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PROUDHON

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## Unofficial Movement

### Labour Government Strike-breaking Defeated

differently to a "capitalist government" curses the enterprise. reality.

to use the Army to break strikes. The move increasing millions of workers. walked out, quickly followed by the Covent Garden and other porters and swiftly supported by the dockers and others.

The trade unions co-operated with the their very nature, unofficial. dom is so discredited.

In its attitude to strikes and strikers | as, for instance, all Communist organised the Labour Government is indistinguishable strikes fail, we should advise a different from its Tory predecessors. The Socialist time, occasion or a new strike method. tale that a Socialist government will act Official or unofficial neither blesses or

is blown sky high at the first touch of If, however, a strike is likely to succeed of our social problems and enjoy comradely and succeed quickly we should gladly intercourse. A few notes on the progress The Labour Government was, if any-advocate it, unofficial or official. To shout thing, rather more eager than the Tories "unofficial" moves us not, and is ceasing to

workers were quick to learn the lesson. The truth is, however, that almost all they learned in a few days what it takes strikes which succeed are unofficial, for the the learned intelligentsia twenty years to very good reason that to strike by the discover from books. Their class position official mode of procedure is nigh certain was clear to them. As the military to damn the strike to defeat. Further, marched ino Smithfield meat market to more than 95 per cent. of strikes are un-

tary force to smash strikes has no terror cutting right through trade union profor transport workers. "Battle order" cedure, which takes at least nine months to 'phone call to the Mayfair address of a with steel helmets and rifles is a slow and operate. That is; only a well timed swift | West End estate agent. On dialling, the cumbersome way of carrying on industry. strike can succeed and such strikes are, by Colonel's voice came through:-

Labour and Trade Union government, the In their conduct of unofficial strikes, military and the employers to break the strikers have resorted to Syndicalist strike and defeat the higher wage and methods, the lightning strike, work-to- enquiring about the premises you have to 44 hour week movement. Their chief rule, sympathetic strike, etc. The con- let in Walworth Road. How much is the wearon-to call the strike unofficial-is tinuance and development of such strikes rent?" woefully blunted these days when official- can only go on by the growth of new For our part we care little whether a to trade unionism. In the development of will have to get the War Damage Comwhether a strike is likely to succeed or not. to Syndicalist methods, just as in action would have to do the other repairs your-If a strike is likely to fail in its purpose, they turn to Syndicalist methods of attack. self. What business do you intend

# Strike GPOWS

## MEAN CITY!

Two London members of the A.F.B. recently went in search of a hall, so that we could meet for the mutual discussion of our mission might interest.

Sojourning in the byways of South London, hope rose in our hearts as we saw a large "To Let" notice over a bombed shop. On finding the agents we discovered the shop had already been let at a yearly inclusive rental of £825.

Our second hope took us on a bus to the blackleg on the lorry drivers, the porters official. Trade unionism has become a con- agents concerned, from whom we learned No doubt about it—the Government was They seek to enforce their demands by £285 p.a. The agent advised us to go

Our next hope was the subject of a

Agent: "Hallo, this is Trevor, yes?"

Delegate: "This is Upton speaking, I am

A: "£360 a year including rates. It i carry on there?"

D: "Well, I was really looking for hall at a reasonable weekly sum. We in tend to use the premises as a meeting place for discussion. . . ."

A: "What organisation do you repre-

D: "I have been delegated by the Anarchist Federation of Britain."

A: "Well, in that case, owing to the name of your organisation, I don't think we could accept any business from you, as National organ of the Federation, dictatorships, have not yet commenced, we could not risk being mixed up with bomb-throwers."

D: "You'll pardon me, we are the A.F. not the R.A.F."

A: "We could only accept business political economy, declaring that the from your organisation on the proviso that you get some person of note or repute to stand guarantor for you and swear as your bona fides."

(Continued on Page 2, column 1.)

## Anarchists and Private Property

Anarchists are opposed to the State- a few and no property for the majority. that is the special body of public coercion Capitalism could not exist if all had proarmed with jails, judges, armies, police, perty. It can only function when the laws and other means of enforcing the majority have been robbed of all property will of a ruling class. That is what is and being propertyless (proletarians) are usually regarded as the negative side of therefore forced to seek employment as Anarchism-"the destructive side". The wage slaves. constructive is the belief shared by all in the world Anarchist movement, in the common ownership of the means of production expressed in Anarcho-syndicalism. We are against private property in the means of production and favour common

### ownership witih workers' control. Socialists and Anarchists

We speak here only of the organised associate Anarchism with pacifism, capitalism, new art, punk poetry, fruitarianism, sandal wearing, nudism, "nature cures' and almost anything but social revolution. But such persons are not the Anarchist movement any more than similar egoists with a different label are necessarily the Socialist movement. Of course, it may please some Socialists to regard as Anarchist anyone who takes the name without the ideas. We wonder what the Socialist Socialism and accept as Socialists all who call themselves by that name; the Catholic conservatives of Austria (Christian Socialists), the Fascists of Germany (National Socialists), the liberals of France (Radical Socialists), the Bolsheviks and the hundred other brands called Socialist. By any standard of fairplay, in judging what Anarchism stands for the views of the Anarchist movement, organised as a world movement, should be accepted.

in fact, proposing to rob the people of libertarians. something they possess. It is the capitalist class (and their nebulous hangers on, the "middle class") who lose by the realisaclass has already dispossessed the workers.

private property. The truth is that primitive agricultural-handicraft economy mode of organisation of the Anarchist not a new anti-Franco party, but one of the his praise: Franco and his prisons. He said Bath to the middle of the loke and sunk him. capitalism stands for private property for small scale ownership would be possible. Federation.

At this point we expect an interruption from the village idiot or a professor of

## Tom Brown

Anarchist movement—a world movement, private property we propose communising ways by dividing the carriages among the represented in Britain by the Anarchist includes the tooth paste, furniture, clothes, railwaymen, or the factories by dividing banned. Federation of Britain and in most other dentures and wooden legs of the workers. lathes, gears or pieces of girder among the countries by the appropriate Anarchist Not at all; we are here concerned with factory workers. Nor is it possible to confederations. Outside of this movement are private ownership of the means of pro- tinue society without the use of railways, not believe in the abolition of private pro- spite of the arguments of kept professors, extermination by hunger and disease of perty, but who take on themselves the name the workers do not possess these and must nine-tenths of the population. Capitalism of Anarchist. Such persons and "groups" therefore look for employers to hire them. has prepared the means of production for

### Capitalist "Freedom"

So long as the workers are propertyless and the employing class control the means Federation of Britain stands by the in- since the Labour Party came to power in the Franco terror have been quick to see the with those of Mr. Denville, Conservative of production, so long will the workers be tegral principle of Anarchism-Abolition England. Already Peron has created a form wage slaves, whatever the nature of the of private property, common ownership of of "labourism" in the Argentine. And State. Who controls the means whereby the means of production by workers' con- bresent-day Spain, in spite of its exaggerated we live controls our lives. To attack the trol. Less than this is fraud. State, therefore, without atacking private property is to make freedom an object of in and teaching these things must be that sort of "freedom"; Tories like Lord these aims. Organised against these Acton who said, "That government is the principles it will hinder their fulfilment. best which governs least." What they meant was that they objected to even a capitalist government interfering with the freedom of those citizens who employed the labour of the others. They objected to such infringements upon freedom as laws which forbade the employment of children more than twelve hours a day, or prevented Preaching the abolition of the private oeuvre with the help of certain human women working at the coal face or forced ownership of the means of production, it debris recruited from all circles of society. Bevin's policy with regard to Spain has the workers without national frontiers. an employer to fence in dangerous follows that the Anarchist press must not The conquered and sold-out elements of all merited the disapproval of all bonest to machinery. But when private property be privately owned or controlled. That is tendencies have given themselves a rendez- Spaniards Just as it has received the highest In opposing private property we are not, was threatened they ceased 'to be why "Direct Action" is owned and con-

unless the capitalist monopoly of private regard this as a very important principle property is abolished. But the restoration a test principle. For a paper which tion of common ownership. The working of property to the workers cannot be made attacks private property to the workers cannot be made attacks private property to the workers cannot be made attacks private property to the people, the class has nothing to lose. The employing by dividing the property of the capitalists privately owned and controlled is someamong the workers, as in early peasant thing worse than Uriah Heep. It is too often accepted, quite wrongly, revolts the peasants divided the estates Understanding these things new readers —for the greater part of the Phalangists and "Caudillo", and then, along with bim, that capitalism is a system standing for of the landowners. If we lived in a will learn much of the principles and other specimens of the Franco fauna. It is visited the prisons Everything called forth What an original idea if somebody towed Lord

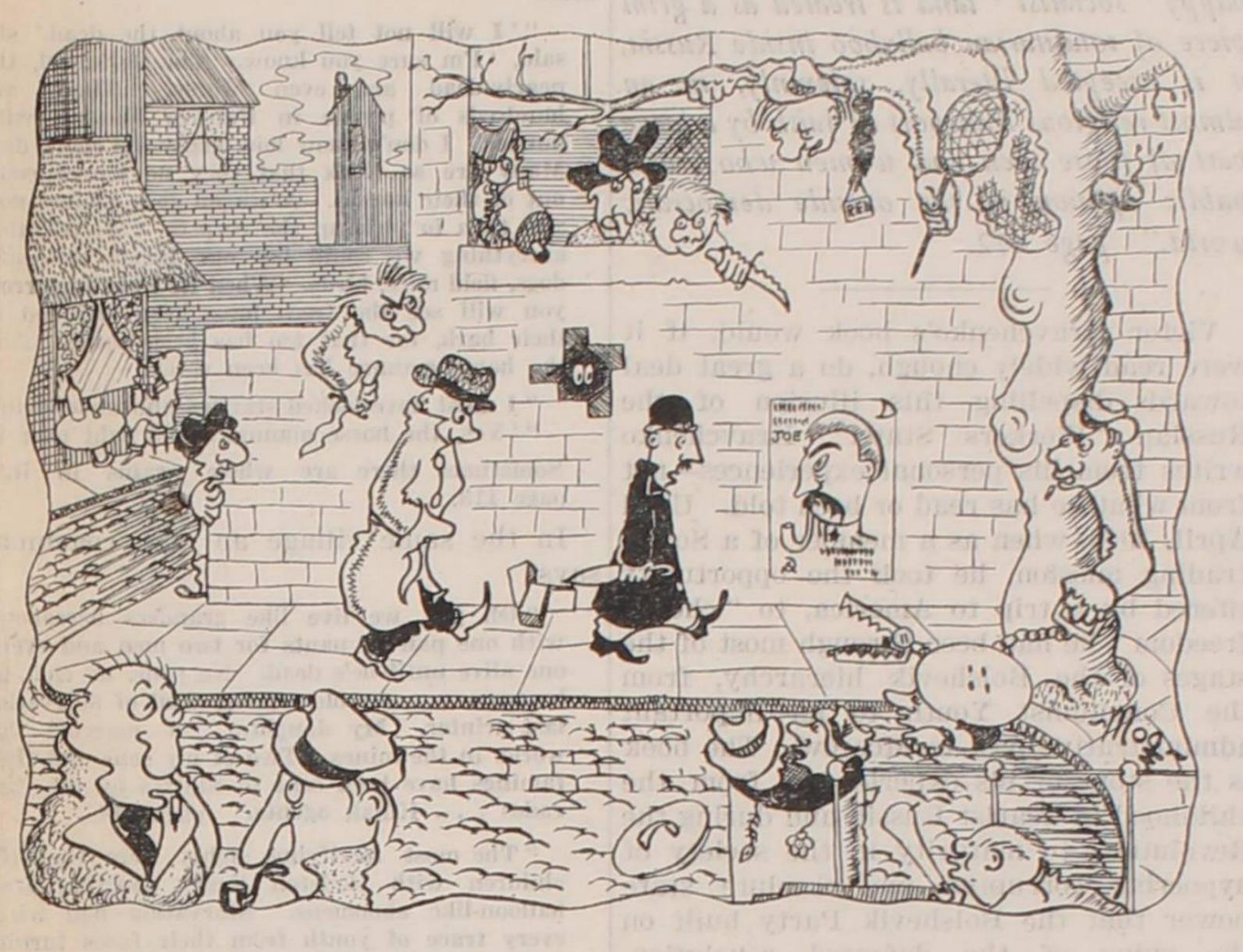
It would not be possible to run the railsocialisation. Economy awaits the Social Revolution.

It follows that an organisation believing would say if we applied their measure to public ridicule. Many capitalists believe in organised on principles in harmony with

> The A.F.B. is organised on these Anarchist principles. The A.F.B. is controlled by the Minister of Labour of Franco's governits members, its delegates are elected and subject to recall by the members. Its a blend of Hitlerian demagogy and Jesuitic Editorial Committee is elected and is mysticism. subject to recall.

trolled by the Anarchist Federation and There can be no freedom for the worker why its heading boldly says so. Anarchists

#### ELECTIONS POLISH



"He's suspected of not voting for the Communists!"

## vention of submission. Workers no longer look to the three, six or nine months strike of twenty years ago. That the shop he had to offer was a triangular one 8 feet along each wall—a bombed café bar. The inclusive rent was well and truly licked by the strikers most of whose demands were met after less than a fortnight's strike. The use of mili well and truly licked by the strikers most quick, powerful, well chosen jabs, him to grant us use of his hall for a small sum. We did not follow his suggestion. SUMPRESS ANARCH STE

### Communist Concentration Camps and Forced Labour

Bulgaria since 1923, the Bulgarian Anarch- spy on all activities of the people. The morsel. land Front government which seized power ation and torture on their orders.

Anarchist Federation throughout the C.P. country have been arbitrarily closed by the Because of the unstable position of the

represents the revolutionary aspirations of old fascist and reactionary parties have the masses of the workers. Hundreds of been given posts in the Fatherland Front. comrades lost their lives in the struggle Their archives and previous experience of against fascism. In exchange, since the the methods of suppressing the revolution-'democratic victory", the clubs of the ary workers has proved invaluable to the

authorities, after the appearance of only Bulgarian regime towards the Western seven issues, the publication of the Powers, the mass executions, typical of all "Workers Thought", was suspended by but they are likely to as soon as the the government. Its editor, the old government is recognised. Then the Com-Anarchist militant, George Karamikhailov, munists will rival Franco and Salazar in has been interned for six months, without the terror they will let loose. The only any charge being brought against him. way in which this can be averted is by the A ferocious terror is raging throughout workers of other countries making it clear the country. The concentration camps are that they will not tolerate the continued full to overflowing with those who have repression of their Bulgarian class comdared to disagree with the dictatorial rades. The need is for mass demonstramethods of the government. Anarchists, tions outside the Embassies and Consulates syndicalists, Agrarians and socialists find of the Bulgarian government throughout themselves side by side behind the barbed the world. The Red fascists must be chattel slavery, usually accompanied by Well over 2,000 members of the shown that their mask of democratic quotations from speeches of Abraham Anarchist Federation have been imprisoned virtue, like that of the British Government Lincoln. or interned, and all libertarian activity is in Greece, deceives none but the blind tools of Moscow imperialism.

## scatered a few individuals and family duction, land, factories, mines, ships, and groups in three or four countries, who do so on, without which we cannot live. In scale means of production—except by the Spanish "Labour" Party

Because of these things the Anarchist England, a Labour Party. It's in the fashion that the Spanish beople and the victims taste for traditionalism, wants to be in the

> within the bounds of the Franco regime. It is as special as it is specious. A real social caricature. A kind of christian "Peronism" it has no definite ideology. Its real inspirer, however much he is camounaged, is ment, "comrade" Giron. His speeches are

It is this character who directs the man-

have the biggest place. It is intended to Labour Party M.P., Mr. Chamberlain, has soldiery, who are no longer allowed to dip their serve as a refuge at the last moment-that recently paid a visit to Franco Spain. At common bodies in his private take. of the discrete disappearance of the dictator Burgos he had a discussion with the

Franco's Spain wants to have, just like, But we must say, in honour to the truth, rap. In spite of their vehement desire to get rid of Franco, the Spaniards have ener-Spanish "labourism", of course, is kept English ones. . . They must be thinking new party "brother" to that of Mr. Attlee. of Mr. Bevin when they talk like that.

## B. MILLA

(Editor "RUTA," Organ of the F.I.J.L., Toulouse)

vous in this new party. It is with this dis- braise in government circles and in the ordered motley collection that this queer Franco press. "Labourism" of the English of public opinion. people. The workers know that it is only In the "democratising" manoeuvre, in- an equivocation and swindle. To strengthen monster's many transformations. that the "prison regime in Spain is very

# Send the P.O.W.s Home

Several hundred thousand German prisoners are being kept in servitude by the British Labour Government long after the war has ended, most of them being told they will not be released until four years after the cessation of hostilities. The reason for this is seen in the use the Government is making of them. Building of houses, making of roads, farm labouring, working in private factories and acting as the serfs of army officers are among the tasks of this great army of

Slavery it is! And the British Government has long shown its eagerness to obtain as many of these slaves as possible, particularly from the Americans. For example, when, last spring, the U.S.A. Government decided to release their prisoners of war thousands of them were sent from the States to Germany (that is the prisoners were told they were going to Germany) via Britain. But when the prisoners landed in Liverpool they were sent behind British barbed wire in Scotland and England and told they would not be released for at least two more years.

However, there has been some modification of that attitude recently and some of the prisoners, men of A and B categories captured in Africa, may return to Germany in June this year. The decision to allow limited fraternisation after a blank refusal indicates some remaining spark of humanity in the breasts of bigoted slaveowners. Of course, in these days of "enlightened employers" the motive could be-Having been persecuted by the different. The Secret police of the Communist economic as the men have been working fascist regimes which have held power in Party (which controls the government) better since being allowed a grudged

ist Communist Federation is once more the militia—again controlled by the Com- The alphabetical categories may need organisational forms, that is new compared in a very good position. Of course, you object of savage repression by the Fathera political screen. Each was asked. strike is official or unofficial. We do care new organisational forms, strikers will turn mission to assess the bomb-repair. You in September, 1944. It was the Bulgarian Anarchists who, are learning, to their cost, what lies behind Party?" Many answered (quite truthduring the German occupation animated the lying hypocritical propaganda of the fully) "I know nothing about politics. I the spirit of resistance of the people. The Communists. Liberation has meant only have never interested myself in such first maquis in Bulgaria were organised by the substitution of a new totalitarian questions." Such were graded C, Nazis of an anarchist militant, Mariol Wasseff. As regime for that of the previous fascist lesser type and made to serve longer. in Spain, the large anarchist movement governments; many of the members of the According to many intelligent prisoners. confirmed Nazis when faced by this question, replied, "I am opposed to the Nazi Party." To the question "What do you think of Hitler?" they replied, "I hate Hitler," and were graded A-anti-Nazi by a stupid, often malevolently stupid, military bureaucracy. Thousands of these Nazis have been returned to Germany as a result of these "screenings."

> The writer, while visiting a prison camp, was surprised to see a few men of white hair and bent figure, well over fifty years of age. He was told these and others were there because the Americans on taking a German town often took prisiner all men in uniform, even postmen, and tram con-

The writer remembers the building up stage of the Labour Party when at large public meetings its speakers would so often pose the Labour Party as the lineal descendent of all the fighters against

Now, the British Labour Party is second only to the Communist governments in its use of chattel slavery. The chief difference between Abraham Lincoln and Major Attlee is that while it is claimed for the former that he freed the slaves, the latter will go down in history as the man who kept them in subjection.

bumane" and that the social legislation of the government was good.

The Spanish press unanimously reproduced these declarations, just as they did ex-M.P., who expressed himself in similar terms to the Labour M.P. And that hasn't etically refused to take part in this political given any prestige to "labourism." The ckmail.... After all, they say, these labour: Shanish people, with their long experience ists of ours aren't any better than the of political parties, are not waiting for a

One, as much as the other, only merits their

The Spanish people are revolutionary nature; they have a libertarian conception of social problems, whatever their perpetual critics may say. And they know the road that has to be opened up to bring about the end of the terrible dictatorship which has been shedding blood for ten years. They powers, but only of the united action of

### PRIVATE! KEEP OUT!

The war is well over and safely won. The gentry are letting their false and very forced smiles drop from their faces as they drag in their barge wants to launch itself into the fight or Spanish variety finds no place among the "Welcome" mats with increasing rapidity. Instead of a strained wince, a snart of fury escapes them when hobnailed boots are heard crashing up

Lord Bath has now closed his gates to the

He claims that they broke into his boathouse. towed a boat out to the middle of the take and

### French Anarcho-Syndicalist Federation Congress

French C.N.T. (National Confederation of almost religious transport of faith by a large Labour) held in Paris on December 6-7- part of those men and women who create 8th, showed the desire of the French public opinion in the outside democratic comrades to rebuild the revolutionary syn- world." page 472. dicalist movement in accordance with the principles and tactics of the International Working Men's Association (I.W.M.A.).

disgusted with the trade union politicians, towards dispelling this illusion of the who during the past years have tied the Russian "Workers' State." Kravchenko unions to the state machine, and the workers are again turning to direct action, from what he has read or been told. Until in opposition to collaboration with the April, 1944, when as a member of a Soviet capitalist class.

declared in favour of direct action and against governmental collaboration. The dominant note of the Congress was the distinction of race of nationality, in the ception of libertarian federalism.

Russian instructions.

last elections. This proportion is even munist faith. more significant today when discontent is In this present review we have space

have to break the influence of the com- with the First Five Year plan in Russiamunists who have taken the leadership of not as viewed by Fabian statistic-compilers, the old C.G.T. Perhaps it will still be but as it was experienced by the peasants possible, for a certain time, for the union themselves. Kravchenko had been sent to politicians to exploit the poverty—which is "organise" the harvest in a little agrigrowing daily-by distributing some of the crumbs from the official banquets by means of ministerial decrees. But that would be far too little to satisfy the immediate needs of the workers.

### Direct Action

Direct action will show the workers, who are thinking of their common interests rather than of the reconstruction of capitalist economy, the way to their real emancipation. This task will be carried out by the C.N.T. The firm decision of the Congress was: to struggle by all the means of direct action until the introduction of libertarian communism by the seizure of all economy by the syndicates and industrial federations.

Socialsation for the benefit of all the producers and consumers will be the rallying cry for the final struggle of all the oppressed.

again takes its place inside the I.W.M.A.; suffering and dying in countries controlled by the democracies, in Russia, Poland, Bulgaria, Czecho-Slovakia, etc., and even in Germany and Italy.

demands the co-ordination of our efforts German concentration camp; secondly to with one aim: the Social Revolution.

laboratory; we must not depreciate it. To Berlin periodical which never reached bring about the triumph of the revolution him; and thirdly to make clear that we need unity of action.

revolutionary syndicalists must be to be in the forefront of the struggle. In banish the fascist society which is 1919 he narrowly escaped death in Munich strengthening itself in Spain and Portugal with the financial aid of international during the Bavarian Revolution. Readers capitalism and the Catholic Church. Side of his last books won't be surprised at this, by side with the Spanish and Portuguese because his references to the situation of taking account of our sacrifices, so that the his own strong ideas. two dictators will fall to the justice of the people.

(Continued from Page 1, Column 3.) before a magistrate or a commissioner for -who is Ret Marut? The following oaths, though we really have nothing in facts were given me by my friend Erich common with them."

A: "Magistrates' statements have a working. notorious double meaning."

D: "What sort of person do you want then?"

A: "Well, say a prominent business

D: "Notorious double-crossers."

A: "Well, Mr. Upton, I don't feel very optimistic that we could discuss any business with an organisation of your character. Goodbye."

high as your rents. Goodbye."

morals of West End landlords, who can revolution which occurred very early in accept £10 a week from those unfortunate Munich. On May 1st, 1919, the Bavarian women, the West End prostitutes, but Soviet Republic was crushed by the Free could not think of doing business with a Corps of General von Epp and Ret Marut struggling workers organisation unless it was captured and sentenced to death. On

BOOKS

# "I Chose Freedom

### Russian Official's Diary of Bolshevik Terror

"The Stalinist propaganda in the outside world had been more successful than any of us in Russia suspected. The myth of a happy "socialist" land is treated as a grim piece of totalitarian ballyhoo inside Russia, The sessions of the Congress of the it is accepted literally, solemnly, in an

Victor Kravchenko's book would, if it The French working-class is becoming were read widely enough, do a great deal writes from his personal experiences—not trading mission, he took the opportunity says: offered by a trip to America, to "choose The sixty-seven delegates unanimously freedom" he had been through most of the stages of the Bolshevik hierarchy, from the Communist Youth to an important administrative post in Moscow. The book renewal of international contacts to affirm is the story of his experiences, from the all the energies of the workers, without childhood in Tsarist Russia and during the Revolution, to maturity in the society of aim of a new society based on the con- hypocrisy, corruption and absolute state power that the Bolshevik Party built on Insofar as the French workers learn of the ruins of the defeated revolution. the resolutions of the Congress, we shall Throughout the book runs the moral conexpect a reaction on the part of those who flict between Kravchenko's father, the old have followed the shepherds of marxism, revolutionary, attached to no party, and those who have been deceived by obeying resenting bitterly the hypocritic phrases with which the Bolsheviks masked their These hopes are sound if one takes count real intentions and Kravchenko himself with the 30% abstentions reached at the who, for many years accepted the Com-

manifested in an anti-political organisation. only to quote from one section of the book, Naturally the militants of the C.N.T. and we have chosen the passages dealing cultural district:

> "The first dividends of collectivisation were death. Although not a word about the tragedy appeared in the newspapers, the famine that raged throughout Southern Russia and Central Asia was a matter of common knowledge. We

denounced as 'anti-Soviet rumours' what we knew as towering fact."

A village woman describes conditions to

"'I will not tell you about the dead,' she said, 'I'm sure you know. The half-dead, the nearly-dead are even worse. There are hundreds of people in Petrovo bloated with hunger. I don't know how many die every day. Many are so weak that they no longer come out of their houses. A wagon goes around now and then to pick up the corpses. We've eaten everything we could lay our hands on-cats, dogs, field mice, birds. When its light tomorrow you will see the trees have been stripped of their bark, for that too has been eaten. And the horse manure has been eaten.'

"I must have looked startled and unbelieving. "'Yes, the horse manure.... We fight over it. Sometimes there are whole grains in it."

In the same village an old coachman

"Oh yes, we live like grandees hereabouts with one pair of pants for two men and every one alive until he's dead. No poor, no rich, all beggars. . . . my old woman died of starvation last winter. My daughter got married and works in the mines. Two of my sons and their families have been sent to Siberia by the comrades . . . Kulak agents." page 114.

"The most terrifying sights were the little children with skeleton limbs dangling from balloon-like abdomens. Starvation had wiped every trace of youth from their faces turning them into tortured gargoyles; only in their eyes still lingered the reminder of childhood. Everywhere we found men and women lying prone, expressionless." page 118.

harvesters, threshers and winnowing machines. was telling me about his troubles when one of the peasants came over and whispered in his

" 'Speak up, let the Authoried Representative hear you! ' the board member said.

hide was taken off and the carcass was soaked in kerosene and quicklime. But this morning. when they got ready to bury it, there was no sign of the carcass. All of the diseased and spoiled meat has been carried off overnight. published in this country. God, what we've come to comrade! '" page 123.

While the people starved, food was being exported from Russia:

"The butter plant was some distance outside the village. The manager was a Party man,

affable and deeply unhappy. He took me through the establishment. In one of the rooms butter was being sliced in bars and wrapped in paper which bore the imprint, in English,

U.S.S.R. BUTTER EXPORT." "'I know that the peasants are starving,' th manager said. 'The idea of this butter going t stuff well-fed foreigners cuts me like a knife. far behind my plan and no doubt will punished. The peasants steal the milk; they're hungry. And the cows don't produce because there's not enough fodder." page 121.

Finally the harvest is gathered in:

"When the first of the new grain was being delivered to the granary near the railroad station, I made a discovery which left me tremulous with horror. Stacked in the brick structure were thousands of poods of the previous year's grain collections! These were the the starving population by officialdom. Hundreds of men, women and children had died of undernourishment in these villages, though grain was hoarded almost outside their

found the 'State Reserves' started with unbelieving eyes and cursed in anger. I didn't blame them, of course, but I exacted their pledges to say nothing about the matter, for fear that the news would undermine harvesting morale. Subsequently I came to know that in many other parts of the country the government hoarded huge reserves while peasants in those very regions died of hunger. Why this was done, only Stalin's Politburo could tell-and it didn't."

their faces and bellies bloated, their eyes utterly. It is impossible within the space at our disposal to give any comprehensive outline ... A kolkhoz (Collective Farm) board member deportations, concentration and forcedlabour camps for political offenders and peasants who didn't accept the forced collectivisation, the "Purges", the faked Moscow trials, the chaos in Soviet industry, "'Well, its like this, Comrade Authorized wages and working conditions, and above Representative. Last night a horse died. The all the overriding power of the N.K.V.D. (ex-G.P.U.. In a future issue of "Direct Action" we hope to give further quotations from the book, as it has not been

'I Chose Freedom' by Victor Kravchenko. Charles Scribner's Sons, New York.

# A Revolutionary Novelist

in countries under fascist government- of writers which characterised the Third Portugal and Spain—and those who are Reich. I am trying today to throw light on one aspect of Traven's life for the following reasons: firstly to recall the memory of one of the first men to recognise The revolutionary situation in Europe Traven's talent, a man who died in a bring to Traven's notice an appeal The example of Spain is an immense addressed to him, published in a little Traven is not only a genial reporter of ("Fanal") and published in the seventh in the style and spirit of Traven. Let us The preoccupation of all anarchists and social problems but is himself prepared to number in 1927, the appeal: workers we must march forward, without panic created by the lost revolution show

Apart from this little is known about BERNARD POU this man whose books are so well liked. This is because Traven, during his time in Germany lived under the assumed name D: "We should be willing to declare of Ret Marut. Here lies another mystery Muehsam on whose biography I am now

### The Tile Burner

Erich Muehsam talked to me about Traven during his last series of lectures in Vienna in the Spring of 1931. He said that Ret Marut appeared in Munich in the Autumn of 1917, publishing a magazine called the "Tile Burner". This appeared irregularly. No-one knew his real name. D: "Your morals do not strike quite as This paper carried out a bitter campaign against the press, the law, militarism and And so we adjourned ,amazed at the the State. It was in preparation for the

The Gutenberg Book Guild in Vienna ing him, and escaped. A few more copies first books appeared in the shops. Much-Since then some dozen further books of his in Vienna in 1920-21, later a few more in and for a long time he tried to remember awake day and night. have appeared and been read enthusiastic- other towns of Europe, then it disappeared. where he had seen it before. Then one day ally by a wide public. Who is this man After the Bayarian Revolution the paper he thought of the "Tile Burner". He was sent only to the old subscribers. took down the old file and studied it with French libertarian syndicalism thus poste-restante adress is his only contact editors of "Tile Burner" in his absence. That is all Muehsam knew. with the outside world. One can only Marut replied categorically: "Anyone it will reinforce the struggle of the world's honour the man's retirement in his work, claiming the production of my paper is a workers and particularly the workers who in contrast to the hysterical hero-worship swindler." Muchsam was very sorry to see this anti-authoritarian magazine dis-

## Leopold Spitzegger

five years in jail he produced in Berlin the monthly Anarchist paper "The Torch'

### WHO IS THE TILE BURNER?

"Does any reader of "Fanal" know where the Tile Burner is? Ret Marut, comrade and fighting friend, give a sign that you are still alive, that you are still the tile-burner, that your heart has not hardened and your brain has not clouded, that your arm is not crippled nor your fingers stiff. The Bavarians didn't get you in 1919 although the noose was already round your neck, but you escaped them. Had you not escaped you would have been lying there with Landauer and other free-spirited comrades; where I would have been if they hadn't imprisoned me a fortnight earlier. Now they can't get at you any more. Last year's amnesty must apply to you. It is time that the historical facts of the Bavarian Commune should be recorded. What has been written up to now is coloured by a party outlook and is not objective. For my own part I was too deeply involved personally in the various conflicts to record the facts statement of Traven's from the "Tile objectively.

"You were the only one to see the events clearly—what was achieved, what was left undone and what could have been done better. Gustav Landauer's work and letters wil be published; you were at Landauer's side helping him when he was People's Commissar. We need you now."

This appeal met with no success and was sponsored by someone "respectable". the way to be executed he managed to Muehsam gave up hope of hearing any RAYMOND H. UPTON. jump out of the lorry which was transport- more of Ret Marut. After a time Traven's

After a long search in Germany I have managed to find some copies of the old in the anouncement we see Traven's first msane. During the trial he was completely be accepted as the right name. Add to Duisburg." this that the contents of the little book are quote a contemporary critic :

material left over for other books. A on us. Germany is in ruins." book which has no clear beginning and a very mysterious end. Vivid pictures of war are thrown in, but the book itself

revolutionary ideas of an anarchist tend- from the American sector of Berlin: ency which inspire us in his work. To "You already know that our Gerbard"

is not about the war, it is the suppressed

outcry of a human being forced to be a

To prove this I will conclude with Burner" (21.12.21) entitled "Contrast"

into action.

"Knowledge is power? No. Action is power. "Knowledge makes free? No. Action makes free."

Traven's books can often be obtained in

SYNDICALIST UNNON

### Many Victims of Nazi Terror

of the German Anarcho-syndicalist move- 15 years in the reformatory, of which I comrades were carrying on the struggle. to be liquidated. . . . But on that occasion I But what am I to do? I have my orders. I'm form, consisting mainly of letters received comrade. from some of the German militants who have survived the Nazi terror, and from it we have learnt the late of many comrades whose lives were sacrificed to the Nazis during the years since 1933. Those comrades who have survived, were submitted details. Many more of our old German to long terms of imprisonment and torture militants who gave their lives in the at the Nazis' hands.

Today, in spite of the heroic struggle the State reserves for the district ordered by the members of the Free German Workers' government, their very existence hidden from Union (F.A.U.D.) made against the Nazis, right from 1933, our movement is forbidden ment. But we are confident that the comall possibility of legal propaganda by the occupation authorities in all zones. Propaganda is permitted only to the three "The peasants who were with me when we political parties-Socialists, Communists and Christian Democrats (Catholics).

letters quoted in the report:

. . . It is regrettable that the workers

abroad may be enemies of th German

people. They must be told that thousands of us lost our liberty and our lives in the "The following morning I was inspecting the of Kravchenko's book. He deals with struggle against Hitler's barbarism." "With many aspects of the Bolshevik state—the regard to the trial of the militants of Wuppertal and Rhenanie: there were 98 of us from diffierent towns. Most were from Dulken, for example Dortans and Hillebrandt. From Dusseldorf: Nattermann, (Konen, Binder, Windhoff, and from Cologne: Hans Saballa; from Duisburg Nolden. In 1936 Hans Saure and Hermann Steinacker were freed, and, in spite of being watched, immediately again began working for the cause. In the Autumn Simon Webvens came to see me with th proposition of organising aid for Spain. At prsi I refused because I thought we had enough to do to organise the struggle against fascism in our own country. But Hans and Hermann accepted and started work; then I belped them. The action spread to Munchen-Gladbach then to Dusseldorf. Just before Rosinke's arrest my Tather was put in charge of the money received. He did so only because of his hatred for Nazism—you know that he has questions. Yet today I am grateful to

Steinacker and Hahn to 21, Schmitz to 2

Rosinke and Delissen of Munchenpaper, and after making the same test as Gladback "died" under detention, Here-Muehsam I am convinced he was right. In mann Steinacker was sent from the "House the first number of the paper is recom- of Correction" of Munster to Mauthausen mended a book "On the Fraulein von S\_" in 1944 and was killed there. Hahn was by Richard Maurhut. Obviously Ret murdered in the madhouse at Galkhausen Marut is an abbreviation of this name and by injections; it is doubtful whether he was book. But the publishers of the book have normal—even very aggressive. When they long disappeared so I can't get any more asked him whether he had anything to say Louis Bertoni fell a victim to influenza information on this point. The name be replied: Swine? The judge, Massenez at Berne, Switzerland, on January 19th, Richard Maurhut doesn't appear in the went pale with anger, and Habn was after a life devoted to the Anarchist appear. After Muehsam returned from his German Writers' Lexicon so Traven can terribly beaten up at the court prison of movement.... For nearly fifty years Bertoni

August Benner, Wuppertal.

"This is the tragic history of a man, At Leipsiz 156 militants were condemned of his loneliness in the midst of war, in \_\_that is to say all the militants of the local the midst of his thousands of happy organisation. . . . According to my information. comrades. One of the best attempts tion at least 1,000 trials for "bigh to describe a modern war hero through treason" were carried out against the mili the eyes of an artist. Any other writer tants of the F.A.U.D. throughout Germany would have made two books out of this I have tried to get the militants together voluminous material and still had The struggle for existence weighs beavil

Karl Becker, Leipzig.

editor of "Der Syndikalist" (pre-Hitler Bertoni's death in his 75th year leaves a Whichever it is, Traven, Ret Marut or national organ of the F.A.U.D.) who paid gap in our international movement that Richard Maurhut, it is the unconquerable for his convictions with his life, writes will not be easy to fill.

know the personality of an artist like had to pay with his life for his faithful Traven is not the important thing but to activity in the struggle against Hitler. Five read his work and to translate his thought years in the 'House of Correction' was the court's sentence, and he survived that in good health. But then, after six months in the Sachsenhausen concentration camp, they informed me be was dead . . ."

at the I.W.M.A. Congress in Madrid, 1931 of Correction' and died soon afterwards. carrying out the secretarial work. Anarchlocal libraries. We particularly recommend prison was passable, but the bell started Published for the A.F.B. by the Secretary, London Crown A.F.B. Ken Hawkes 15, Parliament Hill. I was arrested in 1935 The treatment in 'The Death Ship," and "The White Rose." afterwards in the concentration camps."

From the Stockholm Secretariat of the "1936-7 the storm burst on the I.W.M.A. we have received the first news clandestine F.A.U.D. I was condemned to ment since 1939, when we had the last passed 7 at Waldheim and 2 at Buchenwald. reports of the way in which our German Then we were transported to another place The present long report is in documentary was able to escape along with a Czech

Richard Thiede, Leipzig.

Space forbids us from giving more struggle are mentioned in the report. The names of others who have survived also. For our German comrades the defeat of Nazism has not meant an end to the suppression of the Anarcho-syndicalist moverades who, in spite of the many years of fascist terror, have maintained the struggle for our common ideas, will, whatever the difficulties, continue the struggle among the German working-class for the overthrow of capitalist and state slavery.

The Anarchists and revolutionary syndicalists of Germany have never betrayed We give below a few extracts from the the libertarian ideals of our international movement. By their heroic stand against the naked barbarism of the fascist state they have, like our Spanish comrades, set' an example to the working-class through-

> In our next issue we shall be publishing extracts from a long report we have received from the Austrian Anarchists.

# Death of Two

Alexander Schapito and Louis Bertoni

We have learnt with great sorrow of the deaths of two of the great figures of the International Anarchist movement, Alexander Schapiro and Louis Bertoni.

Schapiro, who died in New York during never bothered about social and political December, was one of the outstanding Rosinke and Steinacker for their action. In figures of the revolutionary anarchist court they said nothing. Steinacker said to movement of Russia. He took an active the judges: '-Do what you like. I know part in the Russian Revolution, as a that your judgment is already, taken. member of the Anarcho-Syndicalist League, published Traven's first book in 1927. of the "Tile Burner" continued to apepar sam read them, the style apeared familiar Nolden had been arrested first; we were of which he was secretary. This organisation, with its paper "Golos Trouda" Of our Wuppertal militants 11 were was the object of constant persecution by condemned. Hans Saure to 12 years, the Bolsheviks. The paper was suppressed Traven? It is known that he lives in the Various men and women in different Rocker. They both agreed that Traven Steinacker to 10, Tacken 41, myself 4, by the Bolshevik Government in April, town of Tamaulipas in Mexico, where a German towns, claimed that they were the could be none other than Ret Marut. Sickman 31, Kruscheid, Oberhamm, E. 1918, and the organisation itself shortly afterwards. Schapiro was imprisoned in 1921, and in 1922 was driven into exile. He became very active in the work of the International Working Men's Association, and was associated with the Secretariat of the I.W.M.A. during the time it was situated in Paris, before the war. In 1940; with the approach of the German Armies, he was again forced to flee, this time to the United States.

> published the paper "Le Reveil Anarchiste" at Berne; his outspoken articles often brought him into conflict with the Swiss authorities and frequently he found himself in gaol as a result of his ravolutionary writings. His ideas were similar to those of Malatesta who was his personal friend for many years. Throughout both the world imperialist wars Bertoni maintained the anti-militarist stand of anarchism; during the recentlyended conflict "Le Reveil" was suppressed by the Swiss authorities. Bertoni, however, continued its publication in pamphlet form, with the imprint "Somewhere in Switzerland." The paper maintained this form right up to the present time. "Le Reveil" was bi-lingual-half French, half Italian and at times has had a considerable Kathe Wartenberg, widow of the last influence among the Swiss workers,

### Austrian Anarchist Movement

We bring to the notice of all comrades that the address for correspondence with the Viennese and Austrian movements is that of comrade Therese Knauer, Vienna 'Karl Windhoff-one of our delegates 14, Breitenseerstrasse 45/29, Correspondbroke down completely and is dead. He ence with Leopold Spitzegger, should was already mad when he left the 'House therefore be discontinued as he is no longer

> Group A.F.B.: Ken Hawkes 15, Parliament Hill, London, N.W.3, and prited by C. A. Brock & Co., Karl Dingler, Goppingen. Ltd., (T.U.), 79, Southern Row, London, W.10.