

# FREEDOM

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## WORLD OF VIOLENCE

A GANG of Irish nationalists blew up a prison van taking two of their comrades to trial on charges of rebellion against the English. Two Irishmen (members of the IRA) were convicted of planting a bomb in a crowded English provincial shopping centre, killing five people and gravely injuring twelve. Seventy-two years separate these incidents in a continuous 400-year old struggle and the thing they have in common is that in the first case (Manchester c.1876) and the second (Coventry August 1939) three men and two men respectively were executed. So much for the deterrent effect of hanging terrorists.

Indeed although one may construe it as evidence in favour of hanging, one Thomas J. Clarke (alias Thomas Wilson) was sentenced to 'life' imprisonment for plotting bomb conspiracies in 1883. Two of his fellow-conspirators became insane because of imprisonment but Clarke survived to be a leader of the 1916 rising -- executed by the British. (His widow became first woman Lord Mayor of Dublin in 1939.)

The spate of recent bombings, shootings and kidnappings has aroused in the fearful breast of the British public (via the newspapers) a call for the return of capital punishment for 'terrorism'. This has been out-voted by the House of Commons (to their credit) but there is no doubt that the precedent of a referendum on the E. E. C. will set many minds - and some newspapers - working in the direction of a referendum on capital punishment for terrorists.

Apart from the impossibility of defining 'a terrorist' (except maybe as a not-yet-successful statesman) there are various other complications in the administration of such a law. There is the question of sanity - for surely the excesses of nationalism verge on the insane. The Homicide Act which was the last ditch of the old hangers had many gaps in its carefully devised schedule of non-capital murders -- it notably failed to include murder by poison in the death-penalty tariff.

If, in the heat of IRA bombings a death penalty had been re-instituted it would doubtless be centred on bombers and possibly deaths by shooting would be exempted. Thus the unadmirable Ross McWhirter's death would be unavenged.

But such executions would provide a new litany of martyrs for poets like Yeats to utter, adding (as he did) 'a terrible beauty is born'. What's so beautiful about blood and guts?

The whole question of hanging and of

prison administration is purely a technical question. Crime is a form of sickness, and the more terrible its nature the more devastating a sickness it must be.

Dostoevsky in *The Idiot* writes of execution: "But the chief and worst pain may not be in the bodily suffering but in one's knowing for certain that in an hour, and then ten minutes, and then in half a minute, and then now, at the very moment, the soul will leave the body and that one will cease to be a man, that that that's bound to happen; the worst part of it is that it's certain." This cold formal logic of death puts the state in a special category of criminal.

There is little statistical evidence to prove that the non-existence of capital punishment increases the murder rate. Sociologically there is much progress in the treatment of crime and insanity. Even our police (as witness the recent sieges) are appreciating the value of the non-violent approach as a tactic. What the ends of the sociologists, the criminologists and the police are is another matter.

It is claimed we live in a society of increasing violence but this is doubtful. What is certain is that the capacity of the State for violence is inexorably increasing. In such a perpetual climate of violence is it to be wondered at that the citizen resorts to private violence?

Violence touches all our lives and it ill becomes us to protest our innocence of the wrongs of Ireland, the wrongs of Malucca, of the wars in Timor, in Angola, in Lebanon.

Technological complexity and the crowding of big cities have made mankind more vulnerable to individual terrorist attacks (and to governmentally inspired attacks). Therefore it is no use the citizen asking 'Why Me?' and claiming to be innocent. There are, it was said, no innocent bourgeois; indeed there are few innocent proletarians but acceptance of responsibility is preferable to the shuffling off of such problems to the gaols and the gallows.

Jack Robinson.

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THIS last issue of 1975 contains 24 pages instead of our normal fortnightly 16 pages, and covers the last three Saturdays of the year, thus equalling the 52 eight-page weekly issues anticipated at the beginning of the year. We hope you enjoy the additional reading during the holiday.

## PORTUGAL

### A Political Adventure

A Statement by the anarcho-syndicalist paper A BATALHA.

WITH THE fall of the particularly demagogic and partisan Fifth Provisional Government of Vasco Goncalves, the Portuguese Communist Party loses its political positions in the government and sindicatos (Trade Unions) and the parties of the co-called Left take advantage of the situation in order to increase their own gains. Consequently, a large political agitation is started. The parties of the Left try to set up a united front - F.U.R. (Revolutionary United Front) which the PCP and the MDP/CDE decide to join to offset their political losses and also to try to capitalise on this left-wing initiative, but their adherence is refused by FUR. The Armed Forces Movement is falling apart and all political parties try to enlist into their own ranks the militant workers and soldiers.

The economic crisis gets worse. More unemployment, increases in prices and devaluation of salaries.

Workers' agitation and military unrest in the regiments is exploited politically by the Left in an attempt to grab total power or at least in order to return to power the Fifth Government. The disappearance of weapons, the political agitation in the barracks and the aggravation of the political struggle bring us near to civil war. Although the new Sixth Government feels its incapacity to govern, it is evident that it has at its disposal military loyalties found in provincial units and the elitist "commandos" which have managed to keep out of political agitation. Relying on this loyalty, the government has a strategic plan which is reapidly put into operation during the 25th November uprising.

The demands of the engineers and building workers are politically exploited and turned into demonstrations against the Sixth Government, manipulated by the hypothetical FUR in alliance with the PCP. The paratroopers, manoeuvred by sergeants sympathetic to the PCP, are ordered to move against the Air Force Command and occupy several air bases. The FUR and the PCP, banking on the present workers' agitation and even on some workers' councils joining the uprising, demand to be armed by the military units in revolt to take power. The Radio and TV and the part of the daily press controlled by the PCP are to be occupied and used to appeal to all workers to join in the struggle.

It is evident that the government is preparing a counter coup which is immediately put into operation. The radio and TV are made inoperable by switching control to Oporto studios. The

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# PORTUGAL

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Commandos move against the units in revolt which, due to their strategic isolation, are immediately neutralised by the pro-government forces.

The putsch is practically over after a few hours. Only at some points do small groups of partisans try to resist by responding to the call to arms.

The people arrested are mainly military elements and in some cases a few civilians. There have not been any reprisals against political organisations known to have called for an armed uprising just before the putsch.

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Left-wing parties and the PCP had all along given preference to the taking of political power and to the consolidation of their positions at government level, in the local municipalities and in key positions of the economy. The workers, on the other hand, and due to their own initiative and thanks to the rapid acquisition of revolutionary ideas of their struggle, did move towards the formation of workers' control and of self-management committees, residents' associations, village committees, collectivities, and agricultural co-ops.

The so-called Left was indeed more sensitive to and understanding of this workers' autonomous movement but the PCP was not slow to notice its importance as soon as its own conquest of power started backfiring.

The competition in the field of the sindicatos and other working class organisations between the Left and the PCP appeared very often convergent and confused at the same time - as in the case of FUR, which practically represents nothing, with another improvisation controlled by the PCP-SCIL (Secretariat of the Industrial Belt of Lisbon) which led to an evident rivalry and hostility.

Various political forces took part in the 25th November events, but it is now evident that the PCP, at the same time as it was encouraging the Left to expose itself to a revolutionary debacle, was preparing to take advantage of the government intervention that the military would have to accept as the price of the restoration of political calm. The speech made by Alvaro Cunhal on Sunday, 7th December denying any responsibility in the putsch and attributing the failure of the insurrection to the adventurist extreme Left confirms the accusation of treachery being slung at the PCP by the Left. At the same

ARGENTINE. Nine students, including five Bolivian citizens, have been murdered by rightwing death squads, in retaliation for the assassination of a former police chief. Two British people are among those recently arrested for belonging to an underground movement, together with some Chileans.

time, a score of sindicatos is questioning the dubious position of the Inter-sindical in this putschist adventure.

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The Left and the PCP will continue to follow the schemes for an "October Revolution" based on power grabbing as the point of departure for a Socialism which in nothing identifies itself with the revolutionary gains of the Portuguese workers. In these schemes, there is no room for geographic and economic "conditionalisms" and Iberian idiosyncrasy no understanding for the originality of the Portuguese Revolution, and no advantages are taken in exploiting the rivalry between the Russian and American imperialisms or the counterbalancing effects of European interests in Portug-

al. It is of primordial importance to enlarge and deepen the revolutionary structures created already, in order to avoid any reformist recuperations which are already looming in the form of political cooperation with the Government.

Another conclusion can be drawn from this adventure. The PCP is not a party with a revolutionary vocation. Nevertheless the Left follows its paths each time they subject themselves to the PCP rules of the game. This was evident in the putsch, which has revealed a complete absence of organisation and coordination and a blanquist opportunism on the part of the so-called "vanguards".

Lisbon, December 1975  
A BATALHA.

## LETTER FROM LISBON

Comrades,

I have received your letter in a time, as you can imagine, of serious preoccupation, too unclear to define the situation, still too full of dark recesses and, according to our previous knowledge of party politics in Portugal, full of political contradictions.

Every day, new details about the aborted coup reach us and in order to inform our comrades abroad we, at A BATALHA, have compiled our ideas, suppositions and interpretations of the events in the form of a pamphlet entitled PORTUGAL - 25th NOVEMBER - A POLITICAL ADVENTURE - which we send to you for publication.

It is true to say that the PCP, in a crafty move, did manoeuvre its military elements of the AFM into supporting the attempted coup, ensuring at the same time not to expose its political organisation although the Oporto section of the PCP, alongside the INTERSINDICAL (the Trade Unions Central [TUC] always bent on supporting the PCP) did prematurely circulate a communique supporting the coup, to retract its support later when the uprising went badly.

The other parties of the Left - PRP, LCI, MES, LUAR and the other vanguards which make up the so-called FUR (United Revolutionary Front) were convinced of a successful outcome and consequently lent their support to the 25th November attempted coup in a political move that openly exposed their own political organisations. For example, a PRP communique, approved ten days before the putsch at a meeting of their Central Committee, naively stated, "In Portugal the conditions exist for an uprising, which necessarily will be an armed one."

The parties thought that a few slogans shouted through the radio and TV would

bring the masses out into the streets and that things in the army side would go O.K.

The FUR members, who now accuse the PCP of treason, thought that if they managed to achieve, as hoped, an insurrection, one of two things would certainly happen: 1) FUR participation would be swallowed up by a bigger coup controlled by the PCP; 2) the uprising would eventually be suppressed, having been contained into a mere Lisbon Commune.

But it is now evident that the PCP did place its bets on two horses: 1) the defeat of an embarrassing extreme-left; 2) as a result, hopes for a bigger stake in the 6th provisional government, dominated by the PSP, in order to fulfil its comfortable reformist destiny.

As soon as the last few shots were heard, Major Melo Antunes, speaking on the TV, did indeed consider the entry of the PCP in the actual government as a positive contribution to social democracy in Portugal. The PCP made it a condition not to be seen seated with the PPD in the same government (and vice-versa) but at the end of this political wrangle, they both ended compromising.

Although the Government is putting the pressure on, up to now there is no direct offensive against the actual positions of workers' committees, councils, organisations, etc. . . . It could be, as it is feared, that the gains achieved by the working class since the 25th of April '74, will in time be politically recuperated by the Government in the softening process proper to a liberal democracy.

It is against these attacks that anarchist action will have to be concentrated.

Emidio Santana  
(Director of  
A BATALHA)



# REPUBLICA

## A CASE FOR LIBERTARIAN TREATMENT

THE PORTUGUESE daily Republica is, for many who believe in workers' power, a symbol of revolutionary values and practice which should be carbon-copied in capitalist countries

This paper employs around 190 workers, including many women in the administrative department, and its editorial policy and the type of workers' control exercised are clearly established within the Editorial Statutes reproduced on this page. According to members of its staff who visited London recently, no political party effectively controls this paper. The political tensions are there, but up to the present no specific ideology, other than the vaguely libertarian/marxist pronouncement stated in the article 6 and the subsection (b) of article 3, has managed to shape this daily paper under workers' control in Lisbon.

But the most significant aspect of the Republica experience is that wage differentials do still exist among the members of the staff, to the order of between 6,000 and 22,000 escudos per month (£ 86 and £ 315) !!

According to one of the Portuguese workers from Republica who spent a week touring the usual political spots in Britain under the auspices of the Portuguese Workers Co-ordinating Committee, this problem has already been discussed among the workers of Republica, but to date they have been unable to resolve it. Why? ...if the revolutionary Editorial Statutes, as an English edition of Republica claims, have been approved in a General Assembly of Workers, shortly after the takeover from the hands of the Portuguese Socialist Party.

Legally, Republica is still owned by Editorial Republica S.A.R.L. (SARL = limited liability company), it being a well-known fact in Portugal that its shareholders are politically associated with the Portuguese Socialist Party of Dr. Mario Soares.

The quality and the sales of this paper have seriously slumped since its occupation by the workers, who claim that Republica has been politically boycotted by the bourgeoisie, the distributors, newsagents, Trade Unions and even by the Portuguese Communist Party of Dr. Alvaro Cunhal. In order to by-pass this boycott attempts are being made to sell the paper directly to the public, namely inside factories, co-ops and other so-called autonomous working class organisations. For the paper's economic survival, 40,000 daily copies will have to be sold under the new scheme. Today's circulation is well below this figure - around 30,000 copies! Meanwhile, the owners of the paper (i.e. the Socialist Party) are pressurising the military authorities for the return of a paper they don't need, since Dr. Raul Rego, former Director of Republica, is publishing a successful daily paper, A Luta, which reflects the views of the Socialist Party in particular and of social democracy in general.

For us anarchists, the case of the daily paper Republica shows clearly that there is, in practical terms, a substantial difference between the marxist concept of workers' control and the libertarian practice of self-management (in Portuguese jargon controle operário and auto-gestão). The fact that the workers of Republica have not

yet managed to eliminate the wage differentials that exist amongst themselves and settle the payment of their labour according to the revolutionary principle of "from each according to his capability, to each according to his social needs", simply demonstrates that any group of workers can label itself Revolutionary - minimum content: marxism-leninism-dictatorship-of-the-proletariat - without having to fundamentally change its social pattern at work or at home.

Honest and practical implementation of revolutionary theories requires an equalitarian consciousness and will, which, in my opinion, does exist in the vast majority of the workers of Republica. If anything, these workers are involved in a bitter political struggle against private capitalism and against the formidable forces of social democracy in Portugal. The extreme authoritarian left inside and outside Portugal call it being revolutionary, but unfortunately the poor ideological content of Republica and the capitalistic relationship existing among its work force are a vivid denial of their claim. So much for the beautifully worded Editorial Statutes of Republica.

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It is interesting to note that workers of Republica accuse their political enemies (the bourgeoisie of course) of exploiting this disparity in salaries in order to divide the workers, to weaken their resistance and to cause sectarianism where it does not exist. The fact is that, although Republica denies it, the work force is already divided into male and female labour, into low, average and high wages and compartmentation of skills. This social division of labour is more dangerous than the political divisions they try to resist from outside, for the work force of Republica will disintegrate more quickly under economic and social strain than under the political attacks of the Military or the Socialist Party. Time will tell. Claude.

Copies of an English edition of Republica (22,000 copies) at 25p each are available from the Portuguese Workers' Co-ordinating Committee, 12 Little Newport St., London, WC1. This English edition reflects fairly well the hermetic type of marxist journalism found in the daily editions of Republica in Portugal.--C.

## Backing the Revolution for a Place

AMONG THE melancholy duties inherent in writing regularly for FREEDOM is a constant reading of the left-wing press. One of the mournfully constant exhibits is the depressingly successful Socialist Worker of which, when it announced that it was to get money (a constant aim of the paper) for a computerized type-setter, I hazarded the opinion that I thought the paper was regularly produced by a computer.

Such is the predictable nature of its contents that strikes, Portugal, students and the National Front are fed in at one end, duly programmed to quasi-Marxist formula and out comes the weekly paper.

A minor product of this method (in the 13th Dec. issue) is a typical headline: "Portugal: Now we need the cash more

than ever".

But the constant insistence on the validity of all strikes - and strikes are, at the moment, scarce - has trapped I.S. into backing a strike in - of all places - Ladbroke's, the well-known London and provincial bookmakers.

Whatever one feels about sport and the basic nobility of Houyhnhnms (that is - horses) it is obvious that betting and gambling are appealing to the capitalist-acquisitive instincts of the masses.

It is perhaps a deep-laid plot of I.S. to extend the strike at Ladbroke's in order to bring down this pandering to the pernicious proclivities of the population but I.S. has been observed to rebuke Ladbroke's for welshing on a bet pay-off (I have a feeling it was a coloured fellow-worker in this case so perhaps it was racial discriminial).

One remembers the Daily Worker reaching a considerable number of the masses by its employment of Cayton, a skilled (or lucky?) tipster; perhaps a similar ploy to capture the masses is being essayed by 'I.S.'

But perhaps I.S. is only involved in the usual wearisome interimethik that when the revolution comes we shall abolish betting-shops but for the present bet with Joe Corai not with Ladbroke's who are persecuting their workers.

Jack Robinson.

## Communist Abortion

THE COMMUNIST Party of Italy has been behaving rather oddly since the chance of getting into power has been a distinct reality. An amendment to article 2 of Italy's abortion laws which would have given pregnant women the final choice over abortion was debated and soundly defeated on December 11th in the Italian parliament.

The parties voting against the amendment were the Christian Democrats and the fascist MSI. The Communists abstained from voting, thus allowing the DC and MSI victory. Furthermore, the PCI has been working very hard to prevent the referendum on abortion taking place. The relevant 500,000 signatures were gathered by the instigators of the Radical Party and constitutionally the referendum should take place if (as happened) the abortion law was not appropriately amended in Parliament.

The reason? The PCI are anxious to enter into power in a coalition with the thoroughly-corrupt "filo americano" Christian Democrats. To do this they must (a) avoid upsetting the DC mafia, (b) present the PCI as an orderly parliamentary party. Support of a referendum would lose them their claim on both counts.

The rank and file of the PCI, however, are solidly in favour of the abortion referendum.

Francesco.



# CARRY ON SEDUCING!

FIRST OF ALL, let us say that we deplore the self-congratulatory tone with which the liberal press greeted the acquittal of the 14 BWNIC campaigners on Wednesday, 10 December. In all the outpourings, on one hand about the vindication of the right to free speech in this country, and on the other about the expense to the State (sic) of the trial (about a quarter of a million pounds), nothing, but nothing, was said about the costs imposed on the defendants in time and anxiety, as well as in financial terms.

The BWNIC people have now declared that they will intensify their campaign and, as part of it, according to a Guardian report of December 11, urge the creation of trade unions within the army.

This present agitation in Britain runs parallel to events in France, where efforts to form soldiers' trade unions have been condemned by all parties and unions except the PSU (Unified Socialist Party) and branches of the CFDT (Confédération française démocratique du travail), and where comparisons with Portugal have been dramatically drawn; though one could as well see the present trade union activity of many people as a simple attempt to instal a more accountable system in the army resembling that of West Germany, where conscripts elect "shop stewards" to deal with commanding officers. (However, to date at least 22 soldiers and civilians have been charged with "undertaking to demoralise the army"; they face trial before the Court of State Security - an exceptional treason tribunal first created in 1963 to try OAS members - and possible sentences of from 5 to 10 years' imprisonment under article 84 of the French penal code).

As for the situation in Britain, we would encourage BWNIC to continue their campaign as far as helping soldiers and extending facilities for them is concerned; but it must be stressed that military trade unions would almost certainly be reformist in character - that is, a way of improving life within the military set-up, or alternatively, a means of forging the army into an instrument for the realisation of left-wing political ambitions. But it is most unlikely that they will provide a method of outright attack on the military structure itself, or a means of absolute refusal to cooperate with it.

It must always be remembered that, in the words of the French anarchist, Serge Martin, now in jail for doing just that, and who has refused to apply for

the status of CO and so will be tried as a criminal, the army, even if "democraticised", remains "a State within the State with its own police and its own justice, it is (at least in France) the biggest landowner, extending its domination by force. . . it is the instrument of Capital (private or State); breaker of strikes and colonial oppressor; it is the tool of ideological and moral oppression and above all, instrument of war in defence of Capital, State and Church". (And, in this context, we must remember too that the lessons of last year's strike called by the Ulster Workers' Council, were not lost on the British government and that much research has since been made into methods of crushing political strikes - army management of power stations, control of mass media etc. - though large-scale resistance to the army in British cities would still be very hard to suppress). Bearing this in mind, our attitude must be one of complete intransigence to any form of militarism, and certainly also one of profound scepticism concerning the creation of military trade unions, from an anarchist point of view.

G. F.

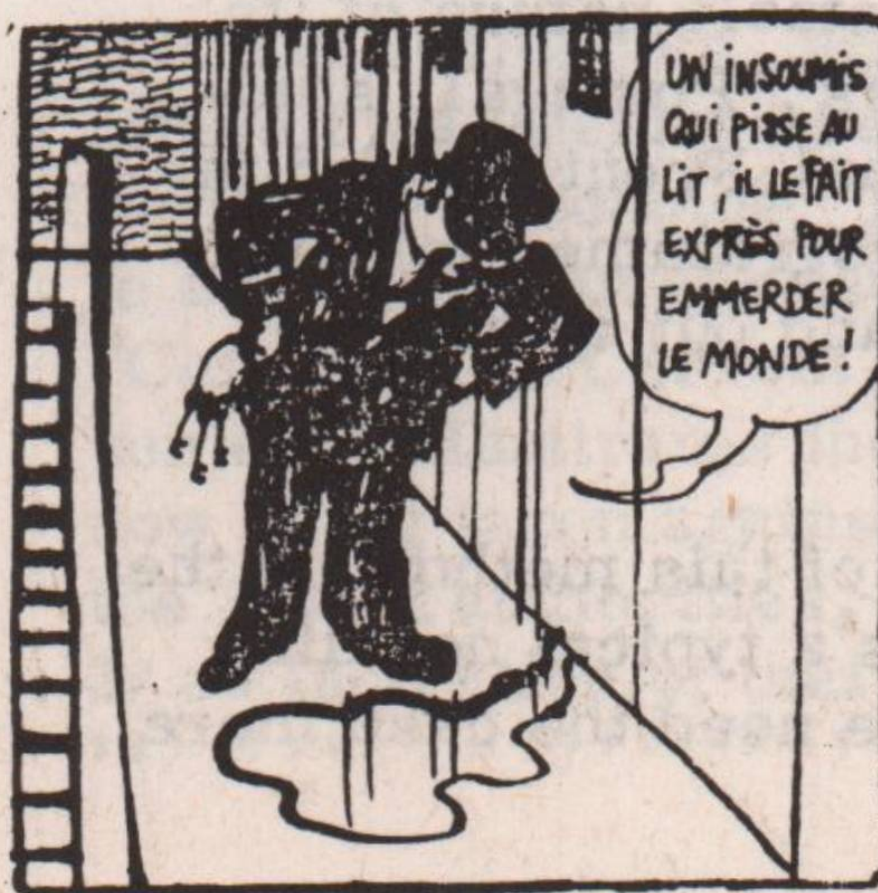
IN ITS obituary of Edward Hyams who died last week in France at the age of 65, The Times omitted to mention among his books the two recent ones on terrorism: Killing No Murder and Terrorism and Terrorists. Hyams was a polymath, an expert gardener and authority on the vine, besides being a talented translator and novelist with a libertarian point of view. His novel Gentian Violet is a particularly good satire about a candidate who fights both left and right seats in an election. He was one of the first writers on conservation, with From the Wasteland (1950) and Soil and Civilization (1952).

A CHARLESTON (S. Carolina) horse-carriage owner has declined to put 'nappies' on his horses as required by a local bye-law.

THIRTY representatives of the four Northern Ireland paramilitary organizations were secretly meeting in Holland. Officially they were discussing 'the formation of workers' cooperatives' but it is reported that the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force) representative walked out - did he disagree on the 'divvi'?



The draft resister Jean-Louis Soulié is dragged off to prison where he subsequently makes a bit of a nuisance of himself.



"A subversive pissing his bed; he's doing it deliberately to fuck up everyone!"

# B.W.N.I.C.

DEFENCE OF THE 14

THE TRIAL of the 14 supporters of the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign ended at the Old Bailey on Wednesday, 10 December - Human Rights Day - with a mass acquittal on all the thirty-one charges the jury were asked to consider. These charges were:

- 1) Conspiracy to contravene the incitement to Disaffection Act 1934 ("endeavour to seduce members of Her Majesty's Forces from their duty or allegiance") with which all fourteen were charged;
- 2) Possessing seductive documents contrary to the Incitement to Disaffection Act (the leaflet "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers" and in one case the leaflet "Some Information for British Soldiers") with which 12 of the 14 were charged;
- 3) The charge against Bill Hetherington of trying to seduce a sailor from his duty also contrary to the Incitement to Disaffection Act.

Gwyn Williams and John Hyatt were also charged with helping deserters contrary to the Army Act 1955, Gwyn on two counts of helping George Exelby and John on one of helping Dick Oliff. Both had pleaded guilty to these charges at the beginning of the trial; Gwyn was fined £100 and John £50.

After a trial lasting ten and a half weeks (and estimated to have cost £250,000) the jury took just an hour and a half to reach their verdict. Many of them said afterwards that they had decided quite early in the trial that they would not be able to convict the 14, but apparently some only decided on the last day of the judge's summing up, which was, according to many of the lawyers, the most confused and biased they had heard. The verdict came in just before lunch and the jury were officially dismissed, but they all decided to come back after lunch to "keep an eye" on Judge McKinnon while he sentenced Gwyn and John. For a few minutes the people took over the court, and in the cheering, waving and nagging that followed, the distinctions, preserved so rigidly for nearly eleven weeks by the court, broke down between defendants, friends in the gallery, the lawyers, the press, and the jury.

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It remains to be seen how this victory will affect the other people on charges to do with the leaflet "Some Information for Discontented Soldiers". It seems unlikely that Andrew Lloyd will in fact have a retrial (a jury failed to decide in September whether or not he possessed the leaflet contrary to the Incitement to Disaffection Act).

The "Platt Fields 6" are due to come up for committal at Manchester Magistrates' Court on January 6, charged with possession of the leaflet and breach of the peace. (They are not supporters of BWNIC and were in fact performing street theatre when arrested; two members of the group were



then planted with copies of "Some Information..." in the police station).

The "Aberdeen 4" are due to appear at Arbroath Sheriff Court on January 16 charged under both Sections 1 and 2 of the Incitement to Disaffection Act in connection with "SIDS" which they were distributing at a barracks in Arbroath.

Ronnie Lee, one of the 14 already serving a three-year sentence for his activities with the Band of Mercy, an anti-vivisection direct action group, returned to prison to continue his sentence. He hopes to be given parole in the spring. Meantime, please write to him: 184051 Ronnie Lee, HM Prison, Du Cane Road, London, W.12.

The Defend the 14+ Campaign wishes to thank comrades for their support and solidarity. The BWNIC Defence Group will continue to act in defence of anyone arrested in connection with BWNIC activities. Contact: BWNIC Defence Group, Box 69, c/o 197 Kings Cross Road, London, WC1.

BWNIC itself will of course continue to campaign for its two basic demands: 1) the complete withdrawal of British troops from Northern Ireland in the immediate future, 2) the ending of the Union between Britain and Northern Ireland.

Support is welcomed from people who want to help with anti-recruiting, political campaigning amongst civilians and contact with soldiers. (A new troops leaflet, with up-to-date information, to replace "SIDS", is in preparation).

Contact: BWNIC. c/o 5 Caledonian Road, London N.1.

#### THOUGHTS FROM AN EX-DEFENDANT

I DON'T KNOW which will stay burned into my memory longer -- 7 a.m. on the 10th of September 1974, when I woke to find two policemen at the end of my bed with a search warrant under the Incitement to Disaffection Act; or 12.45 p.m. on the 10th December 1975 when the foreperson of the jury in Old Bailey's Court 12 started going through the 31 verdicts at the end of our trial ... every one a unanimous Not Guilty. But whichever it is, the full 15 intervening months will certainly not be forgotten as a time when my political life, my personal life, were truncated; and when my judgement about my politics and my thoughts about where I was going were twisted - even more than I realised at the time - by the force of what was hanging over me.

The fourteen of us in the dock were all supporters of the BWNIC in some way or other, though in some cases only nominally. We are all some sort of pacifist or anti-militarist - and mostly on the radical wing of the "peace movement". Some of us were anarchists - and some who weren't must have moved in that direction by the time they'd been through the State's mill. One of the defendants, in her evidence, referred to standing

up to an oppressive State. "Do you mean state in the sense of condition?" asked the judge.

Many commentators both during and since the trial have echoed some of the defence speeches in referring to the "clash of cultures" involved, and the clash between people whose whole understanding of society is based on genuinely different experience and knowledge. There is a view of "justice" which accepts the "impartiality" of the prosecution, the judge, the police, the army, all representing "the Crown", all on one side. But the defendants had much of the press and public who were there, our wiggled friends, and ultimately the jury, on ours. Indeed all these parties - jury included - were represented in the vast huddle of kissing and hugging people outside the court afterwards. A number of individuals in the press, both "straight" and "political" (including some from papers whose politics is quite different from that of the 14) gave us strength during the trial - as much as anything else simply by their presence.

Being part of this clash from within, I became reinforced in my view that to describe it as a clash of "cultures" is at least as accurate a way of looking at it as to call it a clash of "classes". But how do you set about encouraging people to at least open their minds enough to accept a liberal demand that they don't enforce their view of the world on others? You can't of course, when that world-view includes a belief in systems of control, and they're at the top of the system. There has to be a revolution. Unless one takes the view that such people should be eliminated, they have so somehow to re-experience the world. It's this complementarity between changing ideas and changing power relationships that makes necessary a symbiosis between building a new culture and oppositionary politics. This is why in a libertarian nonviolent view of change, they must both go hand in hand. To deny one is to refute the other too, however much one says that one's denial of one is to concentrate the better on the other. (And if FREEDOM readers wonder why I make a fuss about something which may seem obvious anyway - they ought to look at some items written by Woody in Peace News recently.)

Apart from confirming some of my beliefs about society, what else has the 15 months taught me? It's shown me that one can feel a lot better in unpleasant situations by following one's gut reaction: after the raid I took some leaflets that hadn't been found and seized from my home and went straight to a station to find some soldiers and give them out -- it helped. It made me realise the absurdity of always thinking "if only..." - there have been a thousand and one things around the trial that were almost unbelievable (such as the potential juror who the prosecution objected to who it turned out had spent some time on our picket line outside before reporting for jury service -- think of the tales if he had been on the jury) - but there have been plenty of things that did happen that were quite absurd enough. And I've learnt that if people try very hard to behave like the individuals they are, in the face of

great dehumanising institutions, just once in a while it's possible for "us" to out-"vibe" them, to out-love them, and in what for me isn't the right word, to out-fight them. For me it's been a very major battle. But I hope for all of us it won't be an unhelpful or insignificant one.

Albert Beale.

#### MEETING

## LONDON FEDERATION

ON SATURDAY 8 December a meeting was held between groups/individuals interested in the formation of a London Anarchists Federation. About fifteen people turned up. Various groups were represented, including Freedom, L.S.E. Anarchists Group, East London Libertarians, N.W. London Anarchists, Harrow Anarchists group, International Times, W. London Anarchists and non-aligned individuals were also present.

The forthcoming national Federation Conference was the main item of discussion, especially the "principles" which it was generally agreed could be formulated by the adherents to the Federation. The opinion of all those present was sought to see what aspects or issues should be included in those "principles". Among the items mentioned were who we are against, solidarity, work, a mutual aid fund, subscription, and so on. As regards a "mutual aid fund" it was suggested that it would be reasonable to levy a minimum per capita subscription which would be used for such purposes.

The expected comments that we were being elitist in talking of a set of principles at this point in time was also made. It was suggested, indeed accepted, that principles regarding what we believe and how we go about achieving the type of society we envisage should be the subject of great discussion "from now till the revolution". It was not generally accepted, however, that we refrain from attempting to draw up a set of principles, since every discussion requires a starting point.

We would like to remind all who attended the Conference at Warwick in November that the draft principles suggested by any group/individual for publication in the Internal Bulletin should be sent Philip Sansom, 20 Albert Street, London, N.W.1.

Anyone interested in the Federation and wishing to know more about it should contact Philip Sansom at the above address.

#### FREEDOM CORRESPONDENT

A UNITED States congressman announced that for the first five months of this fiscal year the U.S. has been selling arms at the rate of 14,000 million dollars (7 million £s) a year. A 47% increase on last year's record.



# U.S. PRESS JOBS THREATENED

THE LABOR bureaucrats of the AFL-CIO contend that union members in the United States generally earn higher wages and enjoy a better standard of living than their non-union counterparts. While this may be true, there is no need for George Meany and his hirelings to become too self-congratulatory. The fact remains that trade unions' membership in the U. S. has been on the decline for more than 15 years. Today, the combined membership of the AFL-CIO's 115 affiliate unions together with the membership of such independent unions as the Teamsters represents only 20% of the nation's more than 90 million workers.

However, even more damaging to the business union orientation of the American trade union hierarchy is the fact that it cannot even protect the rights and interests of workers in shops that have been "organized". This is dramatically underscored by the pressmen's strike at the Washington Post.

When the pressmen began their strike on October 1, they made a concerted effort to immobilize the newspaper's nine presses in order to prevent the Post from publishing. However, the newspaper missed only one issue and reappeared on October 3rd.

The Post was able to overcome the damage to its presses by helicoptering its materials for printing to other printing plants and newspaper pressrooms. In the meantime, repairs on its own presses were made and the Post was soon being printed again in its own pressroom. This time, the presses were run by non-union managerial personnel who had been trained over the last two years for the specific purpose of substituting as pressmen in the event of a strike.

The ability of the Washington Post to resume production without its regular pressmen attests to the enormous changes that have been made in the technology of printing a newspaper. Printing, once a combination of several highly skilled crafts, has been reduced to relatively simple mechanical functions which can be taught in a short time. The trade union "leaders" of the Pressmen's union are unable to cope with automation used as a tool by the bosses to cripple a strike because they fail to understand the role that automation plays within capitalism. Automation advances are part of a continuing process that is inherent in the capitalist system of production. Capitalists like those who run the Post are under a constant compulsion to improve the means by which labor is exploited, and hence, to maximize profits. Today's unions are simply not structured to cope with this phenomenon.

First, by virtue of the exclusive craft

nature of many unions, they are unable to shut down a modern capitalist enterprise like the Post. Many workers who belonged to other unions crossed the picket lines of the pressmen and went to work. Also, despite the fact that automation threatens the jobs of pressmen at every newspaper plant, the employees of every other newspaper, including the Washington Star, continued to work.

Second, since business unionism has made no attempt to organize the vast majority of American workers, the bosses can always find a ready reservoir of unorganized workers to serve as scabs. Thus, the pressmen achieve little by withholding their labour from the Post since they are easily replaced.

Finally and most important, automation will continue to destroy the jobs of workers as long as it is controlled by the bosses. However, if workers controlled the means of production another potential of automation could be realized. It could become a vehicle for reducing working hours and spreading the required labour time among all workers. However, this will never happen under capitalism.

The American trade union movement is at a crossroads. If its present orientation continues, the result will be more defeats like that at the Washington Post. However, through revolutionary unionism which aims at the abolition of the wage system and at the establishment of genuine workers' self-management of the shop, workers can control and conquer social forces like automation which have been unleashed upon them by the capitalist class.

Mark Weber  
Kropotkin Society.

Post scriptum: Printing press operators at the Washington Post, who have been on strike for 10 weeks, are due to be replaced on December 14 by 200 non-union workers. The operators' union has already been ousted at newspapers in Miami, Dallas, Kansas City, Los Angeles and New Haven.

USSR. The Soviet dissident, Sergei Kovalyov, was sentenced on Friday, 12 December, to 7 years' jail and 3 years' exile in Vilnius, Lithuania, for a first offence of "anti-Soviet agitation and propaganda". The Soviet authorities reported that the trial had been open, but Kovalyov's friends were not allowed into the courtroom, and the accused himself was refused access to a defence lawyer of his choice. Kovalyov's name is associated in particular with the "Chronicle of Current Events". His sentence illustrates the yet tougher line now being taken against dissidents by the Soviet authorities, and is undoubtedly an indication of their growing fear.

## FREEDOM BOOKSHOP

84b Whitechapel High Street  
(in Angel Alley) London E1

We have again in stock the three titles in the Thames & Hudson series Documents of Revolution: The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution edited by Paul Avrich (£1.35 + 21p post) containing extracts from Volin, Borovoi, Maximoff, Makhno, Kropotkin, Berkman, Goldman and many others; The Communards of Paris edited by Stewart Edwards, which includes many contemporary newspaper reports, proclamations from various groups within the Commune, documents of the National Guard, letters, posters, nearly all of them anonymous but conveying more clearly than perhaps anything else can, the spirit of the Paris Commune (£1.35 + 21p). Lastly from this series is The Levellers in the English Revolution edited by G. E. Aylmer (£1.95 + 21p), which includes extracts by Lilburne, Walwyn, Overhen and Reports of the Putney Debates and the texts of various Leveller Petitions, pamphlets, tracts and Agreements.

Linked with that we have again in stock the complete works of that most seminal of English Revolution figures, Gerrard Winstanley, edited by George H. Sabine - a marvellous fund of wisdom, understanding and experience (696 pp., hardback). The Works of Gerrard Winstanley is £9.95 plus 61p postage. (For those who cannot afford the Sabine edition I recommend Winstanley: The Laws of Freedom and other writings (75p + 19p), edited by Christopher Hill. Also by Christopher Hill is a useful new book on radical and libertarian ideas during the English Revolution: The World Turned Upside Down (£1. + 19p post.)

Lastly, the second issue of Z Revue is available, an excellent mixture of poetry, illustrations and articles (including one by the late Lilian Wolfe, and another on the Conspiracy Trial of the 14 Pacifists by Dennis Gould), together with reviews and a short playlet, all going together to make a really excellent little mag (15p + 7p).

SOME FREEDOM PRESS PUBLICATIONS

ABC of ANARCHISM 25p (post 11p)  
ABOUT ANARCHISM 15p (post 6p)  
ANARCHISM AND ANARCHO-SYNDICALISM 20p (post 9p)  
ANARCHY 25p (post 9p)  
BAKUNIN & NECHAEV 20p (post 9p)  
THE STATE, ITS HISTORIC ROLE 20p (post 11p)  
COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION. paper £2(42p) cl £4 (48p)  
LESSONS OF THE SPANISH REVOLUTION. paper 75p (42p) cloth £1.50(48p)

Publications & bookshop lists will be sent on request (stamped envelope appreciated)

THE BOOKSHOP WILL BE CLOSED  
DEC. 25th and 26th.  
Tel. 01-247 9249.



# DIALOGUE

CC.1/EW

THE POLICE COLLEGE  
BRAMSHILL HOUSE  
Nr. BASINGSTOKE, HANTS  
Telephone Hartley Wintney 2931.

18th November, 1975

Dear Mr. Walter,

We are currently planning the next Command Course for senior police officers and would like to extend an invitation to you to speak to them on the subject of "The Anarchist Movement - its Ideals and Objectives".

We are aware at the College of the need to confront senior personnel with the whole range of political ideologies current in our society. With this in mind we are inviting leading political figures to give their personal views and philosophies.

The day we have in mind is Thursday, 5th February.

We thought you would speak for perhaps fifty minutes to the Course of forty five students and then discuss with them in small groups, some of the issues which you have raised.

We do hope you will be able to accept this invitation and join the Course for lunch afterwards.

Full expenses and the academic fee would of course, be paid.

Yours sincerely,  
Dr. G. Picton Davies  
Director of Academic Studies  
Command Courses

[Nicolas Walter replied from his home address on 23 November, asking "Before I say anything more, could you please tell me what fee you have in mind for lecturing and then leading discussion..." and was told in a letter of 3 December that 1st Class travelling expenses and professorial fee of £25.35 would be paid. The hope that he would join them for lunch was repeated.] N.W.'s reply of 5 December follows:

Dear Sir,

"I have received your letter of 3 December informing me that you would pay me a fee of £25.35 plus first-class travelling expenses to lecture for fifty minutes and lead a discussion for fifty minutes on the subject of the anarchist movement.

I do not wish to receive either a fee or expenses from the police, but if you will make an unconditional donation of £30 to the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign Defence Group, Box 69, 197 Kings Cross Road, London WC1, I shall accept your invitation to speak on 5 February. I shall confirm the time of my arrival as soon as I hear that your donation has been received."

9th December, 1975

Dear Mr. Walter,

Thank you for your letter of December 5th.

You will appreciate that I itemised the fee and expenses payable in my letter, because you requested me to do so in your letter of November 23rd. If you now say you do not require a fee or expenses then that is entirely your affair.

I am afraid we cannot comply with your request to make an "unconditional donation to the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign Defence Group", though of course if you wish to donate your lecture fee to them, then that too, is your affair.

I am sure you will appreciate that the College cannot be involved in any political action of this kind.

If you still feel you can accept our invitation we would be pleased to see you.

Yours sincerely,  
Dr. G. Picton Davies.

12 December 1975

Dear Sir,

I have received your letter of 9 December informing me that you cannot comply with my request to make an unconditional donation to the British Withdrawal from Northern Ireland Campaign Defence Group.

I appreciate that you are not prepared to be involved in any political action of this kind. Perhaps you will appreciate that I am not prepared to be involved in any political action of the kind you suggest.

I cannot bring myself to speak for money to an audience from an institution which has over the years harassed, assaulted, persecuted, and framed myself and many of my friends and colleagues for political reasons -- though I could bring myself to speak to your senior officers for nothing if you would make an equivalent donation to some of those friends and colleagues most recently subjected to police oppression.

You tell me that if I still felt I could accept your invitation, you would be pleased to see me. I tell you that if I still felt I could accept your invitation, you would not be pleased to hear me. And even if I could bear to speak to you, I certainly could not bear to eat with you.

Yours faithfully,  
Nicolas Walter.

# LETTERS

## SUMMER SCHOOL

Dear Comrades,

I wonder if any other comrades could be interested in a Summer school, probably under canvas for a weekend or longer in summer 1976. I would be glad if interested comrades would write to me at the above address. Suggestions of possible venues, speakers, topics of discussion and offers of help all gratefully received.

Yours fraternally,

Ron,  
c/o Grass Roots,  
109 Oxford Rd.  
Manchester, 1.

## CORRECTION

### ANARCHISM IN BRAZIL

Dear Friends,

Through a printing error, a line or two was omitted from my essay on "Anarchism in Brazil" which appeared in Freedom's Anarchist Review of 8th September 1975. The last line of the first paragraph should read as follows:

"Until the 1920s most Brazilian trade unions were Anarcho-Syndicalist in orientation, and long afterwards they retained strong libertarian tendencies. Brazilian communism, moreover, sprang mainly from the anarchist movement rather than from social democracy, giving the Brazilian Communist Party a marked libertarian cast, particularly during its early years, which it lost only with the consolidation of Stalinism in the 1930s." ...

Yours fraternally,  
Paul Avrich.

We offer our apologies to both author and readers for this error. Eds.

### A PROPOSAL FOR AN ANARCHIST MEETING

JULY, 1976, is the anniversary of Bakunin's death. Perhaps this is a good occasion or excuse to have another larger meeting of anarchists.

As there is no active group in Bern, where Bakunin is buried, we in Zurich have decided to attempt to organize a gathering of some sort.

Since we are so few in number, we would definitely need others' help. With this letter we want first to find out if there is any interest at all, and second, to gather concrete suggestions as to when, where, and in what format

Continued on Page 8



# CONTACT

WE WELCOME news, articles, reviews letters. Latest date for receipt of copy for inclusion in next Review section is Monday 29 December. News/Features/Reports/Letters/Contact Column is Monday 5 January.

NEXT DESPATCHING date of FREEDOM is Thursday, 3 January. You are welcome every Thursday afternoon (except Dec. 25th) for informal get-together and folding session.

## MEETINGS

FRIDAY DEC. 19. Campaign for the Repeal of the Immigration Act. An evening of music, theatre, dancing & food from many countries (and English beer) 7.30 pm at Waterloo Action Centre, 14 Baylis Rd., S.E. 1. Entrance 50p  
OLDHAM. North West Workers Alliance Meeting. Bob Buird on Unemployed Workers Committee. Tuesday Jan. 7th 1976, 8 pm at Bath Hotel, Union Street, Oldham.

BWNIC London Group meets 7.30 pm Tues. 7 January at 6 Endsleigh St., WC1. Mtgs. 1st Tuesday every month.  
BRIGHTON. Inaugural meeting of local group National Council for Civil Liberties, Friends Centre, Ship Street, 8 pm on Monday 19 January.

Women Against Fascism in Spain meet Fridays 6 pm at 38 Earlham St. WC1 Anarchist women would be welcome. Anarchist Forum, Speakers Corner, Hyde Park, alternate Sundays 1 pm. Speakers, listeners & hecklers welcomed.

## GROUPS

ABERGAFFNI contact 21 Monmouth Road

BATH Anarchists & non-violent activists contact Banana, c/o Students Union, University, Claverton Down, Bath

BOLTON Anarchists contact 6 Stockley Avenue, Harwood, Bolton (tel. 387516). Anyone interested in the Syndicalist Workers' Federation in Bolton area contact or write SWF also at this address.

NEXT YEAR'S first fortnightly issue will be out on January 10. The price of FREEDOM on sale in shops and from our other individual and group sellers will be 12 pence. This is to meet increased printing cost, which occurred last month. We are, however, keeping the subscription rate unchanged as long as we possibly can, since the subscribers are penalized by the Post Office (who promise a further increase in 1976). Our subscribers and donors to the Press Fund are as necessary to FREEDOM Collective as the people who put the paper together, because without you to form the backbone of the paper's finances there could be no FREEDOM. Please include FREEDOM among your yuletide expenses and send your 1976 renewal as soon as you can.

CORBY anarchists write 7 Cresswell Walk, Corby, Northants NN1 211. (Bookstall closed for winter months.)  
COVENTRY. Peter Corne, c/o Union of Students, University of Warwick, Coventry.

DUNDEE. Alistair Dempster, c/o Students Union, Airlie Place, Dundee

EAST LONDON Libertarians Group. For details of meetings write 123 Lathom Road, East Ham, E. 6.

EDINBURGH. Bob Gibson, 7 Union St. Edinburgh

GLASGOW now has a centre at 17 Bute Gardens, Hillhead, Glasgow.

HARROW. Write Chris Rosner, 20 Trescoe Gardens, Rayners Lane, Harrow HA2 9TB

IRELAND. Libertarian Communists contact Alan Mac Simoin, 4 Ard Lui Park, Blackrock, Co. Dublin.

LEEDS Anarchists contact Cahal Mc Laughlin, 15 Brudenell Grove, Leeds 6  
LEICESTER Anarchist Group. Contact Pete and Jean Miller, 41 Norman St., (tel. 549652).

LEICESTER Anarchist "Libertarian Circle" continues to meet every Thursday at Black Flag Bookshop, 1 Wilne St.  
OXFORD Anarchist Group c/o Jude, 38 Hurst Street

PORTSMOUTH. Rob Atkinson, 21 Havelock Rd., Southsea, Portsmouth, Hants.  
SIDCUP & Bexley. Will any anarchists contact 29 Halfway St. Sidcup, Kent.

NEW ZEALAND. Steve Hey, 34 Buchanans Rd., Christchurch, 4 (tel. 496 793)

## PEOPLE/PUBLICATIONS &c.

Change of address: Celia, Fiona and Laurens Otter will, as of 20th December, be at College Farm House, Wellington, Salop TF1 1PR. Tel. still 0952.54728  
AN ANARCHY OF WORDS, a short autobiography of Poems. 25p from Pat Parker, 186 Gloucester Ter., London W. 2.

PORTUGAL. The Portuguese Anarcho-Syndicalist paper A BATALHA (sales 5000 copies per fortnight) needs the support of all comrades outside Portugal. Send your donations, books, pamphlets, &c. to A BATALHA, Rua Aneglina Vidal 17-2-E<sup>o</sup>, LISBOA, Portugal. John Nightingale (446510) H.M. Prison, New North Rd. Exeter wd. be glad to hear from old & new friends

## PRISONERS

RONNIE LEE (184051) HM Prison, Du Cane Road, London W.12, serving sentence for action against vivisection &c. Is not permitted to read FREEDOM in Wormwood Scrubs but we presume post-cards will get to him.

DUBLIN ANARCHISTS in The Curragh now number 5: Noel Murray & Roman Stenson joined Bob Cullen, Des Keane, Columba Longmore. Letters & papers shd be addressed to any one of them at Military Detention Centre, Curragh Camp, Co. Kildare, Eire.

MARIE MURRAY is in Limerick Prison. STOKE NEWINGTON FIVE Welfare Committee still needs funds for books &c. Box 252, 240 Camden High Street, London, NW1.

GIOVANNI MARINI Defence Committee: Paolo Braschi, CP 4263, 2100 MILANO  
RALF STEIN is still at 5 KOLN 30, Rochusstrasse 350, Germany.

## A PROPOSAL... continued from P. 7

we could have this "congress". Also, who else would help in organizing.

We have discussed among ourselves several variations:

--A congress in a hall (for example in or near Zurich, as it is centrally located for all of Europe), maybe with a demonstration and discussions and/or speeches:

Advantages: less dependent on the weather, better for older people.

--Something outdoors (for example in Jura):

Advantages: Freer atmosphere perhaps cheaper the chance to camp out.

Further questions and possibilities:

- Discussions on the activities of the various groups from different countries
- Discussion on Bakunin
- A demonstration?
- A film (maybe Spain 1936)?
- Where can people sleep?
- Date (the date of Bakunin's death is July 1. We could perhaps convene for a long weekend in July or August)
- Problems of translation
- Speeches.

We would appreciate your ideas as soon as possible: write us please with your reactions.

With warm regards,

Gruppo James Guillaume  
Postfach 599  
8050 Zürich

# PRESS FUND

27 November - 10 December

BRIGHTON: D.L. £ 1; ILFRACOMBE: I.L. 35p; LONDON, S.E.18: R.A.S. 63p; LEEDS: P.G. 25p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 90p; J.K.W. 10p; GRANTHAM: G.I. 60p; BIRMINGHAM: M. & B.D. 50p; In Shop: Anons. £ 1.43; LONDON E.16: P.W. £ 3.00; COLCHESTER: A.A. 15p; P.E.N. 40p; LONDON SW2: A.L. £ 1; GOTEBORG: B.K. 20p; WOODFORD: C.M.S. £ 1/24; LONDON E4: S. & A.G. 50p; WOLVERHAMPTON: J.L. 90p; J.K.W. 10p; SHOREHAM Sx.: J.L. £ 2.00; ROCHDALE: I.J. 35p; LONDON W54: A. 70p; JARROW: M.B. £ 1.40; LLANTRISANT: P.S. 35p.

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## DOLGOFF'S DILEMMA

"SEMPRUN'S 'BETE NOIRE' is the CNT-FAI 'bureaucracy'. For him the 'bureaucracy is most responsible for the defeat of the Revolution' writes Sam Dolgoff. He agrees with Leval that some of our Spanish comrades were soon "infected with the virus of power", but thinks that to charge "as Semprun does that the CNT-FAI '...degenerated into a virtual bureaucratic dictatorship...' is a gross exaggeration bordering on slander". A few sentences later he returns to the subject and asks how "the most democratic labor movement in the world" could, if Semprun-Maura is to be believed, "became in a few months an unendurable bureaucratic dictatorship"... "The CNT with only one paid secretary for a membership of over a million was structured to preclude or reduce the danger of bureaucracy to an absolute minimum."

The illustration on the right is of an office block in Barcelona which was occupied by the CNT-FAI



## THE NEW BUREAUCRATS

throughout the struggle and all the vicissitudes of the political struggle within the popular front (the most critical of which, for the CNT-FAI in Catalonia were surely the May Days of 1937). I mention this because the syndicalist apologists for the policy of collaboration by the CNT-FAI in government and all the State institutions are at pains to point out, as Dolgoff does, that the CNT-FAI were a minority compared with "the many millions of rank-and-file workers, socialists of the UGT union, republicans, Catalonian and Basque separatists, petty bourgeois peasant proprietors etc.". And for good measure he adds, in parentheses however (an after-thought, as it were, which presumably one need not bother to give too much weight to!) "nor were all CNT members convinced anarchists". Indeed having with the aid of a magnifying glass read the white banner I can confirm his after-thought for it reads "The Mercantiles (?) of Electricity & Power Salute the USSR" and underneath "CNT-AIT" (AIT is the Spanish equivalent of IWMA the anarcho-syndicalist International). But on the balcony above the banner "COMITE REGIONAL CNT-FAI" are a lot of people and others can be discerned on the other balconies of this ugly stone building, one of four in the plaza. That "one paid secretary" was certainly not there! If the photograph was taken after the CNT-FAI joined the Central government then he was probably in Valencia where the Government as well as the National Committee of the CNT and the UGT and all the political parties had gone when the military threat to Madrid by Franco's forces made life for the bureaucrats uncomfortable. So occupying that office block was not the National "one paid secretary", who was in Valencia in another big building with all his paid retinue; not the four CNT ministers with all their staff (and surely an "anarchist" Minister to do his/her job more effectively must employ comrades who shared his ideals and illusions). As the banner says; behind these 150-odd windows is the "Regional (that is Catalonian) Committee of the CNT-FAI", a bureaucratic machine of which I have never seen a detailed account of its composition and role, but one knows that it housed and employed a large number of full-time CNT-FAI officials and typists as well as non-Spanish comrades who were engaged on propaganda in at least four foreign languages (French, English, German and Italian plus Esperanto). Paid or unpaid, on a large or smaller scale, members of the CNT-FAI having played a major role in freeing the towns and villages from the military uprising were involved in taking on cargos (bureaucratic jobs) to cope with the surge of new members.

One must bear in mind that all workers had to join a Union (either the socialist-controlled UGT or the anarchist-influen-

ced CNT). Every factory and workshop; every public service and collectivised enterprise had its nominees from the CNT and the UGT and it depended on the importance of the enterprise whether they were full time or performed their duties in their spare time. Quite rightly the CNT exploited the situation to escalate its propaganda and published several dailies as well as innumerable weeklies and monthlies, all all of which, of course, had to employ editors, reporters and other staff. Among the refugees to whom the London comrades extended solidarity after the final surrender in the Central area were two editors of CNT dailies. One had been the editor of the Valencia daily Fragua Social, a most entertaining Central European cynic, who, however, was more interested in chess than revolution, a marxist rather than an anarchist. The other had been editor of the Madrid daily C.N.T. He had been a journalist in the early thirties, and to summarise the blurb to his Memoirs, after quitting the Madrid daily La Tierra in 1935 for "ideological reasons" and "after some months without a job" he joined the CNT as a carpenter's mate. When the civil war broke out he participated in the struggle, later becoming editor-in-chief and director of the daily C.N.T. until the end and as a member of the Committee of the MLL (Spanish Libertarian Movement) in the Central Region contributed to the organization of the uprising against Negrin and the Communists".

Obviously this did not occur overnight. One imagines that after the elections of February 1936 the CNT bureaucracy was already emerging, and all kinds of job hunters were joining the Confederation in the hope of jumping on the band wagon.

But what I have referred to, the people who occupied that building and many more equally impressive ones with CNT-FAI blazoned across their walls, represent one bureaucracy, that of the libertarian movement as such. The other bureaucracy was considerably larger. The decision to join the Popular Front in government resulted in another bureaucracy, springing up, much larger, more sinister and dangerous for it extended to every level in all the institutions of local and national government. When, for instance, the civil guards and the assault guards were disbanded in Catalonia in the first days they were replaced by "patrullas de control" whose role was to maintain order, and this 700 strong corps was manned by 325 nominees of the CNT, 145 of the UGT etc., and in their turn were controlled by a Central Comité of Patrols consisting of 11 Section delegates of whom 4 were from the CNT, 3 from the UGT etc., and a CNTer, Jose Asena, was the Secretary General. This is only one of the



hundreds of other examples that could be given to build up a picture of a bureaucracy not of professionals such as the Civil Service might be called but of a politicised bureaucracy which though appointed by the various organisations and parties (one wonders how the appointment of the CNT nominees was made) received its orders from the Government.

Dolgoff sees no problem here. Maura, he blithely points out, "ignores the fact that the CNT 'bureaucrats' had no way of compelling the members to obey their orders or accept their decisions; that the membership would defy anyone to do so and instantly repudiate them". This is quite true if one is talking about the bureaucrats behind those 150 windows up there. But apart from the fact that the syndicates were playing a growing role in the economy, as a part of the State machine\* and therefore having coercive powers to implement their decisions, the CNT representation in all the State institutions depended for its authority not on the CNT rank and file but on the government and its powers for seeing to it that its decisions were carried out. The rank and file members were soon faced with two lots of CNT bureaucrats who, with the passage of time became more and more remote from them. Semprun-Maura's observations on this subject (pp. 149-161) are of considerable interest as are the examples he gives of this duality in the CNT bureaucracy. For instance he quotes the case of the Industrial Councils which included members of the CNT appointed by the Catalan government and other CNT members appointed by the syndicate of the particular industry.

"The task of the former," writes Semprun-Maura, "was to defend the authority of the State, the others, the independence of the syndicates and their control over the economy (and both were faced in any case by the resistance from the 'rank and file'). . . . The CNT representatives who were in the various sections of

\*The Collectivization Decree of October 1936 in Catalonia is too complex to be discussed here but illustrates what I am trying to say. The reader is referred to Lessons of the Spanish Revolution, pp. 107-110.

the bureaucracy, had to appeal for 'organisational discipline', some demanding respect for the authority of the comrade Minister. . . others for that of the comrade general secretary of the syndicate in question."

In Semprun-Maura's view this was not simply a paper war between a proliferation of committees and commissions.

"It was a struggle for supremacy between two tendencies within the bureaucracy. The first, which I have called 'syndical' and which was almost entirely represented in Catalonia by the CNT-FAI and the second the State bureaucracy in which all the political and syndical anti-fascist organisations were represented - including the CNT - but in which with the passing of time the stalinist influence was increasing."

Anarcho-Syndicalist leaders such as Juan Peiro were quite clear as to where they stood in this struggle between the bureaucracies. In an article published by Solidaridad Obrera at the end of January 1937 he wrote:

". . . before thinking of collectivisations and socialisations all of which at the moment smell of corporatism, priority must be given to the creation of organisms capable of controlling and administering the new economy, free from tutelage by the State and its institutions. To create the organisms which will be of use to us in structuring the collectivisation and socialisation of social wealth, this is also to make a revolution; for to conquer positions and to establish ourselves within them so that when the war is ended we will be able to organise the new economy, is also a profoundly revolutionary than to destroy the economy by expropriating, collectivising or socialising industries, a task for which nobody was prepared because among other reasons we lacked the special, adequate organisms required for a socio-political task of this magnitude."

So much for the idea that all initiative must come from below!

(to be continued)

V. R.

## BOOK REVIEW

# COUNTER-CULTURE OF APPLES & ORANGES

THE COMMUNAL EXPERIENCE, Anarchist and Mystical Counter-Culture in America, by Laurence Veysey. (Harper & Row) 195pp., \$15.00

IN HIS LATEST book, Turtle Island, Gary Snyder lists the groups and movements which should be encouraged: "Gnostics, hip Marxists, Teilhard de Chardin Catholics, Druids, Taoists, Biologists, Witches, Yogins, Bhikkus, Quakers, Sufis, Tibetans, Zens, Shamans, Bushmen, American Indians, Polynesians, Anarchists, Alchemists. . ." Snyder wants a radicalism that is at once ecological and libertarian, and primitive and mystical.

In a book nominated for a National Book Award, Professor Laurence Veysey argues that radicalism like this forms the most significant and promising strand of the radical tradition in the United States. It is not a "political" current, in the sense of confrontation or striving for (or against) power. Instead, it fashions lifestyles -- a radicalism, in his view, of middle class withdrawal into intentional communities for mystical self-development and the creation of new libertarian structures off in the hills. He calls this "cultural radicalism" and seeks to demonstrate that it has a long history which points in the only direction radicalism may hope to go.

This argument, to corrupt a mystical phrase, has the resonance of one hand clapping. Veysey has picked up the idea of "cultural radicalism" from the movements of the '60s and projected it into the past by examining a small

number of twentieth century communes. He looks at an anarchist commune begun in 1915 and an anarchist commune of the 1960s, a Vedantic colony from early in the century and a mystical New Age one of the last few years. What kind of mystical and libertarian tradition does he find? A difficult one to identify, for even within these four communes the variations are enormous and mutually hostile. This is a tradition that, if it exists, truly unifies opposites.

One pole of this "cultural radical" tradition, as it turns out, is singularly unpleasant, hardly radical, and not at all libertarian. This pole, represented by a mystical community in New Mexico, fascinated Veysey, and its lengthy description of 130 pages comprises the longest section of the book. Until a few years ago the group lived in the desert. They were led by a middle-aged engineer whom Veysey calls Ezra, a tyrant educated in Gurdjieff and an oddlot of other mystics. Ezra, who was a talented windbag, controlled his followers with painful psychological probings and dazzled them with endless eruditions on all subjects. The colonists awaited a New Age, but there was nothing one might call radical about them. They rented cars to one another. They had only the vaguest political ideas; Ezra expressed some sympathy for Ronald Reagan and J. Edgar Hoover.

What are we to think of such "cultural radicalism"? Veysey has badly confused the ideas of radicalism - going to "the root" of things, cultural or other - with merely being unusual. Mysticism obviously isn't radical in itself, neither is living in the desert. This New Mexico colony



reminds us how much mysticism has helped form the reaction of the 1970s, just as it influenced the radicalism of the '60s. Veysey has found some nonconformists here, but no radicals.

The colony does illustrate features of what he has in mind for his communal tradition. It had abandoned the larger society and moved away from "the mainstream", and in its rural retreat it passively awaited the great changes to come. It was not active but contemplative, in its fashion. But of course many rural colonies have not shared these characteristics -- the wellknown Owenite and Fourierist societies of the 19th century, for instance, were neither passive nor withdrawn. And in fact, not even all the colonies that Veysey examines fit his tradition of withdrawal-and-contemplation. The anarchist colony he studies that was at Stelton, New Jersey (1915-1940s) seems like an heir to the secular radical communities of a century before, and bears few similarities to the New Mexico commune.

The Stelton colony was decidedly radical, and remarkably successful. As the poet Sherwood Trask, who taught there, commented: "Stelton. . . (chicken coop that it was) had the real thing." Here is a convincing case for a genuine tradition of cultural radicalism: a counter-cultural colony deliberately radical in political affairs as well as in daily life. The description of this colony is fascinating, despite the argument it serves to illustrate (or, actually, to refute).

Unlike the other colonies that Veysey examines, Stelton never cut its ties to the rest of society. It was rural and distinctive, but not isolated and withdrawn. Many colonists commuted every day to New York garment factories, and city radicals in turn visited the colony over the summer. The Stelton community was distinctly class conscious. Members participated in labour and radical struggles, and the colony received support on occasion from radical groups and needle trades unions. Stelton was very little like a monastery or ashram, but awfully like a visionary and deeply radical version of the other institutions built by radical workers early in the century.

Momentum for the Stelton colony evolved from an educational project in New York named for Francisco Ferrer, the libertarian teacher executed in Spain. A number of prominent radicals worked in the project, including Emma Goldman, Will Durant (who was a pacifist anarchist at the time), and John R. Coryell, the man who created Nick Carter. The Ferrer Association operated as a free university not unlike the new Free Association in New York, until its move to New Jersey in 1915. Some of the wellknown personalities dropped away but others joined at Stelton, among them the artist Hugo Gellert and the anarchist writer Hyppolite Havel. At its peak more than two hundred people lived there. Status distinctions were suppressed, official hierarchies largely avoided, conforming to the anarchist ideas. Decisions were made at general meetings, but without establishing a government. Although colonists individually owned their own plots, the community was fundamentally cooperative.

The most distinctive feature of Stelton's cultural radicalism was the focus on libertarian education in the colony's Ferrer Modern School. The children ran all over the colony and learned by doing without the coercion of arbitrary discipline. They didn't have to sit in class or even attend school at all, though most did for the pleasure of it (it was a pleasure!). Not only the designated teachers but all the adults were available to them, or open to pressure or cajoling. Artists like Gellert taught drawing, a printer was inveigled into teaching writing. It was a free structure, but not a non-structure: the personalities of the school directors were too strong for that.

The school comprised a sort of left wing of the Progressive education movement (which Veysey does not note), and in that spirit its leaders hoped their students would revolutionize all of society: "The liberation of the human race through libertarian education." The political nature of the school was the chief point of contention in the colony: should the school teach radical doctrines, or avoid doctrines of any sort? Veysey locates in this dispute the split between cultural and political radicalism. Whatever the explana-

tion, differences over ideology and party allegiance chronically plagued Stelton, even among the children: the worst moments may have come early in the '30s, as Veysey points out, when young Communists marched around the colony wearing uniforms, a red flag, as it were to the anarchists. Nevertheless the education factions, like the bitterly hostile anarchists and Communists, lived together for decades.

There is of course a comparison to the '60s in all this. Veysey contrasts the anarchist colony of the early period after 1915 with anarchist communes of the late '60s, and demonstrates certain limited similarities. Another comparison he doesn't make: the Ferrer school is unmistakably like some of the contemporary libertarian Free Schools, as described, for instance, by George Dennison in Free the Children (not surprising, for both draw from Tolstoy).

Veysey's concern is most of all with the personalities of the people at these other colonies. He looks for typical traits, with no marked success. As a result he spends too little time on the intellectual roots of Stelton: there is no discussion of the important influence of Tolstoy, Kropotkin, and Lester Ward on the colonists, which is too bad because the success of the colony and the interest it holds for us can't be considered apart from its intellectual life. Likewise Veysey focuses little attention on the educational theory and methods of the Ferrer School. His account does not replace the school's 1925 presentation of itself (The Modern School of Stelton by Joseph C. Cohen and Alexis C. Ferm), Veysey argues that libertarian ideas in education "probably link much more naturally with political liberalism than with radicalism". He seems unaware that, seen from another perspective, the Ferrer School was an American expression of the rich tradition of European anarchism's interest in libertarian education. He also seems unaware of the historical interest of the Ferrer School for American education.

Veysey's interest in the communal countercultural tradition is based on his attitude toward radicalism more generally. He describes himself as sympathetic to radicalism: the nature of this sympathy is to rule out radical movements as a social force. Although he criticizes the consensus historians, his own image of American radicalism is of an embattled and often "unworldly" minority confronting an inert and philistine "mainstream" -- surely a consensus view, though a scowling one. Radical struggles are hopeless in Veysey's view, not because they have been led by radicals (which was Daniel Bell's celebrated argument), but because "the mainstream is simply too numerous, too powerful, and too selfassured". Certainly there is no hope for working class action: "genuine proletarian radicalism" was probably possibly only during a "brief, transitory phase". And consequently, "political" radicalism - radicalism that doesn't withdraw and contemplate, etc. - "is of little present value in helping the external forms of the social order to become more just or humane".

For that reason the "cultural" tradition of personal spiritual development and community-building is "the main value of radicalism". The appeal of such radicalism, though, is restricted to the middle class: "Factory workers have generally been too busy struggling to survive and to advance their worldly condition to care about such goals of 'inner' personal development" as are stressed by "cultural" radicalism. He regards the goal of "selfexpression" - a primary aim of the Ferrer School and all libertarian education - as not a proletarian but a middle class interest. The working class is too boorish.

But if "cultural" radicalism for Veysey is restricted to the middle class, nevertheless it forms a dominant theme of American radical traditions, he believes, and demonstrates this by expanding his countercultural tradition accordion-like to include nearly anything. Thus he argues at one point that "anarchism, decentralization, the search for an ideal community, and contemplative withdrawal from the world" - quite a stew! - are pesky and persistent ideas which have outlasted political radicalism and the philosophy of class struggle. He is unconcerned that class struggle may occasionally be anarchist and decentralized. Instead, he proves his point by contrasting the persistence of these enormous ideas with the short life of particular organizations, the IWW, Socialist and Communist parties - historical apples and oranges, as anyone can tell.



In any case, Veysey proclaims his sympathy for the "cultural" radicals. He would like to see a radical effort to recapture "mankind's long-buried capacity for ecstasy and unguarded sharing" -- what he calls "the Garden of Eden". There should be more communal experiments so that our society may avoid a culture of "snowmobiles and boardwalk entertainments" with its "unending struggles with personal devils who refuse to give us peace of mind". And this should be accomplished, somehow, through social action that "must transcend sex shows and authoritarian social movements", whatever he means by that.

The effort, however, will fail, but isn't it nice that it will be made. Perhaps there will be more material for future books. "History teaches pessimism, to be sure, but cultural innovators have always operated with a less than perfect sense of what history allows." Elsewhere in the book, though, he meekly contradicts this thought and describes history as unpredictable: "But to what extent can history help us?" questions this historian. "History, like the landscape of Mars, is composed of broad plateaus which give way to sudden jagged ruptures. Patterns emerge, but they seldom enable prediction."

They do enable some observations, though. The Stelton colony all by itself indicates that the division between "cultural" and "political" radicalism has not been so sharp as

Veysey imagines, nor has the working class been single-mindedly bread-and-butter. There have of course been tensions between lifestyle and political directions of the different radical movements, just as a complex relation exists between middle class and proletarian forms of radicalism. But Veysey can illustrate his sharp division only by persisting in that '30s confusion between mysticism and radicalism. His argument obscures the fact that a genuine lifestyle or cultural radicalism has always accompanied the great periods of left wing upsurge. The hobo camps of the IWW and the sexual liberation of Greenwich Village in the 1910s suggest the span: the proletarian cultural movements of the Communist '30s, whatever the flaws, existed with nary an ashram. American radicalism of this century has never been a purely political movement.

I imagine that Veysey's confusion about all this comes from his despair. Unlike a Gary Snyder, whose interest in counter cultures is to search out new (or very old) values, Veysey's conviction that radical movements are doomed from the start justifies a counter culture of every-man-for-himself. Professor Veysey seems to hope that when you finally flee to the hills, you will do it communally and contemplatively. His long book is a sort of academic version of Rennie Davis's lamentable fall into grace.

Paul Berman.

#### VIEWPOINT

## BOMBS AND

WHENEVER a bomb is let off in London both the London evening papers become obscene albums of gory photography, and you don't even have to waste your money on these rags to be aware of the public's condemnation of this being portrayed and glorified all over the front page, the back page, and the inside too. To the hundreds of readers you see engrossed in the horrifying pictures the act is both highly contemptible and pointless. To the aspiring revolutionary the photographs show the result of the vanguard of the proletarian revolutionary movement striking back at the capitalist, imperialist, neo-colonialist British government. It is difficult to decide which of the above two types is the bigger fool: the gullible reader swallowing any opinion thrown at him by a bunch of pissed journalists, or the young leftie with his Che' Guevara T-shirt and romantic notions of sacrificing himself to the cause, "really" striking back at the capitalist oppressors, etc. . . .

The gullible reader, however, merely has to accept what he is being told and nothing more is demanded of him. The pseudo-revolutionary is asked to produce the evidence which is then chiselled into the gullible reader's brain by uninformed piss-artists who claim to prostitute truth ("news" can be yours for the price of a TV licence or the price of a newspaper). It was Valpreda's inquisitor who "asked" him, "Isn't it true that you anarchists have the slogan, 'Bombs, Blood, and Anarchy'?" As can be seen, this system works exceedingly well. The only difference with the Valpreda case was that it was the fascists who carried out the acts of terrorism and then blamed the anarchists and communists. In most cases, unfortunately, we are more than capable of doing the fascists' work for them. We exhort each other to support any group which claims to either contain a strong proletarian influence (e.g. a trade union) or to represent the proletariat through their actions. We have been exhorted in the past to support a bunch of fascist murderers (the IRA) and also a bunch of Californian kooks (the SLA) and the press, political leaders, police, etc. have loved every minute of it. What easier way is there of infiltrating, provoking, and then destroying such groups?

A revolution can only be made by the people and not by the people's representatives! The pseudo-revolutionary makes it extremely easy for the exploiters and oppressors to keep the exploited and oppressed off the revolutionary path. There is no need (in the eyes of the public) in an "open" society (both USA and UK claim to be "open" and the public believes it, too) for violent attacks on the State, and there is definitely no need for the taking of innocent lives. Also, why use a bomb? The concrete and glass monoliths which contain

## REVOLUTION?

most of our parasitic bureaucrats can have sufficient damage inflicted upon them by several stones, or by sabotaging the inevitably centralised heating, ventilation or computing systems. Furthermore, a bomb can only be handled by someone who knows what he is doing. These experts are few and far between. Anyone, however, can get hold of a brick and throw it at the object of his anger.

The execution of Carrero Blanco, however, contains only one fault. This act enabled the mass media to express its disgust at "terrorism" as a matter of course. On the other hand, there are many points in favour of the execution. Firstly, the act was very carefully prepared. Secondly, the target was actually achieved (a rare occurrence in most terrorist acts). Thirdly, no innocent lives were taken. Fourthly, ETA immediately issued several statements claiming full responsibility and explaining in those statements why they carried out the execution of Carrero Blanco. Some may ask whether the elimination of Blanco has made any difference to the Spanish situation. This question could only have been answered for certain if Blanco had not been killed.

The magazine Ruedo Iberico recently carried an interview with Txikia of the ETA entitled, "Why and how we killed Carrero Blanco". It helps to illustrate some of the points made above.

#### HOW DID THE IDEA TO ASSASSINATE CARRERO BLANCO COME ABOUT?

Very simple. The organisation received a note explaining that Carrero was in the habit of going to Mass every day at nine o'clock in a Jesuit church in Via Serrano. At first it was treated as a not too significant piece of information but it was later decided to verify the information by sending one of our militants to check it out. The situation was then closely analysed: Carrero was the man in the Regime who for years had prepared the continuation of Francoism, the man who guaranteed that continuity. In other words, he was an ideal person for a kidnap through which the liberation of political prisoners could be obtained.

#### SO AT FIRST YOU WERE CONSIDERING A KIDNAP?

Yes. . . After the trials at Burgos there had been many attempts to free the prisoners. Therefore, Carrero Blanco seemed to present the ideal opportunity.

#### DID THE INFORMATION REACH YOU FROM A MILITANT OR FROM A SYMPATHISER?

We can only say that we knew of the fact. In Madrid, as in other Spanish cities, we have our observers.



#### DID YOU KNOW MADRID WELL?

Some like myself, yes, whilst others did not know it at all... When we arrived in Madrid we scanned the telephone book to find the address of the Ogre. He lived in Via Hermanos Becquer at no. 6. It seemed impossibly easy. We also looked at the church, and it turned out to be a veritable Jesuit temple. We went there at nine, the time for the Mass, but Carrero did not show up at first. Then he appeared accompanied by an old gentleman seemingly in his seventies, small, with white hair.

#### DID YOU ALL RECOGNISE BLANCO?

We had all seen his photograph in the magazines. We also had a photograph taken from the first floor. Our informer told us that he went to Mass alone. In fact his companion returned to the car where another man was waiting. The following day he turned up in a black Dodge car.

#### WAS IT EASY TO OBSERVE BLANCO?

Yes, there were many bus stops outside. There was one outside the American Embassy, one in Via Hermanos Becquer, and one in Via Serrano. The following day the scene repeated itself: Carrero was alone in church and meanwhile we noticed that the black Dodge was followed by a red Morris. Then the Ogre, together with the second man mentioned before, would get back into the black Dodge.

#### WHY DID YOU REFER TO HIM BY THIS APPELLATIVE?

Because of his brutish face which contained enormous thick eyebrows, hence the name of the operation (operation ogre).

#### HOW DID THE ORGANISATION ANALYSE THE SITUATION?

The aim of the action was to secure the release of those ETA militants with terms of imprisonment greater than ten years (there are over 150 of these). Naturally, we would also have demanded the release of all political prisoners, whether they were Basque or not, in Spanish prisons with sentences greater than ten years. Therefore, the kidnap had great possibilities. If the exchange of prisoners had been successful, apart from the huge number of freed prisoners, we would have obtained a victory, all the greater for the political consequences which would have been unleashed. This would have, at least, brought about a radicalisation of Blanco's position, breaking the equilibrium which exists (in the Regime's favour), and would have created a great deal of conflict inside the Regime's ruling body.

#### WHICH WAS THE INTENDED ZONE OF THE OPERATION?

The Salamanca quarter; well-to-do people and embassies... and the church. It was intended that the kidnap be carried out inside the church. We would have also required the help of other commandos which would have arrived at the last moment to give us a hand.

#### HOW MUCH TIME DID YOU ALLOW FOR THE ACTION?

One or two minutes. The act was not to be too brusque so as not to alarm passers-by (hence one minute) and another minute was allowed for the retreat.

#### DID YOU ALLOW FOR THE REACTION OF THE PEOPLE PASSING BY?

Yes, but not too much emphasis was given since we were relying above all on the element of surprise. Generally, people do not make a move, owing to some preservation instinct, but they can become hysterical through fear. The other problems had also been considered; where to hide him, the amount of time to give to the Government (48 hours), the question of where to take the freed prisoners would have been a problem for the Government itself to solve, if they were interested in an exchange.

#### WHY WAS IT NOT POSSIBLE TO CARRY OUT THIS PLAN AS ENVISAGED?

Because of a mishap. Everything was ready; the hospital, the place to go upon leaving the church, the house where the Ogre's guardians would go, the cars... everything, except the house where the Ogre would be kept, because of an accident. When we had already obtained the keys to the house, a group of youngsters broke into the place hoping to find something to steal. The following day we tried to approach them but they were afraid and a firearm was produced: in other words a gunfight in the street... all the neighbours appeared thinking that a theft was taking place. The landlady was called for... She appeared with her brother and whilst talking to Mikel said: "But you are Basques, I can tell because my family lives in San Sebastian." "But I'm not a Basque, I'm from Valencia -- as it said in the contract." "Nobody would have believed it, you look like a Basque, like those in San Sebastian." This convinced us to give up the idea.

#### HAVING GIVEN UP THE IDEA OF THE KIDNAP WHAT DID YOU DO ABOUT ALL THE ARRANGEMENTS WHICH HAD BEEN MADE?

We spent the first two weeks of November, whilst considering all the possibilities for an execution, going around cancelling all our arrange-

ments. Everyone was very good about it, with the exception of the landlady who refused to give us our two months' deposit back.

#### WHAT ABOUT THE RETREAT?

It was for this reason that we bought a secondhand Austin 1300 with a false document. Looking around the area in the car we noticed that there were many basements in Via Coello. We decided to go into the basement of 104.

#### WHAT ROUTE DID THE "OGRE" TAKE TO MASS EACH DAY?

Coming out of his house in Via Hermano Becquer the car would turn right down Via Lopez de Hoyo, then down Via Serrano, where the church is located. Coming out of the church the car would turn left, down Via Serrano, left again down Via Juan Bravo, left along Via Claudio Coello, still left along Via Diego de Leon and would then reach his home in Via Germanos Becquer.

#### WHAT WAS THE BASEMENT LIKE?

It was 6 metres by 3.5 metres, with one large room, one small room, a kitchen, a W.C., and a window looking out onto Via Coello.

#### WAS THE BASEMENT DEEP?

No. It was only one metre and 70 cms deep. We had decided to break through the base of the wall but this proved to be a tremendous task. We worked in turns of twenty minutes each, because more than this was impossible. To complicate matters the earth was damp and water and gas would filter through. There were no great outpourings of water but there was an evil smell which forced us to keep the window closed at all times so as to avoid suspicion.

#### AND THE EXPLOSIVE?

I went to collect it in the car on 15th December. It fitted perfectly into the boot of the car and weighed about 80 kilos. We took it into the basement at night. The most difficult part proved to be getting it into the tunnel because it was very tight.

#### HOW DID YOU ARRANGE FOR THE EXPLOSION TO TAKE PLACE?

We had constructed a T-shaped tunnel and each branch of the T was loaded with explosives. The top of the T corresponded more or less with the middle of the road... Whilst the electrical connections were being made the Austin was placed outside the basement so as to force the Ogre's car to drive over the centre of the road. Then he was followed to the church. Whilst he was in church we were fully preparing ourselves. Then the car was sighted in Via Juan Bravo, coming towards us slowly. At the top of Via Maldonado it slowed down even more to let an old woman and a girl cross the road. Then, still coming forward slowly the car reached the required spot... the feelings one has at a moment like this are unimaginable... The car reached the point where it was level with our car... NOW !! The car was seen to be flying. There was an ear-shattering noise. We came running out shouting "Gas! Gas!" This was in order to give the impression that there had been a gas mains explosion. We got into our car and slowly moved off: our comrades had been avenged.

Several points immediately spring to our attention. Firstly, the scheme was extremely well prepared. Secondly, and perhaps more important, the execution of Blanco was only decided upon after the alternative scheme for a kidnap fell through. Of course, in a country like Spain there are very few alternatives available, but this is no excuse to reach for the dynamite as soon as take a drink of water. The kidnap alternative would have probably made possible the release of many political prisoners and would have probably been a lot more damaging to the Regime. When the plans for the kidnap fell through the ETA militants took what was probably the only alternative left. After all, an attack on the Spanish State was urgently required and the opportunity was definitely too good to be missed. Thirdly, the scheme was about 99 per cent sure of success, and this point needs to be always kept in mind. Only a romantic fool embarks on an escapade which he himself is sure will fail and could only succeed if some miracle were to happen. Raoul Vaneigem summed up this point very well when he said, "The revolution ends the moment it becomes necessary to sacrifice yourself to it... Revolutionary moments are festivals in which individual life celebrates its union with regenerated society."

Unfortunately, the execution of Blanco did not turn into the "festival" of revolution which we eventually hope to achieve because of the necessity to carry out such acts with the collaboration of only a small handful of trustworthy people, and whilst such an act may lead to a revolutionary situation, the revolution can only be made and guaranteed success by the people. Self-appointed people's representatives will always be authoritarian mugs!

Nino Francisco Staffa.



# FOLLOW THAT HEARSE

IN FARM STREET, off Berkeley Square, is a rather pretty but self-effacing Jesuit church where the wealthy Catholics kneel and thank God for their gelt and here in the last week of a grey November the clan of the suicide Dominic Elwes met to indulge in one of the tribal rituals of the British governing class, to hold a memorial service and a declaimed apology for one of their own before the body was handed over to the worms. Always the spectator in relation to the clowning of my fellow men, except when I choose to ham the act, one was happy to bear witness of so much tarnished heraldry, so much whisky-diluted blue blood. Dominic, and I use the christian name purely from snobbish name dropping reasons, dined with the wealthy yet lived on that borderline of genteel poverty and this friend of the legally accused murderer Lord Lucan was socially hounded out of that closed society for selling his knowledge of his homicidal friend to a national newspaper. A sin so heinous that he was expelled in person by John Aspinall from John's fashionable gambling house. As one who feels honoured to be allowed to pay my way into a Soho whorehouse I can understand Dominic's despair resulting in suicide, and there on that dull November day the living met to make their excuses to the dead. It was, as always, a very beautiful service and Kenneth Tynan gave a gentle and mannered address to the mob but it was left to the gambler John Aspinall to challenge the organ in rhetoric if not in volume for in his funeral oration on his late enemy he quoted Beowulf, Oscar Wilde and even Cicero, explained to the glassy-eyed family how they had failed but killed his act by finishing it off with a banal poem, for John had forgotten the first lesson of show business and that is to leave the stage when they are crying for more. The requiem was over and the yoghurt of a sophisticated society made their ways to their cars or the bar of the Connaught Hotel when a distant cousin of Dominic's, Tremayne Rodd, an ex Rugby international, punched John Aspinall in the mouth. La there was a shouting and screaming, a clicking of cameras and much making of pathways as Tremayne disappeared down Farm Street shouting "That's what I think of your bloody speech Aspinall," for in truth the Town and his reverent frau had never had so much fun since the Grosvenor Square punch up but two streets away.

One could indeed go to the Shades with some slight peace of mind if one knew that a friend was prepared to defend one's valueless reputation even at the grave side, and this is what it would seem that Albert Goldman the biographer has decided to do by bending facts and offering stage fiction as Holy Writ. In the 1960s Bruce emerged as the great scatological comic, the conscience of America or as Walter Winchell's "America's No. 1 Vomit" and in the climate of that time one waited, vainly one believed, for this mucky messiah to give with the message man to the Island Race. And it was left to a group of show business sophisticates to launch, with a membership of 5,00 at two guineas a time, a club, 'The Establishment', in a one time strip house at 18 Greek Street, Soho, and in 1962 Lenny Bruce was hired for a cut price of 350 dollars a week and the avant garde fought to get in and John Osborne, Yevgeny Yevtushenko, Penelope Gilliat and Siobham McKenna fought to get out in well publicised disgust even to the punching of Peter Cook's head. One eased one's way in with the groundlings to lean on the bar and truth must tell that Lenny Bruce was never that funny, for in a period when the English language was struggling to be allowed to use its Anglo-Saxon heritage to the full he did it, and fuck and tits and mother-fucker broke down the barrier between the saloon and the public bar and the intellectual, the pseudo intelligentsia, the sophisticated and the plain decent honest to god filthy minded loved the man for making it respectable. Yet in contemplation I have the one small doubt flowering like a rose in all that verbal sewerage, and that is that Bruce could never have walked on a stage to shout the word fuck at a paying audience unless the club owners in Britain and America had hired him to do it. There was legal persecution in America and Bruce

Elwes' Friend Punched After Church Tribute. Father Peter Blake, Farm Street Jesuit Church.

Ladies and Gentlemen, Lenny Bruce, by Albert Goldman (Allen. £5.95)

A Romantic Friendship : the letters of Cyril Connolly to Noel Blakiston. (Constable. £5.50)

welcomed it for he was a masochist cultivating a persecution mania until in the end he bored the arse off his associates and finally the paying customers.

We owe a great debt to the American underground press and the American poets who "unlocked the word hoard", to quote John Aspinall in relation to Dominic Elwes, for they physically fought the police and went to prison for the poet's claim to use our native tongue to the full, but Bruce was hired to shock an audience and his act and his own reactions to the audience could be summed up in his Australian act when he cried, "We Jews killed Christ, and if he comes back, we'll kill him again!" to which an Australian comic actress heckled, "Tell us something we haven't heard before!" and Bruce glared at her and shouted, "Fuck you, lady!" and that was poor Lenny Bruce, a man hired to give it but who could not take it. When Bruce killed himself he did it by accident by overloading himself with a drug and he slid off the shithouse seat with the spike still in his arm and the little man lay dead on the bathroom floor. But the tough babies are the police lieutenants hawking and getting 5,000 dollars for the photograph of the dead body and all the club owners from the Establishment and way back who hired this sad sack to pull in the paying customers and who are still w with us in happy affluence. Goldman's 565-page book sells for £5.95 and it is a book that one skips through for in the end it tells little about the man and the sleazy background, be it strip joint of cafe society. On a free reading I cannot, but do, complain but what is lacking is an index to the shifting two dimensional characters. Marvin Worth produced his hagiology of Bruce with the film "Lenny" now pulling in the second generation at the West End Odeon but Julian Barry and Bob Fosse's direction have produced a film as dull as the book. A terrific PR job has sold the film but it does nothing to enhance Bruce for from being a clown on the international circuit it offers a background of a few dreary American night clubs and completely ignores the London and Australian engagements which might have given some small validity to the film, so that a stage protest that Bruce made at the London Establishment dribbles out in an American club. In the beginning was the word and Lenny said them at the demand of faceless promoters as jokes man as jokes such as cancer. But in 1942 an English comedian told his war-time audience, "Three fellows went in for the call-up medical and the first came out crying oh gawd I'm A1 and the second came out crying oh gawd I'm A1 and the third came out laughing his head off shouting congratulate me fellows I'm exempt I've got cancer" and twenty years later Lenny Bruce made the western world headlines, a 565 page book, a film and a Lenny Bruce memento industry by telling/selling that same joke to a sophisticated middle class transatlantic audience.

Every tribe buries its dead in its own fashion and honours or dishonours them in its own peculiar way and Lenny Bruce and Dominic Elwes were buried, traduced and rehabilitated with a speed that puts the late Uncle Joe Stalin to shame but Cyril Connolly, who was personally denounced by the war-time Russian government for refusing to declare war on Germany, slipped off his mortal coil to the manner born. A magnificent prose stylist whose approach to all contemporary literature sprang from a love and understanding of Greek and Latin literature, he gave a depth to so much shallow work by others in his mannered but always readable essays. One novel, *The Rock Pool*, one collection of essays, *Enemies of Promise* and his early life *The Unquiet Grave* is all that he gave of a talent so promising but so unfulfilled. He is dead and his collected letters to Noel Blakiston are there for the reading. I have always found any collection of letters boring and almost unreadable for they are usually trite gossip or petulant complaints but what



RADICAL CHIC  
(Review section 22 November)

Dear All,

It is the nature of anarchism that we try to create a non-elitist, a non-vanguardist, direct action movement of the masses. Unless one imagines this springing fully armed and clad from the head of some latter-day Kronios, one has to imagine some form of mid-point, some stage when people retaining many non-anarchist illusions nevertheless embrace a few anarchist ideas, and anarchist means of activity.

It is hardly therefore the wisest thing to start sneering as people make their first faltering steps in an anarchist direction; it may be very funny to watch someone's toddler trying to launch out and walk from table to chair, but it is kinder to encourage him than to laugh at him. Similarly when Liberals on the one hand or Marxists on the other, begin to embrace direct action, begin to understand the limitations of political parties, it is worth restraining our mirth at their manifest inconsistencies and instead attempt to encourage their

## Moyse

FOLLOW THAT HEARSE  
... continued from Page 14

is interesting with Connolly's letters to Blakiston is the approach of the reviewers. That Cyril was masturbating up to the age of eighteen was the rather odd knowledge among the literati but the question of whether Cyril bugged the late Noel will surely be the talking point among the Eton Old Boys and Anthony Powell ignores it, Philip Toynbee brushes it aside and Christopher Ricks fobs it off by referring it back to the Greeks and that surely is what friendship is about, but without an acceptance of a homosexual relationship between Connolly and Blakiston this published collection of letters has no meaning or relevance. Only John Carey plays the John Aspinall gambler by openly dealing the dirt on the late Cyril, sex- and snob-wise, and we wait for some literary ex Rugby international to come raging to the door of the New Statesman to scream boo through their letter box in defence of the memory of Cyril Connolly the man who could quote Du Bellay, sainte-Beuve, Chamfort, Chuang Tsu, and Pascal at the drop of a finger on a typewriter. In less than a handful of years these three men will be forgotten and their small reputations the coin of old men's memories but each in his own way gave pleasure by their company, their performance or by the pleasure of their written word and so on behalf of the audience moving to its own exits I say thank you.

Arthur Moyse.

# LETTERS

fainthearted but for them pioneering steps.

No doubt it is true that as numbers of people begin to turn towards libertarian direct action there will be political crooks masquerading in the same more radical guise in order to build their own reputation, hoping eventually to lead their followers back into the statist field from which they had partially emerged. These certainly anarchists need to expose; but in so doing can we afford to alienate possible converts by dismissing not merely the leader but the led out of hand; exposure should be designed to show that the leader does not live up to his own radical standards, not to attack him for failing to live up to ours and in so doing attack others who are just beginning on the journey.

I have no idea whether George Woodcock's assessment of Peter Hain is valid or no. The only time I met Hain I was not very impressed, the articles of his I've read have appeared naive and I've not read either of his books. Nevertheless I do know that many of the Young Liberals who so admire him are sincere in believing that there is a link between the Liberal and the Libertarian tradition and that it is possible for them to bridge whatever gap there may be without leaving the YLs. We disagree certainly, we should explain why whenever we meet them and never allow them to get away with the misconception that we share their beliefs; but we should not jeer at them.

It, moreover, ill becomes a writer who some fourteen years ago told us that anarchism as a movement had perished once and for all twenty odd years before, and who had at that time made his peace with Liberal politics to take such an holier than thou line.

George Woodcock - as he so rightly says - is out of touch with British events; and it may be that the editors rather than he were to blame for the fact that there was no attempt to put the book in context. That the review concentrated solely on Mr. Hain's - very possibly self-inflated - view of his own importance; and made not one mention of the movement he leads; made no mention of the Stop the Seventy Tour demonstration and so forth. (Whether or not this is the case, the editors might have refrained from publishing such an article just at the time that Hain is being committed to trial). Nevertheless G.W. is certainly responsible for the fact that less than half his article was relevant to the book; that while contrasting Hain's vagueness with Colin Ward's clarity he neglected the extent to which the Young Liberal ideological framework is derived from incorporating the "Revisionist Anarchism" of Anarchy's pages into a traditional radical-liberal context.

G.W. asks rhetorically "...who, except Mr.- Hain and his friends, was so

naive" [as to think that demonstrating with a banner in Trafalgar Square would change the world]; unfortunately the answer is rather a lot of people; Maoists, Guevarrists, Black Powerists, New Leftists of various descriptions, many who called themselves Trotskyists, and - doubly regrettably - many who at the time called themselves anarchists. It may sound silly to say that a six week occupation of a college of art was the most important action of the period; but it doesn't have all that many preferable rivals.

Yours,  
Laurens Otter.

## Bookshop Notes

[All the titles mentioned are available from Freedom Bookshop at the prices - plus postage - mentioned.]

I'VE ALREADY mentioned in these notes about Cienfuegos Press's edition of Flavio Costantini's illustrations, The Art of Anarchy (£3.00 + 26p), my major reservation about it being that it was in black and white and not in colour; an ideal complement to it has now been received from Italy -- a full colour hardback volume of Costantini's drawings, Ravachol & Cie (£3.95 + 42p), 28pp (15½" x 10½") -- including a short text on each illustration (in Italian, of course) and containing 13 full colour prints. We also still have the two full size colour Costantini posters (Ferrer and Ravachol) at 75p each incl. postage.

In stock again after quite a period of unavailability is Robert Paul Wolff's useful essay, In Defense of Anarchism (£1.20 + 11p) which evaluates the conflict between Authority and Autonomy, the solution of Classical Democracy and those areas Beyond the Legitimate State.

In the area of Memoirs we have Alexander Herzen's monumental and fascinating My Past and Thoughts, edited and abridged by Dwight Mac

Donald (£4.75 + 62p); Victor Serge's classic Memoirs of a Revolutionary 1901-1941, translated by Peter Sedgwick (£1.20 + 42p) and - more recently - The Valpreda Papers - the Prison Diaries of Pietro Valpreda, translated by Cormac O'Cuillearain, which is probably as near to the truth as we will ever get regarding the Milan incident and its complex and frightening aftermath (£6.00 + 42p).

When Gracchus Babeuf was arraigned before the Government of the Directory resulting from the French Revolution for attempting to lead a revolt (1796) against it, he made a magnificent defence - a model of eloquence and a plea for freedom. This has been edited and translated by John A. Scott for Schocken's "Studies in Libertarian and Utopian Tradition" series, and The Defense of Gracchus Babeuf is available at £1.50 plus 16p postage.

J. H.



# THROUGH THE ANARCHIST PRESS

NOW THAT the vampire is at last laid in his grave (it seemed at times as though a stake would have to be driven through his heart) it is perhaps time for anarchists to turn their eyes to the present-day reality of Spain which is now a very different country from the basically agrarian one which Franco took over in 1939. The September, 1975 issue of *Sindicalismo*, a syndicalist magazine published openly in Madrid, carries the following statistics :

"In 1940... agriculture accounted for 51.9% of the active population; in 1970 for only 29.5% and it is predicted that in 1980 it will be 20% or less. In 1940 only 24% of the active population were employed in industry; in 1970 the percentage was 37.3 and it is predicted that it will be 40% in 1980. In 1940 only 21.1% were employed in service industries; in 1970 it had increased to 37.3% (the same as industry) and it is predicted that in 1980 it too will employ 40% of the active population."

The recent rapid industrialisation will have more effect on the future of the country than the death of the Caudillo. The September issue of *Interrogations*, the multilingual "international review of anarchist research" contains a twenty-page article on Spain in 1975 (entitled on the cover, "Spain, with or without Franco") by Ramon Puig, whose thesis is that the country has changed fundamentally from an agricultural one to one with industrial characteristics and all that that implies. The rural districts have been denuded of their landless and workless peasants. The number of small properties has diminished and mechanisation has been introduced. At the same time industry has developed and the number of workers has doubled. These industrial workers represent an enormous potential power-source, which is already being shown in wage claims and strikes. Finance capital plays a leading role in the country through its control of the economy by means of its credits to, and investments in, the major industrial undertakings of the country. The Army is seen to be equally powerful, and to have been the mainstay of the Francoist regime. The official trade unions, the "sindicatos verticales" are seen to be instruments of the state, used to hold back the working classes, and strikes are as much directed against them as against employers or the State. The article ends with a look at the economic and political situation which is marked by an obvious crisis whose outcome is still doubtful. Puig thinks that it is useless to cherish illusions about the replacement of Franco by Juan Carlos, or about the manoeuvres of the Communist Party which are an attempt to gain sympathizers and adherents among the managers of the economy, the technocrats and the military, in a word, "the civilized right".

A new magazine, *Colectivo* put out by emigrant Spanish anarchists, carries a similar analysis in its first number. Its thesis is that the inflow of foreign capital since 1959 has changed the direction of Spanish capitalism from the protectionism and autarchy of the first twenty years of Franco, when fascism was the appropriate form of government, to a need for integration into the Common Market and NATO, which will in its turn necessitate a "democratic process" of "socialist" parties who will ensure more efficient exploitation of the workers. *Colectivo* says that the alternative to the imposition of "bourgeois democracy" is the intensification of the struggle in workplaces for the creation of an autonomous revolutionary organisation of workers as offered by various libertarian groups such as the programme for the reconstruction of the CNT.

The November issue of *Frente Libertario* says: "Francoism is the political form adopted by Spanish capitalism. In consequence, the revolutionary character of the anti-francoist struggle is entirely dependent on its anti-capitalist content. All the attempts to 'democratic' seizure of power which are being proposed, are essentially bourgeois because they are anti-francoist without being anti-capitalist."

The *Sindicalismo* figures are interesting in that whilst they show a growth in the number of industrial workers, they show an equal growth in the "service" industries, which would seem to indicate that the Spanish economy is developing along the same techno-bureaucratic lines as the rest of Europe. The impetus for its joining the European Common Market comes from the technocrats of Opus Dei, and it is these gentlemen, along with their counterparts in the "capitalist" and "communist" blocs, who pose the biggest obstacle to the development of an anarchist society.

The rise of the "managers" was pointed out long ago (1941) by James Burnham, in his book *The Managerial Revolution*, but the analysis he published then was being developed simultaneously by anarchists like Santiago Parane. Parane's pamphlet, *Les Anarchistes face à la technocratie* was not published until after the war, but was written in the autumn of 1940 and appeared as a series of articles in the Italo-American anarchist paper *L'Adunata dei Refrattari*. He added a preface, and a review of Burnham's book, to the pamphlet version, and in the preface he acknowledged his debt to articles in various libertarian and socialist magazines such as *La Révolution Proletarienne* (created by Pierre Monatte and Robert Louzan and still going strong -- it is publishing a translation of Puig's article on Spain in its current numbers), and to émigré Russian anarcho-syndicalists, who had experienced a new class of exploiters in the rulers of post-

Revolution Russia.

Burnham agreed that the new ruling clique in Russia were neither capitalists nor communists, but what he designated "materialist". It was on this point that he broke with Trotsky (he had been a leading American Trotskyite since 1933) and with Marxism. The conclusions he drew from his analysis were pessimistic: the "managers" would inevitably take over, the Nazis would win the war. Despite the falsification of his predictions, Burnham clung to his theory, and soon turned into a typical American Cold Warrior.

Parane was more optimistic about the possibilities of resistance to "managerialism", and still writes for anarchist papers, mainly about developments in South America, where in recent years "technocrats" like Stafford Beer, and the Trotskyist theoretician "Pablo", have had a major say in the policies of "radical" governments, like Allende's in Chile, and in the creation of ministries with pompous names which aim at massive state intervention in the economy and the application of the "white-hot technological revolution", with the disastrous results we are not too unfamiliar with in this country.

Parane writes mainly for the Italian monthly, *A-Rivista Anarchica*, which has been the main source of the analysis of the techno-bureaucracy". As Luciano Lanza points out in his article, "Elementi technoburocratici dell'economia fascista" in the new number of *Interrogations* (no. 5 December 1975) this is probably due to the fact that Italy was the first country to experience the setting-up of techno-bureaucratic institutions, during the Fascist regime, notably the I.R.I. (Institute for Industrial Reconstruction) which is still the largest Italian state body. The anarchists have come to their conclusions about the rise of the "technobureaucracy" from an analysis of the economic policy of fascism, and not the usual analysis of their race-mythology or political tactics.

Two salient features of fascist economy that Lanza brings out are the increase in the service sector, and the drive toward "autarchy" (or self-sufficiency), both of which are prominent ideas in the British economy today, together with increasing state intervention (by both sides of the parliamentary fence) and the ever-increasing influence of banks and international cartels.

The essential identity of the economic structures of Fascism, the New Deal, Soviet Communism, and Social Democracy are the bedrock of the "technobureaucratic" analysis, which is probably the growing point of anarchist theory today.

D. L. M.



## FACE TO FACE WITH THE FOE

"WHAT ARE your politics, anyway?" someone, no doubt, has asked you by now.

--"Oh, I'm an anarchist," you say proudly.

--"Are you a violent or a peaceful anarchist?" comes the next question. At least this questioner has bothered to find out that anarchism does not necessarily mean terrorism. However, he is still under the illusion that if you are not a "terrorist" anarchist you must be a "pacifist" anarchist. To most people, however, anarchism, far from meaning "justice and freedom" is synonymous with Terrorism.

For this greatly mistaken image we have to thank the likes of Ravachol, Auguste Vaillant, Emile Henry, Sante J. Caserio, Georges Etievant and the publishers who have avidly "cashed-in" on the exploits of these people because of their spectacular nature. For this reason I find the first of these two books in thoroughly bad taste. *Ravachol & Cie.* is well produced, it is glossy, it contains colour prints by Costantini, etc., etc. . . . and it is incredibly cheap for for such a high-quality product. However, the book is an insult, not only to the idea of anarchism, but also to the principles of Ravachol and company. The constant target for the individualistic terrorist acts of Ravachol was the bourgeoisie. It is ironic, therefore, that we now find Ravachol recorded in "beautiful" coffee-table, bourgeois, glossiness. Both text and prints spectacularly glorify the mass-media image of the anarchist as terrorist. The writer of the text is not entirely to blame for this since it was written as an accompaniment to the glossy colour prints (most of which are also available from any shop selling posters). In only one of the Costantini prints can we detect any sympathy for Ravachol. Ravachol is shown facing the guillotine and above



GINO GATTI ("The Engineer")

RAVACHOL & CIE. by Pietro Favari, illustrated by Flavio Costantini (Quadrangolo Libri) L. 3600 \*  
FACCIA A FACCIA COL NEMICO : personaggi e interpreti dell'Anarchismo in Argentina, by Cesare della Pieta, illustrated by Pino Milas (Quadrangolo Libri) L. 2900.



his head inscribed on an archway are the words "LIBERTÉ, ÉGALITÉ, FRATERNITÉ".

The second of these books whilst still containing a similar bourgeois, coffee-table, glossiness, shows a great deal more sympathy for the anarchist idea and its protagonists. The illustrations are not as common as the Costantini prints and consist of stark black and white lithographic shadow prints of the main protagonists in the Argentinian anarchist movement between 1917 and 1936, and also the main State murderers.

This was an extremely violent era for the anarchist movement in Argentina, but, after reading the text this is not at all surprising. *Faccia a Faccia col Nemico* ("Face to Face with the enemy") discusses anarchism in relation to the whole Argentinian labour movement. It maintains that owing to the moderate attitudes of the socialists and communists in the labour disputes, very unsatisfied militants turned to the "more extreme" measures of anarchism. It is at this point that the author of the text shows himself to lack sympathy for the idea of anarchism. Anarchism is not a "more extreme" form of protest but is the only valid and sensible position to hold.

The moderation of the "scientific" revolutionaries in the light of the situation at the time can only be explained by sheer opportunism on their part. To

a bolshevik every defeat is a victory and every victory is a deviation from the scientific road to socialism and communism (State capitalism). Most of Argentina's economic wealth was controlled by landowners living in Britain and the United States. Their main concern was making the biggest profit possible and any complaints by workers had to be suppressed by any available means. To do the capitalists dirty work there were the military units led by Hector Benigno Varela and a right-wing terrorist group known as the Patriotic League of Argentina (known amongst the workers as the Patriotic League of Assassins).

To show with what utter contempt the landowners treated their workers, the author cites the case (amongst many other equally horrid instances) of the British mister Bond who ordered that 27 of his labourers should be shot as a reprisal for the theft (by persons unknown) of 27 of his horses. He took their clothes off them, whipped and beat them, made them dig their own graves, and then shot them. The next person to be shot would fill in the grave of his previous colleague and then set about the task of digging his own grave, and so on.

The bosses' reprisals through the army and the fascistic terrorist groups would be followed by reprisals from anarcho-bandit groups and anarchist individualists. The motivations for these activities were not solely related to the goings-on in Argentina. Just as repression seems to have been imported from Europe and the United States, so the ideas behind resistance and revolt came from abroad too. This was a time of heavy immigration from Europe, especially Italy, Spain, and Central Europe. Many Italian anarchists who had emigrated to get away from the Mussolini regime found themselves playing significant roles in the guerilla bands. The execution of Sacco and Vanzetti in the United States resulted in attacks on American institutions in Buenos Aires. Famous figures, later to be involved in the Spanish Civil War, also made a significant appearance in the Argentine. Durruti was highly influential with one of the most daring anarcho-bandit gangs, which involved Gino Gatti, Emilio Uriondo, Andres Vasquez Paredes, the brothers Antonio and Vicente Moretti, and Miguel Arcangel Roscigna.

Roscigna was especially noted for the way in which his solidarity for his militant comrades seemed to hold no bounds. If he swore to free from cap-



# ART, NATURE AND REVOLUTION

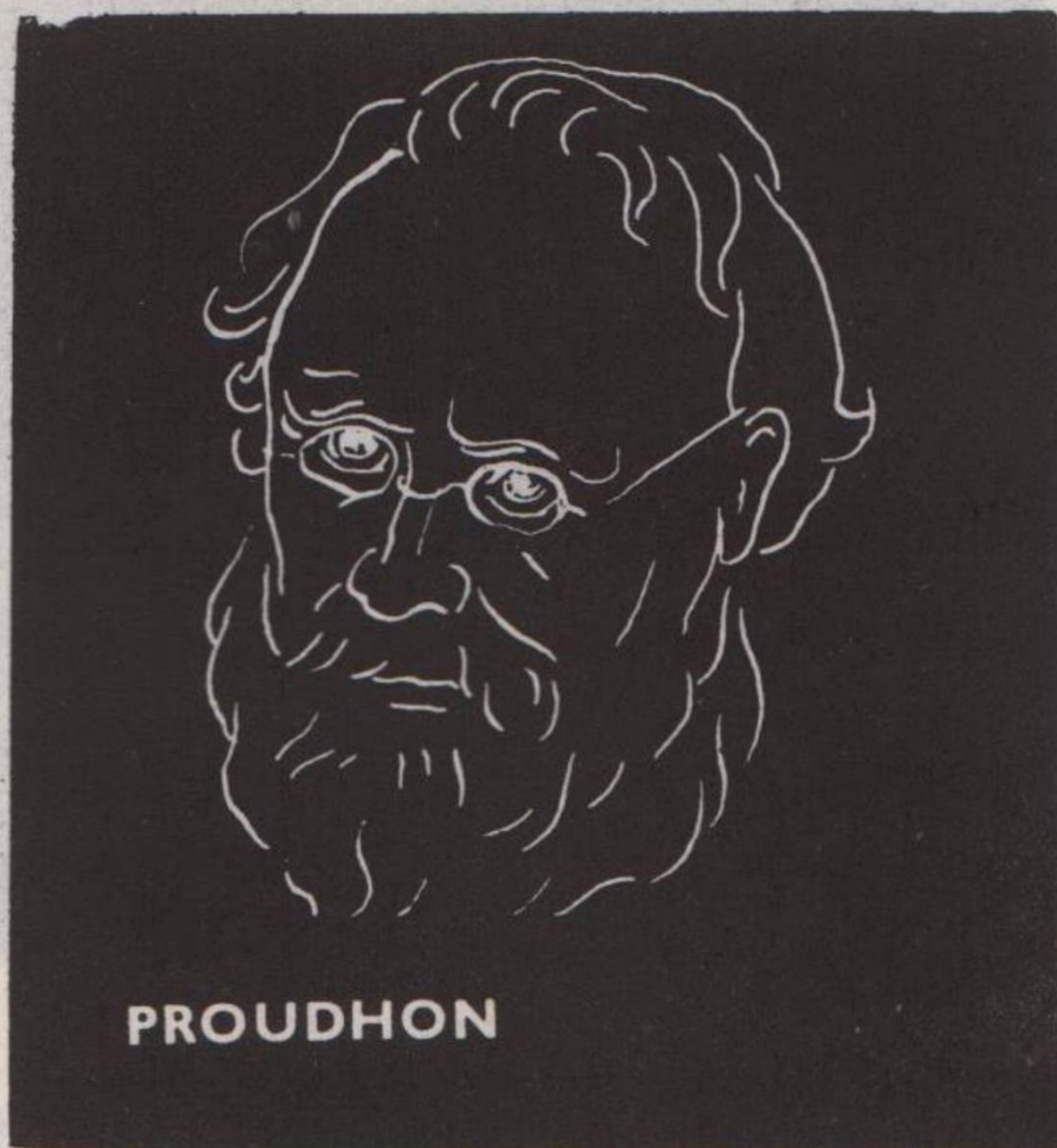
This article first appeared in 1972 in the U.S. magazine Arts in Society and is here published for the first time in Britain by kind permission of the author, William O. Reichert, who is Professor of Political Science at Bowling Green State University, Ohio.

Revolutionary change is generally considered to be the special province of ideologists who place themselves in positions of power which they wield on behalf of "the people." When we think of revolution the names of Lenin, Robespierre, and Che Guevara leap to mind and hold our attention as the movements of the prima ballerina in the spotlight holds our attention at the ballet. The revolutionary all too often impresses us as the epitome of masculine force and heroic endeavor and hence it is to the political type that the world turns its attention when social change becomes imperative to its continued health and sanity. Social progress, it would thus appear, is dependent upon the strength and courage of the political leader and it is the ideologist to whom we seem to be beholden for the brave new world of tomorrow. But this is a drastic error in judgment on the world's part, for it is the artist rather than the revolutionary leader who is the real architect of basic social and cultural change.

In proclaiming art rather than politics the true revolutionary force in society, we do not in any way accept the argument of elitists who insist that only the noble few have the power to direct life intelligently. With Benedetto Croce we must come to see that "the aesthetic fact is not something exceptional, produced by exceptionally gifted men, but a ceaseless activity of man as such; for man possesses the world, so far as he does possess it, only in the form of representation-expressions, and only knows in so far as he creates."<sup>1</sup> We are artists all, to paraphrase a well-known expression, and the consequences of our art is inevitably a better and more just world. But we do not consciously work toward this end, nor do we submit to any ideological design in terms of organizing ourselves and our activity. Life itself is our only blueprint and the methodology we discipline ourselves by is the spontaneity that is fundamental to human character. At best, as Croce points out, there is a mere quantitative difference separating the ordinary man from the great artist, for the source of energy for both is their common human nature. Were the average man totally lacking in imagination and aesthetic sense, no artist could talk beyond himself. "The cult of the genius with all its attendant superstitions has arisen from this quantitative difference having been taken

as a difference in quality," Croce points out. "It has been forgotten that genius is not something that has fallen from heaven, but humanity itself."<sup>2</sup> To look toward political leadership for the initiative for real social change, therefore, is to be turned in the exact opposite direction toward which we should be pointed.

Strange as it may appear to some, one of the most faithful champions of the aesthetic as a guide to freedom is the anarchist. Anarchism has been much maligned over the years and it is difficult to discuss the idea without conjuring up all kinds of misconceptions about it. At present, however, the anarchist idea is once again being taken seriously, as witnessed by the large number of books and scholarly articles being published about it. It will be contended here that the revival of in-



terest in the idea of anarchism is due to the widespread realization that anarchism is much more than a political doctrine. As more and more people are coming to see, anarchist thought makes an important contribution in the realm of aesthetics. My purpose here will be to establish the close relationship that exists between anarchism and art and to suggest some ways in which anarchist thought might be put to theoretical use in the area of social reconstruction.

## II

Since Pierre-Joseph Proudhon was the first to call himself an anarchist, it is not improper that we start with his attitude toward art and the artist. Central to all of Proudhon's social thought is the idea that social progress stems from the activity of man's creative spirit. If we would build a sound

society in the future, Proudhon maintained, we must somehow free man from the fetters which presently restrict his imagination and keep him in servitude to the political state and other instruments of repression. Human progress depends, according to Proudhon, not upon the reform of political institutions but upon the education of mankind in the ways of its own social nature, for man is basically a creative being who has been robbed of his natural social propensities by the crushing weight of the political restrictions he has imposed upon himself over the centuries. To the extent that man derives insight into the content and meaning of his own basic nature, he becomes capable of perfecting himself and living in freedom and social unity with his fellowman.

Displaying a genuine commitment to science in the very best sense of the term, Proudhon refused to confine his thinking within the rigid boundaries of any intellectual discipline, and hence he acknowledged poetry and art as being at least as important as sociology, economics, or political economy. In Proudhon's view of things, social progress takes place as the human race becomes reeducated in the ways of its own social nature. According to Proudhon, this is essentially a collective rather than an individual process. Yet Proudhon saw clearly in his own mind that it is the individual rather than the mass upon whom progress really depends. Mass society has no form apart from the individual. It follows from this that social progress can only take place to the extent that the individual differentiates himself from the mass. But, Proudhon insisted, the individual's redemptive progress cannot proceed faster than the general pace of social advance made by society as a whole, and hence it is impossible to draw a hard and fast line between the individual and the collective.

Central to Proudhon's contention that social progress stems from the activity of man's creative spirit is the correlative principle that art and the artist are essential to the health of society, for the dialectical surge toward human perfection wends its way from one plateau of beauty to another. Truth, to Proudhon, was nothing less than the continuous progress of mind from poetry to prose.<sup>3</sup> This is why Proudhon, like Plato before him, insisted



that the poet must never allow himself to become a partisan to a cause, whether that cause be social, political, or religious. For "every society declines the moment it falls into the hands of the ideologists," Proudhon proclaimed.<sup>4</sup>

It is no doubt true, as Benedetto Croce points out, that Proudhon was greatly preoccupied with morals, and that his anarchism, for that very reason, had a distinctively religious ring to it.<sup>5</sup> Croce is much too severe, however, when he argues that Proudhon viewed art merely as a means to social reform. Art, for Proudhon, had the same basic function that it had for Shelley or any other artist. But like Shelley, Proudhon felt the need for social reform so deeply that the subject was rarely off his mind, and thus it was impossible for him to discuss the one without at least an oblique reference to the other. What is really fundamental in Proudhon's thought is his libertarian idealism which led him to hope that man might in the future realize the social strengths he is capable of by nature. "Man is by nature a sinner, — that is, — not essentially *ill-doing*, but rather *ill-done*, — and it is his destiny to perpetually re-create his ideal in himself," Proudhon wrote.<sup>6</sup> This is what Raphael, the "greatest of all painters," meant when he maintained that the function of the artist is not to portray man and things as nature made them but rather as they should be made, Proudhon continued. In the final analysis it is the artist—painter, writer, poet, philosopher—who must give society crucial insight into its own nature. Where they fail to provide such guidance, society must flounder in its efforts to establish a real social order.

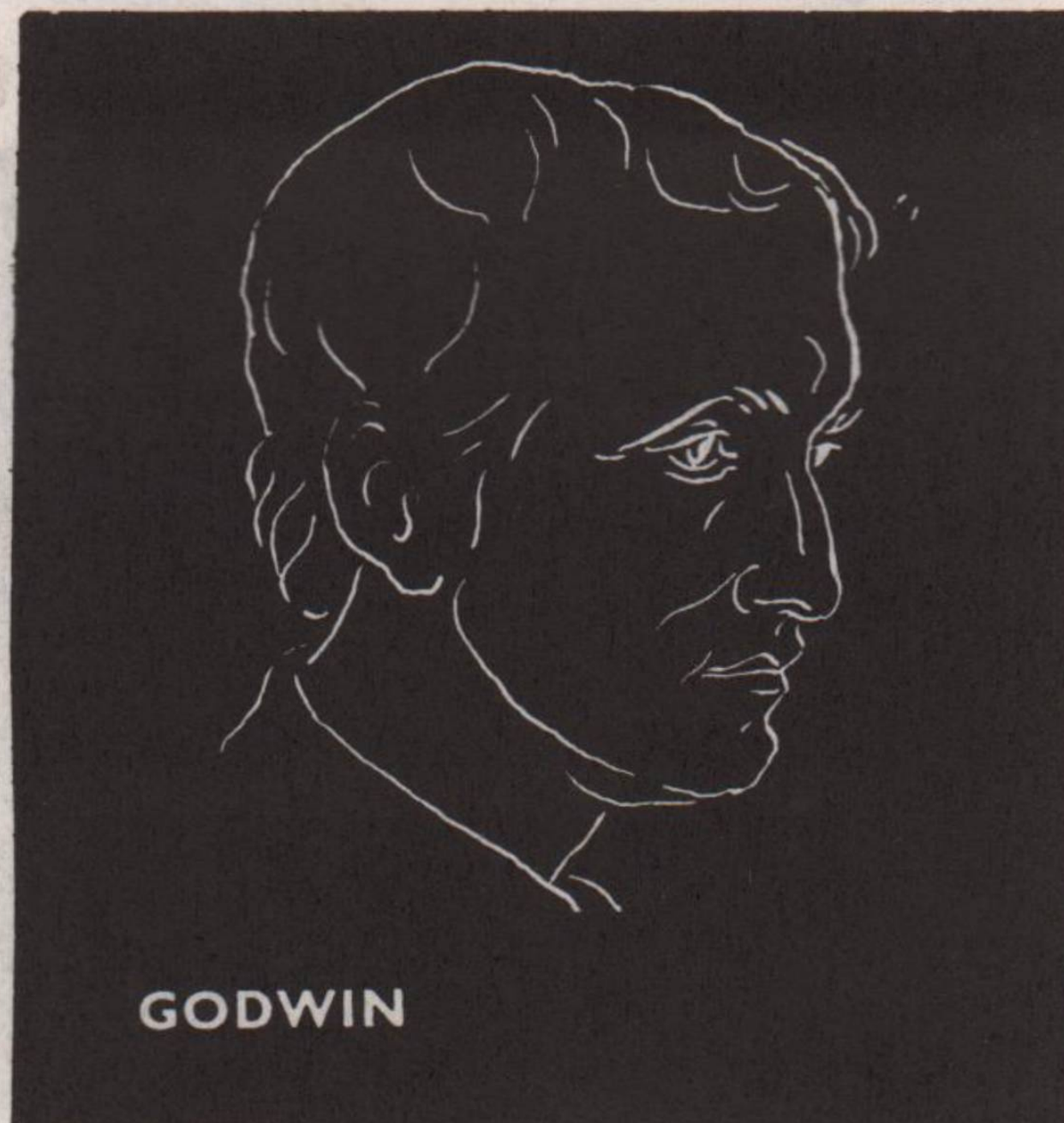
Peter Kropotkin, adapting anarchist theory to the nineteenth century notion of social evolution, followed Proudhon in maintaining that mankind is inevitably progressing toward social perfection. It is still not widely understood, however, that Kropotkin's fascination with the idea of nature was not so much scientific as it was aesthetic.<sup>7</sup> If there is any lesson to be learned from the study of evolution, Kropotkin held, it is the conclusion that the principle of solidarity characterizes every facet of the animal world. But unfortunately, man, being human, does not always recognize the essential character of his own moral nature, Kropotkin complained. The social problem, then, is to give form and shape to the vague feeling of social solidarity man feels within himself. And here, according to Kropotkin, we are dependent upon the artist to transpose the truths of nature into effective social convictions. If the great naturalists of the nineteenth century such as Byron, Lermontov, Goethe, and Shelley were capable of extracting from nature the inspiration for good and beautiful lives, Kropotkin wrote, why should today's poet fail to do the same?

*And when the poet has found the proper expression for his sense of communion with the Cosmos and his unity with his fellow-man, he becomes*

*capable of inspiring millions of men with his higher enthusiasm. He makes them feel what is best in them, and awakens their desire to become better still. He produces in them those ecstasies which were formerly considered as belonging to the province of religion.<sup>8</sup>*

It was for this purpose that Kropotkin called upon the poets, painters, sculptors, and musicians to come join the ranks of the great social revolution. For the principal mission of the artist is to demonstrate to the people the ugliness of existing society and the "absurdities of the present social order."<sup>9</sup>

But again like Proudhon, Kropotkin is nowhere guilty of the superficial thinking which characterizes the outlook of the elitist, nor was he foolish enough to suppose that the purpose of art is purely didactic. The general effect of art is to inspire mankind as to what is true and beautiful, and in this task the artist is essential. But Kropotkin had no more use for the aristocratic principle in art than he did in politics. It is the people who produce great art, he maintained, and not the few. This is the reason for anarchism's total rejection of political power as a possible means of effecting social order. For it is only when the people are unin-



hibited by law and formal political authority that the creative energies of human nature may rise to the surface of human society and display themselves.

Kropotkin gives expression to his deep interest in aesthetics in *Mutual Aid*, one of his most important works. The breathtaking beauty and grandeur of medieval architecture was not so much due to the skill of the medieval craftsman, according to Kropotkin, as it was to the magnificence and profundity of the medieval conception of life. Medieval art "was grand because it was born out of a grand idea."<sup>10</sup> The well-spring of medieval art, as with Greek art before it, was the brotherhood and social unity the craftsman daily experienced in his community. The exhilarating vigor which springs forth from his craftsmanship was a reflection of the vigor of the medieval idea. Medieval architecture was magnificent, Kropotkin held, because the

souls of those who created it were nurtured on an ethic of cooperation and mutual trust. If the present age is to duplicate the artistic accomplishments of the medieval period, it must first construct a social order which will allow men to develop healthy social personalities. It was the artist in Kropotkin as much as the social reformer that caused him to write: "Art, in order to develop, must be bound up with industry by a thousand intermediate degrees, blended, so to say, as Ruskin and the great Socialist Morris have proved so often and so well. Everything that surrounds man, in the street, in the interior and exterior of public monuments, must be of a pure artistic form."<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, Kropotkin's advocacy of communism was based less on the moral stance that he took than on his conviction that only in a society where all men and women enjoy not only leisure and comfort but beauty as well can the better aspects of human nature rise to the surface. In an anarchistic society constructed along communistic lines, Kropotkin held, a diversity of art associations will spring up, thereby supplying the culture with abundant sources of energy for its aesthetic development.

The essential key to a correct understanding of anarchist thought lies in its conception of nature as it relates to the aesthetic. Nowhere is this more succinctly expressed than in the writings of Bartolomeo Vanzetti as he languished in prison awaiting execution for a crime that he had not committed. Exhibiting an intuitive feel for beauty and the poetic temperament that is so characteristic of Italians, Vanzetti revealed the profound depths of his soul when he wrote to a sympathetic admirer in China, "Nature has given us unphantomed treasures for the security and elevation of life, it breathes in our heart an unquenchable long of freedom, and it gifts us of such faculties which, if free and cultivated, would make a wonder of us."<sup>12</sup> Since Vanzetti was not permitted to live long enough to develop his thought to its logical end, we can only surmise what he had in mind when he suggested that the key to social order and progress lies in nature. But one thing is perfectly clear and that is that the profound regard for nature as the well-spring of all that is social in life is fundamental to the thinking of all anarchists and is therefore central to an understanding of the anarchist idea itself.

### III

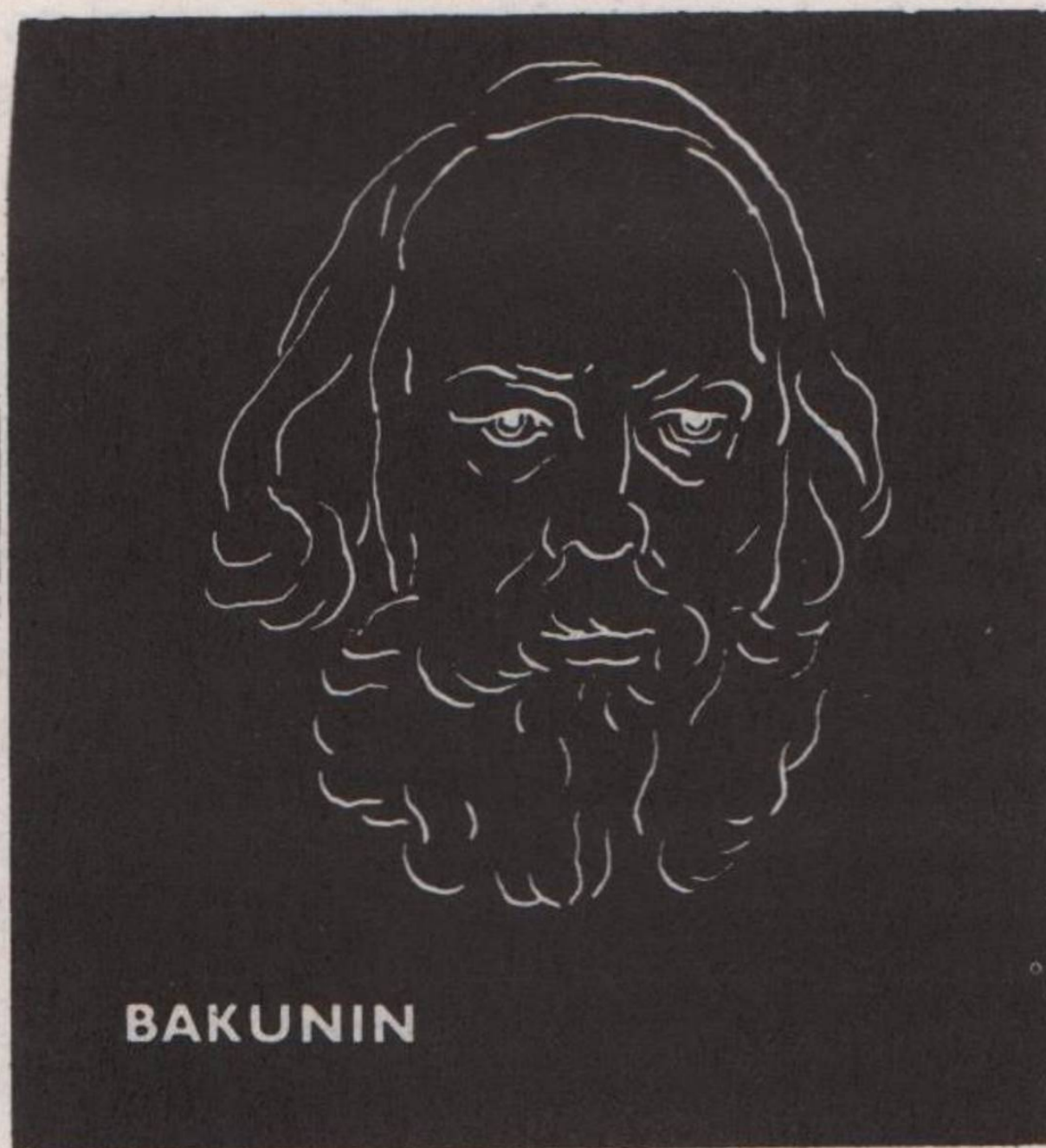
Solid philosophical foundations for the anarchist's attitude toward nature is to be found in the writings of a number of highly reputed philosophers and aesthetic theorists, all of whom directly or indirectly share in the general outlook of a social psychology derived from the Enlightenment. "It cannot be stressed enough that the key to a fundamental understanding, not only of man, but of the world as well, is to be sought in the relation between creativity and symbolic reality," Erich



Neumann writes.<sup>13</sup> Drawing a close analogy between the human unconscious and nature, Neumann points out that the source of all human creativity is the unconscious level of human existence rather than the conscious. On the conscious level of existence, men succumb to the symbolic truths that their common everyday experience imposes upon them, and hence it is that they accept such brutal institutional arrangements as capital punishment and war and prisons as real. On the unconscious level of existence, on the other hand, man makes contact with what is real and fundamental in human nature, finding there the clue to his true identity. This is not to suggest that human nature consists of any set pattern of traits or instincts, or that all men are identical with respect to their essential natures. It is rather to argue that human reality is not a concrete mass of atoms and molecules but a shifting kaleidoscope which changes continuously as man becomes conscious of the meaning of the symbols he has imposed upon himself. To discover his true social identity, man must somehow uncover the multitudinous levels of myth which the mind has embraced from the very beginning of human history. But to do this, he must first become aware of the precise way in which symbols turn into myths to hold him captive to the past.

It is in this area that the writings of Ernst Cassirer and Susan Langer are indispensable. As Cassirer points out, the world we inhabit has no form or substance from the social point of view apart from the design men have impressed upon it through the medium of language. In the beginning the world was mere chaos or at best a void, given as it was to the growth of biological species that reacted to the forces of nature on the basis of pure chance and environmental circumstance. The beginning of human social consciousness starts with the development of language, for not until men can communicate with one another can they derive any meaning from experience. "... all the concepts of theoretical knowledge constitute merely an upper stratum of logic which is founded upon a lower stratum, that of the logic of language," Cassirer writes.<sup>14</sup> The human mind remains blank so far as cognition and understanding are concerned until it has developed a series of names by which its experiences can be classified and labeled. It is important to recognize here that it is not the experience or the thing itself that contains meaning but the names that we apply to them. Cassirer sums up the foundations of this view of things when he writes, "Sweet and bitter tastes, as well as color and tone, exist only by convention: in reality there is nothing but atoms and empty space. All the sensuous attributes which we customarily impute to a body, all the smells, tastes, and colors, are, in relation to the object in which we conceive of them as inhering, nothing but words, by which we designate not the nature of the object itself but only its action on us, on the sentient organism."<sup>15</sup>

There is both a positive and negative side to this process whereby man establishes the meaning and significance of his experiences by tagging them with names. On the one hand, it leads to the development of language, the vital medium by which men join hands and create that society within which their lives are immeasurably enriched by communication and interaction. Man's greatest achievement is just this ability to develop ideas whereby he has brought collective order and meaning to the experience he has felt as an individual. "The power of conception—of 'having ideas'—is man's peculiar asset, and awareness of this power is an exciting sense of human strength," Susan Langer writes.<sup>16</sup> However, while language helps man conceptualize his experiences and develop advanced systems of communication, it also acts negatively upon society to the extent that it leads men to accept symbolic truths as the bedrock of reality. Once any particular idea or conceptualization has become widely accepted as real or true, it is extremely difficult for people to give it up and to replace it with a new conceptualization more adequate to the new circumstances that time inevitably brings. This no doubt is why institutional arrangements inevitably lag a century or more behind the advanced social thought of any society.



It is instructive in this regard to analyze carefully the details of the process whereby ideas and concepts become enshrined. As Ernst Cassirer points out, "Mythology is inevitable, it is natural, it is an inherent necessity of language, if we recognize in language the outward form and manifestation of thought. . . ."<sup>17</sup> In their efforts to acquire new knowledge of the world, men seek to translate their fleeting reactions to their environment into more permanent form by giving them names and classifying them into categories. In itself, as we have already noted, this process is essentially positive in that it advances mankind's understanding of the universe, permitting the growth and refinement of culture. But as Cassirer warns, "Any sense impression, no matter how vague, if it be fixed and held in language, may thus become a starting point for the conception and denotation of a god."<sup>18</sup> When this happens, man suffers the most horrendous of fates—his

enslavement not to any foreign power or sovereign but to himself.

It is precisely here that the anarchist provides us with helpful insight into the general problem imposed upon society when man erects myths. All anarchists, however they may be classified as to their economic or philosophic beliefs, agree on the fundamental proposition that human slavery starts and ends with myth. Man as a political animal is the product of countless generations of development wherein he has progressively enslaved himself by fettering his reason with the chains of superstition born of fear. The anarchist holds that the precise point at which man lost his freedom cannot be determined but we can be relatively certain that the cause of his enslavement stemmed from his forebears' readiness to grovel in the dust at the feet of the gods he erected to protect him from the things he could not understand or control. Man's greatest enemy in this regard has been himself. Unable to attain that solidarity that is essential for real community, mankind has from the earliest of times taken refuge in myth in a futile effort to find the security that is so necessary to collective life. Mankind, to be sure, was never conscious of the fact that it was in the process of enslaving itself to the stultifying grip of a collective tyranny from which it might never escape again, for as Ernst Cassirer has observed, men who live under the sway of myth are never conscious of the fact that their lives are dominated by images and symbols which took form and shape in the dim recesses of the past.<sup>19</sup> The impulses that surge through man as he performs his rites of magic and religious atonement are deep-seated, unconscious relics of the past over which he has absolutely no control. If he were conscious of their existence, he would no longer be under their power: If we would escape from the chains which antiquity has fastened upon us in the forms of mythical thought, we must adopt a method adequate to the task to be accomplished.

Although Michael Bakunin, the notorious anarchist, may have been given to fanaticism and intemperance in his personal behavior during life, he has left us with a great deal of wisdom concerning the problem of overcoming mythical thought. To this day, Bakunin strikes those who dare to read his writings as someone to be feared because of the apparent irreverence with which he denounces the idea of god. When Bakunin argued that it is necessary to abolish the idea of god from our minds if we would be free, however, he was not so much sacrilegious as he was iconoclastic; he was opposed to the idea of god not because he favored the bad over the good but because it is before the god idea considered as supreme power that mankind has prostrated itself throughout history until today men are almost totally lacking in the strength to live in social order with one another. If we would again become free, we must abolish the very



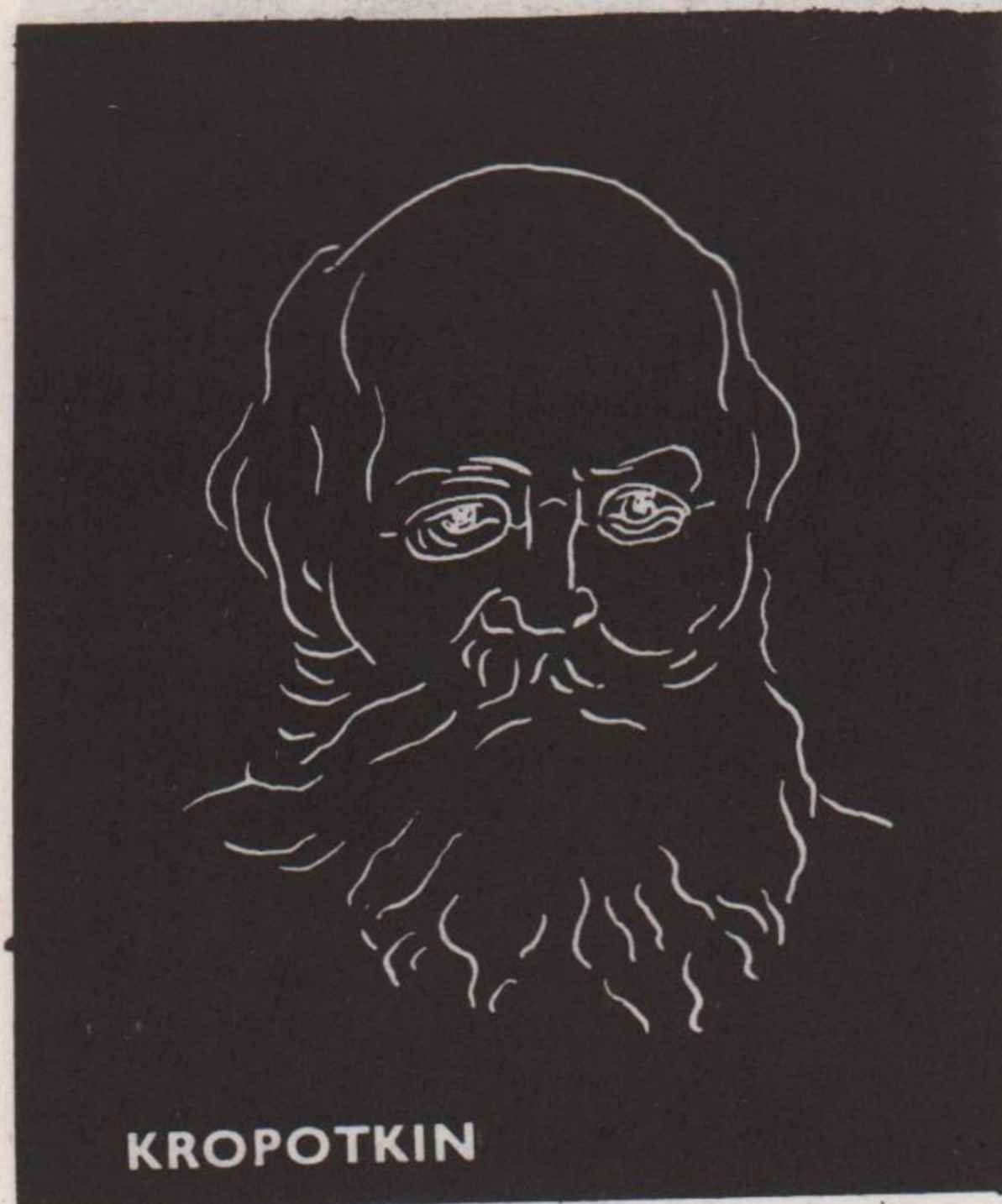
thought of god, i.e., myth, from our minds, for it is only thus that we have any hope of reclaiming the pristine social qualities of our human nature, Bakunin held.

Although Bakunin, like most everyone else who lived in the nineteenth century, was greatly affected by the philosophy of Hegel, he departed radically from the Hegelian conception of world order when he postulated the novel idea that history "is the revolutionary negation of the past."<sup>20</sup> Man, essentially an animal, according to Bakunin, has behind him his primitive beginnings during which he erected a social structure built upon a foundation of language and thought. Rejecting his heritage as grossly inadequate, Bakunin called upon men to look forward to the development of their humanity in the future. In urging us to look forward to the future rather than back to the past, Bakunin puts himself squarely within the Enlightenment view of human progress. According to Bakunin, "The only thing that can warm and enlighten us, the only thing that can emancipate us, give us dignity, freedom, and happiness, and realize fraternity among us, is never at the beginning, . . . but always at the end of history."<sup>21</sup> What we must do if we would become whole again, which is to say free, is to reject the mythical patterns of thought the human mind became steeped in during the primitive era of history and replace them with rational patterns of behavior drawn from life.

In Bakunin's view of things, life and nature are not two separate and distinct entities but one and the same thing, and the primary quality that identifies them both is the power of human creativity which is synonymous with rationality. Outspokenly critical of those of his contemporaries who interpreted the eye-catching achievements of nineteenth century science as an indication that the scientist is the true savior of humanity, Bakunin issued a severe warning against this type of elitist thinking. "Life alone spontaneously creates real things and beings," he postulated. "Science creates nothing; it establishes and recognizes only the creations of life."<sup>22</sup> And again he urged: "The sole mission of science is to light the road. Only life, delivered from all its governmental and doctrinaire barriers, and given full liberty of action, can create."<sup>23</sup> When anarchists argue for spontaneity of thought and action over a rigid adherence to formal rules and form imposed by authority, the basis of their preference is to be found in the aesthetic inclinations expressed by Michael Bakunin and others who describe life as being synonymous with nature.

The striking similarity between the way that Michael Bakunin viewed nature and the view of nature posited by Ernst Cassirer permit us to claim that anarchism, considered as an aesthetic theory rather than a political one, has much to offer those who would reform society without

resort to force in the hands of officialdom. Drawing upon the writings of Shaftsbury, Cassirer points out that "the nature and value of beauty do not lie in the mere emotional effect they produce upon man, but in the fact that they reveal the realm of form."<sup>24</sup> Modern science, given as it is to the observation of empirical phenomena, tends to overlook the degree to which things are teleological in nature, and this is especially true of behaviorally oriented social scientists who have of late become obsessed with mathematics and quantification. For Cassirer as for Bakunin, nature is not primarily the full range of the varieties of created things but the "creative power from which the form and order of the universe are derived." There is a basic design in nature, that is to say, that portends the ultimate form and shape of all things according to the perfection that any particular species might look forward to attaining under ideal conditions. Or to put it another way, "Nature is nothing but a force implanted in things and the law by which all entities proceed along their proper paths."<sup>25</sup> Working from this set of basic assumptions, Cassirer has no difficulty in pronouncing the individual human being who puts himself in tune with nature perfectly capable of voluntarily leading a fully social existence with his fellowmen, and thus for him, as for the anarchist, the state becomes superfluous if not a pernicious force.



Where revolution proceeds along the lines of the aesthetic paradigm, as the anarchist argues it must, human freedom becomes a distinct possibility rather than the mere rhetorical phrase it is on the lips of the politician and revolutionary. Far from ruling over the world through formal methods of social and political control, the artist considered as revolutionary persuades only via the means of rational influence. Where the political revolutionary utilizes power and charisma, the artist employs symbol and aesthetic form to lead people to accept the outline of a new and better kind of world. For as Professor Ralph Ross points out, art "brings immediate conversion, or acceptance of the artist's meaning, as self-evident propositions are accepted as soon as they are understood; there is no need for the persuasion, the argument, the

evidence, which accompanies empirical statement."<sup>26</sup> To the extent that art and nature are synonymous, anarchism presents itself as a highly useful guide to human freedom and we would do well to take a fresh look at it.

#### REFERENCE NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> *Aesthetic*, translated by Douglass Ainslie (New York, 1953), p. 416.
- <sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 15.
- <sup>3</sup> *System of Economical Contradictions*, translated by Benjamin R. Tucker (Boston, 1888), p. 448.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 115.
- <sup>5</sup> *Aesthetic*, p. 339.
- <sup>6</sup> The religious undertones of nineteenth century anarchism are described in my article, "Proudhon and Kropotkin on Church and State," *A Journal of Church and State*, IX (Winter, 1967), 87-100.
- <sup>7</sup> Kropotkin, as Emma Goldman points out, was something of an artist in his own right. During his lifetime she found that some of his proudest accomplishments had been in the things that he made with his own hands—tables, chairs, and other articles of household furnishings. And in music, too, he displayed extraordinary interest and talent, so that this might have been his vocation had events led in that direction. After Kropotkin's death, Emma, as executor of his estate, found that he also possessed great potential talent for painting and drawing. *Living My Life* (New York, 1934), p. 866.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ethics; Origin and Development* (New York, 1924), p. 125.
- <sup>9</sup> *An Appeal to the Young*, translated by H. M. Hyndman (New York, 1948), p. 11.
- <sup>10</sup> *Mutual Aid* (Boston, 1955), p. 211.
- <sup>11</sup> *The Conquest of Bread* (New York, 1906), p. 139.
- <sup>12</sup> "An Unpublished Letter," *Resistance VII* (July-August, 1948), 3.
- <sup>13</sup> *Art and the Creative Unconscious* (New York, 1959), p. 170.
- <sup>14</sup> *Language and Myth*, translated by Susan K. Langer (New York, 1946), p. 28.
- <sup>15</sup> *The Philosophy of Symbolic Forms* (New Haven, 1957), p. 18.
- <sup>16</sup> *Philosophy in a New Key* (Cambridge, Mass., 1942), p. 151.
- <sup>17</sup> *Language and Myth*, p. 5.
- <sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 97.
- <sup>19</sup> *The Myth of the State* (New Haven, 1961), p. 47.
- <sup>20</sup> *The Political Writings of Michael Bakunin*, edited by G. P. Maximoff (Glencoe, 1953), p. 173.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 174.
- <sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 70.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 76.
- <sup>24</sup> *The Philosophy of the Enlightenment*, translated by Fritz C. A. Koelln and James P. Pettegrove (Princeton, 1951), p. 326.
- <sup>25</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 44.
- <sup>26</sup> *Symbols and Civilization* (New York, 1962), p. 230.



tivity any of his comrades he was usually true to his word. He once was involved, together with Gatti (nicknamed "the Engineer") in the digging of a tunnel right into the penitentiary at Punta Carretas, through which several comrades escaped before the tunnel was discovered (these escapees went on to Spain to fight Franco).

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Comparison of the two books highlights the question of what role, if any, violence should play in the anarchist movement. It is difficult to sympathise with the activities of Ravachol, for instance, who was surely not limited to only one course of action! Unfortunately, too many people are convinced that "propaganda by the deed" is an integral part of anarchist philosophy. The Argentinian anarchists, however, firstly played a significant role in the organisation of strikes demanding more humane working

conditions. The reply from the State consisted of senseless violence from the military, the police, and the Patriotic League's terrorist squads. The thousands of workers and ethnic minorities massacred by the Patriotic League served as the basis of the rewards for these fascist thugs from the State. The more people a particular "patriot" had killed the greater his reward. Once the workers' uprisings had been definitively crushed in this manner the State conveniently placed the whole "incident" in the Archives. As the author so rightly puts it, "Anarchists don't have Archives". Nobody can be surprised to find, therefore, that anarcho-bandit gangs were formed in the Argentine during this period.

It is also not surprising to find that "successful" as the activities of these bands may have been their actions did not result in an anarchist revolution in the Argentine. The population was thoroughly frightened by the military

might of the State, and guerilla warfare is not very conducive to the spreading and reception, by the people, of revolutionary ideas because of the necessarily secretive nature of their operations. The facts outlined in both of these coffee-table books would suggest that vanguardist actions are always doomed to fail unless they are accompanied by a popular conscious wish for freedom and a popular recognition of the real enemy.

Finally, I should like to point out that the communists and socialists in the Argentine labour movement of the time behaved true to form. They attempted to gain favour with the Government, which was doing its best to kill everything that moved or dared to think, by publicly disowning the anarchists and uttering such helpful phrases as, "Anarchism means chaos". Oh well, I suppose it makes a change from the usual "Petty-bourgeois deviationist".

Nino Staffa.

## MALATESTA on Workerism and Class Hatred

I TOLD THE MILAN JURY SOMETHING ABOUT THE CLASS STRUGGLE AND THE PROLETARIAT, WHICH HAS AROUSED CRITICISM AND ASTONISHMENT. IT WOULD BE AS WELL TO EXAMINE WHAT I SAID.

I protested indignantly about the accusation of having incited to hatred; I explained that in my propaganda I had always sought to demonstrate that social evils do not depend on the wickedness of this or that boss, of this or that ruler, but on the very institution of ownership and government, and that, therefore, they cannot be remedied by changing the personnel of domination but only by breaking down the very principle of the domination of man over man; and I also said that I had always insisted that proletarians are not personally better than bourgeois, which is proved by the fact that when a worker arrives, by whatever circumstance, at a position of wealth and power, he generally behaves like an ordinary bourgeois, and often much worse.

These declarations have been distorted, falsified and put in a bad light by the bourgeois press, and that's understandable. It's the job of the press paid to defend the interests of the police and the capitalists to hide from the public the true nature of anarchism and to seek to give credibility to the picture of the hate-driven, destroying anarchist; it's in their contracts, but we have to allow that they often do it in good faith out of ignorance pure and simple. Journalism used to be a vocation but now it's descended to the level of an industry, a technique, and journalists have not only lost all moral sense, but also the intellectual honesty of not talking about something you know nothing about.

But let's leave the hacks in their gutter, and talk about people who are still our friends even though they differ from us in their ideas (often only in the way of expressing ideas), because they are sincerely aiming at the same goal as ourselves.

Their astonishment is so completely unjustified that I'm almost inclined to think that they are putting it on. They can't possibly be ignorant of what I've been saying and writing for more than fifty years, and what hundreds and thousands of anarchists have said along with me

and before me.

So let's talk about the disagreement.

There are some "workerists" who believe that the fact of having callouses on your hands means that you have been divinely invested with all the good qualities and virtues, and who protest if you dare to talk of the people and humanity and neglect to swear on the sacred name of the proletariat.

Well, it's a truism that history has made the proletariat the principal instrument of the next social transformation, and that the people who are struggling for the construction of a society in which all human beings are free and supplied with the means of exercising freedom, have to rely principally on the proletariat.

Since the cornering of natural wealth and of the capital produced by the work of past and present generations is the main cause of the present subjection of the masses and of all social evils, it's natural that those who have nothing and are therefore more directly and more obviously interested in the communalisation of the means of production, will be the principal agents of the necessary expropriation. But this is no reason to make a fetish of poor people just because they are poor, nor to encourage the belief that they are essentially superior, and that because of the position they are in, which they neither deserve nor want, they have acquired the right to do the evil to others that others do to them. The tyranny of those with horny hands (which in practice is always the tyranny of a few who, if they once did have callouses, have them no longer) would not be less hard, less wicked, less rich in lasting evils than the tyranny of the silky-palmed. It might be less enlightened and more brutal: that's all.

Poverty would not be the horrible thing it is if, besides the material evils and physical degradation, it did not also produce, when it is prolonged from generation to generation, a moral coarsening. The poor have vices which are different to, but not better than, the vices produced in the privileged classes by wealth and power.

If the bourgeoisie produces Giolittis, Grazianis and the whole long procession of the torturers of mankind, from the great conquerors to

small, greedy, bloodsucking bosses, it also produces the Cafferos, the Reclus', the Kropotkins, all the many in all ages who have sacrificed their class privileges for an ideal. If the proletariat has provided and is still providing many heroes and martyrs in the cause of human liberation, it also provides the White Guards, the executioners, the betrayers of their own brothers without whom the bourgeois tyranny could not last a single day.

How can hatred ever be raised to a principle of justice, to an enlightened feeling of vindication, when it is obvious that the evil is everywhere and depends on causes that transcend individual will and responsibility.

Class struggle, if you like, if by class struggle is meant the fight of the exploited against the exploiters for the abolition of exploitation. This is the means of moral and material elevation and is the principal revolutionary force that can be counted on today.

But hatred, no. Because love and justice cannot come from hatred. Hate gives rise to vengeance, the desire to lord it over enemies, the need to consolidate one's own superiority. Hatred, if it is controlled, can form the basis of new governments, but not of an anarchist society.

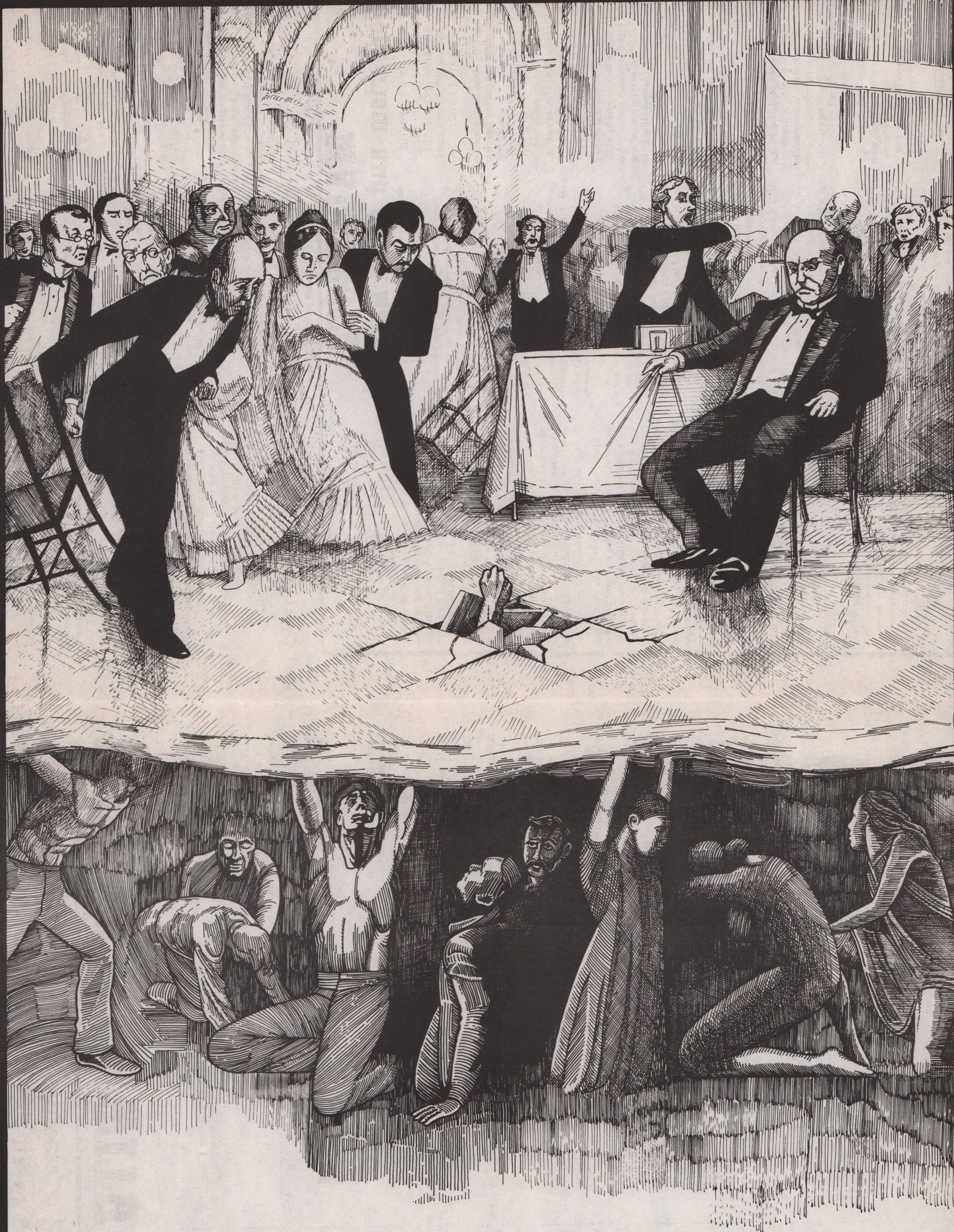
Hatred can, unfortunately, be only too well understood in those many unfortunate people who are tortured and tormented by society in their bodies and their feelings; but once the hell in which they live is enlightened by the ideal of anarchism, the hate disappears, and the desire to fight for the good of others burns bright.

That's why there are no people really driven by hate in our ranks, though there are many who are rhetoricians of hate. They are acting like the poet who, whilst being a peace-loving family-man, celebrates hatred and bloodbaths in his poetry because he finds that a way of writing good lines... or bad ones. They talk of hatred, but their hate is based on love.

And that is why I love them, even when they insult me.

"Umanità Nova", 20th September, 1921.





**AT LAST  
THEY SEE  
THE LIGHT**