

anarchist weekly  
**Freedom**

Vol. 35 Nos. 51-52 15-28 DECEMBER 1974 DOUBLE ISSUE 10p



ARTHUR MOYSE

# CAKES AND ALE |

A SURPRISINGLY still enduring minor political party used to be known, by reason of their lack of humour and their rigidity, as the Plymouth Brethren of politics. At times, skimming through some of the libertarian press one feels that some anarchists could be labelled the Jehovah's Witnesses of politics, such is their lack of humour, their heavy millennialism and absolute solemnity.

The approach of the highly-pagan festival of the winter solstice is an opportunity, an excuse (if needed), and -- let's face it - a space-filler -- to muse on the anarchist attitude to Christmas and all that.

We cannot accept the religious excuse for Christmas but it is obvious that there is need for occasional holidays and the Christian church only took over the old pagan rites. Unlike Jehovah's Witnesses we cannot absolutely ignore Christmas, but many of us from necessity as well as choice choose to ignore the gross commercial exploitation of Christmas and the highly ritualistic channeling of goodwill to all men into a yearly booster-jab in the arteries of commerce.

The habitual routine of daily life needs to be broken up occasionally by feasts (by which we mean choicer food, not huge quantities) and oppor-

tunities to meet with friends and relax. Life, in fact, should produce more opportunities of this kind and it is a criticism of our scale of living that these things only occur rarely on high days and holy-days. It is not that life should be a continual feast but one of the aims of a free society is to produce an environment where leisure and relaxation are more readily available to all who want it and leisure is as creative as work could and should be.

The things of culture and art need leisure for their enjoyment. To those who question the value of art and literature and their relevance to the class struggle we would reply that art and literature are some of the things for which the revolution will be taking place. Art and literature will deepen our understanding of man and his place in society and on earth. To these can be added an appreciation of food and drink, of exercise of the body and mind, sex, an appreciation of the humour and irony of life (which aids a sense of proportion), all of which make life worth living.

But if anarchism means anything the good life must be aimed for here and now. The millennial hopes of 'after the revolution' are not good enough. Therefore we must enjoy life as it is, here and now, as much as we can. Therefore art, literature and humour must play their parts in an anarchist life and anarchist journalism now.

To those who accuse us of not being serious, we would reply in the words of Sydney Smith: because we are not solemn, it does not mean we are not serious. The sudden illumination of Arthur Moysé in line and drawing - to name only one - provides more light in dark places than the pounding dynamos of the Marxist transmission belt.

This week's FREEDOM is graced by the presence of crosswords and a little more humour. We make no apology (except this piece) for the provision of 'cakes and ale'. In the old familiar joke 'Come the revolution everybody will have strawberries to eat.'

--'How about them that don't like strawberries?'

--'Come the revolution everybody'll have to like strawberries.'

XX

The Rev. Paul Oestreicher, chairman of the British section of Amnesty, recently visited many of the Baader-Meinhof group in German prisons. He also saw the Attorney-General and the Justice Minister. Paul Oestreicher differs with Sartre's view that prison conditions for Baader amount to torture but he believes that more relaxing of conditions would end the hunger strikes.



# A SOCIAL CONSCIOUSNESS

IN WHAT has been called a "Day of Struggle", an estimated 200,000 workers came out on strike in Northern Spain last week. This act puts another nail into the coffin of the Franco regime. It shows that after over three decades of bloody oppression the Spanish worker has not given up the struggle for freedom.

For this strike was no ordinary industrial dispute. It was not about wages and conditions but in support of and undertaken to secure the release of all political prisoners. Such action is of course illegal in fascist Spain. Workers were not just content to remain at home but openly defied the regime and its forces of oppression by demonstrating on the streets.

In San Sebastian the police opened fire on a demonstration, wounding a young worker. Barcelona, it is reported, saw its biggest stoppage "since the 1934 uprising in the Asturian mines".

In Vizcay province and Bilbao 90,000 workers stopped work. Basque towns are believed to have been 100 per cent. Certainly, places like Guernica, scene of the first wholesale aerial bombing raid, stopped completely. The old Basque-Carlist capital of Estella was likewise a total stoppage. Here and at other places demonstrators clashed with the police. There seems no doubt that this has been one of the biggest demonstrations of rebellion by the Spanish working class since

they were defeated by the fascist states and the "democracies" in the civil war of 1936-39.

The "Day of Struggle" was called by the Basque separatists, but included all political prisoners and not just their supporters. These comrades and fellow-workers have spent life-times behind bars for activities we take for granted. The Franco regime, far from easing its authoritarian rein seems determined to hold onto power. Its draft law, which supposedly gives Spaniards a limited right of political association, has been denounced by Socialists, Christian Democrats and even by Conservative groups. "It does not grant any real political freedom," said a spokesman for the Christian Democrats.

Although it gives political freedom

Continued on Page 3

## Spanish Workers' Movement

A Spanish comrade is going to attempt, in a series of articles, to delineate the Spanish working-class movement, and in particular, the libertarian movement. This first article give a very general view of the libertarian movement, as a kind of introduction:

### GENERAL CONSIDERATIONS ON THE WORKERS' MOVEMENT IN SPAIN TODAY: ITS PRESENT AND ITS FUTURE.

#### 1) Introduction:

Without any doubt, it was in Spain that the libertarian movement put down its strongest roots. From Ramon de la Sagra, founder of the first anarchist periodical in Europe, "El Porvenir" (1845) through Anselmo Lorenzo, and concluding with the Spanish Civil War (1936-9), we encounter a revolutionary impetus never achieved in any other place. But even if the libertarian movement reached its highest point here, it is no less certain that from the end of the war until today it seems to have fallen into a state of lethargy. We can pose various questions: "What are the reasons why anarchism, in its very different forms, does not seem to be acceptable to people?" The reasons are many, and it is precisely these reasons that I will attempt to deal with in future articles.

Some weeks before the end of the Spanish Civil War, on the 25th February, 1939 a General Council of the Libertarian Movement in exile was constituted in a sorrowful proletarian (libertarian) circular. The manifesto was signed by Mariano Vazquez, secretary of the Movimiento Libertario Espanol. It recognised that, for all practical purposes, the war had been lost, but this did not mean the abandonment of the libertarian struggle. According to the circular, the CNT (Confederacion Nacional del Trabajo), the FAI (Federacion Anarquista Iberica), and the FIJL (Federacion Iberica Juventudes Libertarias) were to unite their forces for the struggle, in exile, against the new oligarchs. The General Council, thus formed, would be at the forefront of the Movimiento Libertario Espanol, (M.L.E.) "as the body responsible for general management and political orientation".

Many have seen in the failure of the M.L.E. in the Civil War the death of anarchism; but this is not so: a libertarian can never admit that he is defeated, and can say with Bakunin that "he will never halt his course while a single drop of blood flows in his veins." In a certain way the loss of the war assumed the nature of a rebirth rather than a defeat. After it, the libertarians had more experience, as much because of the great gains made as because of the small losses. They were, perhaps, a little disillusioned, but they still had a mind to struggle for freedom.

After the war, the libertarians did not cease to fight, whether against Nazism of the Francoist dictatorship imposed on Spain. Many lost their lives, but others have continued the struggle up to the present, amongst them Diego Abad de Santillan, Federica Montseny, etc. Everywhere where Spanish libertarians have gone into exile, papers and books have been published.

Before analysing the present-day movement, it will be best to give a brief description of the three most significant libertarian organisations, the CNT, the FAI, and the FIJL.

The CNT, the largest Spanish trade union, was created in 1910, with the aim of uniting the efforts of the proletariat against their exploitation by the owning class. There already existed another trade union, the UGT (Union General de Trabajadores) represented by the totally bureaucratized and centralised PSOE (Partido Socialista Obrero Espanol). Because of this there was need for another union which would guarantee a greater freedom of action: the CNT. The CNT derived its ideological basis from Spanish libertarianism, which had been formed by such theoreticians as Anselmo Lorenzo, Ricardo Mella, Jose Prat, etc.; on the other hand, it was also influenced by revolutionary syndicalism.

The CNT did not confine itself to wage claims, but had a core of revolutionary ends, kept alive by the libertarians. Without doubt, it was the most energetic and active of the union organisations, and because of that, the one most feared by the bourgeoisie. It was not for nothing that it was the libertarians whom the ruling classes took the greatest pleasure in persecuting, from the founding of the Spanish section of the International Working Men's Association in 1868.

But it was necessary to keep the CNT from descending to a purely reformist level of wage-claims, and to do this there was created in 1927 the FAI, which gave a powerful impulse to the revolutionary activity of the CNT.

The youthful vitality of the libertarian movement did not cease to attract young people; an organisation to forge them into future libertarians was created in 1932. The FIJL took the State, Politics, Religion, etc., to be the enemies of individual property.

After the Civil War the movements which participated on the side of the popular front were decimated and demoralized. Various governments in exile were created, in which some libertarians took part, without, however, occupying high posts. A single difficult task was imposed on socialists, anarchists, and libertarians alike: the rebuilding of their movements and the fashioning of new tactics for revolutionary action. The only strong opposition to the Francoist regime came from the falangists and the national-syndicalists, who grouped together in various syndical organisations, struggled against the new mandarins installed in power. But, as the years passed, the libertarian, socialist, and marxist forces organised themselves. New organisations ready to fight to the death appeared: the OLIA (Organisation of Armed Struggle), the FSR (Revolutionary Syndicalist Front) etc. From the death of the libertarian, Facerias, to the execution of Salvador Puig this year, there have been a series of libertarian actions, which, though sporadic and inconsistent, show that the struggle goes on.

F.J.E.M.



# CAN 1930 RETURN?

THE YEAR 1974 draws painfully to its close. A year of financial juggling, starvation and fanatical political murder and equally fanatical counter-repression. Not a happy year but a year which has seen a shift in political, strategic and resource power which has shaken some and changed other ruling classes, and whilst not actually leading to liberation has given the hope or illusion of liberation to many.

We can truly echo the Marxist writer who said: "England's future -- what will it be? This is the dominant question of our day. Never has its interest been more universal or more urgent. Around it all current political discussion centres. In that discussion there are two new elements; a growing and general dissatisfaction with the orthodox answers, whose emptiness events themselves have exposed, and a realization that what is involved is the solution of the fundamental problems of society, under the specific conditions in which those problems present themselves in this country."

We can echo this but it will ring with a hollow reverberation through the years, since it was written in 1935 by Allen Hutt in a preface to a book called The Final Crisis. Since that year we have had many crises but none of them has been the final stages of British capitalism which Mr. Hutt and many of us devoutly await.

It has weathered a world war, it has seen the military defeat of one (or two) forms of Fascism - which we were assured was the last stage of capitalism. Capitalism has prospered (even with a measure of state socialism) whilst checking the advance of Red Fascism. It has seen the military and political decline of its foremost practitioner - the United States - but it has survived. Capitalism owes its survival to its ability to change and yet remain the same. The one constant factor in operation is its ability to exercise power - in fact in order to continue the exercise of power it will occasionally cease to operate in monetary terms and rely upon the operation of power, naked or concealed.

The crudity of nineteen-thirty politics is unlikely to return, in the same way that the crude forms of fascism are unlikely. Such oppression and misery which may come will take subtler and more democratic forms.

There are the idealists and atomists who nostalgically look back at the thirties and think in precisely the same terms as the Hutts, the Stracheyes and the Dutts who plugged the coming decline of capitalism and rise of Fascism; such who found themselves alternately opposing and supporting a supposedly anti-Fascist war which culminated in the triumph of two newly-risen proto-Fascist regimes (Stalin and the U. S.) holding world power.

It is only those who attempt to repeat history who are doomed to make the same mistakes. The men of power whether left or right, whether their power is exercised in economic, political or job-control terms (such as the TUC) are still the enemy of the individual.

England has lost her Empire; even the Marxists could not concede she should sink to the level of a third-rank power. The whole world is short of resources, the crises of the world are economic and financial which have no solution within the profit, monetary and capitalist system. The problems of the world are agricultural, technical and sociological which are soluble given free minds, willing brains and eager hands.

A shift in thinking is needed. Not the stale platitudes and claptrap of the thirties. Of course nineteen-thirtyfive (or thirty-nine) can return. If you let them sell you an old calendar.

Jack Robinson.

WHEN ANGELA DAVIS, campaigning for the release of political prisoners 'everywhere' had her attention called by Peter Niesewand (of the Guardian) to political prisoners in Czechoslovakia and Russia, she said, "I do not happen to believe that those political prisoners are fighting against imperialism for the freedom of the world, I find some people will use instances in the socialist countries and blow them out of proportion to damn and degrade the name of socialism." --Wasn't it Miss Davis who once quoted James Baldwin: 'If we know, then we must fight for your life as though it were our own... For if they take you in the morning, they will be coming for us that night'?

## IN BRIEF

THE HOME OFFICE has ordered an inquiry into how prisoners at Blundeston gaol, Suffolk, were able to forge police warrant cards.

THREE anti-vivisection campaigners were sent for trial at Oxford on 13 charges of arson and damage at animal research laboratories and breeding centres.

Dr. Bridget Rose Dugdale, serving a nine-year sentence in Limerick prison, has given birth to a boy. She is stated to have said, "My son is going to be a guerilla fighter, too."

CUBA has become Spain's leading trade partner in Latin America by a three-year agreement involving £400million credits.

THREE MEN convicted of armed robbery - stealing about £6 - were executed by a Nigerian military firing squad in Lagos on Saturday.

A SHOWPIECE mosque is to be built three miles from the Vatican (according to the Sunday Telegraph correspondent in Rome). It will cost about £9,200,000, of which King Feisal of Saudi Arabia will contribute at least £2,890,000, and other Arab leaders are expected to follow suit.

Sancho Panza.

### SPANISH WORKERS... cont'd from P. 2

for people over 18 years to form associations for political activity and for putting up candidates at elections, it puts them under the direct control of the council of Franco's National Movement. This watchful eye of Big Brother would ensure only those associations and candidates which the present regime wanted. Such freedom is that of dog collar and lead.

As in 1936, the only real resistance to fascists comes from the working class and their organisations. It was their armed struggle in 1936 that defeated the fascist military takeover. That attempted takeover sparked off a social revolution. To achieve that the working people of Spain had a strong social consciousness. For the Spanish worker the short term wage struggle was not an end in itself. They saw their goal of a social revolution with the abolition of capitalism and State.

From last week's strikes it looks as though that social consciousness remains.

P. T.



WITH A resurgence of fascist movements, both orange and green, in Ireland today it may be worth while looking back at what is generally regarded as a movement stamped with the hallmarks of European fascism -- the blueshirts<sup>1</sup>. There was little hint of what was to come when an association of ex-servicemen of the Eire army was founded in Dublin on 9 February 1932, just a week before de Valera's Fianna Fail party, which had remained on friendly terms with the IRA, succeeded the pro-treaty Cumann na nGaedhal party as the government of the Free State. One immediate result of this was that the Army Comrades Association (ACA), composed of pro-treatyites, felt that the position of its members would be threatened by the policies of the new anti-treaty Fianna Fail government which might provide licence for the IRA to wreak retribution upon their former opponents of the civil war. Another

fascist or any other organisation they were prepared to adopt it, and in retrospect he appears to have been speaking the truth. True, they were engaged in violence of a kind when they became involved in the anti-rates campaign launched by Irish farmers in 1934 and continuing until the last months of 1935. It was during this campaign that the blueshirts reached their peak in terms of popular support and it was largely as a by-product of the anti-rates campaign that they became involved in violence, usually being arrested and charged with obstruction and violence arising out of the non-payment of rates. When the anti-rates campaign ended support for them the blueshirts declined, and by the end of 1935 they were no longer an important factor. Fine Gael got rid of O'Duffy and Fianna Fail, sickened by the violent excesses of the IRA, eventually banned that organisation and a new spirit of cordi-

ledge of fascism appears to have been acquired during a fortnight's cruise on the Mediterranean."

The flight from reality; the retreat from reality; the glorification of violence; an idolatrous form of nationalism -- these and other characteristics of fascism are to be found in greater measure in the Irish republican movement than in the movement of the blueshirts. Those who are interested in the growth of fascism in Ireland may find that the blueshirts do not fit the bill so well as the republicans. The left republicans who fought with the International Brigade provide us with an excellent example of their confusion of mind. On that occasion they formed James Connolly Battalion, which was aligned with the forces that set out to crush the CNT and ensure that the revolution was carried out under the banner of Stalinism. Yet it was the CNT alone which was putting into practice Connolly's ideas concerning the linking of industrial unions and agricultural co-operatives<sup>2</sup>.

Meanwhile, the Fine Gael party is today the government of the Irish Republic, and fascism in its green and orange varieties has found a new lease of life in Ireland.

H. B.

A reliable book is *The Blueshirts* by Maurice Manning (Gill and Macmillan, Dublin, 1970)

The idea has a distinctly syndicalist pedigree. For similar suggestions by Kropotkin see "Freedom Pamphlet" No. 8, p.8 (Freedom Press 5p). The idea of the industrial syndicates forming agricultural alliances was adopted by the French CGT. See Rudolf Rocker's *Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism* (Freedom Press, 20p). Connolly's ideas, possibly borrowed from both, are included in Chapter Seven of *The Reconquest of Ireland*

## PRESS FUND

### Contributions

LONDON NW5: M.S. £ 1; BRISTOL: P.T. £ 1; LONDON E4: S. & A.G. 50p; LONDON SE 27: C.H. £ 1; LONDON NW6: D.B. 50p; LONDON NW1: G.P. 28p; HAMPTON: B.H.B. £ 1; LONDON SE26: J.B. 60p; LONGSIDE, Aberdeen: G.W. £ 1; WOLVERHAMPTON J.L. 50p; J.K.W. 10p; LONDON N6: D.B. 37p; STROUD: S.L.R. 35p; CHICAGO: J.K. £ 3; IPSWICH: F.J. & D.R. 57p; BURNTISLAND, Fife: C.H.K. £ 3; SUTHERLAND: B.L. 30p.

TOTAL: £ 15.07

Previously acknowledged: £ 1050.29

TOTAL TO DATE: £ 1065.36

"Where no one obeys, no one commands." -- Anselme Belle-garrigue (individualist anarchist).

# THE BLUESHIRTS

consequence of the election was that the former government party now in opposition had to begin political campaigning throughout the country and its meetings were attacked and broken up by the IRA, an organisation never noted for its adherence to the principles of free speech and freedom of assembly.

The fear of violence, and suppression of free speech at the hands of the IRA promoted an identity of interests between the ACA and the former government party. Ernest Blythe had suggested the adoption of a blue shirt and black coat as a uniform for the ACA in March 1933, and these symbols were retained when the ACA changed its name to the National Guard in July and from an ex-servicemen's association became one with membership open to "all citizens of Irish birth or parentage who profess the Christian faith". Its new leader was General Eoin O'Duffy who had been forced to resign from his post as chief of police by de Valera only four months earlier. O'Duffy was later elected leader of a new political party, Fine Gael, formed from the old Cumann na nGaedhal party, the Centre Party, and the National Guard which had been allowed to exist for only a month before it was banned by Fianna Fail. Fears that Fianna Fail, aided by the IRA, was out to smash all political opposition appeared to be justified and one of the most important responsibilities of the blueshirts was to protect political meetings held by the opposition, a bodyguard role which was forced upon them by the activities of the IRA.

O'Duffy, meanwhile, had made contact with the European fascists but he was an extremely muddle-headed man and his peculiar brand of fascism was like nothing known before or since. Despite his occasional ravings against parliamentary democracy he remained leader of a constitutional party and his blueshirts must have been the most non-violent fascist movement ever to exist. The blueshirts, he insisted, were not fascist nor were they intended to be, but added that if there was any good point in the

ality began to develop between government and opposition. But what O'Duffy regarded as his finest hour was yet to come.

In 1936 the Spanish civil war started and through the medium of "a prominent Irish ecclesiastic" O'Duffy was asked to form an Irish Volunteer Brigade to serve the Christian cause and he travelled to Spain to have talks with Franco. On his return he set about organising with characteristic vigour and equally characteristic muddle-headedness. On 6 January 1937 about 700 volunteers arrived for embarkation at Passage East, a tiny fishing village, where they remained shivering throughout the whole night and most of the next day only to be told that no ship was coming; O'Duffy appeared to have organised the embarkation without first ensuring that a ship was available. Eventually, 700 volunteers managed to get to Spain and in their first encounter two of them were killed by Franco's troops as the result of a failure to identify their strange uniforms. Four more were killed in March, this time by the enemy, and four more died as a result of illness brought on by trench conditions, an illness which affected 150 members of the brigade, and when their term of duty expired in June only nine men volunteered for a second term. Of these, two returned almost immediately and it thus appears that only seven men in the ranks of the blueshirts were wholly committed to the cause of fascism.

The probability is that those who joined the brigade did so because they believed that they were part of a Christian crusade against communism. The two leading theorists of the blueshirts, professors Hogan and Tierney, may have based their arguments upon the papal encyclical *Quadragesimo Anno*; but the ideas of the learned professors were hardly understood by the average blueshirt. As for O'Duffy himself, Sean Lemass shrewdly observed of him in 1934: "He does not appear to know very much about the type of political association he wants to establish in the country. His know-



**FREEDOM PRESS**

84b WHITECHAPEL HIGH STREET  
LONDON E1 Phone 01-247 9249  
Aldgate East underground station,  
Whitechapel Art Gallery exit and  
turn right - Angel Alley next to  
Wimpy Bar.

Aldgate East underground station, White-  
chapel Art Gallery exit and turn right -  
Angel Alley next to Wimpy Bar.

**BOOKSHOP** open Tue.-Fri. 2 - 6 pm  
(Thursdays until 8.00 pm)  
Saturdays 10 am-4 pm

**SOME OF OUR PUBLICATIONS:**

- A B C of Anarchism, Alexander Berkman  
25p (post 5p)  
USA 75¢ post free
- About Anarchism, what anarchists believe,  
how anarchists differ...Nicolas  
Walter 15p (post 3p)  
USA 40¢ post free
- Anarchy, Errico Malatesta 25p (post 5p)  
USA 75¢ post free
- Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism,  
Rudolf Rocker 20p (post 5p)  
USA 65¢ post free
- The State, Its Historic Role, Peter  
Kropotkin 20p (post 5p)  
USA 65¢ post free
- Neither East Nor West, Marie-Louise  
Berneri, sel. writings 1939-1948)  
30p (post 11p)  
USA \$1.00 p.f.
- Lessons of the Spanish Revolution 1936-39  
Vernon Richards cloth £1.50 (23p)\$4.00  
£ 0.75(23p) \$2.00

New list of publications (including annual  
vols. "Selections from Freedom" 1954-64  
and "Anarchy" (1961-70) available issues)  
in preparation, and on request will be sent  
when printed.

**freedom bookshop**

Any book not in stock but in print can  
be supplied. Please add postage as in  
brackets when ordering.

- \*James L. Walker: The Philosophy of  
Egoism £ 0.60 ( 5p)
- \*Benjamin R. Tucker: State Socialism  
& Anarchism and other essays  
£ 0.50 ( 5p)
- \*John Badcock jr.: Slaves to Duty  
£ 0.45 ( 5 p)
- \*Lysander Spencer: No Treason: the consti-  
tution of No Authority £ 0.50 ( 5p)  
Jack London: The Iron Heel £ 0.75 (7p)  
John McGuffin: Internment £ 0.75 (9p)  
Emanuel Litvinoff: A Death out of Sea-  
son : a novel of the siege of Sidney  
Street. £ 0.50 ( 9p)
- \*Robert Dickins : Thoreau : The Com-  
plete Individualist £ 3.00 (15p)
- \*George H. Sabine (editor): The Works  
of Gerrard Winstanley £ 8.00 (30p)
- \*Leo Tolstoy: The Law of Love and the  
Law of Violence £ 2.25 (15p)
- \*Rene Martenar and Roberto Alfonso:  
Emiliano Zapata (for younger readers :  
a comic-style illustrated story of his  
life. In Spanish and English.)  
£ 0.60 ( 9p)

HOUSMANS 1975 WORLD PEACE DIARY  
Two pages per week plus 64pp Internation-  
al Director of Peace Organisations.  
(£ 0.55p (5p) from Freedom Bookshop.

\*These titles published in the U S A

# GOVERNMENT IS VIOLENCE

Taken from The Law of Love and the  
Law of Violence, by Leo Tolstoy  
(recently reissued by Holt, Rinehart  
& Wilson)

WE CAN SEE that governments insist  
that good order cannot be maintained  
without violence, really meaning by  
the word "order" the maintenance of  
a regime that permits a minority to  
profit as much as it likes by the work  
of the majority. We can see why they  
say it, for the suppression of violence  
would take away the means of their  
survival and condemn their ancient  
injustices.

This ought not to be the case, it  
would seem, for the mass of workers  
who employ violence on each other  
and who suffer from it so cruelly.  
The situation of the oppressed should  
not be compared to the constraint  
used directly by the stronger on the  
weaker, or by a greater number on a  
smaller. Here, in effect, it is the  
minority who oppress the majority,  
thanks to a lie established ages ago  
by clever people, in virtue of which  
men despoil each other for small  
profit of comparably much greater  
advantages - such as liberty - and  
are exposed to much crueller suf-  
fering.

The origin of this lie was revealed  
four centuries ago by the French  
writer La Boetie, in his work,  
Voluntary Slavery\*. He said:

"IT IS NOT bands of horsemen, it  
is not companies of infantry, nor  
is it arms that defend the tyrant;  
but, and it will not at first be be-  
lieved, true as it is, there are al-  
ways four or five who control the  
tyrant, four or five who hold the  
country in servitude for him.  
There are always five or six who  
have the ear of the tyrant and ac-  
cess to him, and who have offered  
themselves, or are called upon by  
him, to be accomplices of his  
cruelty, the companions of his  
pleasure, panders to his lust,  
and sharers in his pillage. These  
six train their chief so well that  
he must be wicked not only on ac-  
count of his own brutality, but of  
theirs also. These six have six  
hundred who profit under them  
and act towards them as the six  
act towards the tyrant. These  
six hundred have under them six  
thousand whom they have raised  
up and to whom they have given  
the government of provinces or  
the handling of taxes, that they  
may control their avarice and  
cruelty. They perform their  
duties when it seems good to  
them, and do so much evil besides

that they could not exist except un-  
der protection, nor be dispensed  
with except by means of law and  
punishment.

"Great are the consequences that  
result from this. And anyone who  
enjoyed looking closer into this net  
would see that not only six thousand,  
but hundreds of thousands, millions,  
attach themselves to the tyrant by  
this cord; helping themselves by  
means of it, as, in Homer, Jupiter  
boasts that if he pulls a chain he  
will draw all the gods to him.  
From this came the rise of the  
senate, the establishment of new  
states and the election of offices,  
not certainly to reform justice,  
but to keep the tyrant in power.

"In sum, we owe our present condi-  
tion to the favours, to the gains and  
advantages that one acquires from  
the tyrants, who find as many peo-  
ple to whom tyranny seems profit-  
able, as those for whom liberty  
would be better. If physicians say  
there is something the matter with  
one part of our body, although the  
rest is quite well, they come at  
once to the infected part. In the  
same way, as soon as a king is  
declared a tyrant, all the wicked,  
all the dregs of the kingdom (I do  
not say a pile of robbers and cheats  
who can do very little evil or good  
in a republic, but those who are  
taxed with intense ambition and  
extraordinary avarice), gather  
around him and uphold him in order  
to share in the booty and to be  
petty tyrants under a greater one..."

... Leave us alone. If you, emperors,  
presidents, generals, judges, bishops,  
professors and other learned men, if  
you have need of armies, navies,  
ecclesiastical courts, prisons, gal-  
lows, guillotines, prepare them all  
yourselves, tax yourselves, judge your  
yourselves, imprison yourselves,  
get yourselves killed in war. But  
leave us alone, for we have no need  
of all these things and we do not wish  
to participate in acts that are useless  
as far as we are concerned and above  
all so evil.

---oo0oo---

\*Etienne de la Boetie's Discourse of  
Voluntary Servitude, with a histori-  
cal introduction and bibliographical  
notes by Nicolas Walter, was published  
as Anarchy 63 (May 1966). Freedom  
Press 15p (40c).

A MEMBER of Hong Kong's Independ-  
ent Commission against Corruption  
pleaded guilty of accepting an unatho-  
rised loan of £1,000.



Where it will all end God only knows

that things will be back to normal by the end of the year. It is regretted that it has proved impossible to bring "The Freethinker" out to schedule of late. It is confidently hoped

(from The Freethinker, Nov. 1974)

We much regret that, owing to an industrial dispute at our printers (a dispute for which we have no responsibility) the paper this week appears in very truncated form.

(Tribune, 13th December, 1974)

As an antidote to the forthcoming avalanche of Christian propaganda, readers of FREEDOM might be interested in reading a Christmas-card sized pamphlet issued in time for Yule by the National Secular Society, Our Pagan Christmas, by R. J. Cardon explodes all the Christian myths, so that us pagans don't have to feel guilty about enjoying the midwinter festivities. (Who felt guilty, anyway?). Available from the N. S. S. 698 Holloway Road, London, N. 19 3NL

D L M

LANDAUER... continued from P. 12

which Spirit takes charge, gives orders, and achieves decisive success, can free the road to Socialism, which implies the transformation of conditions through the emanation of Spirit. But through Decrees, one could at most enrol men as State slaves in an economic army. The transformation of society can only come about in love, work and peace."

Presentday Russia, a military colossus of oppression, confirms Landauer's prophetic words. One could call Landauer's socialism humanistic and ethical, but not romantic. Apart from these critical observations, the book is to be recommended as a useful historical document, for its full collection of materials and its broad description of the intellectual world and the cultural environment in which Landauer lived.

Augustin Souchy.

Editorial note: This review was sent to us by J.M. Frager of the Freie Arbeiter Stimme (New York), who published Landauer's Die Revolution in Yiddish. Other information on Landauer's work and ideas, his part in initiating the 'Revolutionary Workers' Council' in the short-lived Munich Council Republic (1918-1919) and his murder in the course of the bloody suppression of the Council Republic, will be found in Anarchy 54: Muhsam, Buber and Landauer (Freedom Press, 1965. 15p.)

# ANARCHISM

ANARCHISM, then, really stands for the liberation of the human mind from the dominion of religion; the liberation of the human body from the dominion of property; liberation from the shackles and restraint of government. Anarchism stands for a social order based on the free groupings of individuals for the purpose of producing real social wealth; an order that will guarantee to every human being free access to the earth and full enjoyment of the necessities of life, according to individual desires, tastes, and inclinations.

Anarchism does not stand for military drill and uniformity; it does, however, stand for the spirit of revolt, in whatever form against everything that hinders human growth. All anarchists agree in that, as they also agree in their opposition to the political machinery as a means of bringing about the great social change.

\* \* \*

Anarchism, at least as I understand it, leaves posterity free to develop its own particular systems, in harmony with its needs. Our most vivid imagination cannot foresee the potentialities of a race set free from external restraints. How, then, can anyone assume to map out a line of conduct for those to come? We, who pay dearly for every breath of pure, fresh air, must guard against the tendency to fetter the future. If we succeed in clearing the soil from the rubbish of the past and present, we will leave to posterity the greatest and safest heritage of all ages.

EMMA GOLDMANN  
(from Anarchism [1910]).

**Subscribe**

THE MOST CONVENIENT WAY OF OBTAINING FREEDOM IS BY DIRECT SUBSCRIPTION. USE THE COUPON TO ORDER, THEN COPIES WILL ARRIVE EACH WEEK BY POST. PLEASE SEND PAYMENT WITH ORDER. CHEQUES AND P.O.'s PAYABLE TO FREEDOM PRESS.

	1 year	6 m	3 mt
INLAND, and SURFACE MAIL OVERSEAS	<input type="checkbox"/> £4.00	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.00	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.00
	\$9.60	\$4.80	\$2.40
AIRMAIL THE AMERICAS	<input type="checkbox"/> \$14.50	<input type="checkbox"/> \$7.25	<input type="checkbox"/> \$4.00
AIRMAIL EUROPE	<input type="checkbox"/> £4.60	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.30	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.20
AIRMAIL INDIA, AFRICA	<input type="checkbox"/> £5.35	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.70	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.35
AIRMAIL AUSTRALASIA, JAPAN &c.	<input type="checkbox"/> £5.85	<input type="checkbox"/> £2.95	<input type="checkbox"/> £1.50

Name.....

ADDRESS.....

'DUBLIN ANARCHISTS Bob Cullen (7 yrs) Des Keane (5 yrs) and Columba Longmore (4 yrs). Address for letters & papers: Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp Co. Kildare, Eire.

STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee, 54 Harcombe Road, London N.5. Needs donations to provide study books for these long-term prisoners.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee; Paolo Braschi, C.P. 4263. 2100 MILANO

THREE held re kidnapping of Spanish banker Postcards to Octavio Alberola Sunilach, Prison de Fresnes, 1 Av. de la Division Leclerc, 94261 FRESNES, France, and to Ariane Gransac-Sadori and Jane Helen Weir at Prison de Femmes, 9 Av. des Peupliers, 97100 ST.GENEVIEVE DES BOIS, France.



# OF MAN AND REVOLUTION

## THE NATION STATE

REVOLUTIONARIES IN OUR TIMES have for long now tended to refer to human societies as feudal, capitalist, socialist, etc. However, these oft-used terms are very superficial and even misleading ones. For in the final analysis all societies, except for tribes and the early city-states, which have been thrown up so far in the course of social evolution have been nation-states of one kind or another. Calling one "capitalist" and another "socialist" (e.g. Britain and Russia respectively) is like putting two different brand names on two essentially similar kinds of spades.

Now, what is a nation-state? First of all, it is a community of people living on a particular strip of territory to whose ownership they lay claim. Looking at this community from the outside we find that it is a very tightly bound one, so tightly bound that it may be considered an organism. It is an organism made up of people just like the human body is an organism made up of cells. Unlike the human body, however, the people making up a nation-state are not bound together physically. They are linked each one to the other by far more flexible bonds - bonds of mind. These mental bonds are the ideas, conceptions, attitudes, notions and beliefs in general which are common to the members of every human community. Bonds of mind vary in form from nation-state to nation-state. If one goes from, say, Britain to the Soviet Union or from Holland to India one will feel very much an alien if one is unacquainted with the language, customs, beliefs, etc., of the host country.

However, though there are sometimes great cultural differences between countries, they are at heart all the same and have several fundamental things in common. For instance, when looked at from the outside all countries are national organisms (sometimes multi-national organisms like the U.S.S.R.). On the other hand, when examined from the inside each one of these countries has a social system controlled by a state machine. Furthermore, all these state controlled social systems are organised on the lines of a pyramid.

At the bottom of each social pyramid is the great mass of the nation's people, roughly ninety per cent of them. These are the doers, the order-takers, the have-nots who are pressured by circumstances into doing the humdrum chores of the community - while being ordered about at each individual workplace and in the community at large by managerial barons and so-called experts for whom ordinary workers are nothing more than organic cogs in the giant social machine which modern capitalism has created. Rising above the order-taking working masses are strata or layers occupied by the more privileged members of the nation; while the apex of the pyramid is made up of the few with the greatest privileges and rights. These latter people form the ruling class. Its members dominate the community because they occupy social positions with the greatest amount of influence and power. They are in no way morally superior to, nor do they possess better attributes than do, the working masses. Yet these dominant and usually arrogant few lord it over the ordinary people and quite openly enjoy rights and privileges of a fabulous kind at the expense of the working masses.

By its very nature the structure of the nation-state is an authoritarian one. Those at the bottom of the social pyramid must do what they are told, must submit to the dictates of those in authority, must even believe that they are destined, either through the will of God or historical circumstances, to play a humble, servile, unprivileged role in society. If the order-taking masses suddenly decided all at once to cease being tame donkeys this particular social structure would quickly collapse and chaos would result if a new and higher anarchist system of social relations was not put in its place. Likewise, if those at the top of the social pyramid are not sufficiently dominant or assertive, the society in question may quickly decline politically, economically, or even culturally.

This is why any form of organization built on the lines of a pyramid - be it a state machine, a political party, a religious association, or a trade union - can never be democratic in nature. Even if those at the top have been elected to their positions of power the organization in question remains an essentially authoritarian one. Those at the bottom of the pyramid just cannot think and act on their own initiative, except in a very circumscribed way - as determined partly by the purpose of the organization, partly by its body of trad-

ition, and partly by the dictates of its controlling clique. The pyramid kind of organization is at heart a minority-management system: a few give the orders and the order-taking majority must obey them.

Because it is organized in this way the social environment of the nation-state is one which favours the ruthless social climber greedy for power, and on the other hand, the apathetic and unassertive individual who is easily regimented. The most favoured social values are those which tend to increase one's social status and power. This is why so many people would prefer to be the bastard of a lord than the offspring of honest working class parents.

While there may be a big difference in particular attitudes and economic interests between the higher and lower social classes of a given nation-state, they nevertheless all form part of the same bio-cultural organism. As the history of the last few thousand years has only too clearly shown there is a basic unifying cultural factor embodied in the social pyramid of every nation-state in spite of inter-class tensions and struggles. And this unifying factor comes very much to the fore when the nation-state concerned is attacking or is being attacked by other countries. This is the well known phenomenon of nationalism, which is reflected in the sense or feeling of "patriotism" of the individual citizen.

Nationalism is often regarded as something with only a political aspect, but it is very much more than that. For nationalism springs from the very core of a given nation-state's beliefs, values and institutions.

The view commonly held among revolutionaries of a given society with a ruling class ruthlessly oppressing the working masses is such an over simplified and shallow picture as to be almost a caricature of the real life situation. Throughout the course of history ruling classes have very seldom had to establish direct military dictatorships over the masses. On the contrary, both the upper and lower classes have "cooperated" in the running of their respective states, as a general rule. And they did so not because the upper classes deliberately set out to numb the lower ones with the drug of religion. Instead they worked together because the great majority of the members of each social class believed that they were fulfilling their proper or destined role in the life of their respective communities.

This phenomenon might well be called cultural nationalism. It is truly quite a remarkable thing because very often it leads to the bizarre situation in which the most oppressed and exploited members of a given nation-state will not only meekly accept their enslaved condition but will even defend the very people and the social circumstances that cause them to be enslaved. The First World War provided a horrific example of workers massacring each other in millions for the sake of the power lusts and economic interests of competing European ruling classes. From cultural nationalism springs the emotional cement which binds together the diverse elements of individual nation-states. It also generates the unseen but yet almost overwhelming unifying power of the "system" which very often exerts stronger oppressive conforming pressures than more visible and tangible constraining forces stemming from governments.

## THE INDUSTRIAL REVOLUTION

The general way of life of the traditional nation-state with its order-giving nobility and clergy and its order-taking slaves and serfs, would probably have carried on indefinitely in one form or another had it not been for the Industrial Revolution. This new technological overleap, which began in Britain was centered around the development of new techniques and means of producing society's needs. At heart it consisted of several nation-states led by England changing over to a very different way of dealing with the physical and biological environment.

This technological overleap was in many ways similar in kind to the Agricultural Revolution; and just as the latter caused tremendous changes within the traditional tribe so the Industrial Revolution has brought about tremendous changes within the traditional nation-state. Furthermore, just as the Agricultural Revolution gave rise to social conditions which permitted the eventual birth of the nation-state, so the Industrial Revolution is bringing about a state of things through which a wholly new trans-national anarchist kind of society can be created by the working masses in the course of social struggle.



The first phase of the Industrial Revolution was primarily mechanical so far as its technological aspects were concerned and involved mainly the application of steam power to machinery. One of its main socio-economic effects was to bring about the emergence of huge armies of industrial workers and a new ruling class of industrial capitalists and financiers who owned and controlled the new means of production. These quickly became the most important social classes in the new technologically-advanced nation-states which included England, France, Germany, and the United States of America. The overall result of these developments in the latter countries was that the landed demesne was superseded in economic importance by the factory estate, the privileged social position of the aristocratic nobleman was usurped by the factory owners and financiers, the peasant worker became secondary to the industrial wage earner, the age-old craft guild was replaced by the modern trade union, and the executive power of the traditional royal rulers was exchanged for a modern state machine and parliamentary forms of government.

Industrial capitalism and the technologically-advanced nation-state had arrived on the stage of history. But no new society had been born, as so many radicals are still wont to believe. All that had occurred was that new wine had been poured into the old nation-state bottle.

Injustice, exploitation and oppression of the masses continued as before, except that now it was more scientific and deliberate in form, as well as being on a much larger scale. Socialist ideas and movements sprang up to challenge the savagely repressive conditions of life of the working people who were producing the wealth and riches being enjoyed by the industrial barons. But most Socialists were greatly mistaken in believing that the way to liberate the masses was to capture state power and dictate to their capitalist oppressors. Lenin found himself in a position where he could put such ideas into practice; and in so doing opened the way for the most brutal dictatorship working people have ever suffered under. Both he and many others like him made the fundamental strategic error of trying to solve contemporary social problems in terms of the way of thinking of the prevailing social order. And so they failed miserably to create the kind of society they had long dreamed of. Only the anarchists, then as now, posed a valid challenge to the existing scheme of things; because only they could see that the road to a truly new social order lay in transcending as speedily as possible the whole framework of the nation-state, whose powerful gravitation-like constraining forces have always overwhelmed even the most militant revolutionary elements which sought to operate within its orbit of influence.

#### OUR SOCIAL ORDER

As a social order the nation-state is made up of a great many elements of which the most important ones are:-

- (a) its narrow-minded nationalism and nationalistic prejudices which give rise to a wholly distorted view of history and of the importance of one's nation and its place in the world;
- (b) its canonization of wealth-generating property, be it state or privately controlled;
- (c) its irrational superstitions and other weird beliefs which have for long engaged man's mind in an Iron Maiden;
- (d) its beliefs in the need for a parasitical order-giving social elite, which for thousands of years has with the gory appetite of a giant vampire sucked the life's blood of the order-taking masses, who had been gulled into believing that their foul and atrocious condition formed part of an unchangeable divinely-ordered scheme of things;
- (e) its inbuilt cultural pattern requiring the vast proportion of each generation of people to transform themselves willy-nilly into muzzled working oxen, who were cruelly crushed, and continue to be crushed, by a brutalizing and inhuman social order;
- (f) its limited economic output per head, which together with war and pestilence has been a curse upon mankind throughout all of recorded history;
- (g) its need for a monetary system which is an indispensable component of a pre-automation economy in which it is necessary to have a means of rationing the always very limited quantity of a nation's produce;
- (h) its system of producing goods for a market - be it "free" or state controlled;
- (i) its grossly unequal distribution of the nation's wealth due to the rapacious social elite, who control the means of production as well as the actual worker producers, having the "right" to commandeer the greatest share;

(k) its hierarchical stratified social structure made up of different social classes which may be traditional (e.g. the nobility, clergy, slaves) or ultra-modern (industrial capitalists, managerial barons, wage-earning industrial workers, etc.);

(l) its managerial bureaucracies, which form part of every large scale organization - be it in the field of industry, education, religion, politics and so on - and whose existence has been based and continues to be based on the assumption that the great majority of the people are some kind of *untermenschen* incapable of organising and running their own collective lives and who must resign themselves to their "predestined" fate of forever being controlled by their so-called "betters";

(m) its octopus-like state with its great mass of constricting bureaucratic tentacles by means of which the social elite, either directly or indirectly, maintains the "smooth" running of a given nation-state;

(n) its barbaric penal system, which is geared to preserve the special rights and privileges of the social elite, while at the same time maintaining the internal "harmony", however superficial it might be at times, of the nation;

(o) its military forces, which every nation-state uses to either attack or defend itself against external enemies, or, if need be, against the members of its own population if or when they pose a threat to the overlordship of the social elite;

(p) its political parties, trade unions, and parliamentary systems of government, which are modern nation-state institutions representing the perverted form which democracy or democracy or democratic-like relationships must assume within the framework of the prevailing social order, which is essentially authoritarian and, therefore, anti-libertarian in nature.

Violence, irrationality, injustice, prejudice, and oppression of all kinds are the threads which compose the essential fabric of this particular social order, whose member states in the course of long and brutal battles for survival have virtually dyed the Earth red with the blood of countless millions of human beings, most of whom have been working people.

Without exaggeration, the nation-state is a real social dinosaur which glorifies economic, political, and military power, the nature and degree of which determines its ability either to attack or defend itself in "patriotic" wars with other nations - or, as in the case of the imperialist nation-states which were the first to become technologically developed, to colonise and enslave other peoples.

#### THE DECAY OF THE NATION STATE

The nation-state social order is today assimilating so many novel developments within its framework that there seems little doubt it is just as plastic in this respect as was the technologically-advanced tribe all those scores of centuries ago. In spite of its great plasticity, however, there are very strict limits to the total range of changes which the existing social order can absorb without it collapsing as such. The tribal social structure fell apart, for instance, when tribespeople began to be classified by the supratribal federation executive not according to the areas in which they resided. It was finally shattered when the rights, privileges, status, and obligations of tribespeople came to depend exclusively upon what particular occupational group they belonged to in their respective communities.

When we take a wide-ranging look at our social order as it is today we find that it is represented by over one hundred nation-states varying from such huge giants as the U.S.S.R., China, and the United States to relatively tiny ones like Holland, Belgium and Ireland. While each of these states possesses a distinct cultural identity of its own, there is at the same time a continuous interchange of ideas, techniques, people, and commodities between them. This process of diffusion has always been a feature of our social order, however bitter national rivalry and competition. Today, however, this age-old process has reached such a height of intensity that it is now clear we are witnessing a wholly new international phenomenon - comparable only to the forming of federations of tribes at the very beginnings of recorded history.

This new inter-national phenomenon has a wide diversity of elements, of which the more important ones are:-

(a) the emergence of large and relatively stable federations of nation-states, which require a certain relinquishment of traditional national sovereignty on the part of each member nation;

(b) the growth of a global economy, within the framework of which individual national economies are in the process of being even more finely interrelated;

(c) the forming of inter-national organizations which are global in their scope of operations, such as the now defunct League of Nations



and the more recently established United Nations Organization with its many supra-national agencies;

(d) the increasing willingness of nations to cooperate with each other in the fulfilment of jointly determined projects;

(e) the mass migration of peoples between nations;

(f) the introduction of common inter-national measuring standards and the like, e.g. the metric system;

(g) the rapid increase of total world population, which was a phenomenon that also occurred during the epoch when technologically-advanced tribes began to give to a higher trans-tribal social order, i.e. our own one.

When combined these various factors are creating a situation in which both the deep-seated cultural barriers and the more shallow political divisions between peoples are being slowly broken down on a global scale. And if nothing unforeseen impedes its progress this global process will ultimately result in a cosmopolitan world. However, all this is not occurring without social tensions, strife, and troubles and heartaches for individual human beings. The intermixing of people of different nationalities and cultures, for instance, carries with it many conflicts, as racial minorities demand an equal place in the sun as the citizens of their host countries. But through such struggles the mono-cultural patterns of the individual nation-state are being greatly weakened and so the process towards the ultimate unification of mankind is facilitated.

Together with these developments in the inter-national arena the current technological revolution is altering in a most fundamental way the traditional nation-state mode of dealing with the physical and biological environment. Among these major technological developments are:-

(a) the utilization of essentially new techniques in the manufacture of commodities;

(b) the large scale introduction of new power sources;

(c) the wholesale exploitation of minerals, timber, and other kinds of natural raw material resources;

(d) the making of artificial materials;

(e) the ever-increasing control over the biological world;

(f) the current attempts to control the Earth's weather patterns;

(g) the development of fundamentally new kinds of transportation and communication systems;

(h) the utilization of intensive "factory farming" methods;

(i) the beginning of interplanetary space travel and research.

Hand in hand with these inter-national and technological innovations, there are appearing certain socio-cultural developments (to a greater or lesser degree in the case of individual nation-states) which are having a profound effect on the traditional way of acting and thinking of the prevailing social order. These socio-cultural developments include:-

(a) expanding leisure time;

(b) decline of heavy manual labour;

(c) the gradual disappearance of individual craft specialist occupations in economic life as ever more automated production systems are introduced;

(d) the emergence of universal education;

(e) the great increase of information and news media;

(f) widespread travelling;

(g) the decline of traditional religious beliefs and moral values based on precedent and authority;

(h) the rise of the secular humanist outlook with its emphasis on national and humane ethical codes and the need for man to help himself rather than depend upon supernatural powers;

(i) the breakdown of many of the traditional barriers between social classes;

(j) a change in the attitude of the masses towards traditional ideas of fair play, justice, social duties, rights and obligations;

(k) the weakening of nationalistic consciousness in many parts of the world (this does not include areas where national liberation struggles are in progress and where revolutionary nationalism is a progressive force);

(l) the development of huge web-like managerial bureaucracies around the component units of ever more complicated political and economic systems;

(m) the emergence of vast urban human zoos;

(n) the emancipation of women.

Perhaps the most important development of all within the nation-state social order in recent times has been the emergence of growing numbers of free thinkers with a general libertarian attitude of mind and who, within certain broad limits can be said to think for themselves. The rise of modern science has been one of the main features of this on-going libertarian process; and the scientific method has now

become one of the most powerful intellectual tools of our times - though, unfortunately, it is very often used in a criminal way because of the narrow and perverting requirements of the nation-state.

As an intellectual tool, science has allowed modern man to discover a wholly new kind of cosmos, very different from the tribal and traditional nation-state schemes of the physical world. Gone are the spirits and the all-powerful gods. And in their place are force-fields of different kinds forever struggling to master each other. Science has discovered, for instance, that the Sun is a very different thing from what previous generations imagined it to be. We see it not in terms of some sort of deity but as a compact system of interacting gravitational, electrical, magnetic, nuclear, chemical and mechanical forces which are more or less in a balanced state at the moment. Indeed, we now see the whole Cosmos as a huge system of multifarious force fields in an overall state of equilibrium. These are blind and unconscious forces - fountains of brute energy. On the other hand we have man, who is also a force interacting in a conscious and deliberate way with physical nature and changing the latter to his needs on an increasingly large scale.

This newly developed capacity of man for controlling or at least harnessing the blind forces of nature is having a tremendous effect on the old traditional picture of the Universe. The age-old belief about the hand of God causing all change in the world is fading away and with it is disappearing the traditional fearful submissive stance of man in the face of what he imagined to be an almighty deity. A new confident humanist approach to the world is gradually replacing the old one, as man begins to understand and control the same forces of nature that were feared so much in the past. Because of this new confident approach to the larger world, a scientist of today who wants rain, for instance, would not get on his knees and pray to God; and neither would perform some magical rites. Instead he would set out to seed any available water-bearing clouds with the appropriate chemicals and so cause it to rain.

All these factors - political, economic, technological, social and cosmological - are giving rise to tremendous changes, particularly in the consciousness of the working masses of the world. No longer do these masses of ever more articulate and independently thinking people see the same meaning or value in ideas, notions, attitudes and institutions which their forefathers blindly accepted. As a result they are fast becoming alienated from the whole existing framework of traditional beliefs, institutions and way of life. For growing numbers of such people life in the current materialistic rat-race amounts to nothing more than an absurd and meaningless existence. In their wide-open eyes the technologically advanced nation-state is a huge soul-crushing machine which seeks to destroy their essential humanity while it exploits and manipulates them throughout the whole of their lives.

This process of alienation is of the greatest relevance when considering the decay of the existing social order; because, since a bio-cultural organism is ultimately held together only by its mental bonds, it follows that when these bonds begin to decay the society in question starts to disintegrate. As stated earlier, the essential mental bonds keeping members of a given society together are the fundamental ideas and attitudes of the social group. When people *en masse* start becoming alienated from traditional ways of thinking and acting the society to which they belong enters upon a phase of decay. This particular phenomenon occurred in a general way during that tumultuous epoch when technologically-advanced tribes in many parts of the Old World were giving way to proto-nations. It also occurred many times at the time of the demise of individual states during the course of history. It is now occurring on a world wide scale and is one main symptom of the general phase of decay which the nation-state social order has entered upon. A positive aspect of this process is that the traditional barriers which have for so long divided the working masses of mankind are also breaking down and the conditions are being created for the full realisation of that old socialist slogan: "Workers of the world unite, you have nothing to lose but your chains!"

#### THE WORKING MASSES BECOME ORGANISED

The new industrial means of production and parliamentary systems of government which are usually associated with the technologically advanced nation-state have now become very important elements in our social order. They emerged on the stage of history during a period of intense class conflict and their actual process of birth took the historical form of the commercial and industrial bourgeoisie and proletariat ousting the nobility and clergy from their pre-eminent social positions both by direct struggles and by superseding landed property as the primary foundation of economic and political power.

In the context of the six thousand year history of the nation-state



social order the modern bourgeoisie, which now includes both private enterprise and state managerial barons, is a modern social elite which has only just come to power. But because they are modern does not mean to say that they are any different from social elites of past historical epochs. When the bourgeoisie of Western Europe, for instance, had ousted the landed nobility from their dominant social position they tried hard to step into their shoes. But times had changed; for the relatively libertarian industrial worker never believed as did his forerunners that the contemporary social situation, with its naked oppression, cruel injustices, and ruthless exploitation, was an unchangeable divinely inspired order of things. And so section after section of the ever-growing proletariat organised themselves in the face of intense opposition from the ruling bourgeoisie into trade unions and other labour collectives.

This was a truly remarkable development in the history of the emancipation of the working masses. But while it constituted an important forward step it was no more than this; for over a relatively short period of time the new labour movement became assimilated within the framework of the nation-state. And this process has been maintained ever since, to the extent that the traditional labour movement has now become fully institutionalised and forms an important bulwark of Establishments in most countries today.

As a result of these developments the traditional left has now become riddled with contradictions and perversions and like a person in the dark it gropes about completely lost. Many of its erstwhile radical parties have now become little more than political clubs with top heavy bureaucratic superstructures whose primary activities are concerned with organizational survival in the social environment of their respective nation-states.

The fossilization of the traditional left and the proliferation of a diversity of newer political parties and sects has led to much confusion among revolutionaries all over the globe. On the one hand, their professed desire is to see the establishment of a national truly socialist social order in which the "government of people will have given way to the administration of things"; while, on the other hand, many of them are sceptical about existing revolutionary organizations ever achieving their announced aims. And no wonder, for how can political parties or groups organized along traditional pyramid-like lines, with order-giving cliques at the top and a mass of order-taking members at the bottom, ever bring into being a libertarian society - which would not have an authoritarian hierarchical structure and which would embody a completely different system of human relations from the prevailing one. It would seem to be almost a truism to say that only organizations which are both libertarian in structure as well as in their mode of operations can pioneer the way to a transnational global libertarian civilization.

#### LIBERTARIAN STRUGGLES

There is already a radical libertarian movement in being. But because it lacks the vision, sense of purpose, and vigour of the anarchist and anarcho-syndicalist movements of an earlier generation, much of its energy and efforts are being squandered, wasted and misdirected.

In the field of industry this libertarian movement is being manifested not so much in the (socialist) fight for higher wages and living standards as in the struggle between order-taking workers conscious of their status as second class citizens and order-giving managerial barons and old-fashioned trade union bureaucrats, who have a vested interest in keeping the existing scheme of things in being. One can also detect this spontaneous libertarian movement in the educational field and its challenge to the existing social order in the struggle between the libertarian student and school managers hell bent on maintaining what is at the heart a conditioning system geared to perpetuating this primitive, cruel and barbaric social order of ours.

The libertarian movement is also showing itself in the appearance of world government and world citizen organizations - reflecting the growing desire of increasing numbers of people to overcome the limitations and constrictions of outdated political divisions on our planet. Yet another libertarian struggle, which is now becoming of considerable significance, is that between the underprivileged alien or coloured person and the privileged racialist citizen of any given nation-state.

One of the most important libertarian struggles of all is centered around the growing armies of prisoners in our modern world. Prisons and prisoners were born with the nation-state social order over six thousand years ago. They came into existence with the emergence of class society dominated by a ruling clique who owned or controlled the most important means of production - of producing the "social cake". To safeguard their social system they made a set of rules or

laws which were almost entirely concerned with the preservation of the rights of property owners and the special privileges of the controlling few. It was a legal set-up backed by the power and the might of the new state machine which from the moment of its creation began to operate in the interests of the ruling class who were in the driving seat. Needless to say, anyone from amongst the oppressed masses of the order-taking have-nots who broke "the law" was punished, often savagely.

Penal institutions are still with us today; and prisoners are being packed into jails and concentration camps as the traditional forms of "law and order" break down and libertarian political dissidents grow ever bolder. Traditional left political organizations are totally incapable of understanding, let alone becoming directly involved with, the phenomenon of prisons, prisoners and crime. Only libertarians and more especially anarchists can see that a legal and penal system is an indispensable weapon in the nation-state's armoury of repression and that to attack and ultimately destroy this ruling class weapon must of necessity be one of the primary aims of any revolutionary movement worthy of the name.

When one looks back over the long history of class/state society in which the oppressed masses were utterly steeped in ignorance and had little freedom of thought and action the emergence of a grassroots libertarian movement in our times appears as a remarkable phenomenon. So it is; but the fundamental reasons for it often escape even the eye of the careful observer. What is not generally realised is that the drive underlying the libertarian movement is not being generated by some petit-bourgeois desire for equalitarian human rights and freedoms. No, it is powered by something far deeper - by forces springing from the very essence of man.

The traditional view of man was that he was created in the image of God and that after his fall from grace in the Garden of Eden he became a sinner and has remained the same ever since. What this approach never allowed for was that man as a person evolves in the course of biological evolution. Man the person is wholly the product of the social environment of ideas, institutions, social practices and human minds. So long as the social environment remained undeveloped so man the person remained undeveloped. This was why there were no such things as marked individual personalities, as we understand the term, within the world of the traditional hunting tribe. The average tribesman had little or no personality or sense of personal individuality. He was literally quite unable to see himself as an individual apart from the broad mass of other tribal members. It was only when our society came into being that clearly defined individual personalities appeared on the social scene.

With the appearance of the technologically-advanced nation-state the social environment developed apace. And this has led to the explosive growth of relatively mature and independently thinking people in the social environment of today's world. Thus it is the on-going development of man the person which forms the underlying reason for the appearance of the grassroots libertarian movement in our epoch.

Though social classes are naturally involved, current libertarian struggles are not assuming the form of class conflict in the traditional sense of the term. The reason for this would seem to lie in the fact that while social classes and class viewpoints are an integral part of the nation-state social order, libertarian revolutionary battles are being fought partly inside and partly outside the framework of the latter. For in seeking to establish transnational libertarian institutions, such as workers' and students' control, libertarian revolutionaries at once put themselves beyond the plane of the nation-state.

Perhaps this particular point might be made more clear if one remembers that the social struggles which led to the establishment of the first trans-tribal social institutions such as social classes and private wealth arose out of situations involving people supporting an essentially trans-tribal way of life and thinking fighting to assert themselves not just against the tribal elders but against all those seeking to preserve the fundamental thought and conduct patterns of the tribal social order. In a similar way libertarian struggles consist of conflicts between libertarian people conscious of the oppressive yoke of the existing antiquated social scheme and social groups with a vested interest in maintaining institutions which are fast losing their social utility and whose only real justification for their continued existence is that they are traditional and therefore must be preserved - so our masters say - no matter how inherently irrational and even socially harmful they may actually be.

One may, of course, adopt a class viewpoint in a libertarian struggle if one wants to, but it can lead to no little confusion of mind,



for instance, when libertarian workers are battling against trade union bureaucrats and other nonentities who regard themselves as "working class fighters". Furthermore, it would seem that if one adopts a rigid class point of view, in the final analysis one will always remain within the frame of thinking of the nation-state. This is the kind of trap which has caught so many unwary revolutionaries who work for a proletarian revolution within the narrow confines of their country and the building of a "workers' republic" nation-state.

If one sees the institution of workers' control in the context of a rigid class viewpoint and visualises a libertarian struggle between a socially inferior working class as such and a privileged bourgeois class of managerial barons and private owners, then "workers' control" appears as little more than the workers stepping into the managers' shoes. But if, on the other hand, one adopts a trans-national revolutionary viewpoint (from which both managers and workers are seen to form part of the same social system), then a libertarian grassroots revolution appears as a struggle between revolutionary workers and all those actively supporting the way of life and thinking of the nation-state. From such a standpoint workers' control, far from consisting merely of workers taking over executive power from state and private managers in their respective industries, appears as a trans-national libertarian social institution through which the means of production, distribution, communication and transport serve only the needs of the people who exert full and direct control over them in each particular community. In such a situation both managers, owners, and workers as such, (together with the difference between work and leisure) would disappear in economic systems geared to producing goods for social need rather than for profit or a state-run market.

In a similar way, it would seem that students' control would be far removed from simple democratization of universities and schools through students taking over from existing managerial boards. Instead such an institution would appear to involve a wholly new approach to education in general, entirely different methods of education, and educational programmes geared primarily to meaningful living in a trans-national libertarian social environment.

#### LIBERTARIAN STRATEGY

Of necessity the libertarian revolutionary movement needs to have a very clear idea of what it is about and in what direction it should proceed. It requires a well-defined strategy of action, in other words. By its very nature this movement is not given to trying to gain control of the state machine in any given country nor to attempting to set up a state of its own, not even a world state. In general terms it is primarily interested in creating a wholly new global social infrastructure that would end the world's present ills by replacing those social institutions and practices which are their root cause.

Because such a libertarian infrastructure can only be built by the masses of ordinary mankind the primary task for libertarian revolutionaries must be to encourage and inspire direct action in every field on the part of order-takers everywhere. But to get the masses into the collective habit of intervening directly in community affairs so as to bring about a situation favourable to them and not to their masters is the most difficult part of the whole course of a libertarian revolution from its ill-defined initial beginnings to its final triumphant conclusion.

Direct action of any kind by the working masses themselves runs completely counter to the whole tenor of the existing nation-state social environment in which ordinary people are brought up to believe that their predestined fate is to take orders and be led by leaders from birth to death. The whole set-up of the prevailing social environment is such, in fact, that there is an actual need for order-giving leaders on the one hand, and a great mass of order-taking people on the other. This is why so long as we have the nation-state social order in being the masses will need order-givers to lead them. They will continue to crave for and glorify great leaders.

If ultimately the masses of ordinary people of the earth are to become involved directly in all of the vital decision-making processes affecting them, they will have to organise themselves, not in the traditional hierarchical manner, but in a non-pyramid-like way. No amount of modern communications hardware will permit them to do this within the framework of the existing standard pyramid structured organization. It is only when this hardware is combined with a higher libertarian system of human relations that people will be able to involve themselves directly in the running of their factories, offices, universities, construction sites, shops and so on, and in the management of the wider community.

The creation of such a system of human relations would include the building of production, distribution, communications, transport, educational, and whole community organizations in which the actual control of each production unit, etc. would be in the hands of those immediately involved with it.

The instant nature of trans-national institutions, such as workers' control, cannot be over-emphasised. They will have to come into existence quite suddenly, for the reason that since they are beyond the cultural plane of the nation-state and represent a direct challenge to its most fundamental institutions they just cannot evolve on a significant scale.

But once the trans-national institutions have been established by the masses of the world's underdogs during the final phase of their revolutionary self-emancipation the whole crumbling structure of the nation-state will finally collapse. It is then that the real work of the libertarian revolution will begin. Not alone will the formal pattern of existing civil-legal social relations be completely destroyed, but the actual physical scheme of production, distribution, etc. will have to be reconstructed from the bottom up; because this whole present physical scheme both reflects and embodies the injustices, backwardness, and shortcomings inherent in the nation-state social order. This fundamental transformation might take the form of building completely new kinds of human communities (centered around what could be called the functional modules of a computerised global economy) whose physical engineering and social and economic organization would reflect the libertarian way of life and thinking of their peoples.

The general situation in the technologically-advanced nation-states is now fast becoming ripe for establishing direct peoples' community control. But, in spite of this ripe situation, however, we must at the same time take full account of the possibility that the people of the technologically-underdeveloped nations might eventually take the lead in pioneering the way to a libertarian transformation of society. The tribes who first ushered in the Agricultural Revolution were not the ones who fully exploited its multifarious possibilities. This task was left to the technologically underdeveloped tribes inhabiting the valleys of the Nile, the Tigris-Euphrates, the Indus, and the Yellow River. In a similar way it is possible that the nations who pioneered the Industrial Revolution have already begun to suffer the common evolutionary fate of becoming over-specialised at their present level of development. Their socio-economic systems may have already become too rigidly specialised along capitalist lines and may be incapable of transformation except in the case of total collapse; while the actual consciousness of their people may likewise now be rigidly centered around capitalist notions and values. If this is so, then it is quite conceivable that the "unspecialised" peoples of the technologically-undeveloped world will become the vanguard of progressive mankind.

The choice before us is simple. Like a man awaiting execution, we can continue to endure the degradation and agonies of mind and body which this whole rotten social order and its power hungry order-giving vultures impose on us. Or we can destroy it and put in its place a higher libertarian planetary civilization and thus open up the way for unchained man to carve out a destiny worthy of his kind among the stars.

Michael Tobin.

Michael Tobin, the author of the foregoing article (which is an extract from an unpublished manuscript) is one of the few British political prisoners to have been recognised as such by Amnesty. Before his arrest he was a labourer at the Kingnorth Power Station in Kent. He was charged with possession of copies of two pamphlets: A Letter from a Soldier of the IRA to the soldiers of the Royal Green Jackets and A letter from a Ballymurphy mother which were "of such a nature that the dissemination thereof among members of Her Majesty's forces would constitute an offence under the Incitement to Disaffection Act (1934) (the same law as was used to jail Pat Arrowsmith). Tobin neither wrote, nor really distributed the pamphlets, but he was given the maximum sentence of 2 years.

After his release this year, he went to live in Amsterdam, where he now publishes the monthly magazine HAPOTOC, which campaigns for such political prisoners as George Lennox, and Ronald Augustin (of the Baader-Meinhof group) and against political torture generally. Michael Tobin can be contacted c/o P.O. Box 10638, Amsterdam, The Netherlands.



# PROPHET OF COMMUNITY

Eugene LUNN : *Prophet of Community: the Romantic Socialism of Gustav Landauer*. University of California Press, 1973. 430 pp.

*Prophet of Community* is the best biography of Gustav Landauer yet to appear. With great zeal Lunn has assembled an abundance of data and facts about Landauer's life (1870-1919) and work, and has managed to make judicious use of it. He shows us the two souls in Landauer's breast: the philosophic-literary, and the social revolutionary fighter. Landauer emerges as Jew and German, as Socialist and Anarchist. His Socialism and Anarchism cannot be given descriptive tags. His intellectual striving and his social commitment addressed themselves alternately to the aesthetic and to the social.

Landauer began his career as a man of letters with the novel, "Der Todesprediger" (The Death Preacher) in 1893. In the same year he took part in the Second International Socialist Congress in Zurich as the representative of the Berlin Anarchists. He was prevented from giving his speech, but published it later. In 1895 he wrote a well-received essay on "Einen Weg zur Befreiung der Arbeiterklasse" (A way of liberating the working class). In 1896 he went to London to the Third International Socialist Congress which concluded with the Anarchists being excluded from membership of any Socialist party. Back in Berlin Landauer participated in the Hundredth Anniversary of the naturalist literary movement, the Friedrichshagener Circle. At the same time, in 1901, his piece, "Durch Absonderung zur Gemeinschaft" (Through Division to Community) appeared. Inbetween he was co-editor of the newspaper, "Der Sozialist", an anarchosocialist paper which appeared from 1892-1894 and 1895-1899.

In the first years of the twentieth century Landauer devoted himself to literary-philosophical studies. The result was the pamphlet, "Skepsis und Mystik" (Scepticism and Mysticism), and the collection of short stories, "Macht und Mächte" (Power and Authority), both of which appeared in 1903 as well as the historical-philosophical study, "Die Revolution", which Martin Buber brought out in Frankfurt in 1905. In 1908 Landauer and some like-minded people established the Socialist Bund, which provided the material foundation for the re-appearance of the newspaper, "Der Sozialist".

As the dangers of war threatened in 1911, Landauer called on the German workers, in his pamphlet, "Die Abschaffung des Krieges durch die Selbstbestimmung des Volkes" (The Abolition of War through the Self-Determination of the People), to stage a general strike against the dangers of war. This action was supported by the French and English delegates to the International Socialist Congress in Copenhagen, but was rejected by the German Social Democrats. Landauer's anti-war pamphlet, published in an edition of 100,000 was seized by the police, so that only part of the edition could be distributed. (The author of these lines took part in that distribution). "Der Sozialist" continued to appear, but was banned in 1915 one year after the outbreak of the First World War.

With the forced suspension of his anti-military propaganda, Landauer devoted himself entirely to his literary activity. He translated into German the poetry of Walt Whitman with the help of his wife Hedwig Lachmann, the poet, and the works of Oscar Wilde. He also gave literary lectures in Berlin. His interpretations of Shakespeare were published posthumously. Years earlier he had translated some of Kropotkin's work. Intuitively foreseeing the end of Imperial Germany, he prepared himself intellectually for the coming events by collecting and publishing a two volume book of letters from the French Revolution. In 1916, in a letter to President Woodrow Wilson, he proposed an international court which control the armaments of all nations, and to this end ensure that governments were supervised by the People, so as to prevent any military build-up. Landauer had in mind the development of a true federation of Peoples, which would not merely be a federation of States.

When, after the collapse of Imperial Germany, a Social-Democratic Government was formed in Bavaria, the Independent Socialist Minister-President, Kurt Eisner summoned Landauer to Munich to co-operate in the work of building a new social order. Landauer answered the call and participated in the organisation of a revolutionary Council Congress by the side of the Anarchist, Erich Muhsam, and the Independent Socialist, Ernst Toller. Thanks to his unusual talent for oratory he exercised considerable influence.

The murder of Kurt Eisner gave the signal for the proclamation of the Bavarian Council Republic. Landauer was offered the Ministry of Education. He didn't think it over for long, however. In a revolutionary situation, he did not think that to take high government office was in conflict with his anarchist principles. Had he not theorized about revolution for over ten years? Now that the revolution had come, should he stand aside? On the 7th of April, 1919, he accepted office as revolutionary Minister of Education. He worked out a basic reform of the education system which was welcomed by progressive forces. Instead of authoritarian direction, free Education Councils should be set up in the Universities with the co-operation of the students. In the schools Parent Councils should consult with the teachers. The new system should not be introduced in a dictatorial manner, but rather be organised from below. In Landauer's conception, neither the State, Capitalism, nor the Church should or could be abolished through force: they had to be replaced by people's organizations. Moreover, to him a Council Dictatorship meant the oppression of the people. Immediately after the Russian October Revolution he wrote, "The Bolsheviks are working towards the establishment of a military regime of a kind the world has not yet seen." His words would prove to be prophetic.

Landauer's plans for re-organizing education could not be put into practice. When the Communists suddenly gained a majority in the new Council Government, he left on April 14th. The Anarchist Minister of Education had only remained in office a single week! Fourteen days later, on orders from the Berlin government, the Council Republic was overthrown. Power celebrated a Triumph. On May 2nd Landauer was dragged out of his home by the victorious military, put into prison and literally kicked to death by incited soldiers. A violent ending for an apostle of non-violence.

In Germany Landauer's fate is as well known as Karl Liebknecht's and Rosa Luxemburg's. It is a service of Lunn's that, through his book it has also become known in the United States. Lunn points out the influence which Landauer had on Jewish Socialism, especially on Chaim Orlosoroff, the founder of Hashomer Hazair, which still claims 75 kibbutzim in Israel. As early as 1908, in the programme for his Socialist Bund, Landauer had proposed the foundation of agricultural and production cooperatives. In Article IX of this programme, he says: "The members of the Socialist Bund send forth pioneers who, in native settlements, themselves produce everything they need, including agricultural products." The Israeli Haluzim (pioneers) operate in Landauer's spirit. Also, in Oranienburg, not far from Berlin, a settlement called Eden was established, in memory of Landauer, which is still there today. That Landauer stood for agricultural communes led to his being seen as retrogressive, as a dreamer estranged from progress. Not so! In Article XI of the Socialist Bund, he clearly states that "The settlements should only be training for justice and pleasurable work, not the means of attaining the goal." Landauer supported the establishment of co-operatives of industrial workers at a time when the Social Democrats, still imprisoned in their Marxist dogma, saw them as a bourgeois palliative, standing in the way of Socialism. Landauer's libertarian socialism was not of the past but of the future.

A word of criticism. Lunn always looks for and finds in his analysis, whether it is of Landauer's literary work or his social theory, the romanticist. In the title itself he speaks of Landauer's "romantic socialism". This is an exaggeration. Naturally, as a literary critic, Landauer concerned himself with German Romanticism as well as with mysticism. But Lunn's presentation leaves the impression that Landauer's socialism lies closer to a naive romanticism than to a positive socialist reality. That this is not so is proved by Landauer's life filled with struggle and his tragic death. The word, "romantic", a synonym not only for idealist, but also for visionary, sentimental, utopian, illusionary, dreamer and open to influence, fits Landauer as little as it does Robert Owen, Proudhon or Kropotkin. Landauer had both his feet firmly on the ground of reality.

Fortunately his socialism was of a different sort than Marx's, Lenin's or Stalin's. In the second edition of his "Aufruf zum Sozialismus" (Call to Socialism), in January 1919, three and a half months before his violent death, he wrote: "The political revolution, in

Continued on Page 6



# FREE SPEECH

THERE IS a widespread view that it is the job of the Left to prevent the National Front spreading their propaganda. The effect of this is that we are putting ourselves in the position of censors, setting ourselves above people and determining what they may or may not hear. Obviously no socialist or anarchist wants Britain to be taken over by Fascists but is this the right way to go about it? I'm not saying that we should leave the NF in peace and allow their propaganda to go unanswered; we should heckle at their meetings, distribute leaflets attacking their ideas and hold counter-demonstrations. These last, however, should not set out with the intention of smashing up the NF demonstration, though we must defend ourselves if it becomes necessary. The purpose of the counter-demonstrations should be to show both the general public and the NF that there is another side to the question, one that is able to mobilize

just as much support, if not more.

A lot of people will disagree with the above -- the NF for a start, and also Marxists, who consider that the end justifies the means. This is what it is really all about, ends and means. I do not believe that the end (stopping Fascism in this country) justifies our setting ourselves up as dictators, even if we were to call it some such nonsense as "dictatorship of the proletariat".

Those who are unimpressed by this argument should look at their actions from a pragmatic view-point. What will the effect on the public be when they learn about socialists and anarchists attacking Fascists? Who will they sympathise with, the attackers or the attacked? The mass media are biased against us as it is. Why give them ammunition?

B. H. M.

# U.S. ARMS IN SPAIN

THERE IS said to be a considerable U. S. military presence in Spain. Some 20,000 Army and Air Force personnel are stationed in at least four bases in that country, close to the main centres of population. They are at Torrejon (little more than 15 miles from Madrid), and this is perhaps the most important US air base in Europe; at Moron, near Saragossa; at Rota, not far from Cadiz and Seville; and at Manises, near Valencia. In the port of Barcelona there are nearly always four or five US warships.

In the five weeks preceding November 15, it is alleged that Dr. Kissinger paid no less than three visits to US military bases in Spain, where he conferred with generals and other high-ranking officers. One such visit is described in a paragraph taken from the government-controlled newspaper *Informaciones* (9.11.74):

"At noon the American Secretary of State, Henry Kissinger, arrived at the airport at Torrejon de Ardoz (Madrid) on his way from Tunis. During this "technical stopover" of just over an hour and a half he met Sr. Cortina, head of the Spanish diplomatic corps, at the base at Torrejon. It is supposed that they must have discussed the present state of the negotiations (started in Madrid this week) between Spain and the U. S. A. for revision of co-operation agreements principally concerned with matters of defence and, more specifically, with the military bases used by the United States on Spanish soil."

When Franco dies, it is likely that Spain will be thrown into ferment. The USA would scarcely dare to attempt armed intervention, from outside, in support of the status quo. But the US armed forces are already in Spain where they could lend massive support to the Guardia Civil (national police force) and to the Metropolitan Police in Madrid, who will remain loyal to the fascist regime since (vide Greece) they would have much to fear if it falls. By contrast, the Spanish Army itself cannot be relied on. Such internal intervention would be swift, sudden and deadly; it might be successfully completed before the outside world became aware that it had begun. The U.K. might be gravely compromised by such intervention as a result of its presence in Gibraltar: accusations might be levelled to the effect that Britain had lent aid to the US policy.

A correspondent.

## ANARCHIST COMIC STRIP... from P. 14

Stirner and Tolstoi (especially the second) would have remained on the margins of the vast polyhedron of anarchist thought. Colombo's study does not centre on anarchist ideas and so remains marginal, egocentric and cheap.

Colombo's piece is followed by one by Ugo Berto Alfassio Grimaldi (the sickening biographer of the "re Buono") on Bakunin, which is difficult to take seriously as it is remarkable for a medley of stupid anecdotes only included to prove that Bakunin was an extravagant pauper. It says almost nothing about Bakunin's thought and his vast and interesting revolutionary activity in Europe and the world. It limits itself to quoting marginal and grotesque episodes (created by the imagination of the article writer) to ridicule the giant figure of the Russian revolutionary. The ideological polemic that Bakunin directed against the thought of Marx and Mazzini is almost totally ignored, even though it remains valid after a century of revolutionary struggles and ideological disputes.

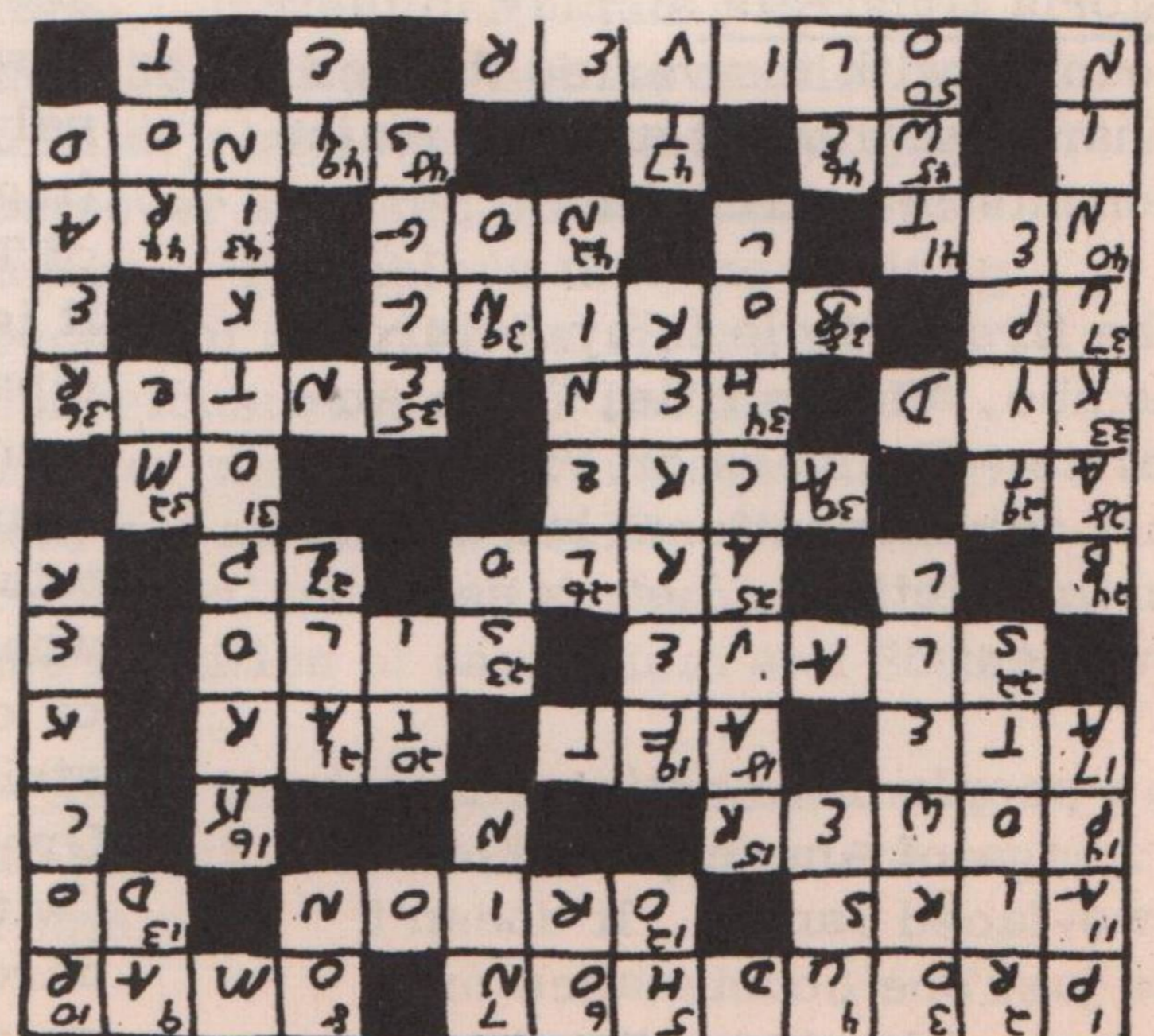
To continue the examination of the other articles in the magazine, the "historiographers" make space for legends, marginal episodes and cartoon strips, rather than for historical analysis of the First International, of the scission in the Socialist Congress of Genoa, of '98 in Milan, of the attentat of Bresci, of the settimana Rossa (Red Week), of the factory occupations right up to the exceptional laws which established the Black dictatorship in Italy. In these events spanning two centuries, the anarchists played an eminent part together with the other political groups of the revolutionary left in the history of the Italian workers' movement after the Risorgimento.

Michele Corsentino.



"You mean pheasant?"  
--"When I say peasant I mean peasant."

## ANSWER to CROSSWORD on P. 15





# ANARCHIST COMIC STRIP

Storia Illustrata ("History Illustrated", a monthly magazine published by A Mondadori, Milan.) Special issue, October 1973 on Anarchy.

Arnoldo Mondadori is one of Italy's largest manufacturers of printed paper: he enjoys the reputation of being a good publisher, perhaps because he is well aware of how to satisfy all tastes. He is a modern capitalist, an efficient distributor of mass culture in our commercially-oriented society. His collections of titles are varied: they range from the classics to thrillers; his magazines are of various types, too, some being of the "True-Life Crime Story" variety. Storia Illustrata is of this kind, and its October 1973 issue is devoted to Anarchy.

Because Anarchy has become a fashionable topic in the last few years, some of the bourgeois intelligentsia have busied themselves with studying anarchist theories and the anarchist movement of the past, not as a cultural phenomenon capable of leading them to a clarification, perhaps even a critique, of the ideas of our time, but only so that they can satisfy the curiosity of the lazy average reader, starved of anarchist ideas. Leaving on one side their ignorance and bad faith, we have often pointed out that the majority of this so-called intelligentsia has by no means always taken the trouble to seek out the central themes of Anarchy with that objectivity required of honest and sober intellectuals. These gentlemen have unburdened themselves of a great farrago of stupidities in an attempt to vilify and denigrate anarchist ideas which, by now, hold a pre-eminent position in the history of the political doctrines of the past century.

Returning to this bulky product of the Mondadori printing works, let me demonstrate how much "objectivity" (the word is used in the preface) the "historiographers" of Storia Illustrata display in their encounter with the varied themes of anarchist thought and the major exponents of anarchism.

The first article is by Arturo Colombo, and its title, "The Anarchists - Holiness or Violence?" is not only sensational but savours of crime fiction. Let us see what he writes:

"Few people have noticed it, but the image of Anarchy is like that of two-faced Janus. It doesn't have just one countenance or a single profile, but, like the Roman

god, reveals glimpses of two distinct faces."

This reference to Roman mythology is pure sensation-mongering, but it seems that the author wants it to be taken as the discovery of a fundamental similarity which he can use to depict Anarchy as two-faced. He continues by pouring out a theory that excessive propaganda favouring libertarian protest on the one hand, and an extremely spiteful polemic against men faithful to anarchist ideas on the other, led to a certain growth in the anarchist movement. The consequence implicit in this growth is that it gave rise to two antithetic cliches, both of them false, which would either have us understand Anarchy as the only, miraculous cure for the ills of the world, or, on the contrary, would seek to depict anarchists as terrible bandits, to be erased from the face of the earth.

All this is false because it has nothing to do with honest objective historical analysis, and this literature of polemic for and against Anarchy only exists in the feverish imagination of the "historiographer" of Storia Illustrata.

Let us pass quickly from this false cliché of the author's to another pure invention of his, still presented as historical analysis, though it is the ramblings of an intellectual: "If we look without blinkers at the key moments and events of modern and contemporary anarchism, in the arc from the end of the 18th century to the present day, we notice that in the tapestry of superficially identical programmes and slogans are woven the strands of two contrasting visions: the nihilist, barricade-erecting one, which relies on the myth of violence and wants to destroy all order and discipline in order to bring about the triumph of the undisputed sovereignty of the individual (right up to the pathological myth of a Max Stirner); and the pacific and mystical one, which rejects all recourse to force and seeks the free way to achieving a new world of harmony and justice, relying on man's natural virtue (right up to the limits of the utopias of Tolstoi and Gandhi). Of course it is the radical negation of the principal of authority which is the dominant motif that binds together all anarchists and unites them in the total rejection of any hierarchy whatever, whether freely accepted or compulsorily imposed (in its strictly etymological sense, the Greek word an-archos means "without superior"). Still, it's not hard to realise that there is a great abyss between those who

seek to escape from the oppressive clutches of constituted power, because they wish to live in a society of free and equal men, and those who are ready to destroy at any cost the State "machine", because they reject even the elementary rules of civil society, and preach maximalist objectives, which often degenerate into the most squalid egoism. In the first case, anarchism proposes to bring into operation a model of social order which aims to change all existing relations so that they can be given a new and much better content; in the second case, on the contrary, its negative and destructive energy degenerates into disorder and increases the threat of very dangerous authoritarian reaction."

I won't go any further in quoting from Colombo's article, as what I have already cited is enough to give us an idea of his real knowledge of anarchist thought, which he divides into only two streams: the violent and the pacifist. He limits himself to quoting two names, Stirner and Tolstoi, as the major theoreticians of anarchism. He sees them as diametrically opposed, but as having in common, like all anarchists, the negation of authority. We have already spoken of Colombo's method of opposing a false cliché to a presumed truth, which, in the analysis of the actual facts, turns out to be as false as the cliché. So we remain bogged down in great confusion. We can't expect objective historical research from such an "historian". To classify anarchists, as Colombo does, as being either violent or holy is humanly ridiculous, and reflects a somewhat reactionary mentality lacking in any commonsense. Everyone knows that anarchists are men like any others, and as such are neither violent nor holy, but men with their good points and their faults. Precisely because they abhor authority as the source of all social evils, and go to the root of evil in their examination of the problems of our society, anarchists want to destroy the causes of social evils and not the effects, in contrast to the reformists of all the socialist schools who have the principle of authority in common.

We wonder how Colombo can ignore the anarchist ideas of two eminent Italian intellectuals, Merlino and Malatesta, not to mention Fabbri and Berneri, nor to stray outside the borders of Italy (the magazine is limited to Anarchism in Italy). If he had examined the thought of the two Italian anarchists, his inquiry might have taken on a new aspect, and

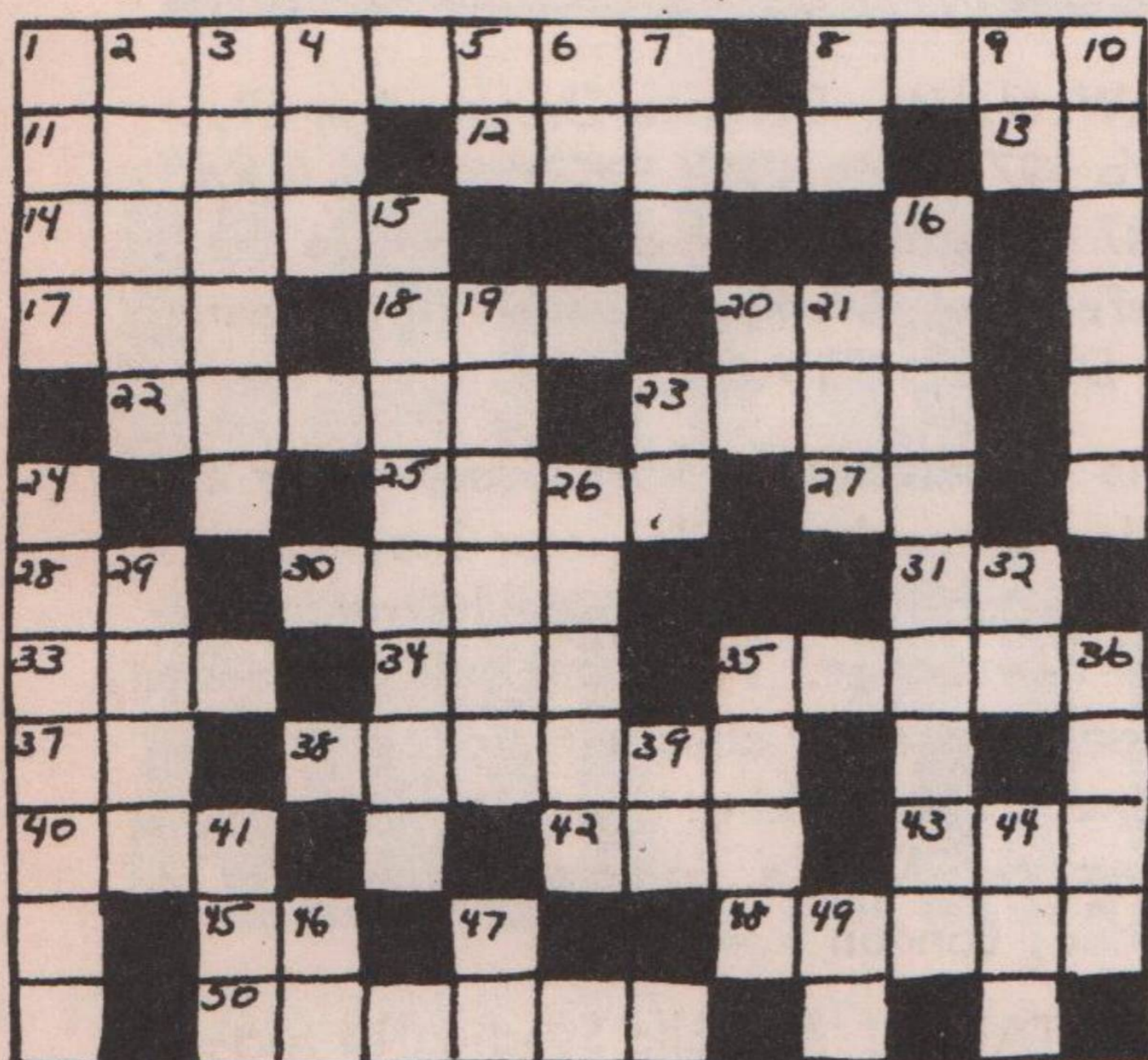
Continued on Page 13



# SORRY I'M LATE FOR WORK AGAIN, I'M LATE BECAUSE . . . .

1. I overslept.
2. I felt unwell.
3. Jan was feeling ill, so I had to get breakfast for her and cuddle her better.
4. My hands are filthy - as you can see - because my car/motorbike/bicycle wouldn't start/broke down/had a puncture.
5. I have a corn which is hurting, and I had to go to the chiropodist.
6. The window-cleaner/Rodent Operative/Public Health Inspector/North Sea Gas turned up unexpectedly.
7. The landlady waylaid me and we had an argument.
8. I met my cousin on the way to the station, haven't seen him for years, stopped for a chat and missed the train.
9. I had to go to the law courts on an emergency to stand surety for a friend.
10. I couldn't find any clean clothes, so I had to go to the launderette.
11. My godfather may die next week, and I had to go hire some black clothes.
12. There is a strike/go-slow on London Transport, so the tubes were delayed. They had to go slowly because of the fog, too.
13. One of my false teeth dropped out, and I had to call in at the dentist. It won't be repaired for a day or two -- look.
14. The zip on my trousers broke, in the street, and I had to return home to change trousers because it was draughty and was causing too much curiosity.
15. We picked up a stray kitten last night, and it wouldn't leave us this morning.
16. It was raining so hard, visibility was zero, and I got lost on the way to work.
17. We were having such a lovely fuck, I didn't want to get up.
18. One of my shoes fell apart on the way, and I had to go home to stick it together with joining tape.
19. There was no hot water in the tap this morning, I shaved too fast in the cold water and bled like a haemophiliac. I had to wait for the styptic pencil to take effect.
20. I had to get off the bus, because people complained to the conductor that I smelt of cats' pee/garlic.
21. I live in the top flat of a twenty-storey block, and it was swaying in the storm. When I looked down the lavatory bowl, I got seasick.
22. I slipped on a banana skin/dogshit, sprained my ankle, and had to go home to put on an elastic stocking.
23. When I got up, it was so cold Jan had to suck my toes for an hour to warm away the chilblains.
24. My horse has rabies, and I had to visit the stables to say good morning to him. This could be his last good morning.
25. My cousin ran away from home and turned up on our doorstep this morning first thing, or maybe it was second thing. I couldn't just say hullo goodbye to the poor boy.
26. I was knocked down by a four-eyed git a few minutes after I had made a V-sign to him to stop his car at a pedestrian crossing. I had to go home to bed in a state of shock.
27. I am halfway through writing a 24-hour TV play, and I received a divine inspiration to write this morning.
28. When I got up, the wind was so strong it blew me back into bed again.
29. There was nothing much for me to do at work today, so I didn't hurry.
30. I couldn't face the thought of another day's bloody boring work.

Julius.



Across

1. French anarchist
8. Khayyam
11. affectations
12. star group
13. Paraf-Javal: "I \_\_\_ not recognize your laws."
14. \_\_\_ corrupts
17. chewed and digested
18. fore and \_\_\_
20. \_\_\_ and feather
22. The Preacher and the \_\_\_
23. on the farm
25. Woodie's child
27. record
28. where it's \_\_\_
30. God's Little \_\_\_

31. mantra
33. author of A Spanish Tragedy
34. a mother \_\_\_
35. \_\_\_ Laughing
37. live it \_\_\_
38. dull
40. fisherman's tool
42. egg \_\_\_
43. Catholic militants
45. royal or editorial
48. council or assembly
50. Spanish anarchist leader

39. negative
41. A Tale of \_\_\_ Cities
44. decay
46. raised subway
47. brain-washing device
49. \_\_\_ olde shoppe

Nancy Berman

Down

1. \_\_\_ Doc
2. Watts and Draft
3. Englishman among Poun troops
4. employ
5. Vietnamese leader
6. To be \_\_\_ not to be
7. author of A Spy in the House of Love
8. Right \_\_\_
9. to, in Latin
10. Anarcho-syndicalist theoretician
15. 19th century French terrorist
16. 19th century geographer
19. Libertarian educator
20. musical tone
21. From Lear: "Ripeness is \_\_\_."
23. And \_\_\_ to bed
24. duped by Nechayev
26. author of "How to Organize the Competition"
29. Pica or elite
32. 1st person objective case
36. Herbert

ANSWER on Page 13





## CONTACT

HELP fold and despatch FREEDOM on Thursdays from 2 p.m., followed by get-together with refreshments. (Except Thursday 28 December)

Alex Comfort's Authority and Delinquency in the Modern State - a copy sought for a comrade in Sweden. Please offer to Pat Thorne, Garden Flat, 22 Hampton Road, Redland, Bristol BS6 6HL.

Alternate Sundays Hyde Park Anarchist Forum, Speakers Corner 1 p.m. Speakers, listeners and hecklers welcome.

CORBY Anarchists. For activities write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby Northants.

COVENTRY Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, Warwick University, Coventry CV4 7AL.

MANCHESTER SWF weekly meetings. Enquire Secretary, c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Road, Manchester 13

PORTSMOUTH group: write Rob Atkinson 29 Havelock Road, Southsea, Portsmouth

Some London anarchists meet socially at Duke of York pub, 47 Rathbone Street, London W.1 on Sundays at 7.30 p.m.

DIRECT ACTION No. 4, publication of the Syndicalist Workers Federation, 5p + 3½p from c/o Grass Roots, 178 Oxford Rd., Manchester 13, or Freedom Bookshop.

WILDCAT no. 4 out now. 15p + 3½p post from Freedom Bookshop, or sub £ 2.50 (12 issues) from Wildcat, Box 999 197 Kings Cross Road, London W.C.1.

UNITY THEATRE's Xmas Show COMMON WILL AGAINST THE GIANTS will open Boxing Day. Details from 01-387-8647.

HARDY PERENNIAL Walt Whitman Anarchist Calendar 1975, 13p incl. post from Kropotkin's Lighthouse publications c/o Freedom Bookshop

### PRISONER :

PAUL PAWLOWSKI 21089 H.M. Prison Heathfield Road, London SW18 3HS. Thanks to the comrades who have recently sent a postcard. Keep it up for the next 8 months.

INTERNATIONAL Libertarian Centre/ Centro Iberico Sats. & Suns from 7.30 pm Disco, refreshments etc. 83A Haverstock Hill, London NW3 (entrance Steele's Rd. 2nd door) Tube Chalk Farm/Belsize Pk

B.W.N.I.C. Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings X Rd. WC1 (phone 01-837 9795 afternoons only). To help the defence of 14 charged under Incitement to Disaffection Act.

The London PN Working Group needs to raise money for a pilot issue leading towards publication of a weekly transnational newspaper. Funds are quickly needed. Please make out chequest etc. to the London PN Working Group and send to Treasurer: Myrtle Solomon, 6r Apollo Place, London S.W.10.

A BATALHA, Anarcho Syndicalist fortnightly. No. 4 from Freedom Bookshop 10p + 3 p. Money is urgently needed to cover costs of printing & distributing the first five issues (55,000 copies each) of this, the only anarchist paper in Portugal. Please send (in any currency) direct to Cooperativo Editoro A BATALHA, Rua Angelina Vidal 17- 2º-E, LISBOA 1

WE WELCOME NEWS, ARTICLES, LETTERS. We go to press on MONDAYS

Published by Freedom Press, London, E. 1. Printed by Vineyard Press, Colchester.