

TO REBELLION!

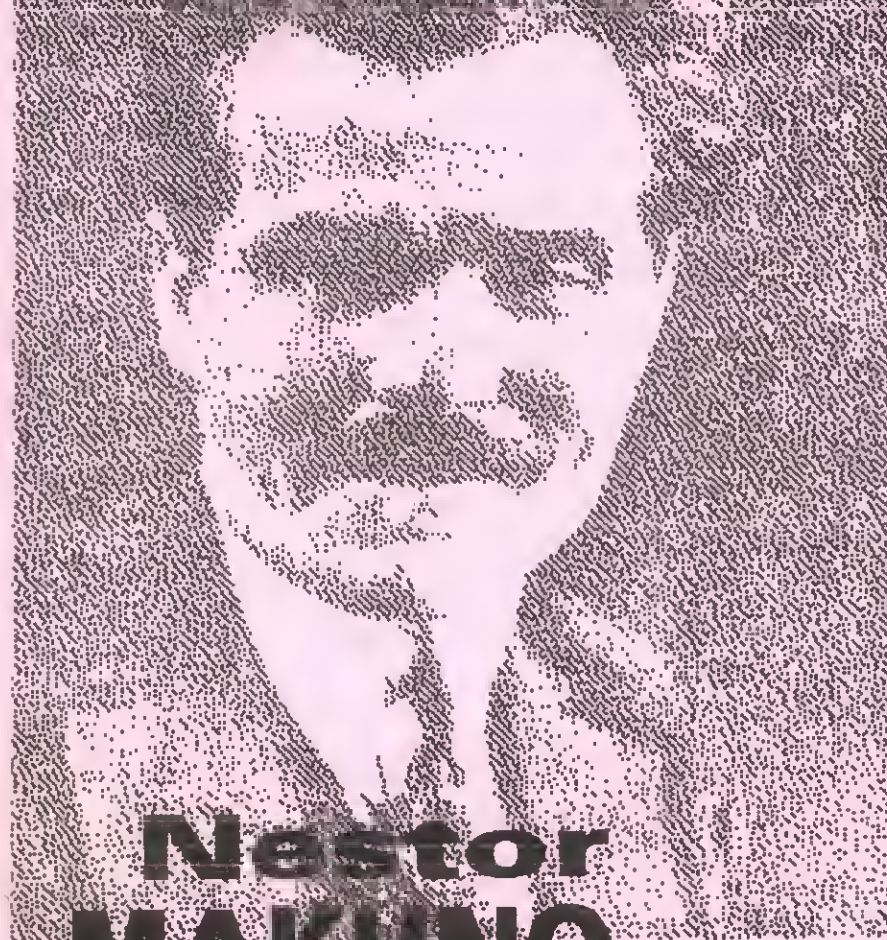
This is the cry of the anarchist-revolutionary to the exploited. Rebel, destroy all government and see that it never takes root again. Power is used by those who have never really lived by the work of their hands. Government power will never let workers tread the road to freedom; it is the instrument of the lazy who want to dominate others, and it does not matter if power is in the hands of the bourgeois, the socialists or the Bolsheviks, it is degrading. There is no government without teeth, teeth to tear any man who longs for a free and just life.

Brother, drive out power in yourself. Never let it fascinate you or your brothers. A true collective life is not built with programmes or with governments but with the freedom of mankind, with his creativity and his independence.

The freedom of any individual carries within it the seed of a free and complete community without government, a free society that lives in organic and decentralised totality, united in its pursuit of the great human goal: Anarchist Communism!



the Anarchist revolution



**Nestor
MAKHNO**

distributed by

200



Community Center
Omaha Nebr

Call him from the factory, from the school, call the students and the learned. It may be that nine out of ten academics will not come to you, or it may happen that they will come in order to deceive you if they are servants of the State five. But the tenth man will come. He will be your friend and will help you overcome the deceit of the others. Organise yourselves, call every man to your ranks, call on all the governors to stop their stupidity and the brutalising of human life. If they do not desist, disarm the police, the army and other organisations of the five's defence. Burn their laws and destroy their prisons, kill the hangmen, the bane of mankind. SMASH AUTHORITY. Call to your ranks the press-ganged army; there are many killers in the army who are against you and who are bribed to kill you. But there are friends for you, even in the army. They will confound the mobs of murderers and will hurry to your side.

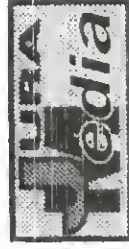
After we have collected ourselves into a great, universal family, brothers, we will go further in the fight against darkness. On to the universal human ideal! We will live as brothers, enslaving no one. The brute force of the enemy will be answered with the force by our revolutionary army. If our enemies do not agree with our ideal, we reply by building our new life based on individual responsibility. Only hardened criminals who belong to the five will not wish to tread the road to a new life with fruitful activity. They will try to fight us in order to regain their power. They must die.

Long live the ideal of universal human harmony and man's fight towards it! Long live the ideal of anarchist society!

*Burn their
laws and
destroy their
prisons, kill
the
hangman,
the bane of
mankind.
Smash
Authority.*

the Anarchist revolution

Nestor MAKHNO



SYDNEY

The Anarchist Revolution

Nestor Makhno

Translated by Mike Jones

Reprinted, August 1995

A Jura Media publication

JURA BOOKS

110 Crystal Street

Petersham, NSW 2049, Australia

Set in Times New Roman

Printed by Black Cat Press, Sydney

Designed by BLACK · MARK · ART

Distribution by

JURA BOOKS

110 Crystal Street

Petersham, NSW 2049, Australia

(02) 550 9931

jura@chaos.apana.org.au

*we come to
the
conclusion
that the best
method to
create new
collective
freedom is
the Free
Soviet.*

enemy. If we look at this process closely we come to the conclusion that the best method to create new collective freedom is the Free Soviet. Proceeding from this conviction, the anarchist revolutionary will call the enslaved to struggle for these free associations. He will believe that social revolution will thus create freedom while smashing slavery altogether. This belief must be cherished and defended. The only people who can possibly provide the defence for this belief are the masses themselves who have made the revolution and who equate their lives with their principles. While the human masses create the revolution they instinctively cast about for free associations and rely on their inherent anarchism: they will uphold above all the Free Soviet. As the masses make a revolution they are bound to come upon this themselves and the anarchist must help them formulate this principle.

Economic problems in the free society will be resolved by the producer-consumer co-operatives in which the Free Soviets will act as co-ordinators and clarifiers. The nature of the Free Soviet during the social revolution must be to consolidate the masses' position by urging them to take their rightful inheritance (land, factories, works, mineral and coal mines, shipping, forestry, etc.) into their own hands. While groups according to interest or inclination are formed, the masses will build up an entire social fabric, freely and independently.

The struggle along this road will demand great sacrifice, for it will be the final effort of nearly-free man. In this struggle there will be no hesitation, no sentimentality. Life or Death!—this question will stand before every man who considers his rights and those of humanity to be a better life. As the healthy instincts of man will have preponderance, he will embark upon this road to life as the victor and creator.

Organise yourselves, brothers, call every man to your ranks.

seen in reformism. It was evolved to combat the revolution in which he took part. In the Russian Revolution the "five" seemed to have vanished off the face of the earth...but this was only appearance. In reality our enemy changed his features momentarily and is now calling up new recruits to fight against us. Bolshevik communism is especially revealing in this matter; but it will be a long time before this doctrine will forget man's struggle for true freedom.

The only reliable method for waging a successful struggle against enslavement is social revolution that engages the masses in a continual struggle (evolution). When it first erupts, social revolution is elemental. It flattens the path for its own organisation while smashing any dam that is artificially set against it. These dams in fact only increase its power. Anarchist revolutionaries are already working for this, and any man who is aware of the burden of slavery on himself has a duty to aid the anarchist; at the same time every man should feel responsible to the whole of mankind when he struggles against the five of the State. Every man should also remember that the social revolution will require appropriate methods of realisation, this is especially true of the anarchist who is scouting ahead along the road of freedom. During the destructive phase of the revolution, while slavery is being abolished and freedom beginning to spread in an elemental outburst, organisation and steadfast methods are essential to secure the gains. In this phase the revolution needs you most urgently. The Russian Revolution, in which anarchists played a considerable role (which they could not carry through because action was denied to them), brought home to us the truth that the masses who have torn themselves loose from their chains had no desire to put on others of a different make. In their revolutionary momentum, they sought immediately for free associations that would only aid their efforts to build up a new community but which would defend them against the

1.

ANARCHISM—a life of freedom and creative independence for humanity.

Anarchism does not depend on theory or on programmes which try to grasp man's life in its entirety. It is a teaching which is based on real life, which outgrows all artificial limitations, which cannot be constricted by any system. Anarchism's outward form is a free, non-governed society which offers freedom, equality and solidarity for its members. Its foundations are to be found in man's sense of mutual responsibility which has remained unchanged in all places and at all times. This sense of responsibility is

*The only
reliable
method for
waging a
successful
struggle
against
enslavement
is social
revolution*

capable of securing freedom and social justice for all men by its own unaided efforts. It is also the foundation of true communism.

Anarchism therefore is a part of human nature; communism its logical extension.

This led to the necessity of formulating anarchism's basic theories by the use of factual material and by systematised analysis. Some people (enemies of freedom, enemies of solidarity), were to try and conceal anarchism's truths or to slander its ideals; others (fighters for man's right to lead a proper life) were to develop and clarify this ideal. I think that Godwin, Proudhon, Bakunin, Most, Kropotkin, Malatesta, S. Faure and others never believed, that they could harness anarchism, a framework of immutable scientific dogma, by their theories. Instead, the teachings of anarchism represent a concerted effort to show its roots in human nature, and to prove man's creative achievements never deviate from it; anarchism's fundamental trait, the negation of all bondage and servitude, is likewise to be found in human nature.

Anarchism means freedom: socialism cannot destroy chains or bondage.

I am an anarchist and a revolutionary myself, and I took part in the activities of the revolutionary peoples of the Ukraine. The Ukrainians are a people who grasp instinctively the meaning of the anarchist ideas and who act them out. They suffered incredible hardship, but have never ceased to talk of their freedom and freedom in their form of life. I often made tactical errors on this difficult path as I was often weak and unable to make judgements. But because I correctly understood the goal towards which I and my brothers were working and, I was able to observe the effect of living anarchism during the struggle for freedom and independence. I remain convinced on the grounds of my practical fighting experience that anarchism is as

his right to boundless development, it fights against all the evils and injustices that are inherent in governments.

The free, non-governed society aims to embellish life with its intellectual and manual work. It will have as its resources all that nature gave man as well as nature's own inexhaustible riches; it makes man drunk with the beauty of the earth and exhilarated by his own, self-made freedom. Anarchist Communism will let man develop his creative independence in all directions; its adherents will be free and happy with life, guided by brotherly work and reciprocity. They will need no prisons, hangmen, spies or agents, which are products of the bourgeois and socialists, for they will have no need of the idiot robber and murderer that is the State. Prepare yourselves, brother, to create this society! Prepare organisations and ideas! Remember that your organisations must be safe from attack. The enemy of your freedom is the State, personified in five figures:

- The property owner
- The lover of war
- The judge
- The priest
- Acader's who distort the truth about man.

These last make up "Historical Laws" and "Judiciary Norms", and scribble slickly in order to get money; they are busy all the time trying to prove the rightfulness of the first four's claims to power that degrades human life.

The enemy is strong. For millennia he has spent his time accumulating experience in robbery, violence, expropriation and murder. He underwent an inner crisis and is now busy changing his outward aspect, but he is only doing this because his life has been threatened with the new, emerging knowledge. This new knowledge is waking man up from his long sleep, freeing him from prejudices implanted by the five, giving him a weapon to fight for his true society. This change in the outer appearance of our enemy can be

*anarchisms
fundamental
trait, the
negation of
all bondage
and
servitude.*

*The free,
non-
governed
society aims
to embellish
life with its
intellectual
and manual
work.*

TO REBELLION!

This is the cry of the anarchist-revolutionary to the exploited. Rebel, destroy all government and see that it never takes root again. Power is used by those who have never really lived by the work of their hands. Government power will never let workers tread the road to freedom; it is the instrument of the lazy who want to dominate others, and it does not matter if power is in the hands of the bourgeois, the socialists or the Bolsheviks, it is degrading. There is no government without teeth, teeth to tear any man who longs for a free and just life

Brother; drive out power in yourself. Never let it fascinate you or your brothers. A true collective life is not built with programmes or with governments but with the freedom of mankind, with his creativity and his independence.

The freedom of any individual carries within it the seed of a free and complete community without government. a free society that lives in organic and decentralised totality, united in its pursuit of the great human goal: Anarchist Communism!

2.

Anarchistic Communism is a great community in total harmony. It is formed voluntarily by free individuals who form associations and federations according to their needs. Anarchist Communism fights to secure man's freedom and

*There is no
government
without
teeth, teeth
to tear any
man who
longs for a
free and just
life.*

*for it has
been unable
to stamp out
the
independent
intellectuals
who proved
God does not
exist*

revolutionary, as diverse and as sublime in every facet as is human life itself. Even if I only felt the remotest glimmer of sympathy for anarcho-revolutionary activity I would still call on you, reader and brother, to take up the struggle for the ideal anarchism, for only if you fight for this ideal and uphold it will you understand it properly. Anarchism has grown out of human nature, and grows organically, for while it frees man from psychological bondage it turns him also into a conscious fighter against slavery. Anarchism is revolutionary in this and many other aspects. The more awake a man is, the deeper his thoughts about his situation are. He will recognise his state of slavery and the anarchistic and revolutionary spirit within him will wake and show itself in his thoughts and actions. It is the same for every man and woman, even if they know nothing of the word anarchism, even if they could never have heard of it.

Anarchism plays a considerable role in the enrichment of human life, a fact recognised by the oppressors as well as by the oppressed. The oppressors do their best to distort the ideal of anarchism, the others do their best to carry it further. Modern civilisation has succeeded in making anarchism ever more prominent for both masters and slaves, but has never been able to lull or extinguish this fundamental protest of human nature, for it has been unable to stamp out the independent intellectuals who proved that God does not exist. Once this has been proven it was easy to draw back the veil which hides the artificiality of the priesthood and the hierarchies which it supports.

But various other ideas have been propounded alongside anarchism: "liberalism", socialism and bolshevik communism. These doctrines, despite their large influence on modern society, despite their triumph over both reaction and freedom, are on shaky ground because of their artificiality, their disavowal of organic development and their tendency towards paralysis.

The free man, on the other hand, has thrown away the trammels of the past together with its lies and brutality. He has buried the rotten corpse of slavery and the notion that the past is better. Man has already partially liberated himself from the fog of lies and brutality which enslaved him from the day of his birth, from the worship of the bayonet, money, legality and hypocritical science.

While man frees himself from this insult he understands himself better, and once he has understood himself, the book of his life is opened to him. In it he immediately sees that his former life was nothing but loathsome slavery and that this framework of slavery has conspired to stifle all his innate good qualities. He sees that this life has turned him into a beast of burden, a slave for some or a master over others; or into a fool who tears down and tramples on all that is noble in man when ordered to do so. But when freedom awakes in man, it treads all artificialities into the dust and all that stands in the way of independent creativity. This is how man moves in his process of development. In former times he moved in spans of a generation or so, but now the process is moving year by year; man does not wish to be an academic mouthpiece of the rule over others or to tolerate the rule of others over himself. Once man is free from earthly and "heavenly" gods, free from "good manners" and from "morality" which depends on these Gods, he lifts up his voice and struggles against the enslavement of mankind and the distortion of his nature.

This man of protest, who has fully grasped his identity and who now sees with his eyes fully open, who now thirsts for freedom and totality, now creates groups of free men welded together by the ideal and by the action. Whoever comes into contact with these groups will cast off his status of lackey and will free himself from the idiot domination of others over him. Any ordinary man who comes from the plough, the factory, the bench of the university or from the

*when
freedom
awakes in
man it
treads all
artificialities
into the dust*

and Tiflis. But the socialists as well as the Bolsheviks had (and still have) a widely dispersed party membership and a well-distributed network of professional killers. It must be added that besides these professional killers they also hired people from our own ranks. With the help of these people they managed to rip the people's freedom in the bud. And they did a good job. The Spanish Inquisition would have gone green with envy.

We now know the real truths behind government. To the Bolsheviks and socialists we say: "Shame! Dishonour! You talked such a lot about the terror of the bourgeois and you took the side of revolution with great zeal. But now you're in power you show yourself the same old fools, the same lackeys of the bourgeois and slaves of their methods. You've turned yourselves into bourgeois." Looking at the experiences of bolshevist communism during recent years, the bourgeois know perfectly well that this particular brand of socialism can never manage without using their methods or without birthing them in person. It knows that the exploitation and suppression of the working majority is inherent in this system, that the vicious life of sloth is not cast aside in socialism but that it merely masquerades under another name. Before spreading and taking root again.

This is the Truth! You've only got to look at the bolshevik vandals and their monopoly over the people's revolutionary conquests! Look at their spies, their police, their laws, prisons, jails and their armies of bailiffs. The "Red" Army is only the old army under a new name.

Liberalism, socialism, Bolshevism: they are three brothers who go their different ways to grab power over man. This power is used to block man's advance towards self-realisation and independence.

*To the
Bolsheviks
and
socialists we
say: "Shame!
Dishonour!..
You've
turned
yourselves
into
bourgeois."*

indignation. So the government falls upon them in an orgy of irresponsibility and butchers them in the name of "socialism" and "communism". The government has of course long since thrown these ideas into the dustbin. At such moments the rule of the socialists and Bolsheviks is more degraded than that of the bourgeoisie for it is even unoriginal in its recourse to the mechanics of bourgeois oppression. While a bourgeois government strings a revolutionary up on the gallows, socialist or bolshevik-communist governments will creep up and strangle him in his sleep or kill him by trickery. Both acts are depraved. But the socialists are more depraved because of their methods.

Any political revolution in which the bourgeoisie, the socialists and state-communists struggle with each other political ascendancy while dragging in the masses will show the traits outlined above, the most obvious example being the Russian Revolutions of February and October 1917. When the working masses that made up Tsarist Russia felt themselves partially freed from reaction, they began to work towards total freedom. They expressed this wish by expropriating landlords and monasteries and by handing over their lands to the people who wished to cultivate it without hired labour. Sometimes factories, works, presses and other businesses were taken over by those who worked in them. Attempts were made to create liaisons between towns and villages. And while they were engaged in this activity the people were of course unaware that there were governments sitting about in Kiev, Kharkov, St. Petersburg and elsewhere. The people were in fact laying the foundations for a new, free society that should throw out all parasites and governments and the idiocy of power. This healthy activity was especially noticeable in the Ural, in Siberia and in the Ukraine. It was remarked upon by the old as well as the new regimes in Petrograd, Moscow, Kiev

*they began
to work
towards total
freedom.
They
expressed
their wish by
expropriat-
ing
landlords
and
monasteries
and by
handing
over their
lands to the
people*

bench of the academic, will recognise the degradation of slavery. As man uncovers his true personality, he will throw away all artificial ideas which go against the rights of his personality, the Master/Slave relationship of modern society. As soon as man brings to the fore the pure elements in his personality through which a new, free human community is born, he will become a conscious anarchist and revolutionary. This is how the ideal of anarchism is assimilated and disseminated by men; the free man recognises its deep truth, its clarity and its purity; its message of freedom and creativity.

The idea of anarchism, the teaching of a renewed life for man as an individual and as a social being, is therefore bound up with man's self-awareness and his awareness of the suppurating sore of injustice in modern society. Anarchism exists therefore only illegally or semi-legally. Never in total legality.

In the modern world, society does not live for itself but for the preservation of the Master/Slave relationship, the State. One could go further and say that society has completely de-personalised itself. In human terms, it does not exist at all. It is widely believed however that the State is Society. But is "Society" a group of men who live it up while sitting on the shoulders of all humanity? Why is man as an individual or as a mass numbering hundreds of millions nothing in comparison with this slothful group of "political leaders"? These hyenas, rulers both of right and left wing, are rightly upset with the idea of anarchism. The bourgeois at least are frank about this. But the State-socialists of all denominations, including the Bolsheviks, are busy swapping the names of bourgeois rule with those of their own invention, while leaving its structure essentially unchanged. They are therefore trying to salvage the Master/Slave relationship with all its contradictions. And although they are aware that these contradictions are totally

*But the
State-social-
ists of all
denomino-
tions are
busy
swapping the
names of
bourgeois
rule with
those of their
own
invention
while leaving
its structure
essentially
unchanged.*

irreconcilable with their professed ideals, they nevertheless uphold them in order to forestall the putting into practice of Anarchist Communism. In their programmes, the State-socialists said that man must be allowed to free himself "socially". But of man's spiritual freedom, of his human freedom, no word was spoken. Instead, they are now making sure that such a liberation of man outside their tutelage cannot be carried through. "Liberation" under the management of any government or political set-up—what's that got to do with freedom? The bourgeois, who never applies himself to the task of making anything beautiful or useful, says to the worker: "Once a slave, always a slave. We cannot reform social life because we've got too much capital in industry and in agriculture. Besides, modern life is pleasant for us; all the kings, presidents and their governments cater for our wishes and bow before us. The slaves are their responsibility." Or he says: "The life of our modern society is full of great promises!"

"No, no!" scream the bourgeois socialists and communists. "We disagree!" Then they rush to the workers, marshal them into parties, and call on them to rebel as follows:

"Drive out the bourgeois from their positions and hand their power over to us. We will work for you. We will liberate you."

So the workers, whose hatred of government is even greater than their hatred of parasites, rise up in revolution to destroy the machinery of power and its representatives. But either because of clumsiness or naivety, they allow socialism to come to power. This is how the communists got into power in Russia. These communists are the real dregs of mankind. They tear down and shoot innocent people and hang liberty; they shoot men exactly as the bourgeois did. They shoot men who think differently to them in order to subjugate all to their power, in order to throttle the spirit of freedom and creativity in mankind, in order to enslave him to the throne

*then they
rush to the
workers,
marshal
them into
parties, and
call on them
to rebel*

*and man
only flares
up briefly to
contest his
rights before
sinking
down again
under the
burden of
authority
and despair*

of government they have just taken over. They hire guards for themselves and killers for dealing with free men. Under the weight of the chains made by the new "Workers' Republic" in Russia, man groans and sighs as he did under bourgeois rule. Elsewhere, man is groaning under the yoke of the bourgeoisie or under that of the bourgeois socialist. The hangmen, both old and new, are strong. Their methods of keeping power are efficient. They have mastered the art of tactical suppression of opposition, and man only flares up briefly to contest his rights before sinking down again under the burden of authority and despair. He drops his hands as the noose is thrown around his neck again, shutting his eyes like a slave before the gleeful hangman.

From these unfolding vistas of human misery and from personal misery, man must forge convictions, call other men his brothers, and fight for freedom. Man is only free if he is prepared to kill every hangman and every power magnate if they do not wish to stop their shameful tasks. He is only free if he does not put a prime on changing his government and is not led astray by the "Workers' Republic" of the Bolsheviks. He must vouch for the establishment of a truly free society based on personal responsibility, the only really free society. His pronouncement on the State must be one of total destruction: "No. This must not be. To rebellion! Rise up, brothers, against all government, destroy the power of the bourgeoisie and do not allow the socialists and bolshevik government to come to life! Destroy all authority and drive out its representatives!"

There are even moments when the authority of the socialists and communists is worse than the bourgeois, for they tear down their own ideas and trample on them. After fumbling about in secret for the keys to bourgeois government, the communists become guilty and furtive; they do not want the masses to see what they are doing, so they lie and cheat and deceive. If the masses notice this, they seethe with