glasgow group.

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

interrogations

international review of anarchist research, in four languages, from Bookshop £1.10



Thanks to Alan & Louise for their letter of support and to Neil for his offer of help. What Ian the Printer really needs is a female pen-friend to help pass the time between the weekly printing of Freedom. All offers to the usual address. and now for a Printer's Tale: "A Jordanian tourist and his female companion were each jailed for six months in Jerusalem yesterday for having sexual intercourse in the Church of the Holy Sepulchre. The couple were also fined more than £300 each." D. Telegraph (15/10/76). Now back to the real world: Please do not forget Toivo Hermann ja Toivo and the other Namibians imprisoned on Robben Island since 1968.

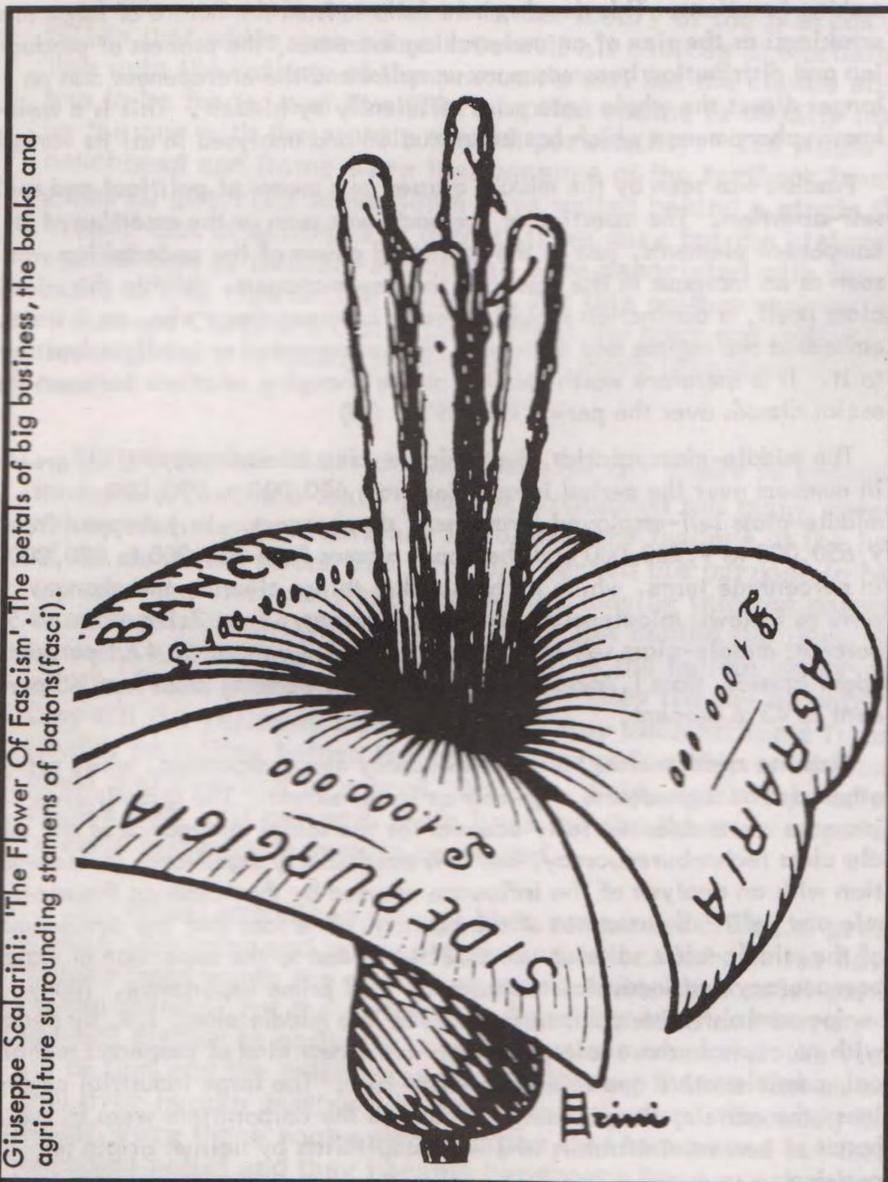
FREEDOM'S Anarchist Review

October 23'76

Luciano Lanza on

Techno-Bureaucratic Aspects Of Fascist Economics

Translated by Barry Smerin. Part One.



Giuseppe Scalarini: 'The Flower Of Fascism'. The petals of big business, the banks and agriculture surrounding stamens (fasci).

A GREAT DEAL HAS BEEN WRITTEN ABOUT FASCISM AND NAZISM, BUT in most cases only the most obvious and brutal aspects - the mythology and the history - have been dealt with. Analysis of the logic underlying the economic and political decisions has been much poorer. In other words, evaluations of fascism have too often been of a purely moral nature. But a moral judgement (which must obviously be adverse) does not provide a full understanding of the nature and characteristics of such a significant phenomenon, nor can it replace objective scientific analysis.

One of the chief obstacles to a proper analysis of fascism has always been Marxist doctrine, which defines it as a 'counter-revolutionary tool of the bourgeoisie'. That is certainly part of the story, but fascism cannot be convincingly reduced to that alone. Marxism cannot admit that capitalism could be followed by a form of social organisation other than socialism, and it must therefore deny fascism any autonomous existence. Nevertheless, there are sufficient grounds for seeing fascism as a form of exploitation, inequality, hierarchy and domination different in kind to capitalism.

There are certainly many possible objections to such a claim - the alliance with big capital, the financial support of the rich landowners,

and so on. All this is certainly true and important, but the fact remains that fascism in its 'mature' form - in its intentions and in many of its achievements - was essentially an anticapitalistic movement expressing the interests of a new class - the middle class that was rising to a ruling position. (1)

The current fascist "revival", (2) much more modest than we are led to believe, tends to work against serenity of judgement. However, today's meagre crew of young thugs and living fossils of the former regime do not have the same significance as the movement of the twenties, of which the present movement has conserved only the delinquency and the financial support of a few capitalists who would like to halt or at least slow down economic and social developments. We should not be led astray: the belated followers of a regime now dead and gone need not worry us, while 'official' antifascism serves too often as an alibi for the true successors of fascism - 'democratic technocracy'.

My purpose in this essay is simply to open a debate on the interpretation of fascism, as a step towards a fuller understanding of the history and development of the techno-bureaucratic class. (3)

The Programme

To speak of the ideological programme of fascism and nazism may seem of little importance, since the main feature of their political strategy was pragmatism. The fascist movement, a product of the post-war crisis, was initially no more than an amalgam of frustrated ex-combattants, interventionistically-minded trade unionists, radical nationalists, etc., held together by the myth and practice of 'anti-bolshevik violence'. But although financed by big capital, the programme of the Fasci Italiani di Combattimento published in Milan on 28 August 1919 (4) had revolutionary connotations: 'We place revolutionary war above everything and everyone'. And, most important of all, it contained an embryonic but clear statement of the prospect of a change of ruling class: 'As for the other problems - bureaucratic, administrative, judicial, educational, colonial, etc., we shall turn to them once we have created the ruling class' (my emphasis:).

In the social field the fascist programme proposed: (a) rapid introduction of the compulsory eight-hour working day; (b) minimum wage levels; (c) participation by workers' representatives in the technical functioning of industry; (d) assignment of the management of industries and public services to (morally and technically qualified) proletarian organizations'

The anticapitalistic tendency of the 'programme' is seen most clearly in the financial field, in the call for 'a heavy one-time graduated tax on capital, such as to bring about a real PARTIAL EXPROPRIATION of all wealth ...'. Similar anticapitalistic ideas were expressed by Gregor Strasser (5): 'German industry, the German economy in the hands of international finance means the end of any chance of social liberation, the end of every dream of a socialist Germany ... We young Germans of the war - national-socialist revolutionaries and ardent socialists - have taken up the struggle against the capitalism and imperialism embodied in the Treaty of Versailles.'

The Nazi Party programme of 1920 calls for the nationalisation of all limited companies, and Gregor Strasser hypothesises '...a distinction between property and possession. The people as a whole is the sole owner of the national wealth; individuals are no more than trustees answerable to the community. While the possession of wealth is therefore ►

not immediately in question, nobody can speak for the future: since the nation is the sole owner, each person may hope that the distribution of the 'fief' among the 'vassals' may one day be modified.' (6)

Otto Strasser went even further than his brother in proposing that all 'national comrades' should be joint owners of the German economy. For this purpose it would be sufficient for the state, as sole owner of the national wealth, to entrust to each entrepreneur his own enterprise in 'fief', against a tax payable in five or ten years. The enterprise would be infeasible. Possession, administration and profits would be divided in three, and one part each assigned to the entrepreneur, the personnel and the state. Property rights would be restricted; should the possessor die without a male heir judged fit to succeed him, the 'fief' would return to the people as a whole. (7)

These extracts give an idea of the ideological concepts of fascism. I am bound to point out, however, that other passages could be quoted as proof of quite different and often opposite intentions. The statement in the Programme of the Fascist Party that '... The state shall be reduced to its essential political and judicial functions' (8) is sufficient illustration. The fact is that fascist ideology was initially a mixture of fairly contradictory elements. Statist and corporatist ideas became more accentuated in the thirties, but they were expressed only in fragmentary form right up to the second world war. Not until the 'Repubblica Sociale' of Salò in 1943 (i.e. when the regime was on its deathbed), did they assume the shape of a 'constitution', i.e. a conscious ideological complex. Up to that point, therefore, our analysis bears not so much on statements of principle as on actual trends and practical achievements. It is from the latter, as we shall see, rather than from its programmes, that the true nature of fascism can be deduced.

Fascism & Big Capital

The original fascist programme, as we have seen, contained anticapitalistic, nationalist and socialist elements. Such ideological premisses, very often of a rhetorical nature, are usually taken as an attempt to win over the working and peasant masses. The fascists did indeed make considerable changes to their programme once in power, but this needs to be looked at in depth in order to achieve a proper understanding of the reasons which led them to abandon the programme of 1919. One of the reasons was the support which the young movement sought and obtained from numerous sectors of big capital and the wealthy landowners. The conquest of power was undoubtedly the fruit of a compromise with the traditional ruling class. While the support of the upper classes was decisive, it is necessary to analyse the opposing motives which militated in favour of the compromise. On the one hand, the capitalists saw in Mussolini and his party a force capable of stopping the 'red revolution' they feared; they entrusted him with the task of strengthening and revitalizing the capitalist system, certainly not with its subversion. (9) On the other hand, the fascist movement saw itself not as an adjunct of the liberal regime and of the class which personified it, but as an alternative to that class, with quite another strategy than support of capitalism.

It is true that policy from 1922 to 1925 was marked by measures in favour of capitalists and landowners, (10) but, in the final analysis, such measures must be seen as the 'pay-off' for the financial and political support obtained in the preceding years. The same period saw the beginnings of state intervention in the economy in favour of large concerns facing collapse. Ansaldo and the Banco di Roma were the first to benefit from the new economic policy. In its first interventions the state did no more than subsidize, but this was, nevertheless, symptomatic of a new trend.

Fascism also passed measures favourable to the industrialists in the taxation sector. The reduction of the rate of the tax on movable assets (11) was undoubtedly a concession to the industry, but it is significant that, at the same time, control of that tax was strengthened and rationalized to such an extent that the yield increased considerably in very few years. The same considerations apply to nazism.

In Germany, too, the big capitalists gave the nazis financial support, thinking to use them against the workers and hoping to bridle them through parliamentary tactics once they had performed their allotted task. But here again, once the initial hesitations were overcome, the movement developed its programme of state control with increasing precision, and the capitalists realized too late that fascism was not serving their class interests.

If the entente between big industry and fascism is to be properly understood in a historical context free of preconceived ideas, one must be clear about the fact that 'the essential thing is not so much to establish the degree of fascism's dependence on certain forces and interests as to understand the extent of and reasons for its independence of them. Only thus is it possible to appreciate the reasons for the errors committed by the traditional ruling class, the newness of fascism and its success both at the level of the masses and on the political level proper.' (12)

In conclusion, the alliance between big capital and technobureaucracy changed with time. The balance of power, favourable to capital at the beginning of the twenties, gradually shifted, and by the thirties, after the crash of 1929, the fascist regime was in a position to impose itself with equal if not greater force on its 'historic ally'.

Fascism & the middle classes

If the upper classes were an 'external' ally of fascism, seeking to exploit the alliance mainly for the purposes of restoration, the middle classes were undoubtedly the movement's sociological pillar. Large sections of the white-collar middle class made up the intermediate and upper echelons of the party. The party itself was founded and organized on middle-class initiative, and it was only afterwards that the upper classes gave financial and political support. The anticapitalist and nationalist ingredient in the *Programma dei Fasci di Combattimento* expressed by and large the ideology of those social classes which, squeezed between capitalists and working masses, saw their future increasingly called into question.

But fascism cannot be viewed simply as the revenge of a misguided middle-class salariat - it was a much more complex phenomenon. In Italy and above all in Germany, the economic expansion initiated by the new regime brought into existence, within the enterprises, new senior and middle management to whom the entrepreneur delegated numerous decision-making functions. This development follows from the nature of large undertakings: as the size of an undertaking increases, the process of production and distribution becomes more complex and the entrepreneur can no longer direct the whole enterprise efficiently by himself. This is a well-known phenomenon which has been studied and analysed in all its variations.

Fascism was seen by the middle classes as a means of political and social self-assertion. The assertion of the party was seen as the assertion of its component elements, just as the increased power of the undertaking was seen as an increase in the power of the new managers. Within the middle class itself, a distinction should be made between those who, as it were, embodied the regime and those who simply supported or totally submitted to it. It is therefore worth looking at the changing relations between the social classes over the period 1921-1936. (13)

The middle-class salariat, i.e. middle-class bureaucracy, (13a) grew in numbers over the period in question from 650,000 to 990,000, while middle-class self-employed (craftsmen, shopkeepers, etc.) dropped from 9,650,000 to 9,250,000 and the upper classes from 350,000 to 320,000. In percentage terms, which perhaps makes things clearer, the changes were as follows: middle-class technobureaucracy, from 3.2 percent to 5 percent; middle-class self-employed, from 47.3 percent to 47.1 percent; upper classes, from 1.7 percent to 1.6 percent; working class from 45 percent to 43.6 percent.

Thus the middle-class technobureaucracy alone expanded, while all other classes regressed to a greater or lesser extent. The quantitative increase alone does not fully account for the social dominance of the middle class technobureaucracy, but it is particularly significant in conjunction with an analysis of the influence exerted by that class on the economic and political structures of the country. The fact that the development of the middle-class salariat was directly linked to the expansion of state bureaucracy and industrial technocracy is of prime importance. Many senior administrative posts were filled by the middle class, i.e. by persons with no capital whose sole possession was a new kind of property: technical, administrative and scientific know-how. The large industrial combines, the cartels, the planning offices and the corporations were in the hands of new administrators who were capitalists by neither origin nor position.

Economic structure of Italy & Germany

When Mussolini came to power in 1922 Italy was in the process of recovering, albeit slowly, from the post-war crisis. The country was still essentially agricultural, (14) but it did possess some heavy industry which the First World War had done much to expand and which had been thrown into severe depression by the subsequent lack of orders. The structure of agriculture was largely determined by the nature of the terrain. The north, especially the Po flatlands, was mostly given over to intensive farming (cereals and animal husbandry on large and medium-sized holdings using hired labour). In central Italy small family holdings engaged in mixed farming were the rule. The south and the islands were dominated by large agricultural estates (grain and pasture). As for the structure of industry, the 1927 census gives us the relevant information. (15)

Industrial production was heavily concentrated in the north, where 49 per cent. of all undertakings, with 64.1 per cent. of all employees, were to be found. Clothing was the most widespread sector (26.1 per cent. of all undertakings), followed by transport and communications (14.8 per cent.), food (11.2 per cent.) and engineering (11 per cent.). The chief industries by numbers employed were textiles (16 per cent. of all industr-

ial workers), transport and communications (13 per cent.), clothing (12.3 per cent.) and engineering (12 per cent.). The textile industry also took first place in regard to energy consumption (8.9 per cent. of total consumption), followed by transport and communications (8 per cent.), iron and steel (8 per cent.), food and associated industries (7.3 per cent.).

In regard to numbers employed in each undertaking, the census shows that 45.6 per cent. of all firms employed one person only, 43.4 per cent. employed five or less, and about 1.3 per cent. employed more than fifty. Moreover, 53.7 per cent. of all employees (i.e. 2,151,973 persons) worked in undertakings that employed not more than fifty persons. This all means that in the early years of the fascist regime — the situation changed somewhat in the following years — Italian industry consisted predominantly of craft industry and small to medium-size firms. Large and very large concerns, with 46.3 per cent. of all persons employed, represented, from the point of view of numbers employed, scarcely half of all Italian industrial activity. Unlike Italy, the Germany of the thirties was basically an industrialized country. Agriculture accounted for a little more than 20 per cent. of all goods produced, while industry provided the other 80 per cent. The pattern of change in the social structure attests to the growing industrialization of Germany, (16) and the predominance of industrial employees over other categories confirms this picture. The table reproduced below (17) shows, interestingly, that while all other sectors of activity experienced a more or less marked decline from 1925 to 1933, the services sector grew significantly.

This is particularly relevant because expansion in the tertiary sector is generally directly related to the growth of trusts, cartels, banks, and state intervention, i.e. activities in which the bureaucratic-administrative aspects of production are particularly important.

Economic Self-Sufficiency

Any examination of the nazi-fascist economic system must deal with the question of economic self-sufficiency, which was one of its basic features. Despite the fact that steps towards self-sufficiency were not among the first measures taken by the regimes in question, the philosophy of "self-reliance" permeated the whole dynamics of the economy. In self-sufficiency the fascist leaders saw a way of avoiding the necessary consequences of trade relations with other countries and of leaving themselves free to reorganize national production on the basis of a planned economy. (18)

The shift towards self-sufficiency was also determined by objective considerations such as the unfavourable rate of exchange with more industrialized countries (in the case of Italy) and the attempt to achieve a considerable measure of economic independence (in the case of Germany). In 1934 the Italian balance of trade showed a deficit of 2,500 million lire. To restrict the outflow of gold, the government first introduced special licences for imports of foreign goods and then, from 1st August 1935, took over the monopoly of foreign imports of cotton, copper, tin, iron, nickel, coal, wool, fuel and other raw materials. A parallel development took place in Germany, whose trade deficit reached 285 million marks in 1934. March of that year saw the establishment of government departments to regulate imports of main products. In September, Schacht, the Minister of Trade, decided to increase the number of departments to twenty five, thus placing all major goods under state control. (19)

The steps towards self-sufficiency taken by the Italian regime did not restore the balance of trade, which continued in chronic deficit, whereas Germany (which possessed a more solid productive apparatus) managed to move into surplus with the help of a shrewd dumping policy. Self-sufficiency can thus be seen to be a new mechanism for regulating the movement of goods, and one that was in more than merely tactical opposition to the free market of the liberal era. The "new order" was the result of the decline of the free market and its replacement by "distribution for national self-sufficiency", i.e. a distribution of goods decided from above in accordance with strict planning criteria. (20) The introduction of a policy of economic self-sufficiency had ample repercussions in the social field. By undermining one of the basic tenets of capitalism, i.e. the free movement of goods, it caused an upheaval in the existing social order and laid the foundations for its replacement by an order more in line with the new relationships of production.

Concentration of industry

The concentration of industry favoured and encouraged by the fascist technobureaucracy is extremely significant, since it is symptomatic of anticapitalistic intervention in the economy. The foregoing assertion is based on the fact that the size of an undertaking is itself almost always a succinct indication of the power relations within it. Parallel to an increase in the size of an undertaking goes an increase in the knowledge required to manage the entire production process. As already pointed out, the single entrepreneur finds himself at a disadvantage and is forced to

delegate an ever increasing part of his own functions (and thus of his power) to experts who run the undertaking collectively, i.e. to technobureaucrats. Furthermore, an increase in the size of an undertaking often coincides with its transformation into a joint-stock company, which in turn is frequently followed by a fragmentation of the share capital such that the individual shareholder is no longer in a position to determine choices and decisions within the company: that is, he loses his power while remaining a joint owner. (21)

By decree of 23rd June 1927 the regime granted appreciable tax benefits for mergers and thereby began a process which in a few years saw the rise of consolidation of large industrial combines. (22) The concentration of industry proceeded not only through mergers but also through the formation of cartels and trusts. (23) For example, one of the first laws promulgated by the nazi regime (15th July 1933) entitled the state to combine undertakings in a given sector of production in a compulsory cartel and favoured the formation of trusts. At the end of 1932, 4060 of the 9624 existing German joint-stock companies were involved in trusts. And these were the larger companies, as can be seen from the fact that, out of a total authorized capital of 22,300 million marks for all joint-stock companies, the combined authorized capital of companies involved in trusts amounted to some 18,800 million marks. Three years later, at the end of 1935, this development had continued to the point where 48 per cent. of all joint-stock companies (as against 42 per cent. in 1932), with 90 per cent. of the combined capital (as against 84 per cent. in 1932) were involved in trusts. (24) In substance, the fascist and nazi governments placed themselves at the head of a movement for the formation of industrial combines, whose dependence on the authorities became even more



II Duce Taming The Capitalist Tiger:

pronounced with the introduction of compulsory state authorization for new businesses (25) and the authoritarian suppression of numerous small undertakings. (26)

In Italy, strict state control was further strengthened in April 1936, when it was extended from compulsory trusts to the voluntary production and sales consortia which in some sectors accounted for 75 per cent. of national production.

Salvage Operations

An examination of state intervention in the economy shows quite clearly that the fascist technobureaucracy aimed at transcending the capitalist system. The changes in direction in fascist economic policy were due more to contingent economic and political difficulties than to a lack of overall strategy. At first, fascism traded on the weakness of the capitalists and pursued a policy of rescuing companies in trouble. For many economists, especially the marxists, this proves that fascism was essentially a capitalist regime — indeed, a product of "monopoly capitalism in its imperialist phase" — and they consequently consider the corporations as nothing but instruments of big capital. (27) In reality this was far from the case, which I shall attempt to demonstrate by facts rather than abstract formulae.

The world crisis of 1929 gave fascism an opportunity to operate more freely than in previous years. In view of the difficulties with which the capitalists were now faced, the regime was able to disregard their repr

esentations. Moreover, the world of industry, which had not taken so kindly to bureaucratic interference before the crash, now saw it as the lesser evil, since it brought the benefits of state protection and financial support. October 1931 saw the foundation of Sofindit (Societa per il Finanziamento dell'Industria Italiana), with a capital of 500 million lire almost wholly subscribed by the state, for the purpose of subsidizing Italian industry in trouble. In November of the same year the Istituto Mobiliare Italiano (IMI) was set up with a capital of 500 million lire wholly subscribed from public funds. (28) IMI issued state bonds to the value of 5,500 million lire repayable in ten years and used the money for medium and long-term subsidies to private industry. Finally, the Istituto per la Ricostruzione Industriale (IRI), which was founded in 1933, soon assumed considerable proportions and quickly became the chief instrument of state intervention, (29) remaining the largest Italian state organization to this day. It was through IRI that the largest combines and principal Italian banks were saved from the effects of the depression. By the outbreak of war, IRI controlled over 80 per cent. of shipbuilding, over 50 per cent. of the iron and steel industry and 29 per cent. of the electrical industry.

State intervention in favour of ailing industry was less extensive in Germany during the Nazi period, if only because the worse effects of the depression had been partly overcome by 1933. Moreover, there was more solid than in Italy. The Nazi regime exercised quite extensive control over the economy through the trusts and cartels, and salvage operations were carried out through the principal banks, where state capital predominated. Rather than coming to the aid of undertakings in trouble, the Nazi state substituted itself for private initiative in areas which the latter did not intend to exploit. (30) A case in point was the creation of the Hermann Goering Reichswerke für Erzbergbau und Eisenhütten with public funds and capital provided by big industry — a typical example of a "mixed company".

Direct Intervention

From the initial stage of sporadic uncoordinated rescue operations, the fascist technobureaucracy moved on to more systematic intervention. The fulcrum of the new industrial system were the administrative organizations like IRI, which we have already mentioned. The use of such organizations was an innovative feature of fascist state intervention which permitted the economy to be brought under state control without formal modifi-

cation. Ailing concerns that came under the control of the administrative organizations continued to pay dividends to the capitalists, but the latter lost an important part of their power over the enterprise. Slowly but surely the centre of decision making within the enterprise shifted. Fascism, which still had to contend with the capitalists, preferred this shrewder policy to outright nationalization. In this way, while providing the upper classes with substantial economic aid, (31) it deprived them of part of their prerogatives. In addition, the depressed condition of private industry and the requirements of a policy of economic self-sufficiency led the government to intervene in production directly, through the creation of state-owned undertakings. Among the most important of these were: AMMI (Azienda Minerale Metallurgica Italiana), founded in 1936; ACAI (Azienda Carboni Italiana), founded in 1935; AGIP, which had been set up in 1926 and in 1936 merged with ACAI and Montecatini to form ANIC (hydrogenation combine). The government also set up various national organizations for the regulation of entire sectors of production, such as the Ente Nazionale per la cellulosa e la carta (cellulose and paper industry), the Ente Nazionale della moda (dress-making industry) and the Ente Nazionale metano (methane industry).

In Germany state intervention assumed slightly different forms and relied on slightly different methods. The Nazi regime aimed above all at setting up public trusts to run whole sectors of the economy. One of the most important of these was VIAG (Vereinigte Industrieunternehmen AG), a giant holding company formed during the First World War and further developed by the Nazis. VIAG participation included electrical companies with a capital of 110 million marks, aluminium plants (36 million marks), engineering and metallurgical concerns (45 million marks) and nitrate and calcium undertakings (20 million marks). In all, this enormous trust employed some 70,000 persons. Another example already referred to was the Hermann Goering Werke, founded in July 1937 with a capital of 5 million marks that was soon upped to 400 million, which operated chiefly in the iron-mining and metallurgical industries.

The importance of state enterprise in Germany can also be gauged from the volume of public stock issues as compared to private. State capital accounted for up to 91 per cent. of all stock issued. Thus, shares and bonds issued by private companies had only a very modest share of the capital market. (32) □ Luciano Lanza.

This article was first published, in Italian, in *INTERROGATIONS* 5, December 1975, and will be concluded in the next *Anarchist Review*.

FOOTNOTES:

(1) This idea has been put forward very recently by De Felice, whose originality of interpretation makes him something of an exception among students of fascism (R. De Felice, *Intervista sul fascismo*, Bari 1975, p. 33).

(2) In this connection see A. Bertolo, *Pericolo fascista e compromesso storico*, in *Interrogations*, No.3.

(3) The debate on the correct interpretation of fascism has in fact already got under way, though in a rather disjointed fashion, within the Italian anarchist movement. For example, the Gruppi Anarchici Federati have introduced the technobureaucratic interpretation into their ideological baggage. See also E. Cipriano, *I padroni con il fez*, in *A-Rivista Anarchica*, Second Annual Series, no.5, June 1972.

(4) G.A. Chiurco, *Storia della Rivoluzione fascista*, Florence, 1929, Vol.1, pp. 240-1.

(5) G. Strasser, *Kampf um Deutschland*. This and subsequent quotations are taken from D. Guerin, *Fascismo e gran capitale* (English title = *Fascism and Big Business*), Milan 1956. Gregor Strasser, like his brother Otto, was one of the chief theoreticians of national socialism. He was expelled from the party by Hitler after the conquest of power.

(6) G. Strasser, *ibid.*

(7) O. Strasser, *Aufbau des Deutschen Sozialismus*, quoted in D. Guerin, *op. cit.*

(8) G.A. Chiurco, *op. cit.*, Vol. III, p.640.

(9) R. De Felice, *op. cit.* p.38.

(10) The most important measures were: abolition of compulsory share registration, transfer of the telephone system to private enterprise, renewal of the concessions to the electrical companies, abolition of the state monopoly in life assurance and the transfer of a large share of the business to private companies, and the suspension of the agrarian reform law.

(11) The tax on movable assets applied to company profits.

(12) R. De Felice, *op. cit.*, p.50.

(13) The figures which follow are taken from P. Sylos Labini, *Saggio sulle classi sociali*, Bari 1974, p.155.

(13a) Cf. AA.VV. *Anarchismo '70*, Cesena 1973, pp.76-77.

(14) Suffice it to say that in 1921, out of an active population of 20,420,000, a good 13 million were employed in agriculture (farmers, tenant farmers, farm labourers, etc.)

(15) Cf. V. Travaglini, *La politica industriale*, in *Economia Fascista*, Florence 1935, pp. 202-3.

(16) Urban and rural population (percentages)

	1939	1933	1925
Rural population	30.1	32.8	35.4
Urban population	69.9	67.2	64.6

Taken from C. Bettelheim, *L'Economia della Germania nazista*, Milan 1973, p.39.

(17) Breakdown of population by occupation (percentages)

Occupation	1939	1933	1925
- agriculture and forestry	18	20.8	22.8
- industry and crafts	41	39	42.2
- trade and transport	15.8	16	16.7
- public and private services	10.1	7.7	6.8
- domestic labour	2.1	2	2.4
- other	13	13.6	9.1

Taken from C. Bettelheim, *ibid.*, p.39.

(18) It is interesting to note what Otto Strasser wrote in *Aufbau des Deutschen Sozialismus*, *op. cit.*: "Self-sufficiency is the means for achieving a new form of economy not tied to supply and demand, in which prices and quantities produced are decided by the state and internal currency is not linked to gold, so that the emphasis is on labour as opposed to capital, and state-controlled exports can compete in favourable conditions with goods exported by capitalist countries, on which a profit is required."

(19) Cf. D. Guerin, *op. cit.*, pp.237 ff.

(20) It should be stressed that the economic self-sufficiency system differed clearly from the protectionism of the beginning of the century, both in scope and because protectionism did not change the essential nature of the liberal economy, even if certain aspects were subject to regulation.

THEORY OF THE 'NEW BOSSES'

Luciano Lanza, the author of the preceding article is a member of G.A.F. (Gruppi Anarchici Federati), one of the three national anarchist federations in Italy. In its assembly held on the 20th and 21st March 1976, G.A.F. approved a new programmatic document, set out in 30 points. We publish here some extracts from the programme (recently published in its entirety by the Centro Documentazione Anarchica of Turin) in the hope that they will clarify some of the theoretical assumptions made in Lanza's article, and will throw light on what is becoming a major trend in European anarchist thought. N.S. & D.L.M.

Hierarchical Society

The state is the fundamental political institution of all modern hierarchical societies. Consequently, anarchists have directed their attacks particularly against the state, and continue to do so: once again, not only against the "bourgeois state" (the political structure of capitalist society) but against every state, present past or future, in so far as it is an organization of power, that is, of domination. The anarchist critique of the state takes on new strength today in the face of the monstrous totalitarian invasion of the state and its transformation into an "arena" of economic rather than political power.

The Three Classes

We are living through a historical phase of transition from the capitalist system to a new system of exploitation. This is the key to the interpretation of the complex socio-economic framework and of international politics, whose convulsions are the result not only of divergent imperialist interests, but also of opposed late-capitalist, post-capitalist and intermediate social systems, with differing variants for every category.

Following a three class model it is possible to single out the two principal social factors in the transformation (the old and the new bosses), both at the international level and at the level of particular national structures, where capitalism has not already been buried (i. e. in the "State socialist" countries, and in parts of the Third World). It is also possible to identify the class which is dominated and exploited which, as always in historical phases of transition, intensifies its class struggle, because the metamorphosis renders the psychological and ideological instruments of subjugation less workable, and because the class rising to power mobilises the rebellious energies of of the exploited as a vehicle for its ambitions.

The exploited class, or rather the ensemble of exploited classes (manual workers in general, including wage-earners in agriculture, industry and the services, self-employed workers whose "self-employment" amounts to "self-management" of their own exploitation, and the rural and urban sub-proletariat—the unemployed, the under-employed, the "marginalized", etc...) objectively are exploited, independently of the mechanism by which the relation of exploitation (which is not necessarily the typical or dominant relation) is brought about, and independently of any subjective perception of the exploitation itself.

The "old bosses" are the capitalist bourgeoisie, whose privilege is based on the private ownership of the means of production, and whose prevalent (but not only) method of exploitation is the typical relationship of production which extorts surplus-value from wage-earning workers in a market of labour power and products.

The "new bosses", who are the dominant class in the self-styled socialist countries, and who share power with the bourgeoisie in the late-capitalist countries (in a dynamic balance which is constantly shifting in their favour) are the technobureaucrats.

The New Bosses

The new ruling class, the technobureaucracy, is defined by those activities in the sphere of intellectual labour which correspond to managerial functions in the hierarchical division of social labour. The "new bosses" fulfil these functions and derive the relevant privileges and powers not by virtue of private property rights over the means of production, but by virtue of a kind of intellectual ownership of the means of production—that is, by possession of the knowledge necessary for the management of large political and economic agglomerates. In the fullest present day expression of their domination, that is

in the self-styled socialist states, the technobureaucrats manage political and economic power monopolistically and exercise their form of exploitation, not so much individually as collectively through a "class ownership" of the means of production. They appropriate a privileged quota of goods and services not directly like the capitalists, but indirectly through the state which takes in this "class" quota and then redistributes it among its functionaries differentially according to their position in the social pyramid, that is according to the hierarchical importance of the function they fulfil.

In the late-capitalist western world, the new bosses present less distinctive features and their specific mode of exploitation is entwined with that of capitalist exploitation. They have their historical and functional origins in the salaried middle classes at the service of the capitalist bourgeoisie. The development of corporations, commercial and financial trusts, multinational enterprises and the progressive extension of the state's role in the economic and social fields have generated and are still generating the conditions for the increased importance and power of the technical and administrative apex of enterprises and state institutions.

Bureaucrats (state managers) and technocrats (the managers of private undertakings) constitute two aspects of the new class, which can be differentiated still further by taking into account the hybrid figure of the manager of a public enterprise. The technobureaucrats appropriate their class privileges, that is the fruit of their exploitation, through very high payments (salaries, bonuses, services, emoluments for their social responsibilities). These payments, in the case of managers of private enterprises can be seen economically as hidden business profits (that is capitalist surplus-value). The privileged payments of state managers (or high-ranking civil servants), on the other hand, are typically technobureaucratic. The payments of the managers of public enterprises or enterprises with state participation can be seen partly as profit (in so far as capitalist market-based procedures are still reflected in these enterprises), and partly as real privileged rights over wealth produced not at the level of the firm but of the nation.

Multinationals

In the big corporations the power of the technobureaucrats finds its managerial expression. Not only does the increasing fragmentation of share-owned property render the decision-making power of the capitalist share-holders insignificant but above all the enormous complexity of the managerial problems and related responsibilities transfers control of the economic mechanisms to the managers, and also proportionately reduces the power of the major shareholders, apart from those who are both capitalists and managers, thus taking on the characteristics and prerogatives of the old and the new bosses. In historic phases of transition, this often happens.

The independence of the technobureaucrats is even more accentuated in the multinational companies. The power of the shareholders over "their" enterprise operating at the international level is practically non-existent: the entire production/distribution process has such a complex structure that only the managerial staff is capable of controlling and co-ordinating it. The multinationals, moreover, by their structure, produce a hierarchical division of work between geographical regions corresponding to the vertical division of work inside the firm: the high level jobs with decision-making power are centralized in the metropolises of the developed countries (with a certain number of sub-capitals in the zones of medium development) whilst the activities with the lowest technological content are carried out in the underdeveloped countries. This is a new type of international exploitation whose protagonists are no longer merely the advanced states against the underdeveloped ones, but also the multinational enterprises which are taking on the role and functions of new colonialists. □

CHARLES WILFRED MOWBRAY, an English anarchist-communist, arrived in the United States in the summer of 1894. A self-educated tailor from the London slums who had served in the army as a youth, Mowbray was a big, athletic-looking man in his middle thirties, with black hair, blazing eyes and a tempestuous eloquence that had stirred many an audience in Britain, where he had been a friend of William Morris and an active member of the Socialist League since its formation a decade before. On September 20, 1885 he had been roughed up and arrested for "obstructing a public thoroughfare" at Dod Street and Burdett Road, Limehouse, a site long used for open-air meetings before the London police began to interfere. In court the next morning Mowbray, "who had really done the most", as William Morris confided to his wife, was set free, though a disturbance broke out in which Morris himself was nearly ordered detained by the presiding magistrate.

Paul Avrich

Charles Mowbray:

British Anarchists In America

Part 2

This incident marked the beginning of a long free-speech fight, involving unemployment demonstrations and Haymarket protests among other issues, in which Mowbray, a militant agitator of the Johann Most stamp, was a central figure. On June 14, 1886 Mowbray was again arrested at a free-speech rally in Trafalgar Square and fined twenty shillings and costs. Undaunted, he organized a series of well-attended unemployment meetings at Norwich, where he had become secretary of the local Socialist League branch. "Socialism is going like wildfire" he reported to William Morris in October 1886.

On January 14, 1887, however, Mowbray and a young associate named Frederick Henderson were arrested following a meeting in the Norwich market place where, the authorities alleged, a bank and several shops were damaged by the crowd. Convicted for inciting to riot and "disturbing the public peace" Mowbray was sentenced to nine months and Henderson to four months in prison. But their efforts had not been for nothing. William Morris, who followed the trial closely, noted in his diary that "there is a good deal of stir amongst the labourers about there; the place is wretchedly poor." The Socialist League organized a mass meeting in the Norwich market place to protest against the sentence, and a committee was appointed "to see after Mowbray's wife and children while he is in."

When Mowbray came out, he resumed his agitation for the Socialist League, taking part in annual Paris Commune and Haymarket commemorations, side by side with Peter Kropotkin, Errico Malatesta, Louise Michel and Saul Yanovsky, who had come to London from New York to edit *Der Arbeter Fraynd*, the Yiddish anarchist paper in Whitechapel. In November 1888 Mowbray returned to Norwich to chair a Haymarket meeting at which Lucy Parsons, on a lecture tour of the British Isles, spoke on "The Labor Movement in America", followed by the singing of her husband's favourite song, "Annie Laurie" and of William Morris's "No Master."

An irrepressible firebrand, Mowbray had emerged from prison "more extreme than ever." He was convinced of the need to use dynamite and propaganda by the deed to destroy the capitalist system. "I feel confident that a few determined men - and when I say determined, I mean men who are prepared to do or die in the attempt - could paralyse the forces of our masters, providing that they were acquainted with the power which nineteenth century civilization has placed within our reach," he wrote in November 1890. The following year, before a Haymarket gathering in London, he declared: "We have heard much of the doctrine of brotherhood and love tonight, but the doctrine of hate and vengeance is just as necessary and right."

The extremity of Mowbray's pronouncements led some to conclude - without any evidence - that he was an agent provocateur, or at least a dupe of the police. Five months later, in April 1892 he again got into trouble during the so-called

Wallsall Affair, in which a group of anarchists were charged with a dynamite conspiracy directed against the tsar of Russia. When *The Commonweal*, the organ of the Socialist League and a paper with which Mowbray had been closely associated, published an article entitled "Are These Men Fit to Live" - meaning the Home Secretary and police officials who had conducted the investigation and the judge who had sentenced the four defendants to ten years in prison in spite of the fact that the instigator of the plot had been a police spy - Mowbray was arrested and charged with inciting to murder. On April 19th, while Mowbray was in custody, his wife, the daughter of a French Communist, died of consumption at the age of 31, and William Morris put up £500 bail so that he could attend the funeral. Soon afterwards he was tried and acquitted, though David J. Nicoll, an associate on *The Commonweal*, received an eighteenth-month term of penal servitude.

On November 11, 1892 Mowbray was again addressing a Haymarket anniversary meeting in London with Kropotkin, Malatesta, Yanovsky and Louise Michel. The following summer he was excluded from the Zurich Congress of the Second International, along with Gustav Landauer and other anarchist delegates, who proceeded to hold a "counter-congress of their own." A year later, the Socialist League having disbanded and *The Commonweal* ceased publication, Mowbray landed in America on a speaking tour.

During the summer and fall of 1894, Mowbray lectured on anarchism in New York, Paterson, and other eastern cities with large immigrant and working-class populations. In the spirit of Bakunin and Most, he called for revolutionary action by all the disinherited elements of society, dismissing trade unionism of "the old sick benefit sort" as a failure. "We must denounce the brutal indifference of the employed to the sufferings of the unemployed - the criminals, the tramps, the casual labourers, the victims, in short, of the brutal system of class monopoly we are all suffering under." In Paterson, according to a French anarchist paper in Pennsylvania, Mowbray's audience was held in thrall for an hour and a half by "the charm of his passionate and sincere voice, piling argument upon argument."

On November 11, 1894 the seventh anniversary of the Haymarket executions, Mowbray addressed memorial meetings at the Thalia Theatre and Clarendon Hall in New York, followed by similar meetings in Hoboken, Paterson and Newark. He then spoke in Pittsburgh and Baltimore before coming to Philadelphia in late December to address the Freiheit and Freie Wacht groups and the Ladies' Liberal League. So far, his tour had been "successful beyond my wildest hopes," he wrote, but on December 28th he received a setback. For when "the jolly comrade with the great head and greater heart" as Voltairine de Cleyre describes him, finished his lecture to the Ladies' Liberal League and was taking down names of persons who wished to form an anarchist group, he was arrested by detectives and charged with inciting to riot and sedition against the Commonwealth of Pennsylvania.

Voltairine de Cleyre, who had welcomed Mowbray on behalf of the Ladies' Liberal League, immediately organized a defence committee. Thanks to her efforts, Mowbray was quickly released and was able to proceed to Boston where, in early 1895, he settled down to practice his trade. Though an admirer of Johann Most, Mowbray was also on friendly terms with Josef Peukert, Most's chief rival in the German anarchist movement, whom he had met at Peukert's Autonomie Club in London. Peukert was now living in Chicago, and with his help Mowbray brought his family over from England in April 1895.

It was not long before Mowbray resumed his agitational work, addressing German, Bohemian and American groups throughout the northeast. In the summer of 1895 he embarked on an extended speaking tour which took him as far west as St. Louis and Chicago. The Chicago police, however, with memories of Haymarket still fresh, decided there would be no "anarchy nonsense" preached in their city. Accordingly, they interrupted a speech in which Mowbray favoured "battling on Bunker Hill under the red flag, not the Stars and Stripes, but the glorious red flag of triumph." A riot nearly occurred, and only the bandmaster prevented disaster by striking up the "Marseillaise", which was "taken up by every man on the grounds until there was one great chorus."

For the most part, however, Mowbray concentrated his

continued on page 16

Wheel On The Heroes

Arthur Moyse on L.S. Lowry

CARLYLE'S volumed premise that history is no more than a roll call of heroes is no more than part truth. Russia with or without Stalin would have lumbered on its ordained path, if Hitler or Mussolini had been voted out of their respective parties, then of the very nature of the hour these two right-wing incompetents would have been replaced by other figure heads who would have marched along the same inglorious path. Only Churchill had the courage, the wit and the imagination to grasp the nettle, to redirect the course of history to his own beliefs and one may deplore or applaud according to one's politics but what one must not deny is that there comes that moment in the flow of human events when a single man by his choice of captains, by his choice of policy can divert the course of history.

In Persian philosophy there is the theory of the peacock's tail in that while man has a free will all choices are ordained like unto the pattern of the peacock's tail but the choice still has to be made, and like it or nay that choice is usually made by the one with the most powerful personality. The Anzio beachhead and Rome were lost because of the textbook bound general, guerrilla movements have united behind a single flamboyant man of action, and deny it if we dare but the history of protest and of militant action has been associated with the name of one man or one woman. Yet this neither proves nor disproves Carlyle's claim for without the hour and without the need the hero is like a gelded bull no more than meat on the hoof.

My generation has had more than its fair share of heroes, we have viewed too many posters, applauded too many speeches, rubber-necked too many revolutionary leaders at the head of the demonstrations and each one served his purpose to his own and the mob's satisfaction before moving into the pages of the Penguin Books Political Section. But behind the flag, the banners and the marching front bench is the human material of other men's conception of history. They fill the streets, they fill the yellowed photographs as tiny unidentifiable figures fleeing or falling before the police charge for they are history made manifest and in school, factory, field, battlefield or revolution they will pay with their lives for the theories of pedants in exile and muscle men in command.

The visual artist has always been concerned with the great heroic absolutes and popes, kings and embattled armies have always been worth the cost of an extra dollop of scarlet paint on the palette, but the writer has found his true and worthy subject matter in analysing mean sensuous man ever the victim of God and the politicians ever believing that he has no control over human destiny and little over his own. Between the Great Wars three books were written that hammered out this accepted belief and they became handbooks for a great grey mass of western working people when the militant middle class were standing high in the saddle and with guns cocked. In 1932 from Germany came Hans Fallada's *Little man what now*, heralding the destruction of the German working class; from America in 1934 Farrell's *Studs Lonigan* with his portrait of the destruction of the American slum proletariat and from America in 1937 Steinbeck's *Of mice and men* with his portrait of rootless, landless American agrarian workers unable and unwilling to survive within a society and an economy over which they had no control, for in those years of the thirties men lived out their lives without hope and the literature of the day told them that they were right. In 1970 men and women believe that they have a control over their own lives, from China to the Pacific seaboard of America, and rightly and wrongly they believe that they can as isolated individuals influence their own mass future, and the writer is no longer concerned with the lonely lost individual within the mass of the peasant/working class and it is for him once more the broad canvas and middle class neurosis and only Lowry the Manchester primitive painter managed to pander to a dream, nay fantasy, of a working class world funny and without pain for a London wealthy middle class ready to pay for that image.

Lowry was of that sad tribe, the superior working class of but never part of the town proletariat. He was the clerk and the rent collector always moving on the fringe of a people alien to his own narrow way of life. Never the pub, or the factory outing, the strike or the political punch-up he observed and then he falsified to suit his own conception of what that world should be and that world and the world that the Bond Street dealers happily flogged by the yard and is now exhibited in its entirety within the Royal Academy is no more than the world of the 1920, 1930 black and white comics.

In the early 1920s Lowry saw Manchester as it was, a grey, dirty red world of smoking stacks full of his tiny matchstick people but from 1930 on he fantasised that world into a world of whiteness, neatness and funny funny working class lifted straight out of the backstreet children's comics. And this is what the Town and his Tory frau bought. In this context one should examine the work of Jack Butler Yeats the brother of the Irish poet. Almost on permanent display within some Bond Street gallery is a canvas of Yeats' lovable Irish peasants jogging along in a jaunting car all technicolour postcard heaven, or his drawings of the queer folk God rest them, yet Yeats paid his rent over the years by drawing for *Comic Cuts*, *Jester*, *Butterfly*, *Funny Wonder* and *Puck* and never have I ever seen one of these comic drawings on display within a fashionable London gallery. There is a social dividing line in art that will not accept the working class functional while it is still virile and Lowry crossed that line only by offering a false working class past and presenting it in an accepted working class image of the street comic elevated to high art through the medium of oil paint and canvas. Lowry did for the workers what *Grandma Moses* did for the American rural farming community; they simplified, gutted and removed any sense of guilt that the owners of the paintings might have about how they managed to accumulate the gelt to buy these pretty daubs. L. S. Lowry whined about London and the London dealers but he had little cause for his small talent found a ready market and a happy audience and of his work one enjoys them and rejects them. And it is to the Tate gallery to stand and admire the work of the sporting artist George Stubbs. Solid virtue as an artist had old George but with an unhealthy tendency to cut up his subject matter to etch the inards, but a fine artist for all that and with three for the price of one there are the drawings of Malevich and Joan and Julie Gonzalez. It is now curiously dated work but in the happy 1930 heyday had the philistines spitting blood into the dealers' tills.

But the Town, his gormless frau and I stand and giggle as we talk of Tom Keating forging trivia to flog to the Bond Street dealers. And from forgery and fantasy one must move to the supernatural and wonder if in the matter of art one should harken to the words of the Bishop of Wakefield in the matter of Jens Thorsen and the Dane's desire to film a randy Christ. The Bishop is rightly willing for Jens to try his luck in Wardour Street and I have a sad feeling that Thorsen's film of jumping Jesus will be made and fill the cinemas for months, but to put Jens and the Bishop on surer footing, and the Bishop had a genuine exorcism killing in his diocese, I know a barman who claims to be a Dyophysite and his mob maintain that two natures coexisted within Christ, the divine and the human, and with the backing of an historical but little known order to put an imprimatur on the script this film could be lifted out of the gutters of Soho and into Mayfair's Curzon, for if our unfortunate blue tinted duchesses can be made to sit through the full boredom of *The Message* with Mohammed and English subtitles then we have a right to view a Danish Jesus.

In a society poised on the edge of boredom Lowry and Jens Thorsen, Tom Keating's crude forgeries, Tadeusz Kantor's sad little art game of embalming everything in sight and all on show within the Whitechapel gallery would appear to give the edge to Carlyle's dream of heroes, but a ruling class obsessed with trivia can only operate when the servants and the serfs take over the running of the castle. But new masters are not the answer be it slaves in purple, or clerks in office for Carlyle, Fallada, Farrell and Steinbeck could only offer a modicum of truth so we must, as anarchists, of our arrogance offer what we hold to be the fundamental and eternal truth that we can only survive as free men in a world of free men and if we do not believe this then we are wasting our time □

propaganda on the east coast, and primarily in Boston. Among his ablest converts there was a 24-year-old printer from Missouri named Harry Kelly who, with Joseph Cohen and Leonard Abbott, was to become a key figure in the Modern School movement and a founder of the Stelton and Mohegan colonies which flourished in New Jersey and New York between the world wars. Kelly found Mowbray "a magnetic speaker" who was performing an "invaluable service" as an interpreter of anarchist theory to the working classes. To Emma Goldman, by contrast, Mowbray's lectures, for all their fiery rhetoric, were devoid of intellectual substance.

Be that as it may, Kelly was presently the secretary of an anarchist-communist group in Boston created largely through Mowbray's efforts. Kelly and Mowbray, in addition, served as secretaries of the Union Cooperative Society of Printers and the Union Cooperative Society of Journeymen Tailors, both of which became affiliated with the Central Labor Union of Boston, imbuing it with an anarchist flavour. In the spring of 1895, at Mowbray's urging, Kelly travelled to London with a letter of introduction to John Turner, an active member of the Freedom Group and general secretary of the Shop Assistants' Union, which he had organized a few years earlier. Kelly remained in England more than three months, meeting Kropotkin, Malatesta and other well-known figures and becoming the chief link between the anarchist-communist movements in Britain and the United States.

When Kelly returned to Boston, he was eager to start a journal to advance the ideas of the anarchist-communist school, a kind of American version of the London Freedom founded in 1886 by Kropotkin and his associates. For this purpose, 70 dollars was raised by holding a raffle in which

the prize was a tailor-made suit. Kelly and Mowbray peddled tickets among the Boston unions, in which they were now familiar figures, and bought material for the suit out of the funds collected. James Robb, another anarchist tailor, contributed the skills of his craft by sewing the prize suit.

So it was *The Rebel*, "A Monthly Journal Devoted to the Exposition of Anarchist Communism", in the description on its masthead, was launched on September 20, 1895. Edited and printed by Mowbray, Kelly and Robb, together with Henry A. Koch, a Boston hatter and N.H. Berman, a Russian-Jewish printer, it included articles by Kropotkin and Louise Michel as well as by American anarchists who shared their economic convictions. Voltairine de Cleyre, though not an advocate of communal property, became a major contributor with essays on the Chicago martyrs, the Ladies' Liberal League and a streetcar strike in Philadelphia.

Mowbray at the same time continued his lectures in Boston and other eastern cities. In 1896 he and Johann Most were listed as speakers at a twenty-fifth anniversary celebration of the Paris Commune, and with Harry Kelly he published a journal called *The Match*, which "sputtered for two numbers and went out." A few years later, however, he moved to New York and from there to Hoboken, where he opened a saloon and himself became a heavy drinker. Like John Turner he was deported after the shooting of McKinley. Back in London he was again addressing meetings alongside Malatesta and Kropotkin, as he had done so often in the past. But before long he abandoned anarchism to become a tariff reform lecturer. He died of heart failure in December 1910 at Bridlington, Yorkshire in a hotel where he was staying □

FOOTNOTES Continued:

(21) The phenomenon is no more than mentioned here, since only orthodox marxists now deny the changes which take place in the balance of power within large-scale undertakings. On this point see Berle and Means, *The Modern Corporation and Private Property* (1932 & subsequent editions), J.K. Galbraith, *The New Industrial State* (1967 & subsequent editions), R. Marris, *The Economic Theory of 'Managerial' Capitalism* (1964), G. Ruffolo, *La grande impresa nella società moderna*, Turin 1971, B. Rizzi, *Il collettivismo burocratico*, Imola 1967, B. Rizzi, *Il socialismo dalla religione alla scienza*, Vol. I, *Potere e proprietà*, Milan 1946, and in the anarchist camp, AA.VV., *Anarchismo '70, Un'analisi nuova per la strategia di sempre*, Cesena 1973.

(22) Mergers reached their peak in 1929 and 1930 after which the process tailed off, mainly through natural exhaustion. The following table shows the trend over the period 1927-32:

year	number of mergers	number of companies involved	combined capital of companies involved (in lire)
1927	8	17	412 millions
1928	105	266	5,187 "
1929	128	316	4,571 "
1930	107	258	4,831 "
1931	89	227	4,944 "
1932	58	123	3,471 "

Taken from V. Travaglini, op.cit., pp. 192 & 211.

(23) A cartel is a group of undertakings which agree on the fixing of mutually acceptable prices for their products, as well as on production and investment quotas. The essence of the cartel is the constitution of a system of formal agreements for the pursual of a unified policy in a specific sector of the economy. A trust is a coalition of undertakings united by joint participation.

(24) Cf. C. Bettelheim, op.cit., p.77.

(25) In Italy by decree-law of 3.11.27 and law of 18.11.29.

(26) In Germany by law of 7.3.39.

(27) Cf. P. Grifone, *Capitalismo di stato e imperialismo fascista*, Milan 1975, p.47.

(28) IMI "survived" the fascist regime and is still today one of the organizations on which a large part of state intervention in the Italian economy is based.

(29) For a brief history of IRI see Bertolo-Lanza, *L'IRI: nazionalizzazione all'italiana*, in *Interrogations*, No.1, pp.80-84.

(30) The result is identical even if the methods are different: the takeover of ailing sectors of the economy and the formation of "mixed undertakings" have the same social effects.

(31) This, moreover, was the way in which Italian state industry subsequently developed, with a resultant substantial change in the Italian economy, especially from 1960 onwards.

(32) Amount of stock issued

year	public stock	private stock	total
1928	863	1,633	2,496
1932	511	160	671
1933	1,029	93	1,122
1934	334	147	481
1935	1,643	159	1,802
1936	2,671	438	3,109
1937	3,150	591	3,741
1938	7,744	989	8,733

Taken from C. Bettelheim, op.cit., p.240.

BOOKSHOP

FREEDOM BOOKSHOP: Angel Alley, 84b Whitechapel High Street. Open: Tues-Fri 2-6pm, Thurs till 8pm, Sat 10am-4pm. Please add postage (bracketed amounts) to order total.

Alexander Herzen: *My Past & Thoughts: the Memoirs of Alexander Herzen*. Unabridged, 4 vols. £10.50 (£1.10) the set

Ruedo Iberico: *El Movimiento Libertario Español* £5.50 (47p)

*David Boadella: *Wilhelm Reich: The Evolu-*

tion of his Work £ 1.00 (11p)
Barry Duncan: *Invergordon '31. How the Men of the Royal Navy Struck and Won* £ 1.00 (11p)

H. N. Brailsford: *The Levellers in the English Revolution* £ 2.95 (29p)

Thom Young and Martin Kettle: *Incitement to Disaffection* (Cobden Trust) £ 0.75 (14p)

William Godwin: *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*, ed. by Isaac Kramrick (an unabridged reprint of the Third Edition of 1798) £ 2.25 (32p)

Albert Meltzer: *The Anarchists in London 1935-1955* £ 0.80 (17p)

*Martin A. Miller: *Kropotkin: A New Biography* £ 10.50 (47p)

Peter Kropotkin: *Ethics, Origin and Development* £ 1.95 (47p)

Victor Serge: *Conquered City* £ 3.95 (32p)

Arthur Moysé: *Ironically Wounding, Lamentably Laughing, Dreadfully Beautiful Evil*

Flower Garden (Drawings) £ 1.50 (20)

BARGAIN BASEMENT

Sam Dolgoff ed.: *Bakunin & Anarchy* £ 1.50 (70p), hardback, 405pp (published at £ 5.50).