

A NARCHIST REVIEW

NUMBER 5



THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS

CPAR 5

Cienfuegos Press
Anarchist Review
Vol I No. 5
(ISSN 0309-7285)

Design/Layout
Les Prince

Subscription Rates
(For all Publications)
Surface Mail:
U.K. £12.00
Overseas £14.00 (\$40.00)
Airmail:
Europe £20.00
Middle East £22.00
Africa, India £24.00
Australasia,
Far East £25.00
USA \$70.00
Canada \$80.00

Cienfuegos Press,
Over the Water
Sanday
Orkney
KW17 2BL
UK
Tel: 08575-369

Distribution:
Southern Distribution
27 Clerkenwell Close
London EC1 OAT
Northern Distribution
Birchcliffe Centre
Hebden Bridge
West Yorks HX7 8DG

Carrier Pidgeon,
75 Kneeland St.,
Room 309
Boston,
Mass. 02111,
USA

Jura Books
417 King St.,
Newtown,
Australia, 2042

Bas Moreel,
Wageningen,
Nobelweg 108
Netherlands.



Price: U.K. £2.00
USA \$ 5.50
(plus postage)

CONTENTS

"There is one thing more wicked in the world than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey."
— William Kingdon Clifford

Cienfuegos News	_____	
Some Thoughts on Organisation	_____	2
Meraklia — Bulgaria Today	_____	10
Anarchists in the Mexican Revolution — Librado Rivera	_____	15
Errico Malatesta	_____	20
Discipline!	_____	31
The Authoritarian Psychosis of the Socialist Party	_____	31
What is the "Dictatorship of the Proletariat"?	_____	32
A Bit of Theory	_____	33
Reply to the Platform	_____	34
The Matese Gang	_____	37
The Guard is Tired — Anatoli Zhelezniakov	_____	40
Occult Authoritarians	_____	42
Anarchists in Fiction	_____	46
Do-It-Yourself Radio Station	_____	48
The Libertarian Movement in the Netherlands	_____	56
Freie Arbeter Shtime	_____	60
Book Reviews	_____	62
Letters	_____	108

Books Reviewed:

The Guillotine at Work; Spanish Diary; Out of the Ghetto; Peace Keeping in a Democratic Society; A History of Christianity; Women and the National Front; Proudhon, Oui et Non; That'll Teach You; Workers Against the Gulag; Syndicalisme et Libertes en Union Sovietique; In Praise of Poteen; Aztecs of Mexico; The Ancient Civilizations of Peru; Ecotopia; Men in Prison; Birth of Our Power; Conquered City; The Final Agenda; Frantz Fanon; Pictures on a Page; Citizen Armies; By Force of Will: The Life and Art of Ernest Hemingway; Terrorism — Interdisciplinary Perspectives; The Face of Battle; The Third World War; Beyond the Limits of the Law; Mirando Vivir; Ground for Concern, Health Care in New China; Shelley; Land and Liberty Ricardo Flores Magon; Fontamara; Education — The Practice of Freedom; Literacy in 30 Hours; Under the Starry Plough; Complaints and Disorders — The Sexual Politics of Sickness; Towards a New Psychology of Women; The Hip Pocket Hitler, A Visit to the Island of Sanday; Rogue Male; The Princess Casamassima; The European With Craze; Wheels of Rage; Butch Cassidy, My Brother; Boston; The Twilight of the Young; Autobiografia de Federico Sanchez; Community and Communism in Russia; Lucha de Clases y Clases de Lucha; L'Imperialisme Francais; The Turin Shroud; Light Shining in Buckinghamshire; Non-Stop Connolly Show; The Tragedy of France; Pannekoek and Gorter's Marxism; Les Conseils Ouvriers; La Contre Revolution Bureaucratique; Nationalisme and Culture The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno.

CIENTFUEGOS NEWS

Cienfuegos editorials have an unfortunate — but hopefully not an inherent — habit of being dominated by financial problems. And of our two immediate objectives, our long declared intention of coming out on a quarterly basis with a more digestible issue is the most obviously affected by such sordid and pressing practicalities. However, the next issue *will*, with your support, appear within three months of this one and regularly from then on. The other objective can go ahead whatever, and this is the development of readers' groups which is an integral part of the press' future as a platform for anarchism and libertarian thought worldwide.

We have now had a number of socials/meetings in London where a number of subscribers are concentrated. At the first of these we discussed the initial reactions we had received back from the questionnaires on what readers want from the Review. A small minority felt that the desperate urgency of the political situation made such a theoretical publication an intellectual luxury, and that every thing should be concentrated on street-sheet type publishing. Although the Review is essentially international, the question of priorities and the relationship

of anarchism in Britain is important. Firstly, to say that a 'movement' as such exists here is optimistic to say the least. Secondly, the tactic of rousing headlines in 'pidgin agit-prop', as Victor Serge called it, is only likely to lead to a poor man's vanguard party approach from the frustrated among us, and dismissal out of hand from the people we are trying to get through to — an approach which is almost exclusively the domain of the party-builders. However, rejecting the pure street press alternative — a necessary and useful function carried out extremely effectively by our sister papers *Black Flag*, *Fifth Estate*, *Open Road*, *North American Anarchist*, *Extra*, etc. — is obviously no justification for the Review allowing itself to indulge in intellectual masturbation, and the criticism made by readers of an almost academically historic bias is something of which we are well aware. And we also recognise that reminiscing over 'past glories' can do little more than cheap wine in the café des exiles. That does not mean, however, that all historic articles are irrelevant to the objectives of the Review. We must simply make sure that we concentrate only on those which make a direct

contribution to the analysis of contemporary and future problems such as conditions and methods of struggle, self-management and libertarian organisation in general.

As an editorial group we are faced inevitably with the utterly subjective task of deciding whether to publish a certain article or not. The major problem is space and we have no desire to edit the work of others, but unfortunately anarchists occasionally seem to be as verbose, repetitive, and under the same compulsion to use ponderous cliches or long words when writing on serious subjects as those we mock. This problem of length was raised by readers in relation to some of the reviews, which in most cases should give just a very short synopsis or explanation of the contents and a comment. There is not space, except on essential works, for analysis and detailed criticism. At any rate there seemed little doubt that the reviews are seen as a vital contribution by readers everywhere for they would not otherwise be aware of most of the books surveyed. (A full breakdown of the response of our questionnaire will appear in CPAR 6).

The 'Towards an Anarchist Manifesto' article in the last issue was an example of another way in which we need the help of readers groups. We had a considerable number of replies and comments and several groups discussed it amongst themselves. However, the project is still at a very early stage, as the article was intended more as a basis to provoke discussion and contributions, than a draft in itself. There are sections which evidently need developing, such as one on banking and social and family relationships. Criticism of the article seemed to concentrate on two areas: the unthinking use of sexist terms such as 'Mankind' – obviously the criticism is accepted though the reaction was perhaps disproportionate – and the other was the question of whether the total abolition of money is essential in a libertarian society. Readers groups are needed to discuss these and other ideas so that we can develop this project towards the eventual publication of a 'manifesto' which explains contemporary anarchism to others while achieving as wide a degree of concensus and/or understanding as possible within the 'movement'.

Our other request for help from readers groups and individuals is over translating, typing, ideas for subjects for our "anarcho-sarco" adverts, cartoons, contribution, fund raising, and constant feedback on what we are doing and how we can improve our output.

But now, gentle and not-so-gentle readers, it's hands in pockets time again. As most of you are aware, we have had two major disasters since the last issue. The first, a fire, cost us £2500 and the second, the smashing our our uninsured typesetting machine, an additional £3000 – a total of £5500, a loss we can little afford! The irreparable damage done to the typesetting machine is the main reason for the delay with this issue. In fact, we have only just managed to get through this year with the financial support of our two comrades, Art Bartell and Mick B., this and technical help of Partisan Press in Seattle and some Australian comrades.

In spite of these disasters, however, the book publishing programme has not been so badly hit, mainly due to the fact that most of our titles were already set before the disasters. The

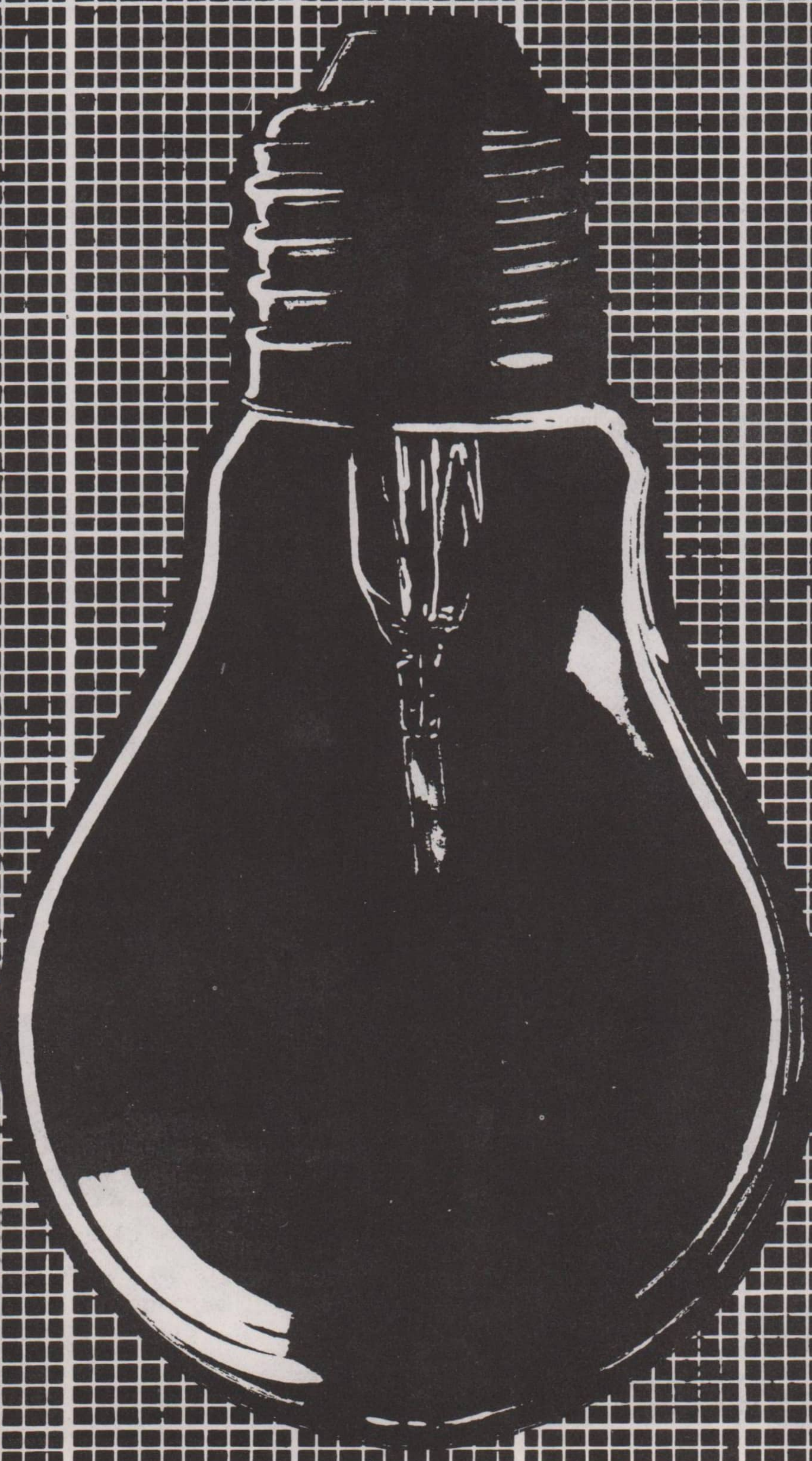
list for this year is even more ambitious with over twelve books planned as well as four Reviews and various booklets. We are hoping subscribers will appreciate that despite the enormous jump in printing costs and postage rates (last year we spent almost £3000 on postage alone!) we intend to keep the minimum subscription rate to £12 (\$30.00) in the hope of attracting a lot more subscribers. However, as you know, without your additional financial support Cienfuegos Press would have ceased to exist a long time ago. If you feel that what we are doing is worthwhile, then any additional financial support you can provide will help us break out of the vicious circle of old debts, become self-supporting, and, more importantly, break new ground for anarchism. To those of you with some savings who'd like to help out, we'd be very appreciative of interest free loans for a calender year and we'd also be prepared to pay interest on any loans received. It takes a geat deal of financial juggling to keep the press out of the red and it shouldn't surprise our readers that we are under constant pressure from our local bank *who have consistently refused to allow us any overdraft facility through our existence.* We believe one of the reasons for this attitude by the bank is our involvement in publishing the local Orkney libertarian paper, "The Free Winged Eagle" (Subs. £1.00 for 3 issues!), and our local anti-uranium and anarchist poster campaign. We aren't really complaining about this attitude on the bank's part, we more or less expect it, but it does emphasise the point that the ONLY financial support we can call upon is that provided by YOU. To comrades with bank accounts we'd plead with them to pay their subscriptions or extra financial support – by monthly standing order which works out at only £1.00 a month – more if you feel you can afford it – but it is our lifeblood and it will help ensure our continued existence and expansion into the 80's. To date we have only 90 comrades paying this way – please try to make it at least 200 by the next issue.



IF you find mistakes in this publication, please remember that they are there for a purpose. We publish something for everyone, and some people are always looking for mistakes!



SOME THOUGHTS ON ORGANISATION



Organization is not what some, be they relatively numerous, organised, structured or coherent, can think of or build to liberate others. It is what each and all create by themselves in their struggle, for their struggle in their own interests. The surpassing of particularisms, the unification of demands and their transcendence in more general and fundamental problems, the perspectives of the struggle, all of these can only be, at any given moment, the product of the struggle itself.

All quotations and references have been deliberately excluded in this article. I have no doubt that many ideas expressed here have already been expressed by many others and there will be repetitions, some made on purpose, some not. I have also deliberately tried as far as possible to get away from traditional political language. Certain words, certain names produce a mental block in this or that person's thinking shutting out a whole part of their thought processes. This article's aim is to try to make people think about experience, their own and what they know of others'. I've no doubt this aim will only be imperfectly satisfied, and this for two reasons. The first, and least important, is that there are those who will still insist on putting labels on all this and on exorcising this or that proposition that they suspect of heresy, because their own beliefs cannot tolerate them. The second, more essential, is that the article will say finally that our own beliefs are hardly ever swept away solely by the shock impact of other ideas but by the shock of the clash of our ideas with social reality.

Can we possibly lead ourselves out of the citadel of our own system of thought toward a simple consideration of facts? And not just any facts, but those which belong to our experience as "militants" or "non-militants". Experience, furthermore, which is not just isolated in our own individual world, but to be put back into the context of our social relations, i.e. what we have been able to experience or what we live now in a totally capitalist world (from one end of the planet to the other). And yet this experience and what we can know of other experiences brings us but a partial knowledge. This is already evident for a given moment. It is even more evident when seen in a historical perspective. Even if we try to generalise experiences, observations and reflections and to

integrate them into a vaster whole, we will not necessarily widen our field of vision. It is a wholly justifiable pretension to generalise: we do it all the time, whether we know it or not. We make connections, compare and draw from this more general notions, which we either integrate into already established generalisations, or use to change such generalisations, or to create a new generalisation. A generalisation can serve as an opening, because of the curiosity it gives to look for other facts with which to fill it out. It can serve as a closing, a blocking process, because it can lead to the ignoring or eliminating of everything which would challenge such a generalisation.

Our knowledge is always partial because inevitably at the beginning we belong to a generation, a family, a milieu, a class, a state etc., a tiny fraction of a world of hundreds of millions of inhabitants. And it's not so easy, except when the capitalist system itself takes this in hand, to widen the restricted field of "Life which has been given to us". Nevertheless this fractional knowledge is not so partial these days, if we look a bit closer. The accelerated uniforming process of social conditions and life styles in the capitalist explosion of the last thirty years has created a certain uniformity of experiences. Even if technical, economic and political conditions still vary to a considerable extent today, the elementary, and less elementary, foundations of the capitalist system are really identical and inviolable whatever the regime in which they operate. And so our experiences and their particularisms have sometimes but a short distance to run in order to accede to that more general knowledge which emerges in measuring our experiences against those of others.

Very often our experience has already found its own justification only by the meeting with identical experiences, before any contact with other different experiences. And very often these experiences are already synthesised by the milieu itself in systems of thought raising these particularisms to the level of ideologies. The path of more general knowledge which is made by the measurement of experience with that of others is then obstructed by the obstacle of these ideologies. Apart from moments of violent, often heart-rending, breaks, this situation leaves us stranded in mid path with a system of ideas which can only translate imperfect concrete and practical knowledge of social life in all its forms. Violent, tearing, breaks with the past are not the result of our reflection or knowledge which causes us to change our previous ideas; they are what our "social position" leads us to do at certain moments, (and these moments are always arriving) when our experience suddenly and sharply becomes linked and is confronted with different experiences. This situation liberates us from all screens and ideological obstacles and makes us act,



sometimes unbeknown to our ideas, as a result of the elementary foundations of the capitalist system referred to above, i.e. to act according to our class interests. It is clear that, according to our position in the capitalist system, action leads us on one side or the other, in a direction which may agree with our former ideas, but which often has very little to do with them.

The "problem of organisation" is

precisely one of those very questions which is most marked by preconceived ideas on what some people call "necessities". In relation with what has been said, two poles can be distinguished:

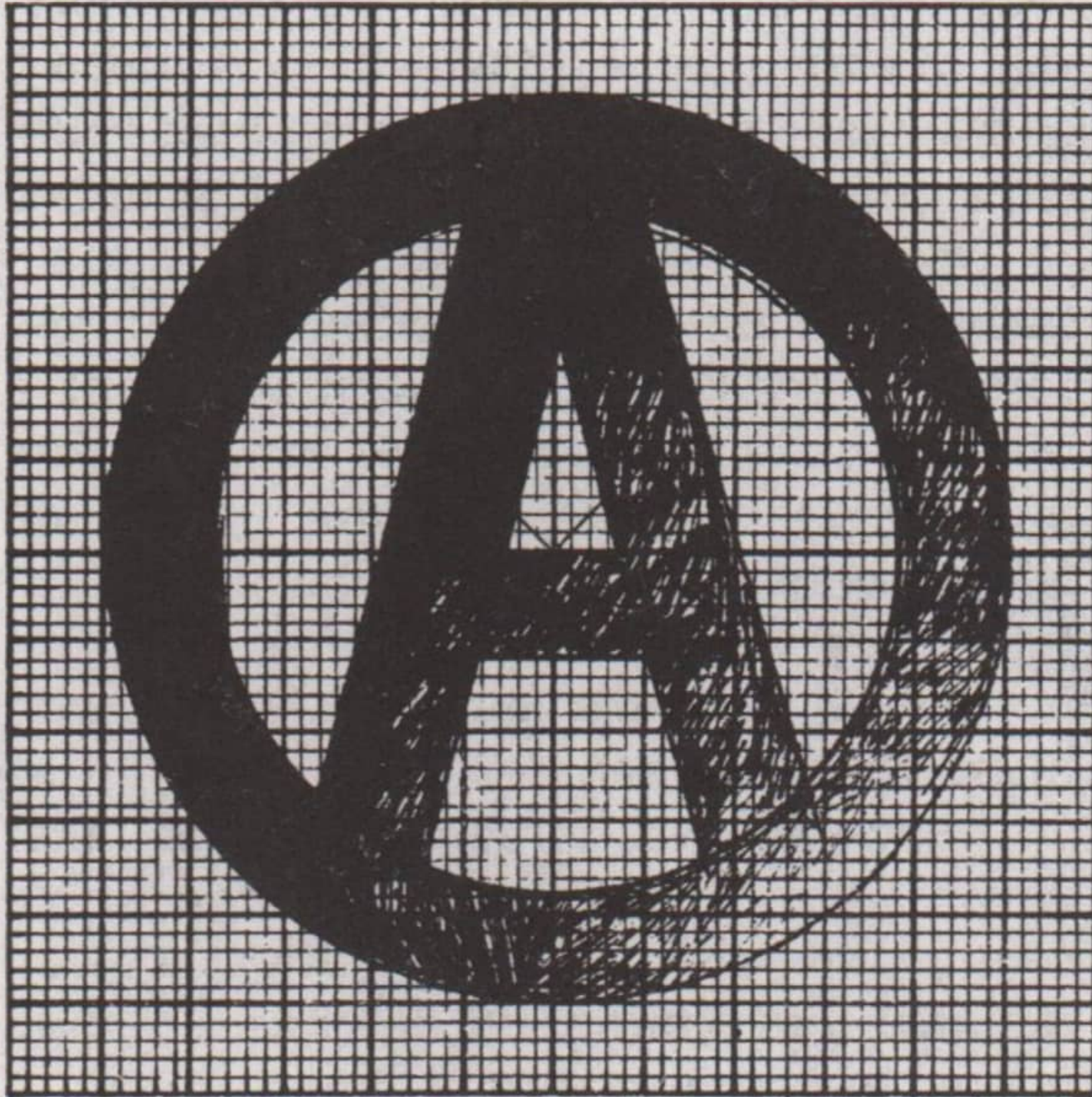
- willed (voluntary organisation)
- spontaneous organisation.

Willed organisation is that which we wish to operate (in joining or creating it) in relation to certain pre-established ideas coming from our belonging to a milieu, for the permanent defence of what we think is our interest. To do this we get together with a limited (often very limited) number of people having the same preoccupation. The nature of this organisation is, in its aim defined by those who work thus together, for themselves and for others, that of permanence, in which is inscribed a usefulness, a system of references from which one can deduce the practical nodes of operating. In other words, a certain body of ideas leads to certain determined forms of action: more often than not a limited collectivity speaks to and acts towards a larger one, in a direction which is inevitably that of people who "know" (or think they know) towards those "who do not know" (or know imperfectly) and who must be persuaded.

Spontaneous organisation is that which arises from the action of the whole of the members of a collectivity at a given moment, an action of defence of their immediate and concrete interests at a precise moment in time. The forms and modes of operation of that organisation are those of the action itself, as a response to the practical necessities of a situation. Such situations are not only the result of concrete conditions which lead to the perception of what the interests one must defend are, but also of the relationship which we can have at that moment with all the voluntary (willed) organisations which are at work in the collectivity. Spontaneous organisation is therefore the common action of the totality of a defined social group, not by its own choice but by the social insertion of each individual at that very moment. We will see later that such organisation has no goal to reach, but on the contrary, initial goals which can change very rapidly. We will also see that it is the same thing for the forms of action themselves. The initial collectivity which began the action can also change itself very quickly precisely at the same time and concomitant with changes in goals and forms of action.

From this distinction between willed and spontaneous organisation, we could possibly multiply definitions and differences. Anyone is free to do this. But I must underline that I am talking about "poles". Between these two extremes we can find all sorts of hybrids whose complexity of nature and interaction are those of social life itself. Particularly, starting from a voluntary organisation, we can finish by a series of "slidings" to arrive at an identification with a spontaneous organisation.

One could even say that is is the aim - avowed or hidden - of all organisations to make us believe (it is only a question of self-persuasion or propaganda) or to try to arrive at (this is the myth of sysiphus) that very identification with the spontaneous organisation of a determined collectivity. At the opposite end, a form of spontaneous organisation which has arisen can transform itself into a willed or voluntary organisation when the social forces which have created it turn towards other forms of organisation and the former organisation tries to survive by the will alone of the minority, then stuck in a rigid framework of references.



There have already been lots of arguments about the term "spontaneous" (like the term autonomous which has become a political word, in the bad sense of the term). "Spontaneous" in no way means straight "out of the clear blue sky", a sort of spontaneous generation in which one sees rising from nothingness structures adequate for any kind of struggle. We are all inevitably social beings, i.e. we are plunged by force into a social organisation to which we inevitably oppose another organisation, that of our own life. Contrary to what is normally supposed, this organisation of our own life is, not fundamentally a form "against" the dominant social organisation. This organisation of our own life is above all "for itself". It is only "against" as a consequence of our own self-activity. There is a very precise feeling in each of us of what the interests of our

life are and of what prevents us self-organising our own lives. (I am not using the word "conscious" here on purpose because for many this word either has the sense of moral consciousness or, which is only a variant of the same thing, "political" consciousness). For the self-organisation of our own lives as for its self-defence, the capitalist system is the best agent of education. Increasingly it is putting into our hands a host of instruments which permit this self-organisation and its passage from individual to collective forms. Increasingly by its constantly refined forms of repression, including all previous forms of struggle in spontaneous organisations, it is posing for this individual or collective self-organisation the absolute need to find "something else" to survive. What one has acquired from former struggle is not known through examples or discussions but through the shock impact of experiences that I spoke of earlier in this article. "Spontaneous" means in the end only the surgicing of an organisation woven into day to day life which, in precise circumstances, and for its defence, must pass on to another stage of organisation and action, ready to return to a previous level later, or to pass on to another stage, different from the first two (the term "balance of forces" is to be located in the same area, but only describes the situation without defining anything about its contents, and about the action and organisation of the said forces).

"Spontaneous" also refers to another aspect of action and organisation. I touched upon it when stressing, in the definition of spontaneous organisation, that it had no goals, no pre-established forms and that these could be quickly transformed by a change in the collectivity involved. "Spontaneous" is opposed to a moving tactic which serves a strategy directed towards a well defined goal (inside secondary goals define successive stages to be reached). Collectivity, action and organisation constitute variable terms in the defence of interests which are also variable. At every moment these variable interests seem to be just as immediate as the action and organisation to achieve the provisional and passing goals in question seem necessary. If all this can happen

suddenly and the process evolve very quickly, this spontaneity is nevertheless, and this has been stressed, the prolongation of a previous self-organisation and its confrontation with a transformed situation.

The vicissitudes of voluntary organisations are not interesting in themselves, even when, as they so often do, they weigh down discussions around the "problem of organisation". We all know the type of organisation mean only too well, above all among those we usually call "militants". However, it would be possible to discuss these critically in a form which remains purely ideological, masking the essential problem. The history of organisation and of "organisations" in relation to technical, economic and social movement remains to be written.

It is not the purpose of this article to write this history, even though the article will note from place to place the distance between the theory of these groups and their real practice or simply between what they claim to do and what they do in reality, between their "vocation" to universality and their derisory real insertion in society. In passing I can only underline certain possible axes of reflections such as: 1) - The function of willed or voluntary groups. What do they fulfill in present day capitalist society in imitation of political parties and Trade Unions (the great models of this type of organisation), and that, independent of the political school to which they refer (including the most "modern"), whatever their radicalism? (Radicalism is never an end in itself but often a different way of achieving the same end as in other more legal organisations.) 2) - The behaviour of such a voluntary organisation. It is independent of its general or particular aim and of its practice (authoritarian or "autonomous"). The capitalist world inevitably defines its function for it (in relation to the aims and the practice it has chosen for itself). This same relationship to a capitalist world imposes upon it a separation which a partisan of such willed or voluntary organisation would define "despite himself" as follows: "The problem of how to relate and activity which is intended to be conscious to actual history and the problem of the



relationship between revolutionaries and masses both remain total."

3)- The impossibility of voluntary organisations to develop themselves, even when the daily practice of struggle illustrates the very ideas they put forward. More than this, the development of spontaneous organisation leads to the rejection of willed organisations or their destruction, in such circumstances, even when these voluntary organisations assign themselves a role. The consequence is that these voluntary organisations are increasingly rejected and pushed toward reformist or capitalist areas and forced to have a practice which is increasingly in contradiction with their avowed principles. Just as the quotation above shows, it becomes more and more difficult for such organisations which thus assign a function for themselves to identify with spontaneous organisation and action. Some strive to "revise" certain parts of their action whilst keeping others (theory, violence, exemplary acts, the practice of one's theory etc.). And yet it isn't a question of revision, but of a complete challenging by the movement itself of all the "revolutionary" notions trundled around for decades, even for over a century now. It is not details which are in question but fundamental ideas.

In the distinction which has been made between willed and spontaneous organisation, the idea of collectivity seems essential. What collectivity are we talking about and what are the interests around which action and organisation are ordered?

A collectivity can be itself defined as such by those voluntarily forming it; they make explicit their common interests, goals to achieve and the means in the collectivity, not in an actions but as preparation to action. Whatever the dimensions and character of such a collectivity, this feature characterises perfectly all voluntary organisation. More than those to whom this behaviour is addressed, the collectivity can only concern itself with the interests of its participants alone (1), or either defend interests supposed common to members and non-members alike (2), or either defend the interests of its members by domination of non-members (3) (which immediately creates a community of opposite interests among the latter). According to the situation, we would then have for example, a living community (1) like a commune for example; a Trade Union type movement of political party (2) (many groups would come under this heading); or a capitalist enterprise (3) (a producers' co-operative would also come under this heading for even if it remains exempt from the internal domination of a minority, it would be forced, in order to function, to have recourse to the mediation of the market, which supposes a relationship of domination with the consumers). Forms of voluntary or willed organisation, apparently very different the one from the other are

in reality all marked by this type of voluntarist initiative, which is concretely expressed by a certain type of relation. The consequence of this situation is that all self-willed organisations must, in one way or another, conform to the imperatives of capitalist society in which it lives and operates. This is accepted by some, fully assumed by others, but rejected by yet others who think they can escape it or simply not think about it. In certain crucial situations, capitalist enterprise has no other choice, if it wants to survive, but to do what the movement of capital imposes upon it. From the moment that it exists as an organisation, its only choice is death or capitalist survival. In other forms, but in the same inexorable way, all self-willed organisation is tied up in the same binding sheath of imperatives. The forgetting of or hiding of this situation or the refusal to look it in the face creates violent internal conflicts. These are often hidden behind conflicts of persons or ideology. For a time they can also be dissimulated behind a facade of "unity", which one can always hear being offered, for reasons of propa-

ganda, to non-members (from here springs the rule that inside such organisations, internal conflicts are always settled inside the organisation and never in public).

It is possible that such a self-willed collectivity has derived from a spontaneous organisation. This is a frequent situation following a struggle. Voluntarism here consists in seeking to perpetuate either the formal organisms that the struggle created or keeping up a type of liaison which the struggle had developed with a specific action in mind. Such origins in no way preserve the organisation thus developing the characteristics of a self-willed organisation. On the contrary this origin can make a powerful contribution in giving the self-willed, voluntary organisation the ideological facade necessary for its later action. The construction of a new Union after a strike is a good example of this type of thing.

In opposition to the collectivity which defines itself, the collectivity to which, despite oneself, one belongs, is defined by others, by the different forms which the real or formal domination of capital impo-



ses upon us. We belong not as a result of choice, but by the obligation (constraint) of the condition in which we find ourselves. Each person is thus subjugated, enclosed in one (or several) institutional framework(s) where repression is exercised. He escapes, if he seeks to escape, only to be put in another institutional cage (prison for example). Even if he leaves his class and the special framework of that class, it is only to enter another class where he becomes subject to the special marshalling and caging of that class. Inside these structures a certain number of individuals see themselves imposing the same rules and the same constraints. Cohesion, action, organisation come from the fact that it is impossible to build one's own life, to self-organise. Everyone whatever his orientations, comes up against the stumbling block of the same limits, the same walls. The responses, i.e. the appearance of a precise common interest, depends on the force and the violence of that repression, but they are in no way voluntaris. They are the translation of necessity. The obstacles met and the

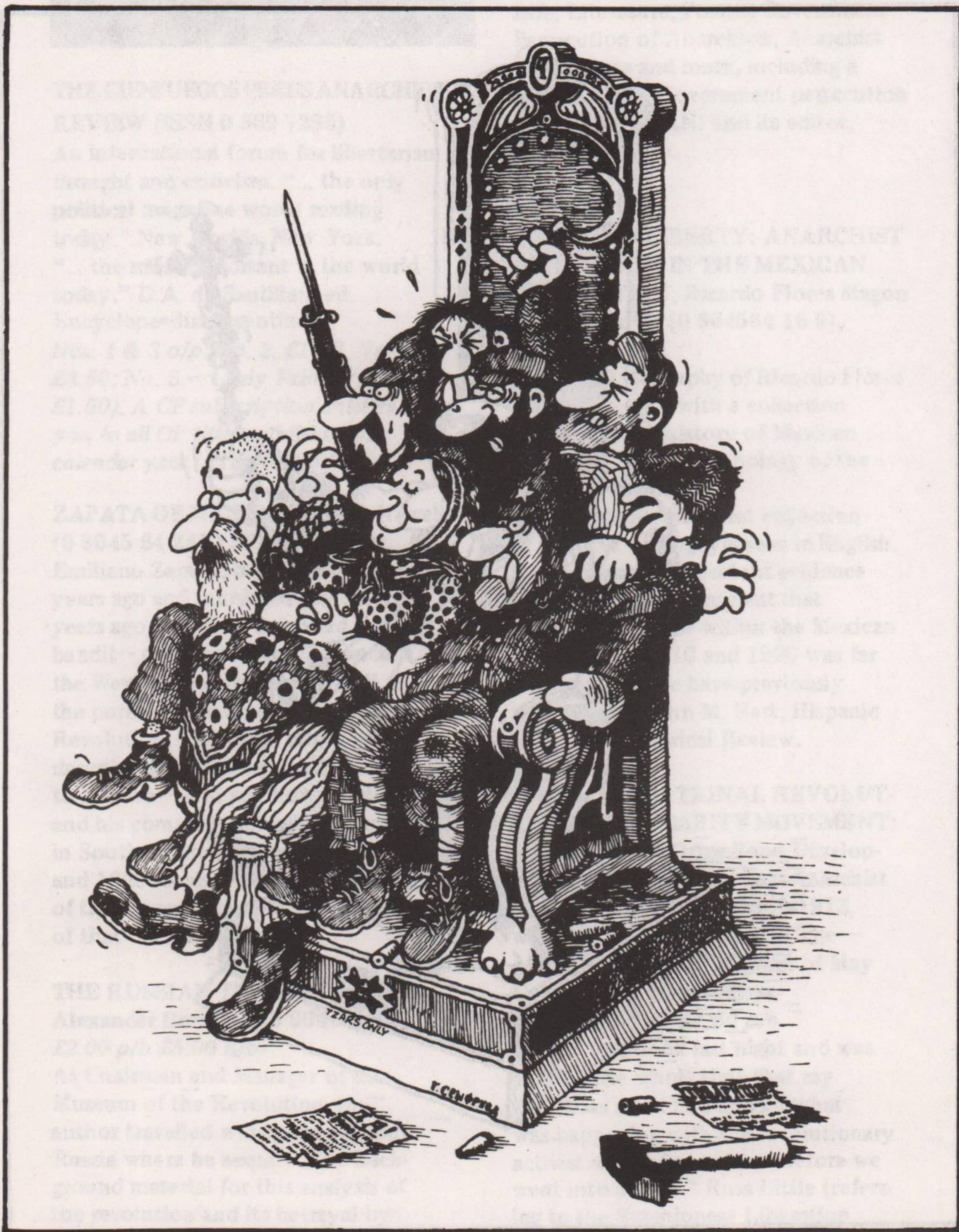
possibilities offered lead to action in one form of organisation or another. It is this activity itself which produces ideas about what ought or ought not to be done. Such organisation does not mean former concerting together or consultation and the adoption of a defined form of organisation. It would be difficult to describe in terms of structure the generalisation of the May '68 strike in France, the collective action of the British miners in the 1974 strike, the looting of shops in New York in the more recent power blackout, the extent of absenteeism or work the day after a national holiday, etc. However, these, among others, are actions which carry a weight much greater than many "organised" forms of struggle called into existence by self-willed organisations. Spontaneous organisation can be very real - it always exists in this non-structured form and apparently according to the usual criteria, it doesn't "exist". This spontaneous organisation, in the course of action and according to the necessities of this action, can give itself well-defined forms (always transitory). They are but the

prolongation of informal organisation which existed before and which can return afterwards, when the circumstances which led to the birth of this defined organisation have disappeared.

In the self-willed organisation, each participant needs to know in advance if all the other participants in the collectivity have the same position as himself. Formal decisions must be taken to know at any moment if what we are going to do is in agreement with ground principles and the aims of the organisation. Nothing like this happens in a spontaneous organisation. Action, which is a common procedure without former concentration, is woven together across close links, by a type of communication, more often than not without talk (it would often be impossible considering the rapidity of the change of objectives and forms of action). Spontaneously, naturally, action directs itself towards necessary objectives to attain a common point, which a common oppression assigns to everyone, because it touches each one in the same way. The same is true for specific organisms which can arise for precise tasks in the course of this action for its necessity. The unity of thought and action is the essential feature of this organisation; it is this which during the action gives rise to other ideas, other objectives, other forms which perhaps one person or some people formulate, but which have the same instant enthusiastic approbation of all in the immediate initiation of action. Often the idea is not formulated but it is understood by all in the form of an initiation of action in another direction than that hitherto followed. Often also this initiation of action rises up from many places translating at the same time the unity of thought and action in the face of the same repression applied to identical interests.

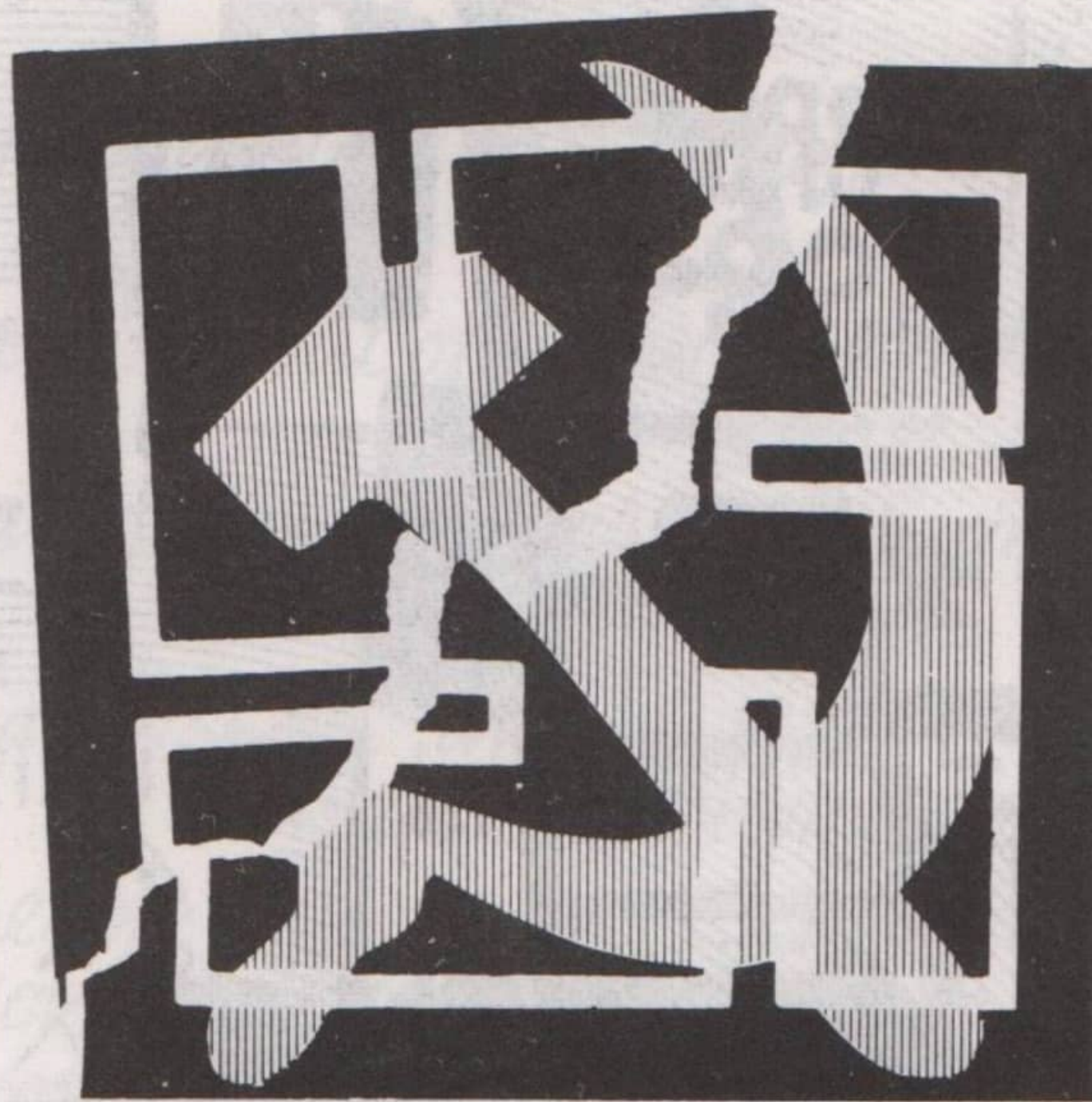
While the self-willed organisation is either directly or indirectly submitted to the pressure of the capitalist system which imposes upon it a line rather than a choice, spontaneous organisation only reveals its action and its apparent forms openly to everyone, if repression makes necessary defence and attack over and above that of its daily functioning. Action and forms will be all the more visible the greater the impact of these upon society and capital. The place of the collectivity acting in such a way in the production process will be determinant.

Any struggle which tries to snatch from capitalism what it does not want to give has that much more importance in that it forces capital to cede a part of its surplus value and reduce its profits. One could think that such a formula would privilege struggles in firms and factories where there is in effect a permanent spontaneous organisation which arises directly with its own laws at the heart of the system - the place of exploitation - taking on then its most open and clearest forms. But in an age when the redistribu-



tion of revenue plays an important role in the functioning of the system and in its survival, in an age of the real domination of capital, struggles express the spontaneous organisation of collectivities in places other than factories, shops and offices resulting in the same final consequences for the system. Their pathways could be very different and confrontation less direct but their importance is not less. The insurrection of East Berlin workers in 1953 was at the beginning a spontaneous movement against the increasing of work norms. The spontaneous organisation which grew out of this moved the collectivity involved, a group of building workers, away to a collectivity of all the workers of East Germany and the simple demonstration of a handful of workers away to the attack on official buildings, the objectives of a simple annulling of a decree away to the fall of a regime, grass-roots self-organisation away to workers' councils; all this in the space of two days. The Polish insurrection of 25th June 1976 was only a protest against price rises; but in two points, the necessity to show their force on two occasions led in a few hours to the spontaneous organisation of workers to occupy Ursus and to block all communications - a pre-insurrection situation, to set on fire Party headquarters and to the looting at Radom. The government immediately gave in and straight away the spontaneous organisation fell back to its former positions. The blackout of electricity plunged New York into darkness revealing suddenly the spontaneous organisation of a collectivity of "frustrated consumers" who immediately gave themselves up to looting, but disappeared once the light was restored. The problem of absenteeism has already been evoked. That large groups of people working at a place have recourse to absenteeism in such a way that repression becomes impossible, reveals a spontaneous organisation in which the possibilities of each person are defined by the common perception of a situation, by the possibilities of each other person. This cohesion will reveal itself suddenly if the management try to sanction these practices, through the appearance of a perfectly organised, open spontaneous struggle. We could cite many, many

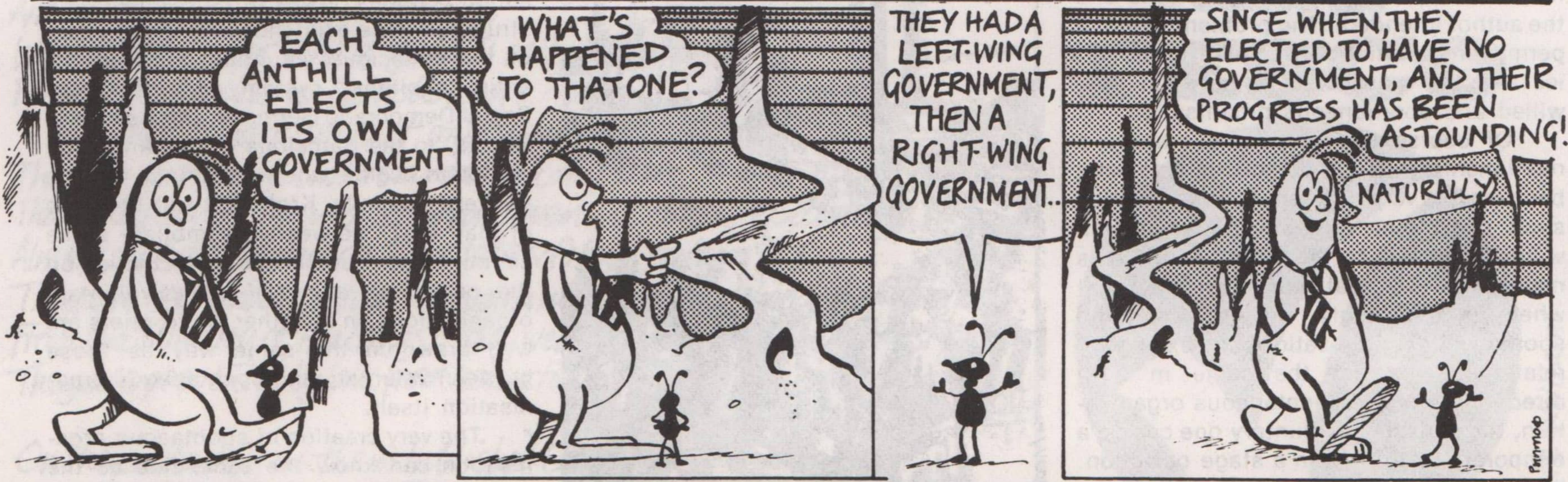
examples of similar events in the appearance of wildcat strikes over anything concerning work speeds and productivity, especially in Great Britain.



In the examples just quoted spontaneous organisation is entirely self-organisation of a collectivity without any conscious voluntary organisation interfering. In looking at them closer we can see how the constant flux and reflux of action takes place, from the organisation to the aims in the way described above. But in many other struggles where spontaneous organisation plays an essential role, self-willed organisation can co-exist with it, which seems to go in the same direction as the spontaneous organisation. More often than not they do so to play a repressive role in respect of this organisation, which the normally adequate structures of the capitalist system cannot assume. This last strike lasting two months by 57,000 Ford car workers apparently revealed no form of organisation outside the strike itself. On the contrary, a superficial examination would make one say that conscious voluntary organisation like the Trade unions, the shop-stewards organisations, even some political groups played an essential role in the strike. However, this in no way explains how the strike spontaneously began at Halewood or the remarkable cohesion of 57,000 workers, or the effective solidarity of transport workers which led to a total blockage of all Ford products. The explanation is in the spontaneous organisation of struggle which, if it found expression in nothing formal and

apparent, constantly imposed its presence and efficacy on all capitalist structures and above all on the Unions. In the case of Ford, the spontaneous organisation was not seen in particular actions except, and it was capital in this situation, by absence without fail from the workplace. In the meners' strike of 1974, we find the same cohesion in a strike also covered by the union, but if it had stayed there the effectiveness of their struggle would nevertheless have been reduced because of the existence of stocks of substitute energy. The offensive action around the organisation of flying pickets across the country revealed a spontaneous self-organisation, even if this self-organisation benefitted from the help of self-willed organisations. Without the effective, spontaneous organisation of the miners themselves, this support would have been reduced to precious little. In an identical domain, coal-mines, we saw a similar self-organisation on the part of American miners last summer during the U.S. miners' strike.

On the other hand, in a different situation, the 4,000 miners of the iron mines of Kiruna in Sweden went out on total strike from December 1969 to the end of February 1970. Their spontaneous organisation found expression in a strike committee elected by the rank and file and excluding all Union representatives. The end of the strike could only be achieved after the destruction of this committee and the return to forms of self-organisation prior to the struggle itself. The Lip strike in France in June 1973 had an enormous echo among other workers because 1,200 people dared to do an unusual thing: steal the firm's products and material to pay their wages during the strike. This was only possible by spontaneous organisation of struggle; but this spontaneous organisation was entirely masked by an internal conscious voluntary organisation (the inter-Union Committee) and external ones (the many committees of support). In the course of the last years, spontaneous organisation has been littly by littly brought out, often at the price of very harsh tensions between the two organisations, in the institutional framework of capital - one organisation formal, the other



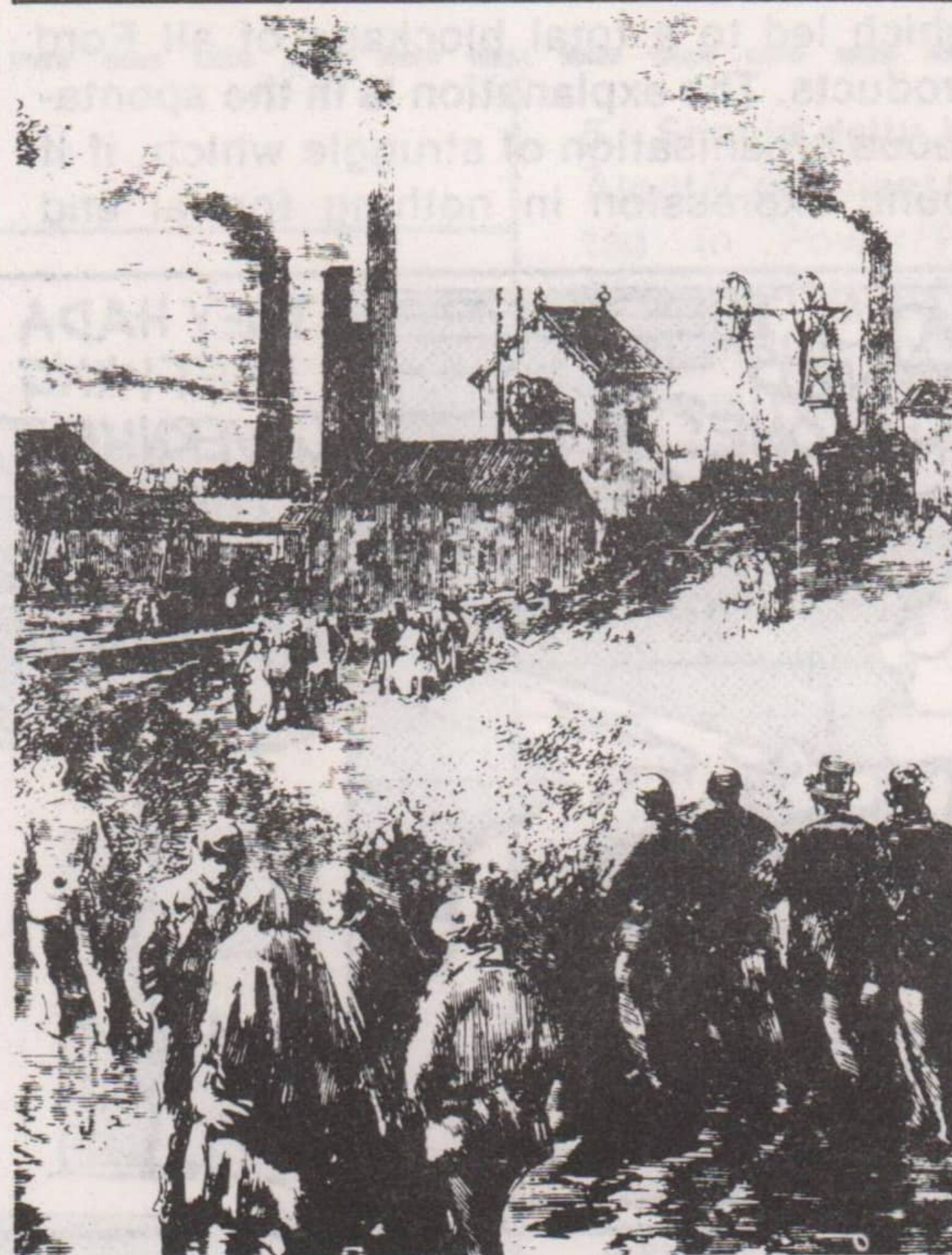
informal, except at rare moments. In another dimension, May '68 in France also saw the arrival of several types of organisation. Much has been said about the self-willed movement, the 22nd March movement, the action committees, neighbourhood committees, worker-student committees etc.... Much less has been said of the informal self-organisation of the struggle which was very strong in the extension of the strike in a few days but which folded back on itself just as quickly without expressing itself in specific organisations or actions, thus leaving the way free to various conscious voluntary organisations, Unions and Parties in the main.

Italy from 1968 to today, Spain between 1976-7, saw similar situations developing to those of May '68 in France, with the co-existence of spontaneous organisation not only in the face of traditional conscious voluntary organisations, but also conscious voluntary organisations of a new type, in a way adapted to the situation created by the spontaneous movement. Movements can develop spontaneously in social categories subject to the same conditions, without all of them being involved at first, but without being self-willed organisations for all that. They are the embryo of a greater spontaneous movement which according to circumstance will remain at the day to day level or give rise to a formal organisation when it spreads on a much wider scale. Mutinies in the British, French, German and Russian armies in the 1914-18 war had these characteristics and had very different consequences. The movement of desertion and resistance to the Vietnam War in the U.S. Army was something else which became in the end one of the most powerful agents for the end of that war. Everyone can try in this way in all movements of struggle to determine the part played by spontaneous organisation and that played by self-willed organisation. It is only a rigorous delimitation, by no means easy, which allows us to understand the dynamic of the internal conflicts and struggles carried out therein. And so the sentence I quoted further back evincing an unresolved "problem" between "revolutionaries and the masses" takes on its whole meaning (certainly not the one the author intended). The problem is that a permanent conflict between "revolutionaries and the masses", i.e. between self-willed and spontaneous organisation.

Of course this conflict expresses a relationship which does not the less exist because it is very different from that which such conscious voluntary organisations would wish it to be. The conflict is maintained to a great extent in the fact that when, in a struggle, the voluntary and spontaneous organisations co-exist, the relationship is not the same in both directions. For the spontaneous organisation, the conscious voluntary one can be a temporary instrument in a stage of action. It only needs the affirmations of the



voluntary organisation not to be resolutely opposed to what the spontaneous one wants for this to be so, in such a way that an ambiguity exists. It is often so with a delegate of a Union or of various committees created parallel to spontaneous organisation around an idea or an aim. If the spontaneous organisation does not find such an instrument it creates its own temporary organisms to reach the goal of the moment. If the instrument either refuses the function the spontaneous organisation assigns to it, or becomes inadequate because the struggle has shifted its ground and requires other instruments, the voluntary organisation is abandoned; it is the same thing for the defined form of a specific moment of a spontaneous organisation.



For the self-willed organisation, the "masses", i.e. the spontaneous organisation, including its defined temporary forms, is an object. That's what they try to achieve in order to apply to it the role that they have defined themselves. When a spontaneous organisation uses a conscious voluntary one, the latter tries to maintain the basic ambiguity as long as possible, while at the same time trying to bend the spontaneous organisation towards its own ideology and objectives. When the spontaneous organisation is abandoned it will try by all the means in its possession to bring it under its own wing. The methods used will certainly vary according to the importance of the voluntary organisation and the power it holds in the capitalist system. Between the barrage of propaganda of certain organisations and the U.S. Union Commandos which attack strikers, for example, there is only this difference of size. This dimension is even more tragic when the spontaneous organisation creates its own organisms of struggle whose existence means the death of the conscious voluntary one and the entire capitalist system with it. From Social Democratic Germany, the Bolshevik Russia, to the Barcelona of the Anarchist ministers come the smashing of the workers' councils, Kronstadt and the days of May 1937. Between assemblies, strike committees, councils and collectivities on the one hand and self-willed voluntary organisations on the other the frontiers are well drawn in the same way as those between voluntary and spontaneous organisation itself.

The very creation of spontaneous organisation can know the same fate as the self-willed voluntary organisation. The



circumstances of a struggle nearly always lead the movement of spontaneous organisation to fold in on itself, to return to more underground forms, more primitive one could say, even though these underground forms would be as rich and as useful as the others (we are often tempted to trace a hierarchy between forms of organisation when they are only the relay one to the other of the constant adaptation to situation, i.e. to pressure and repression). The shifting of spontaneous organisations leaves behind on the sand without any life the definite forms they have created. If they don't die all together and seek to survive by the voluntary action of certain people, they find themselves exactly in the same position as other self-willed voluntary organisations. They can even possibly make a sizable development in this direction because they can then constitute a form of voluntary organisation, if the latter has reached a dangerous level for the capitalist system.

In this sense there is no recipe from the past in the creation of spontaneous organisation for its future manifestation. We cannot say in advance what definite form a spontaneous organisation will borrow temporarily to achieve its objectives of the moment. At its different levels of existence and manifestation spontaneous organisation has a dialectical relationship with all that finds itself submitted to the rules of the system (all that which tries to survive in the system) and ends up sooner or later by being opposed to it - including opposition to voluntary self-willed organisations created to work in its own interests, and organisations which have sprung from spontaneous organisations, which in the capitalist system build themselves up into permanent organisms.

To put a conclusion to these few considerations on organisation lead one to believe that a real look at the problem had been made and that a provisional or definitive termination could be made. I leave it to the conscious voluntary organisations to say that. Like the spontaneous movement of struggle itself the discussion about it has no defined frontiers and no conclusions.

It would also be a contradiction of the

spontaneous movement to consider that the necessary schematism of analysis contains a judgement of any sort of the value of ideas and a condemnation of the action of self-willed voluntary organisation. Individuals involved in such organisations are there because the system of ideas offered corresponds to the level of the relationship between their experiences and those of the people who surround them and those of which they could have knowledge. The only issue in question is to situate their place in such an organisation, the place of that organisation in capitalist society, the function of this in the events in which the organisation may be involved. These are precisely the circumstances which through the shock impact of experiences leads one person to do what his dominant interest dictates at a given moment. In order to better situate the question, let us look at the crises of "big" voluntary organisations because they are well known and badly camouflaged (and always recurring); for example in the French C.P. in the last few years internal crises have been caused by the explosion of spontaneous organisations in such events as the Hungarian insurrection (1956), the struggle against the Algerian war (1956-62) and May '68.



Spontaneous organisation does not affirm itself all at once, in a way which could be judged according to the traditional schema of conscious voluntary organisation. It remoulds itself ceaselessly and, according to the necessity of struggles, seems to disappear here, in order to reappear there in another form. This uncertain and fleeting character is at one and the same time a mark of the strength of repression (the strength of capitalism) and of a period of affirmation which has existed for decades and which may be very long. In such an intermediary period uncertainties find expression in the limited experiences of each of us, the parcelling up of ideas and actions, and the temptation is to maintain an "acquisition" of struggle. The same uncertainty is often interpreted as a weakness leading to the necessity to find ourselves with others having the same limited experience of self-willed voluntary organisations. But such organisations do nevertheless differ a lot from those of the past. When looking at what were the "great" voluntary organisations of half a century ago and more, some people regret the dispersion and atomisation of such organisations. But they only express, however, this transitional stage between the decline of the conscious voluntary organisation and the rising of the spontaneous organisation, - a transitional stage where the two forms of organisation rub shoulders and confront each other in a dialectical relationship.

It is for each person to place himself, if he can and when he can, in the relationship of this process, trying to understand that his disillusion is the riches of a world to come and his failures are the victory of something else much greater than what he must abandon (and which has little to do with the temporary "victory of the class enemy"). Here the conclusion is the beginning of a much greater debate which is that of the idea of revolution and of the revolutionary process itself, a debate which is in effect never posed as a preamble to spontaneous organisation, but which arises, as action, as a condition and an end of action in action itself.

Henri Simon

MERAKLIA

The following article reflects the thinking of a generation of Bulgarians who have known only the current regime, but given that it was written inside Bulgaria it is utterly devoid of specific information about the repression, this being something which is available, in practice, solely through the emigre community.

Thus, in February 1975 Frente Libertario reported the arrest and detention of seven anarchist comrades, among them Kristo Kolev Jordanov who has spent ten out of his sixty-six years in fascist gaols, and a further nine, since the Marxist-Leninist seizure of power, in communist prisons and who, since about

1971 has been banned from leaving the village where he was born.

All in all, there are some 20,000 people incarcerated out of a population of 8 million and a number of psychiatric clinics are given over to the internment of political offenders (See "La Repression en Bulgarie" by Kiril Yanatchkov in *Le Monde*, 2.12.1976).

It is noticeable that in 99% of cases – leaving to one side the Soviet samizdat, which has no counterpart in Bulgaria – information coming from the right as well as the left, up to and including the Maoists, is nothing more than a translation of criticisms

found in the official Soviet, Bulgarian, Czech, etc., press. This fact is especially revealing, for it brings out the Eastern countries' policy of accommodation, resorting to all sorts of safety valves to ease the pressure of criticism always provided that criticism is confined to isolated, unrelated events; such and such a thing was a cock-up, but that's years ago now, and the regime now has no faults . . .

That unpretentious testimony holds true for the other countries of the Eastern bloc . . . and let's not forget that Cuba – and China, and Vietnam, and Angola – have largely adopted the same tack . . .

Martin Zemliak.

BULGARIA TODAY

The Situation of the Working Class in Bulgaria in 1976.

Official statistics are falsified, information on the country as a whole practically non-existent, and the accounts of relatives and friends subject to distortion. This means that we, in common with all who write on this subject, are forced to reply on guesswork for most of our figures and deductions. While they are in line with current opinion, we alone are responsible for them.

We have made no attempt to provide an economic and historical orientation and limit ourselves to the present-day situation.

In the People's Republic of Bulgaria, every citizen is a worker and bound to the treadmill of socialist emulation: 'Work under socialism is work freed from exploitation . . . Insofar as work is not as yet experienced by the great mass of the members of society as a natural need, the task of the socialist State is to organise social work in such a way that those who work hardest and best receive a greater share of the social product . . . Equality of wages is a feature of the petit-bourgeois conception of socialism.'

In other words the size of a person's wage-packet will depend on his or her political function and political alliances. It follows from this that co-option (entry into a group on the basis of a decision taken by its members), family ties, the bonds of regionalism (provincial mannerisms), indeed connections of every sort (from sexuality to corruption) have as essential a part to play as in capitalist countries, which are constantly attacked in the media in terms that fit our own experience like a glove. But considering that by all accounts (capitalist films, Western tourists) the standard of living is higher in the West, this adverse criticism serves only to buttress an already favourable attitude to capitalism.

The great majority of workers think that Nazi Germany could be a figment of Communist propaganda, or at least that it is not easy to separate the truth from the lies. That the Germany of today is a great country is proved by the large amount of machinery we buy from them, by the Mercedes, Opels and Fords² owned by our great Communists, and by the Turkish workers³ in their Opel and Ford estate cars who drive through our country on their paid holidays.

Others feel that while North American imperialism may be brutal, the condemnation of a scandal involving the President did after all force him out of office, something that would be unthinkable in the East. Even Franco's Spain is becoming less rigid and allows the CP room to manoeuvre, whereas we live in an enormous concentration camp, admittedly preferable to the battlefields of imperialism in Vietnam, the Middle East and Africa, where the USA and USSR use the people as guinea-pigs for their latest weapons.

The make-up of the regime has changed since the Stalin era, not that there has been any process of de-Stalinisation as such. The cult of Stalin was suppressed in April 1956 and has been superseded by the cult of Todor Jivkov, the First Secretary of the Party. This year almost all the important public buildings have been adorned with the slogan 'April 1956 – April 1976 Twenty Years of Progress,' with photographs of the gentleman in question! It goes without saying that the guilty parties of the show trials – which means, now that the victims have been rehabilitated, the people who staged them – have never been investigated. It would seem that anything that does not implicate the regime or flagrantly break the law is allowed.

First it was the Turks, then the aristocracy
The enthronement of the new ruling class,

of newly privileged sections of society, has been made official: 'Conditions of entry for candidates to the First Polytechnic Institute of Nursing Studies, Sophia, 1976/77. a) a certificate of secondary education; b) certificate of employment; c) automatic entry to the course is granted to candidates with the following PRIORITIES (predimstva): the children of parents killed during the Anti-Fascist Struggle and Patriotic War. A certain percentage of the available places is reserved for workers in heavy industry or agriculture with at least two years' service, children of "active combatants", mothers with children of less than three years of age, and children of workers employed by the Health Service for not less than ten years.' (Vetcherni Novini, 24/7/1976.

A brief footnote: since the Anti-Fascist Struggle last from 1923 to 1944 and the Patriotic War from 1944 to 1945, a foreign observer might be inclined to ask if this means that the children referred to were born at the latest in 1945, being therefore at least 31 years old? Not so, for the title 'Killed during the Anti-Fascist Struggle and Patriotic War' is hereditary (as is that of "active combatant"). In the same way the 'liberators' of Czechoslovakia have been granted the right of automatic entry to the university.

In point of law the titles of 'active combatant' and 'partisan aide (yatak) – both of which entitle the holder to a monthly gratuity in line with the highest salary – are transferable by adoption. Thus the title can revert to a niece or grandson of 14 or 15 years of age!

The superiority of capitalism has been given the official stamp of approval, seeing that Communists of the higher spheres surround themselves with Western furniture and consumer goods which they buy either in this country (in Korekom shops closed to the common run of

humanity) or while on 'official business' abroad. As in the USSR, this practice often draws ironical comments from the official press and from the satirical paper 'Starchel'. To quote one of the characters in a run-of-the-mill novel, "While there are no bosses or tycoons in our country, it's clear that if we want things to run smoothly, and it's not just industry I have in mind, then we must educate our cadres in the same spirit of foresight and sacrifice that the capitalists teach to their children." . . . According to him the country ought to be divided into two parts. The first, called "Korekomia", would be for Bulgarians only; the second, comprising the coast and the most important and lucrative tourist resorts, would be open only to foreigners and Bulgarians in possession of documents proving that they could cover their own costs' (Luken Stanev *Pogled ot khalma*, Sophia 1968, pp.145-147).

A final point worth noticing before moving on to the situation of the working class is the complete absence of opposition in the Western sense of the word. No samizdat, no illegal graffiti, nothing. It is true that there are isolated instances of resistance, but 99% of the workers live without any source of information other than the regime and in fear of losing what little they do have. The CP lies heavy on everyone and everything.

The result is a hatred and violence for which there is only one outlet: our families and friends. People under thirty years of age invariably show a marked tendency to aggressiveness. The lure of gain by robbing and cheating friends, husbands, wives and families appeals amongst those from a minoritarian religious background (Adventists, Danovists). The orthodox religion goes hand in hand with the regime.

* * * * *

Privilege, the domination of capitalism, and aggressiveness are the three factors which provide a key to understanding present day life. The Constitution and marxism are merely a blind for foreigners, exercises in propaganda.

Inflation and the consumer society.

Wages (see below) are appreciably the same as they were a decade ago, at least at the highest levels. Two factors have led to a loss of buying power.

The first is the rise in the cost of living. We will take 1969 as base – an important year, since in 1969 20 = 100! Indeed it did. In 1969 the regime celebrated its 25th anniversary and of course its achievement was a century of progress, hence the mathematical slogan which blossomed on all the buildings.

One kilo of meat containing 200g of bone and sinew has gone up from 2 to 4 leva (lv.) in the last seven years, a 50% rise. Boneless meat is sold under another name 'chol' – and costs about 5 lv. The different varieties of sausage, salami and ham – when they are available – are also very expensive. Fish does not form part of the normal diet, except for people who live on the coast or near the Danube. Tinned goods are expensive and in short supply.

Dairy produce has also risen greatly in price and gone down in quality. a 500g pot of yoghurt has gone up from 10 to 30 cents, a rise of 200%. Milk also costs 30 cents. The

two native cheeses have increased in price to the same extent as meat and the quality is just as poor at the lower end of the range, with a variety of types to choose from.

Vegetable prices have remained stable at between 10 and 20 cents per kilo. But for the last few winters there has been a scarcity of vegetables of all kinds. And on the free market (svobodan pazar), where the 'kolkhozes' (they may go under a different name, but the reality is no different) are authorised to sell some of their produce, prices are nearer treble than double.

Fruit is in short supply in summer and the little that does reach the shops is often perished. This year there was none to be had until the beginning of July. The explanation is simple: the pick of the crop is reserved for export to the USSR and certain fascist (or should I say capitalist, now that 1956 is behind us?) countries. Since the kolkoz workers do not operate on a bonus system the remainder is left unharvested. It is of course forbidden to lay one's hands on the property of the people and as a result the fruit often rots on the trees. But, miracle of socialism, things sort themselves out by the end of June.

By then the examinations are over and the school students are drafted in to harvest the fruit and vegetables. Since it is now a matter of tradition that there are no fresh greens to be had in winter, the end of the school year comes as a blessing and we – we women, that is – spend part of the summer bottling fruit and vegetables.

On the other hand it must be said that Bulgaria has a highly developed agricultural sector and an exceptionally favourable climate. The Pazardjik region amongst others is famous for its greenhouse installations irrigated by natural hot springs which were harnessed by a Dutch company. Even under Tsarism there were enough beans to feed not only the human population but the pigs as well. Bulgarians who make the journey to Moscow and Leningrad have at least the consolation of being able to see the butter, 'siren' cheese, vegetables and fruit produced in Bulgaria and Georgia, often – another miracle of the socialist system – at less than Bulgarian prices. Apparently, Belgium and West Germany also import large quantities of Bulgarian agricultural produce, so it is reasonable to suppose that while we are tightening our belts, a fair number of people in Moscow and Leningrad almost twice the size of our own population, are tucking into our food.

The second factor in the rise in the cost of living is consumption. Five or six years ago we were all at the same level: a green, blue or grey coat of loden cloth for winter and an off-white Bulgarian nylon shirt in summer. The shop windows were gaudy with a few tins and noble slogans. In a word it didn't matter if a person smelt of garlic and wore socks with holes in them or a short with dirty, threadbare cuffs.

But today, even though food may be in short supply, the shop windows and display stands are overflowing with magical items for our enjoyment. There is Lux soap from France for 2 lv. 50 (or half a day's work), Dior perfume, Polish, East German or Russian vacuum cleaners for 50 lv., food mixers for 20, grills, UHF radios, tape recorders,

cassettes at 5 lv. apiece (a day's wages), Western wallpaper, Western paper handkerchiefs, Chicago baby products, whisky . . . and poverty is out of fashion . . . the pressures are to consume. The result is that Bulgarian products – footwear and clothing in particular – are generally cheap but have to be thrown out after six months' use, whereas imported items cost twice as much or more but last for several years. Bulgarian shoes, for example, cost 15 lv. a pair as against 50 for foreign-made.

Consumption channels aggressiveness: a person dresses with studied elegance or makes a show of luxury with the aim of seeing other people 'knocked out' by it. At the same time this conspicuous consumption affords us a small recompense, a measure of personal pride. Totally alienated and exploited by the regime, we compensate by introducing a note of personal fantasy into our lives.

So to Western tourists who flutter to the bright lights of some exotic spot in Africa, Asia or America, we must appear a pretty banal lot.

One of the consequences of increased consumption is "villamania", for private property and inherited wealth not only exist but are undergoing something of a revival amongst the new ruling class. Although the ownership of more than two domiciles by one citizen is supposedly forbidden by law, many people have built houses for sons or grandsons who may well be less than ten years old. As it stands the law does not constrain our capitalists in the least.

For the 'bulgarus vulgarus' there are three alternatives' a) a self-contained house, which will be in a poor state of repair since it needs an initial outlay of 10 to 20 lv. to get a builder to turn out on his own account (the public services are either non-existent or overloaded); b) rented accommodation, official price 15 lv per person, real price 30; c) a flat in one of the newly-built highrise blocks, costing from 6,000 to 7,000 lv. for one room to 12,000 to 15,000 for four rooms, with a bank mortgage or company loan available.

In all three cases the monthly outlay for a couple will fall somewhere between a rent of 15,60 and mortgage repayments of 60 lv. To this must be added the cost of heating (in inland areas it can turn cold at temperatures of less than 20/25 centigrade), say an average of 5 to 15 lv. per month for coal, fuel, oil (often unobtainable) or electricity.

With the exception of the cinema (0,30 lv), the cost of leisure and recreation is high, 1,50 to 2 lv for a book, 2,30 for a long-playing record (the equivalent of 4 hours' work). Since Russian books are roughly twice as cheap and offer a good selection of non-political works – and there is not one large town which does not have one or two bookshops entirely given over to Russian books – many people buy them in preference to Bulgarian titles. Moreover for our good and loyal services to the USSR we have been rewarded with an advantageous rate against the rouble. Russians travelling through Bulgaria are always on the look-out for books in their own language which are exported to maintain Russian prestige abroad, despite the fact that they are not printed in sufficient numbers to satisfy the home demand.

To recapitulate on the various expenses incurred by a childless couple, the hypothetical monthly outlay on food is 80 lv⁴ from 15 to 60 for accommodation, and a further 5 to 15 for heating, which gives us a running total of between 100 and 155 lv. Assuming that our couple needs a new pair of shoes, short, dress, and trousers each year, we can add another 200 lv., giving us an estimated minimum of 20 lv per month to cover the various other expenses. As a result the total outlay comes to somewhere between 120 and 185 lv per month, with the lower figure being the more likely in most cases. Income tax is deducted monthly on a basis of approximately 10%; this figure includes the compulsory subscription to a union and the 'voluntary', but none the less compulsory, donation to cover the expenses of the Workers' (what else?) State.

As for children, in view of the decline in the birth rate a law introduced two or three years ago provides for sizeable child-benefit payments – about 15 lv. a month per child – and gives preferential leave entitlements and employment protection to women. This law has not been without effect, despite the fact that its provisions do not go far enough.

Wages

In theory Bulgaria has achieved a unified national wage level, since in practice everyone from the shop assistant and the street-sweeper (a Gypsy more often than not) to the doctor and the engineer earns 100 lv. a month.

A good engineer can in fact earn twice that amount and an artist of the people 350 lv., not to mention the sportsmen and women who compete at an international level or employees of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. An ordinary policeman is paid more than 200 lv for somewhere in the region of 4 hours work a day (boots and uniform provided). There are indications that the various police forces and armed services employ a minimum of approximately 350,000 people, and to this figure must be added the number of technicians working in the Ministries of Internal Affairs, State Security, (a separate department), and Defence, another 10,000 people at least.

Over and above their earned income or retirement pensions, the privileged few receive supplementary gratuities: 120 lv. for an 'active combatant' between 50 and 100 (?) for the various grades of 'partisan-aide' (yatak), and about 50 lv for a 'hero of work.' This last title is awarded to the stakhanovists, or as the current vocabulary has it, the elite workers.

All these individuals benefit from privileges that they can pass on to their children, as outlined above. Their number must be slightly less than the stated membership of the CP (there are poor Communists), 789,796 in March 1976. That is to say, 10% of a population of 8 million with 41.4% 'workers' and 27.5% women (figures given by T. Jivkov to the IX Congress of the BCP)⁵ These percentages are fairly ludicrous, considering that officially everyone is a worker, but some less than others for the purpose of Party statistics.

These class differences and the low wages paid to the majority of people mean that everyone makes the most of their working conditions, doing as little work as possible on the one hand

and stealing as much as possible on the other, both being larded with an automatic aggressiveness that imposes on the weaker person that repugnant submissiveness exacted by the Party.

Thus the doctor who displays indifference, not to say evasiveness, to the patient who visits a clinic is both zealous and amicable when consulted privately for a fee of 3 or 4 lv. (however exaggerated this may seem to a Westerner, there is not one Bulgarian who has not had this experience). This 'uncommon' practice has been officially proscribed since 1973 (and controls have been tightened up this year); major items of (gynaecological or dental) equipment may no longer be used outside of State establishments, but how in practice is it possible to differentiate between a visit by a neighbour and a clandestine consultation by a family doctor?

Treatment at a clinic and stays in hospital are entirely free of charge, which would be wonderful but for the surfeit of sick people as a result of shortages of preventive medicine and inadequacies in hospital facilities. The high price of drugs and medicines (e.g. at least 6 lv. for tetracycline), the large number of patients to every doctor, the fact that many doctors form secret enclaves within the Party and put personal gain before the practice of medicine, and the lack of effective drugs – all this has meant that for years there has been no shortage of clients for lay healers of every sort, religious, occult, and charlatan. No one is really prepared to ignore the latest rumour about this or that miracle cure.

In other walks of life, the seller of pyjamas, nails or whatever hangs on to those articles which are not produced in sufficient quantity (and with regard to the targets set by the Plan, this means between 50 and 80% of commodities) and later sells them at his or her own price to the 'clan.'

Over and above the division between Party members and non-members, there is that between rich and poor Communists and the 'clan.' In a village or city block, for example, the usual hierarchical order from the top down is: an (undercover) official of the Ministry of State Security, an official of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, an official of the Patriotic Front – of which membership is compulsory for everyone – and then the people. Now, since something or other is bound to be unobtainable – do-it-yourself in the Western sense is unknown and spare parts for household equipment almost non-existent – and since many items are extremely expensive, what happens is that people organise themselves into unofficial mutual-aid societies which together form a kind of alternative stock-exchange. It may happen that the family of a political refugee, which would normally live under interdiction (the more elevated professions demanding a high level of inside information or responsibility being closed to the families of refugees), accumulates a balance of credit by supplying Western goods sent to it by the refugee. Or else some apparently insignificant individual is in fact quite powerful because the family works in a co-operative near Plovdiv and can supply peaches such as have not been seen in Sophia for years. Someone else comes from the same town as this or that official and a shared

nostalgia brings them together.

Relations between neighbours have in the past been traditionally governed by an attitude of 'you scratch my back and I'll scratch yours,' and to this is now added 'you pass me your piston and I'll hand you mine.' This way of going about things is indispensable if people are to have any chance of receiving treatment at a clinic where the doctors are capable, but which lies outside their own catchment areas, or of getting hold of a circuit-breaker of a particular type. Nor is there any lack of profit: 20 lv. entitles a person to the services of building workers for one day and 10 lv. moves a name to the top of a waiting-list for an item of furniture or domestic equipment.

Work

One of the almost indisputable successes of the regime is full employment. No longer do the poor die of starvation or live in destitution. Moral destitution, the decay of the mind, is to be sure still with us, and even though we owe the progress we have made in this field to the Party, it is not an economic concept.

This full employment, however, presents us with three negative aspects.

a) The employment of under-qualified workers, a disguised form of unemployment; unskilled labour in the textile factories and agricultural co-operatives; the surfeit in certain sectors of engineers who do the work of cadres or technicians.

b) 'Tekoutchestvo' (the word and the reality it denotes have their origins in the Soviet system). This means that the turnover of labour, reflecting bad working conditions, is so high that it impedes the rational utilisation of machinery. This aggressive attitude to work helps to explain the frequency of thefts, which are also a response to the need to sell on the black market in order to augment the purchasing power of wages. Working slowly is the usual practice, particularly in agriculture where it can lead to enormous reductions in the eight-hour working day, sometimes cutting it by as much as a half.

c) Economic emigration. In spite of the large number of fairly antiquated factories and in view of the reluctance to accept low wages and dirty jobs, there is a singular pattern of movement by foreigners and Bulgarians across the country's borders. The building industry employs a good number of Cypriots, notably on sites near the railway station in Sophia (newly built, but the rain still comes in), as well as many Gypsies and Bulgarian Turks. Inferior standards of construction do nothing to lessen the animosity towards these ethnic groups. As for the Bulgarians themselves, good relations with Cuba and a number of Arab countries have meant that many find work in shipyards abroad where they are paid in the currency of the country.

As a result a two-roomed flat costing 10,000 lv. (the equivalent of ten years' wages before deductions) or a 'Jigouli' motor car (the renowned Fiat 124, made in the USSR and now called the 'Lada') costing 7,000 lv. or seven years' gross wages are both within reach after several years' work in one of the Arab countries. Hence our generous desire to support aid for the countries of the Third

World (meaning that we have the desire and support Cuba and Vietnam for what we can get out of them).

A brief digression of the subject of Vietnam and Egypt: why was there no cement to be had in Bulgaria from 1964 to 1975, either for the private sector or for the State, leaving the railway station in Sophia only half built for 4 or 5 years? Because it all went to Vietnam, along with several gunnery experts and even a few pilots. That is why we see the North and South Vietnamese, the Egyptians and the Israelis, as being only guinea-pigs for the military technology of the great powers, in a word victims.

There is also some emigration eastwards to the USSR, where we have about 5,000 lumberjacks lending some weight to the efforts of quivering Soviet volunteers in the 'virgin lands' of Siberia.

Working conditions are deplorable in every sector of the economy. The best example is a hotel building put up by the French (or to be more accurate, French engineers and Algerian workers) close to the railway station in Sophia: mobile cranes, protective clothing, quick completion. Beside it stands a half-finished building intended for the railway authority but not to be finished, it seems, owing to a shortage of funds. This spectacle alone does more good for capitalism than all the propaganda broadcast by clandestine radio stations in the West (Radio Monte Carlo's religious transmissions are not jammed, and the reception of Radio Salonića's broadcasts in English is quite good, in contrast to programmes in Russian and Bulgarian put out by Washington).

Everyone bears the scars of the passing years. In steel works, in textile and furniture factories, every worker has cut and wounded hands. Many of the elite workers have taken a beating and suffer from cardiac or urinary illnesses brought on by their strenuous exertions. Protective laws exist but their application is a mere formality. So when a company official is accused of having made one of the workers pregnant, a dozen other women accompanied by the various children of the said official appear before the court on the day of the trial.

Which brings us to the situation of women and super-exploitation.

Even though women can obtain as complete an education as men, they are still regarded as inferior within the confines of the family. In one generation we have passed from a Mediterranean or Arab pattern of family life (virginity, public exhibition of blood-stained sheets after marriage, pre-eminence of the husband's mother-in-law) to a society centred on young people, and in consequence it is the adults who respect the idea of the family and makes sacrifices for their children, while young people exploit their parents to the maximum.

The ideal aim of a young Bulgarian couple today may be for the parents of one to pay the rent and the parents of the other to buy their food, so that they can keep what they earn to pay for their drinks and their holidays. But none of this makes the woman any the less inferior, for she risks a broken nose if she does not hand over her wages to the husband. 'And what's the use of trying to do

anything about it, it's the same for everyone!'

There are no detergents, cleaners or polishes to relieve the burden of housework. Pots are scoured with sand, floors scraped with pieces of glass. Washing-up liquid came on the market quite recently, but it is expensive and little used.

The woman who is also a mother is sure to be dominated by the man and confined to the home. Moreover, looking after babies is the same as it has always been: no nappies (or else expensive ones of poor quality), so the kids wet themselves, clothes changed, washed, dried, ironed, and the kids wet themselves again

A grandmother will act as a servant for her children (as in the USSR) and does so willingly since here she is back in line with the tradition of sacrifice for the family. With this difference, that previously the old were shown respect because retirement was unknown whereas now a young couple can exploit and despise their grandparents and their own children in the knowledge that they will be able to retire from it all

Blows and beatings are the normal form of dialogue between most married couples and have money, the wife's wages, as their cause. Grandparents also get the odd knock for devoting their retiring years to a son or grandson.

In the middle of all this, the Party, the police, the social services, the union, the Patriotic Front are invisible and nowhere to be found.

Rape, murder, and even kidnapping are moreover common currency, not to speak of drugs, prostitution, and alcoholism.

The dynamic of the regime

It is true that there has been economic development, but is there any country — fascist, capitalist, or underdeveloped — that has not seen a similar process of development in the last thirty years?

Hospitals, major educational establishments, the successes of Bulgarian weightlifters and wrestlers⁶ all are represented as symbolic of the achievements of the CP alone, and that means Todor Jivkov.

In this closed society, a young man without university entrance qualifications has in point of fact more chance of escaping from the poverty of things and of the mind if he can succeed as a sportsman or musician in a folk group or orchestra than he does by remaining in a factory or at school. He can travel and make money on foreign exchange.

This is the one real achievement of the regime. It is protected not by its multitudinous police forces, not by the hospitals and Western medicines provided for the ruling class, but by the appetite of poor people for wealth they do not possess.

We can get drunk, but on what? The alcohol of the State. We can steal, but to what end? To buy from the State.

That there can be genuine opposition is shown by the 'Gorianites,' those mysterious guerrillas who would rather die on their feet than live on their knees. And there are infrequent strikes, like that by the bakery workers in an area of Sophia in January 1976, but the participants disappear. The most common form of resistance is a lack

of will-power, an absence of initiative and enthusiasm, and it is this which is the most effective remedy against the slogans and directives of the Party.

The Party is moreover very conscious of the need to recuperate criticism and turn it to its own advantage. For the last decade or so weekly papers (like the leader, 'Pogled') have been criticising this or that aspect of life in a contrived manner, there is a programme on the radio which provides daily accounts of the swindles that take place, comedy sketches on television. In this connection there is a Russian film which gives a fairly accurate picture of the state of affairs in Bulgaria today (there are at most 2 or 3 different types of housing being built in the country). 'X gets drunk in Moscow and his friends put him on a train to Leningrad. He leaves the train thinking that he has arrived at his suburban stop near Moscow, takes a number 5 tram, gets off at Alinin Boulevard, turns into Paris Commune Street, enters a block of flats, climbs the stairs to his flat and opens the door with his key. He goes to the wardrobe where to his astonishment he finds a woman's nightdress, the calendar on the wall is not the same as his . . .'

The satirical weekly 'Starchel' is also excellent. Blunders are reported in the daily papers, but only in a perfunctory way and no attempt is made to look beyond bureaucratic inefficiency. The system remains intact.

'Vitsoce,' jokes told among friends, are the only way we have of getting down to basics. A Polish joke to start with, one that typifies Eastern humour. 'How many people are there in a Polish family? The father, the mother, the children, the little Cuban, the little Vietnamese, the little Arab.'

Jokes about work: 'The French and the English are looking for a cheap way of building a tunnel under the Channel, but without success. Suddenly one of the engineers says, let's ask the Bulgarians. They can put a work brigade on either side of the Channel and if they work according to the principles of socialist emulation, they'll pass each other without meeting and we'll have two tunnels for the price of one.' The Concorde is undergoing flight trials. One of the wings falls off and all attempts to correct the fault are unsuccessful, until eventually a man appears and sticks bits of paper all over the fuselage. The plane is tested again and this time flies perfectly. Everyone rushes to congratulate the man and asks who this engineer can be. I'm not an engineer, he replies, I am a Bulgarian worker. It's simple. I work in a toilet paper factory and I'm the man who makes the little perforations.'

Jokes about the militia: 'You'll be leaving by car for your holiday in Austria, seven o'clock tomorrow morning and you'll have a caravan as well. Fine, says the militiaman, what time does the caravan leave?' 'When our militiamen get to Vienna they visit a museum of natural history and are shown an ostrich egg ('strauss' is the word for ostrich in German and Bulgarian). Do you have the eggs of any other composers?' 'A priest is mending the roof of his church when a militiaman passes by. You're supposed to be a friend of God's he says, but you don't know when it's going to rain and so you have

to mend your roof. You're supposed to be a friend of the people's replies the priest, but you need a gun to protect yourself from the people. Watch your mouth or we'll take a long walk, says the militiaman. Please yourself, comes the answer, but when I go for a long walk with anyone it's always to the cemetery.'

Jokes about Todor Jivkov: 'Jivkov is being driven through the countryside when the driver brings the car to a sudden stop. There is a child playing in the roadway. Don't you know it's dangerous to play in the middle of the road? I'm playing at being a government, says the child. Oh, says Jivkou, and how do you play that? Well, this cowpat is the Minister of Culture and this one is the Minister of Internal Affairs . . . And where is Jivkov? asks Jivkov. Oh well, I haven't found a lump of shit that's big enough.'

Before continuing with Jivkov, here is one on the general climate: 'The Communists are mounting a propaganda drive in the countryside. An orator arrives in the village and after his speech asks if the peasants have anything they want to say. No one speaks. He insists. Finally, Garabet puts up his hand and begins to refute all the orator's arguments one by one, pointing out that the Communists are nothing more than yet another pack of tyrants. Comrade, replies the orator, I do not have enough information to answer the points you have made. I'll come back next week. The following week there is another speech and the same question at the end of it. No one speaks. Again the orator insists. One of the peasants asks, what's happened to Garabet?'

Jivkov goes to Moscow and visits a hospital where triplets have just been born. In honour of the visit of Jivkov and Brezhnev the children are named Jivkov, Brezhnev and Bulgaria. Some time later, Jivkov phones from Sophia to ask how the triplets are doing. Brezhnev is at the breast, Jivkov is asleep, and Bulgaria is crying.'

'Brezhnev arrives before the heavenly throne. Do you have a last wish before you leave the world of the living? I want the USSR to rediscover the path of socialism. And Brezhnev bursts into tears because that is impossible.

'Ford arrives before the heavenly throne. Do you have a last wish before you leave the world of the living? I want the whole world to live under capitalism. And Ford bursts into tears because that would plunge all humanity into misery.

'Jivkov arrives before the heavenly throne. Do you have a last wish before you leave the world of the living? I want Bulgaria to be an industrial power. And God bursts into tears.'

It is true that these jokes are hardly likely to have much effect on the course of events, apart from bringing the risk of several years in prison and loss of civil rights. But they do sustain and strengthen the kind of common sense that is indispensable if our lives are not to become wholly aimless and repugnant.

N.B. £1.40 = 1.66 leva

Translated by Peter Silcock.

Notes:

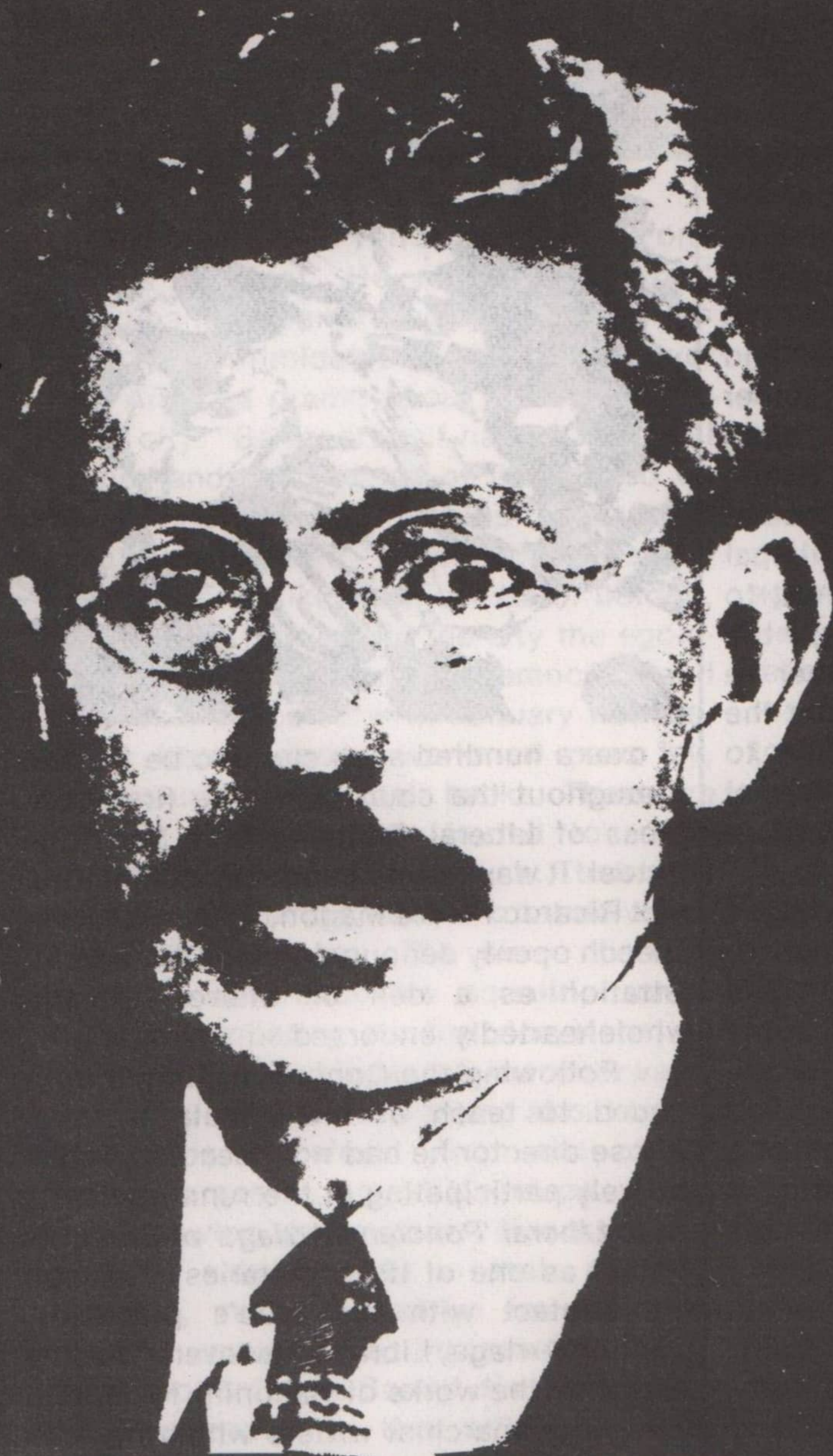
1. From a textbook of political economy – pp.553, 555, 559 – published in the USSR in 1954 and translated into Bulgarian in 1955. Required reading for university students, it is still in use today. There are five compulsory subjects for students of medicine, agriculture, chemistry, etc; the history of the Bulgarian Communist Party, the history of the Russian Communist Party, the Russian language, civil defence and gymnastics.
2. The Moskovitch 'Jigouli' (Snail), manufactured in the USSR by Fiat and rechristened the 'Lada' for Western consumption, is too vulgar for the likes of our bourgeoisie. Moreover, every young woman insists on being

taken to the Graduation Ball, a very formal affair, in a Western car. It would be thought a gaffe if her beau were to turn up in a socialist car.

3. Racism is officially encouraged by the regime 'the yellow peril' – exercises in preparation for war against China started in 1963 and detailed plans have been drawn up for the evacuation of every factory and enterprise; 'the negro savages' – the colonels of the Security Police tell us that it will take them a hundred years to catch up with us; racial hatred is also internal, directed against the Turks and Gypsies – one million people out of a population of eight million – and against the former slaves of the Musulman Empire, who are effectively subjected to an 'apartheid' which may be reactionary in South Africa but is progressive in this country. Around 1960 a group of Turks who had been separated from their families since 1948 were evacuated to Turkey. A large section of the Gypsy population was sent to live in the coastal villages abandoned by these Turks. The experience was a bitter failure, since from one day to the next the Gypsies would have had to become capable farmers, and so after many obstructions had been placed in their way they were finally allowed to return to their places of origin, mainly in Sophia and Plovdiv. The Gypsies are held to be responsible for outbreaks of theft, rape and disease and this year in particular for the epidemic of lice.
4. Made up as follows: 22 canteen meals @ 0.40 = 17.60 for two per month; 2 litres of oil = 3 lv; 12 of milk @ 0.30, 20 yoghurts @ 0.30 = 9.60; 4k. of meat and cheese = 32 lv; 40 loaves @ 0.30, 8k. of vegetables @ 0.20, 6k. of fruit @ 0.20 = 14.80 lv; total 77 lv. Plus 3 for beer, wine and soft drinks = 80lv.
5. The figures for the USSR in 1973 were respectively 6%, 40.7%, and 23%.
6. The wrestlers are actually of Turkish extraction, but in this instance it makes no difference . . .

SCENES FROM THE FIRST INTERNATIONAL





LIBRADO RIVERA

Of the many comrades and collaborators of Ricardo Flores Magon, Librado Rivera was by far the closest. Their revolutionary partnership lasted twenty years, rivalling that of Durruti and Ascaso, and only ended with Ricardo's death in Leavenworth Prison, murdered directly or indirectly by the U.S. authorities. Librado was a founding member of the Partido Liberal Mexicano and made a fundamental and major contribution to its anarchist orientation. Despite this, though, Librado has been badly neglected on his own account. This may be in part due to his own natural modesty and reticence, as he always shunned the limelight while remaining at the same time in the forefront of the struggle, preferring to adopt the role of a seemingly 'simple militant'. He was, in reality, far from this. As a tireless anarchist revolutionary and propagandist he spent more than thirty years fighting, as he would say, 'in favour of all the oppressed and exploited of the earth' in order to establish 'a new society which would have as well as liberty, love and justice for all!'

Librado Rivera was born in the municipality of Rayon, San Luis Potosi state in 1864, the son of a poor landholding farmer. In his early years he attended an open air school held on the nearby 'La Estancita' hacienda. The teacher of this school, Jesus Sanaz, was to have a great influence on Librado, as after school pupil and teacher would go on long walks together where Sanaz would explain to the young Librado the reasons for the poverty of the peasants and the need for radical social reform. Later he moved to the municipal school at Rayon. Here Librado proved to be an exceptional pupil, and through the intervention of a local hacienda owner he managed to obtain a scholarship from the state government which enabled him to continue his studies at the Escuela Normal de Maestros in San Luis Potosi, the state capital.

Graduating with honours from the Escuela Normal in 1888, Librado began to teach at the Escuela 'El Montecillo' in San Luis Potosi, becoming its director some years later. In 1895 he returned to the Escuela Normal as professor of history and geography. To supplement his wages as a teacher, he became, in his spare time, a private tutor to the children of San Luis Potosi's most elite families, including those of the local *jefe politico*. While visiting the homes of the provincial bourgeoisie Librado had ample time to compare their pampered lives of wealth and idleness with the poverty and injustice of the lives of the small landowners and peons. This odious spectacle of the rich living off the labour and suffering of the poor was to haunt Librado throughout the rest of his life. Soon he began to denounce social injustice to his pupils at the Escuela Normal. "...The money I received as salary", he later wrote, "came from the wretched purses of the people in the form of taxes. My responsibility to the people therefore was greater than my responsibility to the government, because a government cannot be changed overnight by the popular will, Obeying then, this cry from my conscience, I began to fight the dictatorship as much from within my profession as outside it..."²

One student he was to influence through this was Antonio I. Villarreal, who later became a fellow member of the PLM's organizing junta.

In 1900 Librado became an enthusiastic supporter of the newly formed Liberal movement. The initial aim of this movement, founded through the initiative of Camillo Arriaga, was to combat the growing influence of the catholic church in state affairs despite the Reform laws of 1857; but many of those attracted to the movement were, as Librado himself, bitterly opposed to the Diaz dictatorship, based as it was on slavery, corruption and state expropriation of lands communally owned by villages where the peasants worked them in a form of primitive anarchist-communism. In February of the following year Librado represented the *Club Liberal 'Benito Juarez'* of Rayon, one



of over a hundred such clubs to be formed throughout the country, at the first Congress of Liberal Clubs held in San Luis Potosi. It was at this congress that he first met Ricardo Flores Magon, whose fearless speech openly denouncing the Diaz administration as a den of thieves Librado wholeheartedly endorsed.

Following the Congress Librado continued to teach at the Escuela Normal, whose director he had now become, while actively participating in the running of the *Club Liberal 'Ponciano Arriaga'* of San Luis Potosi as one of its secretaries. Through his contact with the club's president, Camillo Arriaga, Librado discovered for the first time the works of Bakunin, Kropotkin and other anarchist writers which he read with enthusiasm and passion, borrowing the books (which were at that time not openly available in Mexico) from Arriaga's extensive library.

Towards the end of 1901 the *Club Liberal 'Pociano Arriaga'*, which served as the direction centre for all the Liberal clubs throughout the country, began preparations for a Second Liberal Congress, which was to be held, as the first, in San Luis Potosi. This was to be held despite the dictatorship's mounting repression against the liberal movement, which had resulted in the suppression of many clubs and the imprisonment of activists including Ricardo and Jesus Flores Magon and the banning of their opposition newspaper *Regeneracion*. This Second Congress though intended to go far beyond the mere anti-clericalism of the first. The proposed agenda, which no doubt Librado helped to draft, included items on the freedom of the press, the freedom of suffrage, the suppression of the *jefes politicos* and methods for the improvement of the workers' conditions on the large haciendas. However, the Congress was never to be held. On January 24th, 1902, less than two weeks before the congress was due to start, a meeting of the *Club Liberal 'Ponciano Arriaga'* was brutally broken up by the police and its members arrested after a disturbance had been provoked by the porfirista congressman and plain clothes policemen. Librado and Arriaga managed to avoid immediate arrest in the meeting hall by taking refuge in Arriaga's house, but when this was surrounded by *rurales* and a detachment of regular sol-

diers the two were forced to give themselves up. Taken to the state penitentiary, they were accused, together with Juan Sarabia the editor of the club's newspaper *Renacimiento*, of 'obstructing public officials in the exercise of their duties' and sentenced to one year's imprisonment without even the formality of a trial. While in prison Librado, Sarabia and Arriaga, now joined by Antonio Diaz Soto y Gama, continued their work for the Liberal movement by founding the newspaper *El Demofilio*, which was printed in San Luis Potosi by Arriaga's cousin. *El Demofilio* was launched on behalf of "workers who are victims of injustices ... the humble and exploited classes" and attacked many aspects of the Diaz dictatorship including the use of forced military conscription, the *Leva*, as a slave labour system. Librado himself contributed many articles to the newspaper on the social question. This proved to be too much for the dictatorship, and after only four months *El Demofilio* was forced to close down. Librado and his four comrades were moved into separate cells and held incommunicado for several months. In addition the authorities had the penitentiary surrounded by *federales* and placed extra guards outside the four liberals' cells. It was while in prison that Librado was given the nickname *El Fakir* because of his great powers of concentration. He would sit in the corner of the cell he shared with his three comrades and read, completely oblivious to what was going on around him, much to the annoyance of his cell-mates.

At the end of September 1902 Librado was released from prison, and after spending some time, possibly in San Luis Potosi, made his way to Mexico City, arriving there in March 1903. Here he immediately joined Ricardo and Enrique Flores Magon and Juan Sarabia, who had been released at the same time as himself, on the editorial staff of *El Hijo del Ahuizote*, the successor of the banned *Regeneracion*. Barely one month after his arrival in Mexico City though, the offices of *El Hijo del Ahuizote* were raided by the police, and Librado, together with Ricardo, Enrique, Sarabia and six other comrades were arrested for "contempt of public officials". Taken to the infamous Belem prison where they were all held incommunicado for two and a half months, Librado, for some unknown reason, was then released and went into hiding, while the others stayed on in prison until the following October.

Upon their release from prison, the most prominent activists in the anti-Diaz opposition decided to contune the struggle from exile rather than endure more years of useless reclusion. In early 1904 therefore, Ricardo and Enrique crossed the border into the United States and went to Laredo, Texas, where Librado joined them soon after, together with three other comrades including his former student from San Luis Potosi's Escuela Normal, Antonio I. Villarreal. Here Librado found work as a labourer, as did the other exiles,

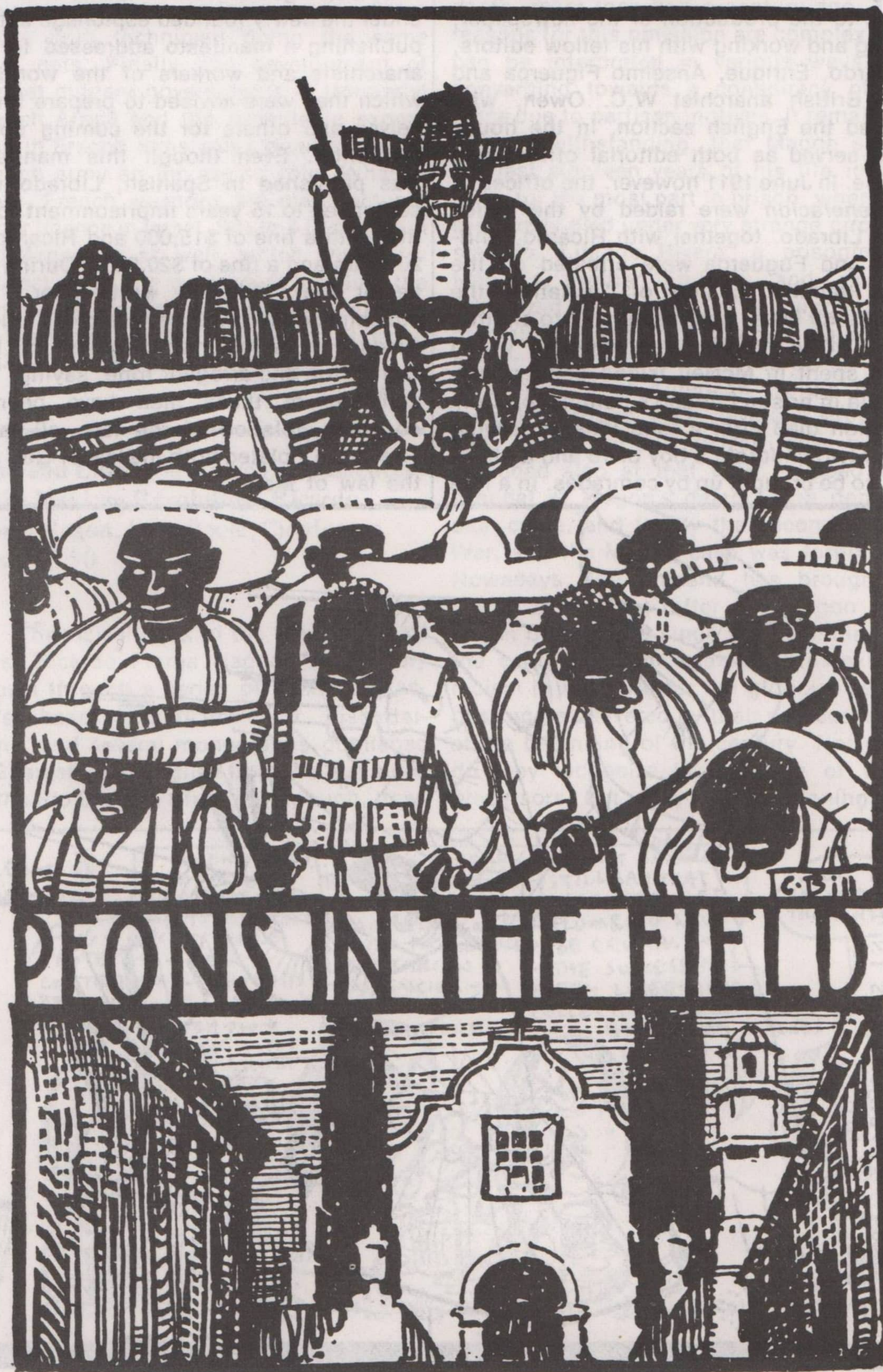
with the intention of raising enough funds to republish *Regeneracion*. In the middle of the year however, Ricardo was forced, through harassment by Diaz agents, to move to St. Louis, Missouri. Soon he was joined by Librado who now participated fully in the running of *Regeneracion*. In St. Louis Librado joined Ricardo in attending meetings held by Emma Goldman and also became friendly with a Spanish anarchist, Florencio Bazora. Both these contacts were to make a profound impact on Librado and Ricardo equally, helping a great deal to clarify their anarchism.

On September 18th, 1905 the *Junta Organizadora del Partido Liberal Mexicano* was formed by the Liberal exiles with Ricardo as president and Librado as the first of the three committeemen (vocal). Less than a month after the founding of the PML Junta the offices of *Regeneracion* were raided by Pinkerton detectives who arrested Ricardo, Enrique and Juan Sarabia, and confiscated all the office equipment including the printing presses. Mainly through the sacrifice of all the comrades involved *Regeneracion* managed to appear again in February 1906, but the following month Ricardo and his two comrades who had been released on bail, were forced to flee to Canada, fearing, not without justification, that the U.S. authorities intended to extradite them to Mexico. Now the editorship was taken up by Librado with the help of Manuel Sarabia (the brother of Juan), Villarreal and the newspaper typesetter Aaron Lopez Manzano. In September however, the new offices of *Regeneracion* were raided by the police who this time smashed up the printing plant. A months later the homes of Librado and Manzano were raided early in the morning by federal police and immigration officers and the two men arrested. Taken secretly to prison Librado was accused by the Diaz dictatorship of "robbery and murder" during the miners strike at Canania, Sonora that had taken place the previous June. After being held incommunicado for some time in St. Louis jail, the two comrades were put on a train for Mexico and deportation. Thanks, however, to a public outcry instigated by two St. Louis newspapers, the *St. Louis Post Dispatch* and the *St. Louis Globe Democrat*, started when the plight of Librado's and Manzano's families became known, the authorities were forced to abandon their attempt at illegal and clandestine deportation. Instead the two men were taken off the train at Ironton. Even here they were held incommunicado in the local jail, the U.S. authorities always willing to do the dirty work of Diaz, obviously hoping that the campaign to free the two men would blow itself out. They were sorely mistaken though. The two newspapers continued relentlessly until the two men were returned to St. Louis. Here they were brought before a federal judge, and at the public hearing Librado was quickly discharged as the judge, U.S. commissioner James R. Grey, found that the "offences complained of were entirely of a political

nature". Manzano was then released in a similar fashion. This incidentally was the only time that PLM exiles in the U.S. were afforded any semblance of so called justice. On his release, Librado intended to resume the publication of *Regeneracion*, but for unknown reasons this was never realised.

Between his release from prison in November 1906 and the middle of 1907 little or nothing is known of Librado's activities. These times though were especially hard for the PLM. Ricardo and Villarreal were both on the run after the unsuccessful PLM inspired uprising in Mexico during September/October 1906, and throughout the border states of the U.S. the authorities were relentlessly persecuting PLM members and sympathizers alike. Despite these setbacks Ricardo and Villarreal had made their way to Los Angeles where they began the clandestine publication of *Revolucion* as a successor

to *Regeneracion*, Librado joining them in June 1907. In August however, their hiding place was discovered by detectives of the Furlong Agency who were directly employed by Diaz, and they were arrested without warrants and handed over to the U.S. police. Although they were held in Los Angeles county jail they still managed to organize another uprising in Mexico which took place in June/July 1908. For this, at the direct request of the Mexican authorities, all three were held incommunicado for some months. Held in jail for almost two years without trial, they were finally extradited to Arizona in May 1909, where they were sentenced to 18 months imprisonment for "violation of the neutrality laws". All three comrades served their sentences together, first in the infamous Yuma jail, and later at the newly built jail at Florence. The conditions in both these jails were appalling, as Villarreal later recalled,³ and for some of the time Librado



was sick. He was also kept in solitary confinement for several days, which was spent in an underground cell in total darkness, for requesting a change of employment, as the work he had been given aggravated a lung complaint that he no doubt contracted during his time spent in Mexican jails.

Released in August 1910, the three Junta members returned to Los Angeles where they resumed the publication of *Regeneracion* where, as Librado wrote later, "...our old ideas of liberty and emancipation in favour of the enslaved and exploited Mexican peons were again expounded ..."⁴ The new *Regeneracion* though had gone through a profound change on the very eve of the revolution that it and the PLM had more than any other paved the way for, moving its position from radical liberalism to pure anarchism, appearing as a three page Spanish weekly with a fourth page in English. Librado now devoted himself full time to the production of the newspaper, living and working with his fellow editors, Ricardo, Enrique, Anselmo Figueroa and the British anarchist W.C. Owen, who edited the English section, in the house that served as both editorial offices and home. In June 1911 however, the offices of *Regeneracion* were raided by the police and Librado, together with Ricardo, Enrique and Fugueroa were arrested on the now familiar charge of "violating the neutrality laws", and sentenced to another term of 18 months imprisonment which was spent in McNeil Island penitentiary. While in prison Librado's companion Conception died after a long illness, leaving their two children, a boy of 15 and a girl of 11, to be brought up by comrades. In a rare

example of compassion the Wilson administration granted him temporary parole to attend the funeral but it was found impossible to raise enough money for his travelling expenses.

On their release in January 1914 Librado and his three comrades returned to Los Angeles where they resumed their work on *Regeneracion* until it was forced to close down at the end of the year owing to serious financial problems. In the middle of 1915, however, Librado, Ricardo and Enrique together with their families and a few other comrades moved to a small farm they had managed to rent at Edendale, then a rural suburb of Los Angeles. Here all the comrades worked communally on the land. Soon they were able to resume the publication of *Regeneracion*, the printing being undertaken by Librado himself, working single handedly on an old hand press.

In March 1918, Librado was again arrested, together with Ricardo, this time under the newly founded espionage act for publishing a manifesto addressed to the anarchists and workers of the world in which they were advised to prepare themselves and others for the coming social revolution. Even though this manifesto was published in Spanish, Librado was sentenced to 15 years imprisonment together with a fine of \$15,000 and Ricardo to 20 years and a fine of \$20,000. "During the secret trial," Librado wrote later, "the conspiracy and intrigue was clear. Judge Bledsoe gave his instruction to the jury with a firm and arrogant tone, saying, 'the activities of these men have been a constant violation of the law, all laws. They have violated both the law of God and the law of Man.'⁵

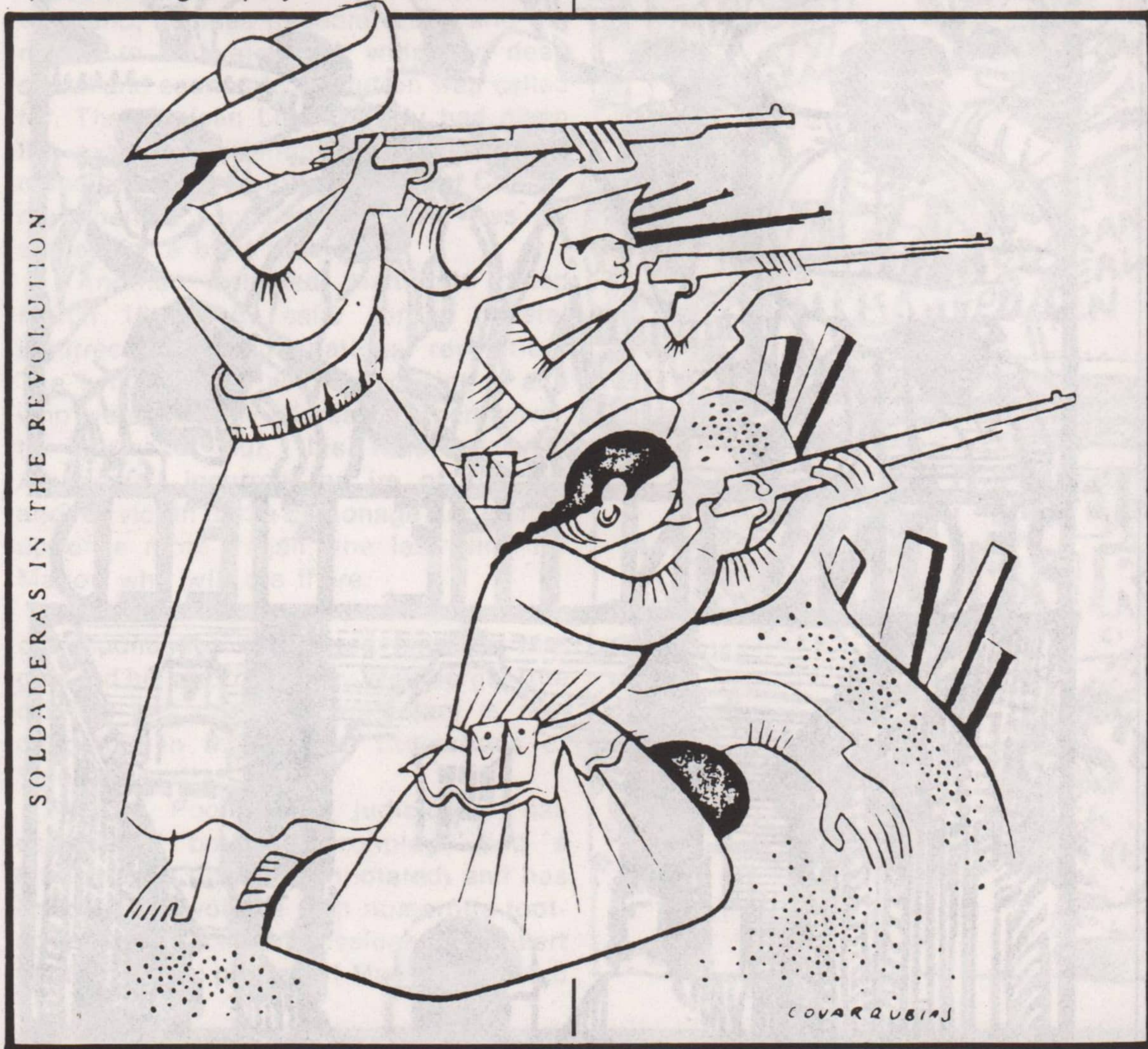
Both Librado and Ricardo were taken again to McNeil Island to serve their sentences, but in December 1919 Ricardo was transferred to Leavenworth Penitentiary, Kansas owing to his failing health. Some nine months later Librado was transferred to the same prison.



Ricardo Flores Magon

While in prison the plight of both Librado and Ricardo were being well publicised within Mexico. Several protest strikes were held, organised by workers groups including the newly formed anarco-syndicalist C.G.T. (Confederacion General de Trabajadores) and U.S. goods were boycotted in an attempt to force the U.S. authorities to free the two men. The U.S. authorities for their part resisted this as much as they could, saying that Librado and Ricardo were dangerous anarchists and therefore could not be released, or that they showed no 'repentance' for their alleged crime. Even the Mexican authorities intervened, no doubt forced to through popular will, and instructed its embassy in Washington to intercede with the U.S. government on behalf of Librado and Ricardo. This came to nothing, but in a letter to an embassy official who wanted to know the reason for his imprisonment, Librado explained his anarchist ideas. "...During the struggle for justice in favour of the oppressed I arrived at this conclusion: - governments, all governments, in whatever form they appear, are always on the side of the strong against the weak. Governments have not been created to protect the lives and interests of the poor, but for the rich, who constitute a very small minority, while the great masses of the poor form 99% of the earth's inhabitants. For this reason I am against such a system of injustice and inequality and search for a new society which would have as well as Liberty, Love and Justice for all ..."⁶

For Librado the rigours and monotony of prison life were added to by the state of Ricardo's health. Over a period of two years he witnessed the worsening of his old comrade's condition and his growing





blindness, both aggravated by a total denial of adequate medical attention. In early November 1922, Ricardo was transferred from the cell he occupied adjacent to Librado, to another some distance away. On November 20th, Librado saw him for the last time. Of this, he wrote later: "...that afternoon was the last time that Ricardo and myself met and exchanged words, words that will remain with me in my memory as an eternal farewell to the comrade and dear brother with whom I shared 22 years of constant harassment, threats and imprisonment by the hired ruffians of the capitalists..."⁷

Two days later, Ricardo was found dead in his cell. Although the 'official' cause of death was put down to a heart attack, Librado believed he was murdered. He was even more convinced of this when the prison authorities dictated to him the text of the telegram that he should send to Ricardo's companion.

In early 1923 Librado was released from Leavenworth and was promptly deported to Mexico. After spending some time in San Luis Potosi where he refused an invitation from the *Partido Reformista "Juan Sarabia"* to run for congress, he settled in Villa Cecilia, Tamaulipas (today Ciudad Madero). Here he edited *Sagitario*, a newspaper founded by the anarchist group *Los Hermanos Rojos*. *Sagitario*, which had a wide circulation both in Mexico and abroad, was mainly concerned with spreading anarchist propaganda amongst the petroleum workers of the area. This met with great success, and in November 1924, Librado was able to write "With redoubled strength new ideas are flourishing and new groups are being formed. Anarchist propaganda is becoming more and more abundant in the petrol areas..."⁸ In the columns of *Sagitario* he also exposed some of the myths of the so-called 'socialist' regime of Calles, including the farce of land redivision and the persecution and murder of the Yaquis Indians and the theft of their land by government officials. It was ostensibly for this last exposure that Librado was arrested in April 1927 together with two co-workers on *Sagitario*. Taken to Andonegui penitentiary, Tampico, he was held for over 6 months, during which time he both contributed articles to *Sagitario* and wrote a

so-far unpublished autobiographical piece *Frente a las Tiranias*. If the authorities thought that by imprisoning Librado they could silence him they were rudely mistaken: "The intention of the tyrants" he wrote from prison, "is to isolate me from contact with the outside world in order to 'regenerate' me. I declare that they have failed. Fourteen years of incarceration has so far not succeeded in doing this. Their instrument of torment has always broken into a thousand pieces on the rock of my inviolate will in...which rests my conviction, pure and simple, of human emancipation."⁹ Finally brought to trial, accused of 'insulting the president', 'making a public apology for anarchism', and 'inciting the people to anarchy', Librado conducted his own defence, demanding an unconditional release and substantiating his charge of murder against the Calles administration. Although sentenced to six months imprisonment, he was released after serving only six weeks, most probably on the direct orders of Calles himself, who no doubt thought that Librado presented a bigger threat to him inside prison than outside.

While Librado was in prison the offices of *Sagitario* were raided by the police and the presses smashed. Shortly after, the authorities suppressed the paper altogether by banning it from the post. On his release therefore Librado moved to Monterey, Nuevo Leon, and after much effort and sacrifice succeeded in resuming publication of the paper under the new title of *Avante*, but owing to police harassment only three issues were produced.

Enduring much hardship Librado managed to resume publication of *Avante* in mid-1928, but in February 1929 he was again arrested and the offices and presses of *Avante* destroyed by the police. Held in Tampico military prison he was immediately subjected to systematic ill treatment including being beaten brutally with a piece of wire cable by General Eulogio Ortiz, who became outraged by the dauntless spirit of the old man. Later the brave General tried to murder Librado, but he was a bad shot and the bullet went wild. The authorities also threatened to inject him with Bacillus to make him 'confess' to complicity in the recent assassination of Obregon, but the threat was never carried

out. After being held for two months Librado was freed, and he returned to Monterey where the publication of *Avante* was resumed yet again. Less than a year later the postal authorities banned *Avante* from the mail as it claimed that it 'attacked the government of the republic'. Two days later a force of federal soldiers under the command of Ortiz raided the paper's offices and destroyed all they found, including a complete edition of *Regeneracion*.

With *Avante* killed by the authorities Librado moved to Mexico City, where he lived with Nicholas T. Bernal, whom he had known while in the U.S. In 1931, he began publication of *Paso* and did much to publicise the plight of school teachers in San Luis Potosi whom the government refused to pay.

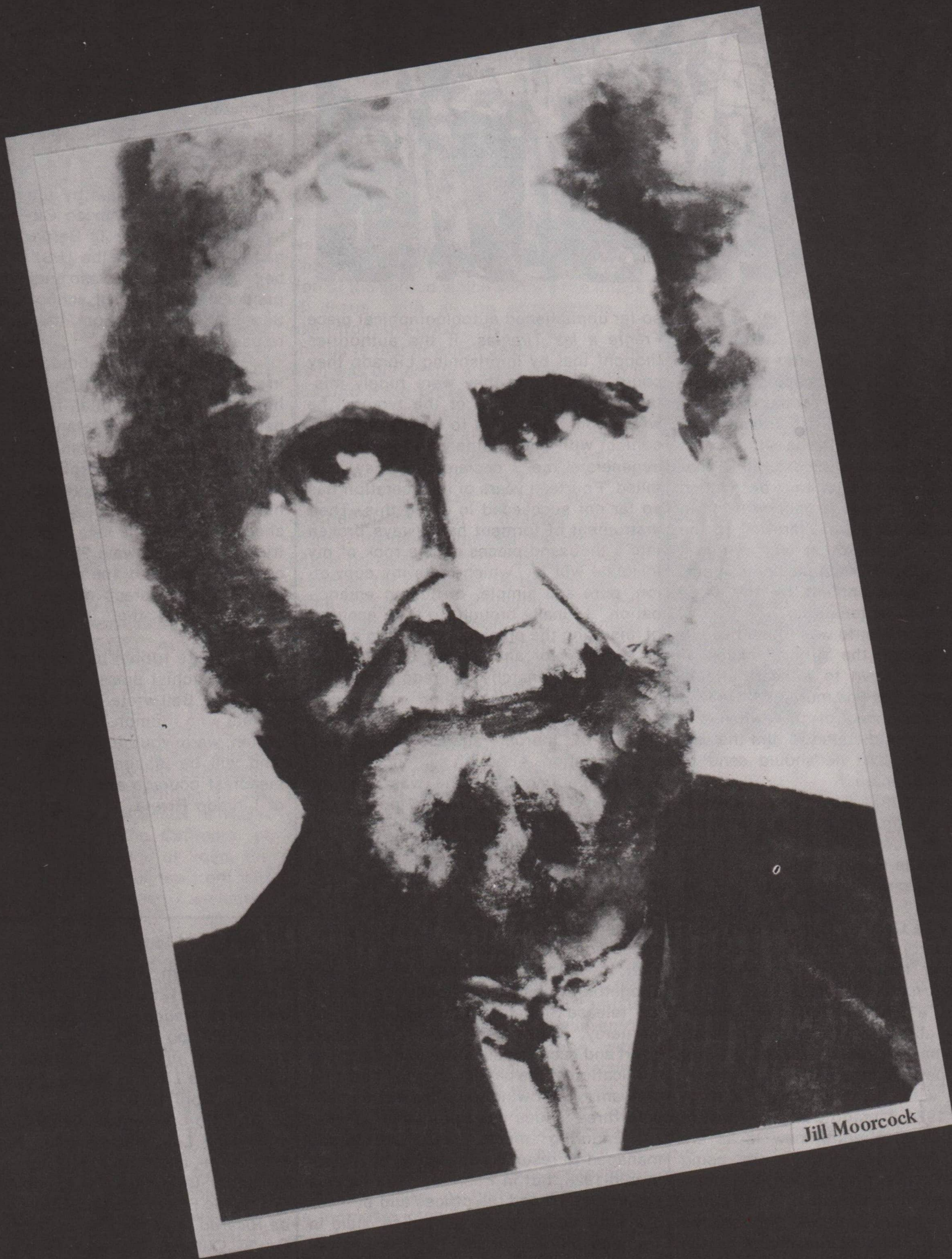
In February 1932 Librado was involved in an automobile accident. Badly injured he was taken to hospital, where owing to neglect he contracted tetanus, from which he died on March 1st. Even as he lay dying he still possessed the spirit of revolt and resistance that had directed and sustained him throughout his life. As a nurse lifted a sheet to protect his face from the flies he tried to move it away. "Still so rebellious comrade" mocked the nurse. "Always I have fought" Librado replied, "and still I fight against the injustices of the strong".¹⁰

In a rare tribute to Librado published in the anarchist press, the Scottish anarchist T. H. Bell wrote: "long after the petty tyrants who triumph today have been forgotten, warm youthful hearts in your native land will be inspired by the tale of the steadfast courage and constant devotion of Librado Rivera."¹¹

Dave Poole

NOTES

- 1) Letter from Librado Rivera to Manuel Tellez - June 12th, 1921, in *Por la Libertad de Flores Magon y Companeros*, Mexico City, 1922, pp 85-95.
- 2) Quoted in Carlos Slienger, *Algunos datos Sobre Librado Rivera*, Regeneration March - April 1970.
- 3) Antonio I. Villarreal, *Reminiscences of my Prison Life*, Regeneracion September 10th- 17th- and 24th, 1910.
- 4) Letter to Manuel Tellez, *op. cit.*
- 5) Librado Rivera, *Persecucion y asesinato de Ricardo Iores Magon*, in rayos de Luz, Grupo Cultural 'Ricardo Flores Magon' Mexico City, 1924.
- 6) quoted in Slienger *op. cit.*
- 7) *Rivera op. cit.*
- 8) Quoted in Slienger *op. cit.*
- 9) *Ibid.*
- 10) Interview with Nicholas T. Bernal in James D. Cockcroft, *Intellectual Precursors of the Mexican Revolution*, University of Texas Press, 1968, p 232.
- 11) T.H. Bell, *Recollection of Librado Rivera*, The Road to Freedom, June 1932.



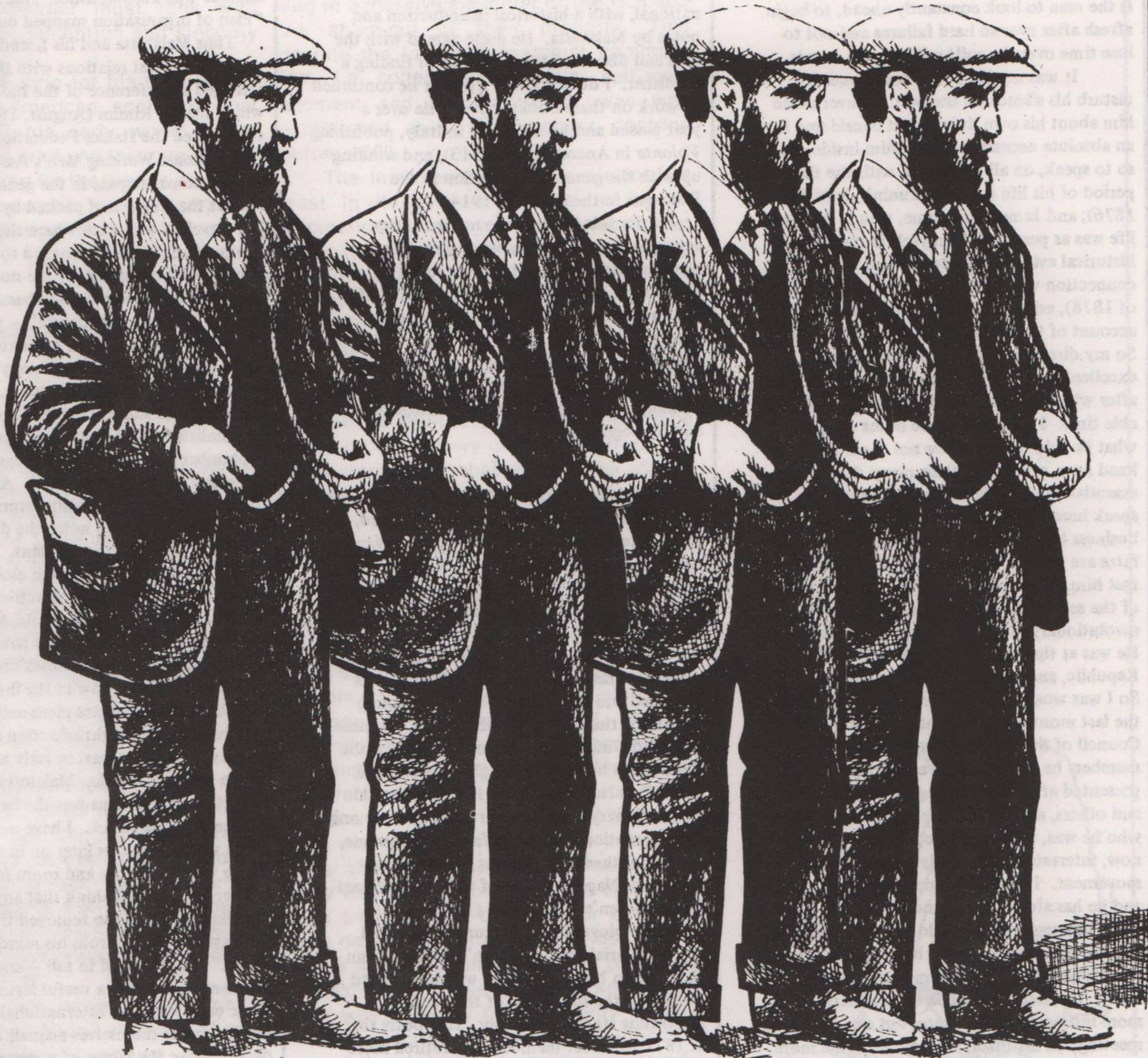
Jill Moorcock

MALATESTA

ERRICO MALATESTA

Max Nettlau

This rough outline of Malatesta's life was written by Nettlau at the end of June 1920 and serialised in Freedom between September and November of the same year. As the article ends in 1920 we have added an appendix summarising Malatesta's activities between 1920 and his death in 1932, and is based in part on Nettlau's obituary of Malatesta that appeared in Freedom Bulletin of December 1932.



Max Nettlau (1865-1944) the Austrian anarchist historian and bibliographer spent much of his life painstakingly researching and writing on the anarchist movement itself. His published works include; Bibliographie de l'Anarchie (Brussels 1897), the monumental Michael Bakunin, Eine Biographie (3 vols. London 1896-1900), Errico Malatesta - la Vida de un Anarquista (Buenos Aires 1923), Miguel Bakunin, La Internacional y la Alianza en Espana 1868-1873 (Buenos Aires 1925), Der Anarchismus von Proudhon zu Kropotkin (Berlin 1927) and Anarchiste und Sozialrevolutionare 1880-1886, (Berlin 1931). Towards the end of his life he worked closely with the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam which today holds a vast quantity of his papers including many unpublished manuscripts. D.P.

So many generations of Anarchists have passed away since in 1871 Malatesta, then about seventeen years of age, entered the International that but very few keep a full record of the outlines of his history. His oldest comrades may all be gone now, and to gather the recollection of those who worked with him only during the last forty years a long, long

journey among old forgotten comrades in several continents up to the youngest rebels of today who work with him would be necessary. Of properly arranged printed records there exists less, I believe, than about ever so many so-called public men of infinitely less importance. Only the Anarchist papers of many countries during half a century contain scattered items on his life, usually arrests, trials, imprisonments, escapes, expulsions, or scanty reports of meetings, congresses, etc., besides his not very numerous and infinitely scattered articles, some of which were reprinted and belong to the most widely spread Anarchist pamphlets. All these periods of meetings, movements, and arrests are usually the principal periods of revolutionary activity of this or that country, for wherever Malatesta worked there was a movement which soon confronted the whole State and bourgeois society, fighting openly and meeting repression or persecution, or repressed at an earlier stage. No man in our time so often challenged the whole of society. Thus, to understand his life the local history of each of these revolutionary periods or outbreaks would have to be studied from contemporary sources - and then in most cases

only outside facts would be retraced; the inner history would remain buried in Malatesta's memory and that of very few others. And he is the man to look constantly ahead, to begin afresh after ever so hard failures and not to lose time over the spilt milk of past events.

It was my happy lot sometimes to disturb his silence on the past. I never asked him about his own doings, but considered it an absolute necessity to turn him inside out, so to speak, on all connected with the Bakunin period of his life (up to Bakunin's death in 1876); and James Guillaume, who in his later life was as persistent as myself in collecting historical evidence (up to the end of his connection with the International, in the spring of 1878), asked me to extract Malatesta's account of the Benevent insurrection of 1877. So my direct appeals to Malatesta's really excellent memory reach up to that insurrection, after which he was imprisoned for a considerable time. I made complete notes of most of what he told me, but have not these notes to hand now, nor would their many details be essential here. Of later events I heard him speak here and there, but never made it my business to ask further questions; still, some facts are present to my mind. In 1887-88 I first met him, so to speak, in the files of old papers of the seventies, and was struck by his revolutionary audacity, tenacity and ubiquity. He was at that time lost in the Argentine Republic, and I never expected to see him. So I was wonderfully surprised when, during the last months of 1889, at a meeting of the Council of the Socialist League, open to members he made a silent appearance, being presented after the meeting to William Morris and others, and by V. Dave, who had told me who he was, to myself also, who was then, as now, interested in the early history of the movement. From that time I have known him and he has always been kind to me; but as he was a busy man and I could not be of use to him for the movements he had in hand, I made a point never to disturb him without good cause. I missed thus much of the charm of his more intimate acquaintance, but our occasional meetings on historical subjects were the more interesting, as no time was wasted. In later years I often tormented him by pressing him to write his memoirs, but somehow he never thought that he had yet reached the years of discretion which are usually allotted to such tasks; he was young and had so much action still before him — and this was really the case.

In a letter dated March, 22 1912, he wrote to me (in French):—

"I am now engaged in writing a book which, I shall call 'The Social Revolution: Thoughts of an Anarchist', or something similar. This takes more of my time than I care, but I want to finish it at whatever cost . . . After that I shall begin the 'Recollection' (Souvenirs). I shall perhaps choose the form of a collection of those of my old writings which appear to me to be of some interest, joining notes on the time and circumstances of their origin, the persons with whom I worked, etc."

He added with some irony:—

"If this work may be of some value, I shall owe this to you who push me onward with an insistence which I truly do not merit." I had proposed to him to publish an Italian book, "Bakunin's Work in Italy," which would

have contained the very scarce and partly almost lost writings of Bakunin addressed specially to Italians and the Italian International, with a historical introduction and notes by Malatesta. He quite agreed with the idea and discussed the difficulty of finding a publisher. I do not know whether he continued to work on these books, but a little over a year passed and he was again in Italy, publishing *Volonta* in Ancona (June 1913), and winding up with the general insurrection in the Romagna in the spring of 1914.

I write this to show the nature of my acquaintance with Malatesta's life. I am unacquainted with many of the most elementary facts of his modest personal life, and I may have collected details on some events which might have passed into oblivion without my care, which anybody is free to call pedantic. Here I write a great extent from memory, with the help of some historical and bibliographical notes.

† † †

Errico Malatesta, born in Santa Maria di Capua Vetere, Hannibal's old Capua, in one word, in 1853, attended the local lyceum and began to study pharmacology in Naples, where his political activity began in 1871 during or soon after the Paris Commune. His father had a copy of Mignet's "History of the French Revolution," which Errico read at an early age, receiving a lasting impression. Then he was advanced and Republican, like most young Italians of that time. But the Paris Commune first made him think for himself. He saw the Republican bourgeois, the glorious Mazzini and others curse and insult it as they would Revolutionary Russia in our times; he saw only the International stand up for the Commune, and under these impressions he and others joined the Naples section of the International Working Men's Association (1871).

In the biography of Bakunin I gathered much material from Bakunin's removal from Florence to Naples onward, which preceded and led to the foundation of this section, illustrating its earlier history. It appears that in 1871 the older members had retired more or less, and the joining of Malatesta and other young people gave new life to the section. A. Tucci, one of the earlier ones was left; also, of a somewhat later period, Carmello Palladino (later on a lawyer), who had some influence on the development of Malatesta. This goes to show that Malatesta did not enter a flourishing movement which carried people away, but that he was at once confronted with hard work. The most conspicuous member at that time was Carlo Cafiero, several years older than Malatesta, a man who had been in London and was *persona grata* with Marx and Engels of the General Council of the International, a rich man of boundless enthusiasm and devotion, but of somewhat capricious mentality. It became necessary to disentangle Cafiero from his Marxist relations, a task in which Malatesta participated, and which gave him an early insight in the struggle between Authority and Anarchism which divided the International and the advanced workers — then as now. The young Anarchist succeeded, and Cafiero, with old G. Fanelli, travelled to Locarno to meet Bakunin. They stayed there a month (May 20 to June 18, 1872), and then on May

21 Bakunin put down in his diary: "The whole day passed with Fanelli and Cafiero; alliance well accomplished"; on June 24: "Plan of organisation mapped out"; and so on.

Thus Malatesta and his friends had entered upon the closest relations with Bakunin. They arranged a conference of the Italian sections, which met at Rimini (August, 1872) and constituted the Italian Federation of the International Working Men's Association. They refused to participate in the general congress held at the Hague and packed by the Marxists but travelled to Zurich where they met Bakunin, whom Marx had just managed to get expelled from the International by the majority of the Hague Congress. On September 4 Bakunin notes: "Letter by Benjamin" — which was Malatesta's name in their intimate circle, where he may have been the very youngest; on September 7: "Malatesta arrives." On September 11 Cafiero and the Spanish Internationalists arrived from the Hague. On September 12 and 13 the real constitution of the secret Alliance took place. After a journey to Neuchatel, etc., Bakunin returned to Zurich; and on September 23 notes the departure of Malatesta and the other Italians.

This fortnight or so in the closest intimacy with Bakunin and the most active and advanced Internationalists of Italy, Spain, Switzerland, Russia, and a few others may have put the finishing touches on Malatesta's revolutionary education. He was now in the inmost centre of Bakunin's and others plans and confidence, and these men thought of action and prepared real revolutions, at least in Italy and in Spain, not to speak of Russia. Malatesta's rhythm for action at that time was the bayonet charge — keen, fearless attack. I have not heard him waste words over this later on in London, where words are easy and room for action was scarce; but I do not think that any later "coming of age" or so removed that notion of the bayonet charge from his mind made him "wise." He also used to tell — and this more frequently, as it was a useful lesson — how in those early days the Internationalists of each locality made themselves acquainted with all details about the stores of weapons, military preparations, public buildings, strategical points, etc., to be able at a moment's notice to strike at the right point; they did not believe that this practical knowledge would come to them in the moment of action, all by itself in some spontaneous way.

To understand this historically, we must remember that the Paris Commune had then just given a world-wide example of revolutionary action, and that the Italians had conspired, formed bands, fomented insurrections, etc., ever since the French Revolution; so the Italian International of Malatesta's early days stood at the close of a long revolutionary tradition defended before the whole world by Mazzini, but cut short when Mazzini threw over the Paris Commune. They stood up for the Commune and the fighting traditions of their fathers. Bakunin understood and shared their feelings, and liberated them mentally by refuting the religious leanings of Mazzini, just as he put his foot on Mazzini's pseudo-Socialism and Nationalism, proclaiming Internationalism, Collectivist Anarchism, and the Social Revolution. In this atmosphere then, Malatesta grew up and developed, and



Malatesta, a member of one of the Commissions of the International, nominated at Rimini (August 1872), henceforth ceaselessly worked to spread the International in Italy. The next Congress (March 1873) comprised already 53 delegates for about 150 sections. These propagandists travelled about, agitating, organising, preparing everywhere, not yet with a definite plan of action. They closely resemble the early Nihilists, who at the very same time "went among the people" (as the term goes), a resemblance which did not escape Bakunin, who often compared this entire devotion to the movement of the Italian and Russian youth of these years. It was not quite "the illegal life" of persecuted Russians, but they had to be quicker than the police when they wished to get along for some time. The Congress of March, 1873, had already to meet secretly in a factory at Bologna; on its second day Andrea Costa, Cafiero, Malatesta, Alceste Faggioli, and others were arrested — maybe Malatesta's first arrest; the Congress continued to meet in another place. The Government had intended to prosecute the Internationalists as *malfattori* (members of a society of common criminals), but after 54 days Cafiero and Malatesta were released. Cafiero went home to Barletta to realise money for the cause; Malatesta joined Bakunin in Locarno, and found him absorbed by Spanish affairs. He sent long letters there, one of which at least Malatesta and Zamfir Ralli copied for him. Finally, Bakunin was urged to come to Barcelona to join a revolutionary movement. Money being deficient and correspondence not advisable, Malatesta was sent to Barletta, in the South of Italy, to arrange this matter with Cafiero, but upon arriving there he was very soon arrested, and remained in prison for five or six months (July to end of 1873 or later); then he was released without any charge or trial.

He was thus imprisoned arbitrarily for half or two-thirds of one single year, and the same was done to others. No wonder that the International at that period became more or less a secret society and that plans for action originated and ripened. Andrea Costa and Bakunin were the leading spirits; Cafiero, Malatesta and others gave whatever

help they could. The secret appeals of the "Comitato Italiano per la Rivoluzione Sociale" began to be circulated (January, 1874). Popular discontent provoked by the high cost of living led to riots in many places in the first half of that year. At the Berne General Congress of the International (October 1876) Malatesta stated:—

"At the beginning of 1874 a very lively state of agitation prevailed in various parts of Italy, owing to the fall in wages and the exorbitant rise in the price of food. In many localities stores were invaded and plundered . . . The International had thus either to disavow these popular acts entirely or to declare its solidarity with them. The latter alternative was chosen." He thought that it was impossible to have acted otherwise, since by a disavowal all practical partisans of the Revolution would have been lost, and also because he thought that "Revolution consists more in facts than in words, and wherever a spontaneous movement of the people takes place, whenever the workers rise in the name of their rights and their dignity, it is the duty of every revolutionary Socialist to declare himself solidary with the movement in question."

It was decided that all the various factors of discontent, social and political, which Italy then contained should be made to co-operate in general insurrection in the summer of 1874. When, mainly in 1899 and 1903, I tried to retrace the inner history of this last revolutionary effort of Bakunin and his friends I scorned to consult Andrea Costa, as from 1879 onwards he had repudiated Anarchism and entered Parliament. I did so in the case of many others, and thus much information which I probably could have elicited was never recorded, and is lost now as far as I can see. Costa gave a short account in *Bagliori di Socialismo* (1900). Since Malatesta had been in prison during the second half of 1873 and Cafiero was dead, and others like F. Natta, were inaccessible to me, Costa alone could have told to what extent the plan of 1874 originated with Bakunin or himself, or which other factors and considerations made this effort to bring about this general co-operation appear advisable or practical then. I feel somehow that the ambitious spirit of Costa was the prompter and that Bakunin, in spite of his very bitter experience in France (Lyon 1870) and clear insight into the inefficiency of Garibaldi and the Mazzinians for a *social* revolution, yielded to the persuasions of Costa. In any case, Malatesta's long absence and his arrival, perhaps, when this course of action had already been resolved upon, indicated that it was not he who suggested these tactics. He did his share of work in the South by straightforward revolutionary action. So the efforts to interest Garibaldi in this movement, the Mazzinian conference arrested in the Villa Ruffi near Rimini (August 2, 1874), and the ill-fated outbreaks near Bologna and Florence and in other places cannot be discussed here. Bakunin had come to Bologna and shared all the anxiety and distress of the discomfiture. His own testimony was recorded by him day by day from July 13 to October 13, and Malatesta is not mentioned in these

short notes, which, of course, I do not claim to be a complete record. He worked in Apulia far away.

The rifles were sent to Tarent, and the custom house where they reposed as hardware or so was to be seized at the proper time. This being impracticable, they were forwarded to another custom house, and so on — "a little all over Apulia," as Malatesta expressed it; for failure was prevailing there also. What was to be done if of a hundred who had promised to seize these arms only two or three would turn up at the time appointed? Finally, a handful of them seized Castel del Monte, a ruined castle of the mediaeval Emperor Frederick II, and addressed the peasants, who did not respond to their appeals. Gendarmes fired at long distance and retired; a regiment of soldiers then surrounded the castle, but the Internationalists, warned by a friend, passed through their ranks in a haycart hidden under the hay. Malatesta remained a few days in Naples, and was arrested at Pesaro, on his journey to Switzerland (August, 1874).

A year of preventive imprisonment, damaging his health, was followed by a great trial at Trani, leading to a triumphant acquittal (August 5, 1875).

The first trial for Internationalist "conspiracy" in 1874 took place at Rome (May, 1875), and ended with ferocious sentences, later on annulled. The trial at Trani gave the impulse to other acquittals (Florence, Bologna etc), after assizes of monstrous length, the Bologna trial lasting from March 15 to June 17, 1876. Until this last acquittal was secured, for over ten months then, those acquitted earlier had to keep quiet so as not to compromise the case of their comrades. This meant one of the rare periods of relative rest in Malatesta's life.

I know nothing of his domestic life; he had no occasion to speak to me of his mother; his father he mentioned with sympathy. When the latter died, large sums owing to him were outstanding; but the son, from principle, did not have them collected, and thus was about ruined. As he spent almost exactly half of each of the years 1873-74-75 in prison, his regular studies probably came to an end about 1872 or so, which does not mean, of course, that he would neglect intellectual activity from a given date. His few simple wants have been met by occasional work, as they were later on by more continuous skilled work. He never held any paid or titled position in any Labour movement, nor did he sell his intellectual work in any journalist way; this made him independent and ready for action at any moment of his life.

After his release at Trani (August 1875) Malatesta soon went to Locarno, staying for a few days with Cafiero in the "Baroneta" (Cafiero's house), and making a last visit to Bakunin at Lugano. The very grave and painful dissensions which had arisen between Cafiero (whom James Guillaume and Ross joined in this) and Bakunin, beginning in July, 1874, and leading to a complete rupture (September 25), had then subsided into silent animosity; and Malatesta, the friend of both, was happily never drawn in these matters. He could but recognise Bakunin's physical sufferings and depression, which had put an

end to his revolutionary efforts. With Cafiero he consulted about the reorganisation of the Alliance. Both Bakunin and Cafiero desired Malatesta to go to Spain to liberate another member of the intimate group — Alerini, of Marseilles, in prison since 1873 (Barcelona movement), the same who had helped Bakunin to escape from Marseilles to Genoa in the late autumn of 1870. On this journey Malatesta also saw Morago at Madrid, the most advanced Spanish Internationalist of those years. All was rigidly suppressed on the surface, but the International continued as a secret body. In Cadiz he was admitted to the prison like to an hotel, and passed a day there with Alerini and thirty or forty of the Cartagena, Alcoy and Cadiz prisoners of 1873. For a few gold pieces he visited the town with Alerini and two warders, who were made drunk; but Alerini would not go away, and they had the trouble of restoring the drunken warders to the prison. The next day a single gold piece and one warder sufficed, but Alerini once more would not go, so Malatesta gave it up; Alerini's revolutionary days were over.

Malatesta then went to Naples, where he saw Stepniak, and soon after to Rome, where he met Cafiero, Grassi and others. This private conference, held in the spring of 1876, received a last message from Bakunin (who died June 1), transmitted by Serafino Mazzotti. Here the reorganisation of the International and a congress to be held in the autumn (Florence, October) were decided upon. Malatesta was forced by Nicotera's Government to leave Rome and had to live at Naples.

His idea, however, was to fight in Servia against the Turks. The impulse to join the Herzegovinian insurgents, in 1875 seized some Russian revolutionists like Stepniak, Klemens and Ross, who went there, but soon returned disappointed. In Italy, Garibaldi encouraged this movement; Celso Cerretti, the link between Internationalism and Garibaldianism, and others took part, also noted Internationalists like Alceste Faggioli etc. It was for the latter, I believe, to some extent a matter of prestige; since the Garibaldians fought, they would not stay at home, and on the eve of the Russian War anti-Turkish sentiment ran high, from Gladstone to Garibaldi. So Malatesta also decided upon war on Turkey, though Bakunin had sent him a verbal message that such doings reminded him of the good people who made socks for the heathen negroes far away and forgot the half-naked poor at home. Malatesta — so Mazzotti told me — replied somewhat in the sense that wherever war is made on Carthage, Rome is defended — and set out for Trieste, was turned back; set out again and got as far as Neusatz (opposite Belgrade); thence he was sent back in about thirty-day instalments to Udine, where the Italians mistook him for a runaway custom officer, and, after keeping him for a fortnight, forced him to return to Naples.

In Naples (summer of 1876) he passed some time with Cafiero and Emilio Covelli, one of the best thinkers of the International; and there, in their walks on the seaboard, they discussed the economic theories of Collectivism and Communism (to each according to his deeds or needs), and concluded that whilst it was

impossible to fix the value of the individual work of each person, and as the adoption of a uniform standard would imply authoritarian equalisation, the absence of any such system and free access of all to the products of labour according to the needs of each person, would best satisfy the claims of freedom. This was one of the beginnings of Communist Anarchism, another being a small pamphlet (1876) by a Lyons Anarchist, F. Dumarthey, then a refugee at Geneva, and with Perrare and others belonging to the advanced section, "L'Avenir"; another, Peter Krópotkin's writings, which commenced not very long after.

The Italian International was the first body to accept Communist Anarchism (in place of Collectivist Anarchism), at their congress held under great difficulties on October 21-25, 1876, at Florence. Thence Malatesta and Cafiero visited the General Congress of the International, held at Berne, October 26-30, where they met with comrades of various less advanced shades of opinion. The minutes of the Congress (Berne, 1876, 112pp) should be consulted here.

After the Congress, Cafiero, then very poor, having been cheated of a large sum of money, and Malatesta went all about Berne to look for work, and worked for some time in the building trade.

Fresh action, however, was their desire, and this time no general co-operation of advanced parties was looked for as in 1874. The prevailing idea had become that of propaganda by the revolutionary fact — that is, revolutionary acts, whatever their immediate success or sacrifice might be, were expected to act upon the people as an example and a stimulant, and were thus considered useful as such. This is the origin of a number of acts which so-called practical people never could understand, just as unselfishness always remains a mystery to some.

Between Florence and Berne Cafiero and Malatesta settled upon such an undertaking, the starting of a local insurrection in a mountainous Neapolitan province; they were expected to hold out for some weeks or longer, and thus to give an impetus to other local or more general revolts all over the country.* Their means were very slender; a Russian female comrade Mme Sm —, gave some thousands of francs, and Cafiero gave almost the rest of his once fair fortune. In Naples their plans were furthered by Stepniak, who wrote an insurrectionary manual for them.† About 300 local people were enrolled, and numbers of comrades arrived from more northern parts of Italy. The movement was only possible in May, when the snow was gone from the mountains and sheep would afford food. But the principal local agent, a quasi-revolutionary ex-Garibaldian, was a traitor, and all those whom he knew were arrested, save Malatesta and Cafiero, who kept in hiding. This prompted them to start at once, even in April, and with no Southern or local people among them, except Malatesta and Cafiero, which made the peasants mistrust and dislike them. However on April 6 the twenty-eight started and took to the mountains for Letino and Gallo, two villages where they burned the official records, gave confiscated goods to the people, and were, strange to say, made

welcome by the local priests, who proved to them — one by unveiling the indescribable filth underneath his clerical garments — that they were as poor as anybody could be, and declared them to be very good young men, the true followers of Christ.‡ But all round them the military gathered and nothing but snowy mountainous deserts were open to them, which led to their final surrender after great exhaustion.

They remained in preventive imprisonment at Capua, Malatesta's birthplace, for one year (until April 1878), when a political amnesty after the death of Victor Emanuel I abolished the main charges against them. But as two gendarmes had met with their death, it was proposed to indict them for manslaughter, and they passed four months more in the prison of Benevento. This scandalous distortion of the amnesty made the jury anxious to acquit them (August 1878), after a week's trial. F.S. Merlino was one of their counsel and wrote "A proposito del processo di Benevento" (1878). Details are most conveniently found now in J. Guillaume's "L'Internationale."

Cafiero while in prison wrote his abbreviation of Marx's "Capital." Malatesta explained to me that they all, Bakunin also, theoretically fully accepted the criticism of Marx applied to the capitalist system. At that time, after the Benevent attempt, fifty or more copies of the French translation of "Capital" were bought at Naples by the general public; previously hardly a single copy had been sold.

† † †

After the trial Malatesta spent a month at Naples and then travelled to Egypt. After Passanante's attempt on the life of King Umebrto, when a counter-manifestation against a patriotic outburst was being prepared, Malatesta, Parini and Alvino were arrested, and Malatesta was transported by ship to Beyrout (Syria), where the Italian Consul and he strongly disagree as to how he should be further disposed of. Finally, he worked his way, helping unloading, with a French ship from port to port, the captain, a brave man,

Footnotes

*Bakunin in 1869 had given similar advice to some Bulgarian revolutionists who had consulted him at Geneva. This fact was no doubt unknown to the Italians of 1876, who above all wanted to avoid the mistakes made in 1874.

†A manuscript copy of this little handbook was given to me by Z. Ralli, an old Bakunian, at Bucarest in 1893 to be returned to his old friend Stepniak. When in 1894 I consulted Stepniak about his impressions of Bakunin (1875) he was in a somewhat moderate mood, and began to combat Anarchist violence. This was or was not the right moment to hand him back his old handbook for Anarchist bands — anyhow, there it was before his eyes, and he slowly but surely recognised it. His face then underwent some wonderful changes, from blank wonder to a peculiar kind of smile, and somehow his denunciation of violence was adjourned. I did not then know the precise history of the manuscript or I should have copied it. It may still repose among Stepniak's papers.

refusing to hand him over to the Italian authorities, who bargained for this, at Smyrna, Castellamare and Leghorn, landing him safe at Marseilles, when he travelled to Geneva.

At that time the *Revolte* (preceding the *Temps Nouveaux*) was about to be founded (No. 1 appeared February 22, 1879) by P. Kropotkin and others. Malatesta took part in the preparatory meetings. After a short time he and several other Italian Anarchists were perpetually expelled from Switzerland; the publication of a manifesto or some similar expression of their ideas (to be found in the contemporary papers) furnished the immediate pretext.

Malatesta went to Roumania where he found some employment, but had to leave owing to fever. He then made his way to Paris, where Cafiero, after passing some time in Switzerland, had also gone (about 1879).

In Paris he witnessed and assisted at almost the origin and first growth of the Anarchist movement, which has since continued without interruption. It had been initiated about 1877 by secret relations with French Anarchist Internationalists in the Jura Mountains and at Berne (Louis Pindy, of the Paris Commune, Paul Brousse, etc.), and Andrea Costa had gone to Paris as their confidential agent to spread the ideas and organisation of the International. Costa was soon arrested and kept rather long in prison, where his ideas underwent a change towards Parliamentarism. Cafiero and Malatesta were made of better stuff and valiantly explained Anarchism to the rising French groups. V. Tcherkesov, after his years of Siberian exile dating from the Netchaev trial of 1871, was their friend and comrade; and Jean Grave also dates from this time. Needless to say, the Government soon weeded out the foreigners, and Cafiero and Malatesta were thus expelled from France (in 1880).

Cafiero left for Switzerland; Malatesta, who worked as a mechanic, changed his quarters and stayed until he was arrested at a Commune celebration. He had the passport of a Swiss comrade, under whose name he was expelled again and sent to London. He chose to return to Paris, for which he was sentenced to six months, which he exchanged for four and a half months of solitary confinement.

I have a vague recollection that after this he went to Brussels, and I believe that it was then he challenged Paul Lafargue to a duel, Lafargue having insulted Spanish Anarchist Internationalists, like Morago and others, then dead or in prison. Lafargue refused to fight, on principle, which was his right, but did not withdraw his insults. By the way, Lafargue, ever since 1872 the constant enemy and insulter of Bakunin and his comrades, was not sufficiently anti-Anarchist in the eyes of his father-in-law, Karl Marx. For on November 11, 1882 Marx cries out in a letter to Engels: "Longuet, the last Proudhonist, and Lafargue, the last Bakuninist, may the Devil come to fetch them!" Marx haunted by the imagination that his two sons-in-law were — the last Anarchists! — in that enlightened spirit Anarchism was understood by Marx! — whilst Anarchists like Cafiero in prison put their soul into explaining and making accessible the work of Marx (see above.)

Malatesta, therefore, was then or at a

slightly different time in Belgium and unquestionably expelled, which made him finally settle in London some time in 1880 or 1881, where he remained for two or three years.

He was a delegate at the International Revolutionary Congress (summer of 1881) with Kropotkin, Merlino, John Neve and others including the revolutionary and Anarchist initiators of the English movement, Joseph Lane, F. Kitz (I believe), and a few others. An article on Garibaldi (after his death) will be found in one of the three issues of Lothrop Withington's *Democratic Review* (1882), almost the first one I can think of signed by Malatesta. Papers played a relatively small part in the Italian International from 1871 onwards, though very many were published. They were so constantly persecuted and suppressed, and the propagandists themselves hunted about or imprisoned, that there was little room or leisure for theoretical work or for large papers in general. Nevertheless, the two *Martello*, the *Anarchia* of Naples (by



Covelli), the *Avvenire* of Modena etc., had a little more stability, and in some of these Malatesta's early writings are likely to be found. In London, in the summer of 1881, Cafiero, Malatesta, and Solieri issued the prospectus of *L'Insurrezione*, a paper that was never published.

In 1881-82 Malatesta must have undergone the most painful impressions, seeing at his side the intellect of Cafiero decline and almost vanish. Andrea Costa's defection had been that of a *viveur* who has had enough of the meagre fare of Anarchism and goes over to the opulent table of Parliamentary power; a glance at Costa's exterior (I saw him at the Paris Congress of 1889) settled that problem. Also Cafiero, in a letter printed in the Naples *Grido del Popolo* of July 21, 1881, speaks with utter contempt of Costa's ambition, vanity and hypocrisy. But somehow Cafiero's mind got obscured, and whilst he publishes "God and the State" with Elisee Reclus (Geneva, 1882), and begins to prepare a biography of Bakunin (collecting valuable documents which then

got lost or are hopelessly mislaid), he puts before Malatesta, Ceccarelli, and others the first outlines of a plan of Parliamentary tactics which nothing can dissuade him from. At the same time his friends saw by ever so many details of personal life that he was insane. In this state he hurried from London to Locarno (March, 1882), then to Milan, and openly proclaimed his new ideas in a letter published October 27, 1882. Almost at the same time he is placed in an asylum, and after several months in a terrible state conducted to the Swiss frontier, where he tries to commit suicide. After some improvement owing to the kind treatment of Bakunin's Ticinese friend E. Bellerio, he insists on again entering Italy, where on February 13, 1883, the gates of the asylum close behind him; he was discharged many years after, a wreck in health and soon died.

Even the Parliamentary Socialists could not gain much by this tragedy, but the case of Costa was very much more exploited. Costa, to make himself valuable and to escape from the shameful isolation of a renegade, did all he could to induce others to join him. Then the elections of protest, to rescue the imprisoned Cipriani, whose election would not be valid, drew another red herring across the path of the revolutionary movement. And many Anarchists had been crushed, ruined, silenced by ten years of constant persecution.

It was then that Malatesta came forward and for the first time took the principal weight of the struggle on his shoulders, fighting this time not with arms but with arguments to maintain revolutionary Anarchism and to dispel the fallacies and allurements of Parliamentary tactics.

I cannot say whether he expected an amnesty to allow him to return to Italy, or what made him choose Florence for the publication of his paper *La Questione Sociale* (1884-85)* It is long since I looked over with any great interest, the collection of that paper kept in the British Museum, and all I could say on this, the first real propagandist paper — all the others were more fighting papers, I should say — would be taken from its columns. It contains a magnificent campaign against Parliamentary Socialism. From its columns is also taken the most widespread of Malatesta's pamphlets, the "Talk about Anarchist Communism between Two Workers" (Freedom Pamphlets, 3; 1891), first issued as: "Propaganda Socialista (Fra Contadini)," Firenze, September, 1884. By the way, a Chinese translation of this, printed in Paris in 1907 or 1908, is the most diminutive Anarchist publication I have seen. From Norwegian to Armenian there are translations of this popular tract.

This propaganda, the first continuous propaganda on a large scale in Anarchist Italy, was cut short, as usual, by the persecution of Malatesta for press or speech offences. He

Footnote

*In 1883 or 1884 he went to Naples to nurse in a hospital the victims of a terrible epidemic of cholera. Many Anarchists and Socialists (Costa included) did the same then, and the editor of the Anarchist *Proximus Taus*, if I remember rightly, met his death in this way.

stayed until the house was never free from observation by the police, who shadowed him wherever he went; then, thinking he had sacrificed years enough of his youth to the prisons of these people, he left the house under their noses inside a large case supposed to contain a sewing machine, I believe.

A condemnation pronounced at Rome was pending against him (1885) and this time he left Europe altogether and lived in South America, the Argentine Republic, until 1889. I believe that some Anarchist papers at Buenos Aires and the local movement, which had then just begun, got his support. At one time he and others of this little group were transported in a summary way to the far South, to be landed in a desert port on the Patagonian coast. Malatesta (I heard him tell this) strongly protested and to emphasise this protest jumped into the sea, challenging the captain to leave him there in the icy water. This shamed the captain, who had him rescued and did not land him as ordered. When we asked him whether the water was not very cold, Malatesta said that he never thought of that, he was boiling with indignation and felt hot even in that icy ocean.

What brought him back to Europe I do not know, but on September 6, 1889 *L'Associazione* a large paper similar to the *Question Sociale*, began to be published at Nice. At that time the most impudent spy of the Italian Government, Carlo Terzaghi, exposed as early as 1872 by Cafiero, had again laid his nets, corresponding under an assumed name with ever so many Italian and other comrades by *poste restante* letters. Malatesta recognised at a glance the handwriting of Terzaghi and exposed him in the new paper. No wonder that after one or two issues he and the paper had to leave Nice and France, and so he came once more to London (about October, 1889), where I first saw him in the Socialist League, as mentioned previously. The paper continued publication at Fulham, and a good sum of money was in hand to expand it and to print pamphlets. All at once that money was stolen by one of the publishing group, and the paper came to an end; seven numbers (until January 23, 1890) and a proof slip telling of the disaster were issued.

The propaganda was, however, slowly continued by the publication of excellent pamphlets — (Biblioteca dell' Associazione): "La Politca Parlamentare nel Movimento Socialista" (1), 1890; "In Tempo di Elezioni" (2), 1890; "Fra Contadini" (3), December, 1890; April, 1891; "L'Anarchia" (5), March, 1891 ("Anarchy," Freedom Pamphlets, 1892); all by Malatesta.

We find him henceforth writing occasionally in the *Revolte* at least I believe so) and the *Temps Nouveaux*, always only when he has something to say, to state his opinion on a given controversial question. No author ever less imposed himself by useless repetitions or amplifications of known things; he would be prepared to use the utmost patience in elementary propaganda, but he would not inflict a line upon the reader when he had object in view.

"Un Peu de Theorie" in the *Paris Endehors* (August 21, 1892), may also be mentioned, reprinted in pamphlet form in Brussels, 1899.

Ten years later he wrote another popular

propagandist pamphlet, "Al Caffè: Conversazione sul Socialismo Anarchico" (Paterson, N.J., 1902), at least this is the earliest edition I am aware of now. "Il Nostro Programma" 1903 (*ib.*); "Non Votale!" (Mantova, 1904); and "Il Suffragio Universale" (*ib.*, 1904 or 1905), are less well known, and may be reprints of passing articles.

From London, where he probably stayed until the first months of 1897, he went over to Paris occasionally, and on the eve of expected great revolutionary days, Firsts of Mays or so, to be on the spot for the revolution which was not forthcoming. — He had learned Spanish in Spain and South America, and suddenly made a wonderful tour of meetings and lectures all over Spain in 1891 or 1892. The Xeres revolt occurred just after Malatesta had gone (he had to go), and no further chance was given him to enter Spain again. — The Italian movement was reorganised by the Congress held at Capolago (Ticino, Switzerland) in the beginning of the nineties, Malatesta being present. It was then he was arrested in Lugano, threatened with extradition to Italy, which raised a general outcry, and meanly put in prison for some weeks or months for transgressing the expulsion decree of 1878 or 1879.

When in 1893-94 the discontent in Italy was at its height, the Sicilian peasants on the verge of revolution, etc., several of the old exiled Anarchists secretly returned to Italy, and were hunted after like wild beasts. Merlino was chased over the park of Naples, and arrested in an utterly exhausted condition. Malatesta was the bugbear of the press — he was seen hidden everywhere, so to speak. Many versions were printed then, but I had no reason to question him since on these matters, so I have nothing clear before my mind on his adventures of 1893-94, only that he baffled them all and was never captured.

Dr. Merlino had been to the United States in 1892, where the *Grido degli Oppressi* and Edelman's *Solidarity* (started respectively on June 5 and 18, 1892, at New York) bear witness to his propagandist energy and helpfulness. Malatesta could not publicly support the English-speaking propaganda; what he wrote for Freedom was always written in French and translated. So in the United States (in 1895, I think) he had to restrict himself to rousing the Italian propaganda in many places and possibly the Spanish also, represented by the *Despertar* of his friend P. Esteve. If I am not quite mistaken, the *Question Sociale*, of Paterson, N.J. (July 15, 1895, *seq.*), owes much initial help to him; but my memory may fail me. Several excellent propagandists went to the States in the nineties, as Pietro Gori, E. Milano, G. Ciancabilla, who are all dead, and Luigi Galleani, of the *Cronaca Sovversiva*, who after so many years has now returned to Italy to be as active as ever.

In August, 1896, *L'Anarchia* (a single issue) was published in London by Malatesta or the group to which he belonged.

At last in 1897 an amnesty or the withdrawal of an early condemnation enabled Malatesta to return to Italy, where he at once became the life and soul of a more intense propaganda than ever before and also of the third of his

series of large papers; the whole Anarchist press, by the way, had expanded since on their lines. If I say he at once became the life and soul of a large movement, the truth is that he had never ceased to be this, that he had kept up all his relations, kept in touch with everything, however long his absence lasted; so the moment he touched his native soil again he reaped what he had patiently sown; he was up to date every hour of his life.

L'Agitazione, published at Ancona (March 14, 1897), afterwards at Rome, with ever so many new names when numbers had been seized (*Agitatore, Agitiamoci, Agitatevi, Pro Agitazione*, etc.), lasted until 1906, if not longer. But Malatesta had been driven from Italy again by a prosecution started in 1898. The "Resoconto del Processo Malatesta e Compagni" (Tunis, 1898, 119pp), his *Autodifesa*, etc., must here be consulted. I cannot state from memory the time he had to pass in prison then; from the prison he was transported to one of the penitential islands in the Mediterranean. From there he departed, to make his way back to his third long London exile, which lasted from about 1899 to 1900 to the early part of 1913.

† † †

Again this man who has always worked unselfishly for the common good was deprived, at the height of his development, of his native soil, sun and sky for twelve long years or more by the tyrant of the hour. Most of us know how he lived in London, in a small room in the house of his friends and old comrades, the family Defendi. He acquired also a work-room (I have never seen it) and executed electrical installations and repairs. About the end of 1894, in the building which is now Freedom office, he helped to put together the venerable printing machine on which the Rossettis printed the *Torch*, and on which afterwards Freedom was printed for many years; and in later visits to London he improved the lighting and other fittings of the stately offices of this journal. Once a nail pierced his palm, causing a frightful wound; how he



escaped blood poisoning is a mystery. Another time exposure at work brought on inflammation of the lungs, which made all despair of his life. His health declined so much owing to living in London that a winter in Portugal, the only southern country where the native of Capua could have gone then, seemed advisable; but he could not be persuaded to go. So the years pass away; so many die or disappear; he turns grey just a little and appears unchanged, always patient, cheerful, friendly. He speaks some English now, and I assisted at what he declared to be his first English speech; he writes it very much better. His closer friends in these years are V. Tcherkesov, Tarrida del Marmol, S. Nacht – Kropotkin also, of course, though they seldom find time to meet.

He is ferociously detested by the authors of numbers of leaflets, Italian and French, who oppose his views on organisation with an insistence alleged to be Individualist, but which to me appears as authoritarian as anything could be. His views on organisation may be open to challenge, in theory before all; in practical matters his clear judgment and experience always demand the fullest consideration.

In looking back on this, I feel I was always moved by the consideration that his too great intellectual superiority and personal prestige would make it difficult for others to exist beside him in the same movement except in a position of voluntary subordination of their proper will. Such a time when he filled the whole movement so to speak, did exist; before, there were others with whom he himself had felt able to co-operate without quarrel or ambition, on the basis of perfect equality, from his earliest beginnings. It was not his fault, but his great merit, that for some time he almost alone filled the gap, and appeared to be quite overwhelming them. Since that time the movement, I believe, has grown so immensely that this danger of personal preponderance is over now for all those who will not recognise it and go their own way, thinking for themselves. Life is stronger and larger than the most superior personality. So to my mind the situation has changed, and after years or an age almost, of isolation he is fortunate to pass his later days now within a large, growing and hopeful movement, just as his early life, say up till 1877, was passed within such a movement. What storms has he weathered between these dates and what may still be before him, the most exposed Anarchist of our time (a general remark which is not meant to underrate the value and energy of so many other comrades less in view, in Spain, in the United States and everywhere).

His life in London did not pass without a few adventures or dreary new experiences. Thus during the Houndsditch affair of 1910 it became evident that one of the most compromised persons had worked at his shop and made use of his name and good faith; even the police knew him too well to try to implicate him further in this affair. Not so the judge at the Old Bailey, who on May 20, 1912, sentenced him to three months' imprisonment, with a recommendation for his deportation afterwards, for having drawn attention to the suspicious behaviour of an Italian named Bellelli, saying he was a spy. The leaflet on which the charge of criminal libel was based

was entitled "Errico Malatesta alla Colonia Italiana di Londra," dated April 22, 1912. The Italian comrades in London, believing that justice would be done to Malatesta by a higher court, lodged an appeal; but the judge, an old Tory reactionary, refused to grant it. "An Appeal to the Men and Women of London," by the Malatesta Release Committee: "Malatesta" an editorial in the *Manchester Guardian*, May 25; "Why we Demand Malatesta's Release: Memorandum on the Malatesta Scandal" (Italian Defence Committee); a special issue called *La Gogna* (July); Kropotkin's note in the *Nation*, etc., bear witness to the indignation roused by that sentence; and as a sop to public opinion the House Secretary declined to sign the order for deportation. So Malatesta also saw the inside of an English prison.

Some special issues or small London Italian papers represent his opinions: I will mention all those I possess of that period; though they may not all belong to this group – which I cannot verify just now: *Cause ed Effetti* (September 1900), *L'Internazionale* (1901, four numbers), *La Rivoluzione Sociale* (1902, nine numbers) *Germinal* (May 1, 1903) *L'Insurrezione* (July 1905), *La Guerra Tripolitana* (April 1912).

Of course, for all these years the principal Italian and French papers have to be consulted for articles and letters, also the files of *Freedom*. Contributions to daily papers, magazines etc., on the other hand, do not exist at all, I think; and the news which London correspondents by and by began to circulate about Malatesta, who, for Italy, began to mean "copy," must not be believed.

The Tripolitan War brigandage brought Malatesta to the front in London meetings held in opposition. He also saw clearly through Herve, whose evolution I was foolish enough not to foresee in what I once wrote in *Freedom* on his London meeting.

Malatesta had one great fault, in my opinion (besides his leaning towards organisation) – that of not writing the real story of his life and times. This is the more to be regretted, as by a fire in 1893 in the house in Islington where he lived for so many years most of his papers, many old documents which he had carefully kept, were destroyed. He was still for making not for writing history, and he was right; he was one of the latent forces of Anarchism, and is still at work when so many others are resigned to slumber, if not to sleep.

I forget to remark that he gave his hearty support to the Anarchist International founded by the Congress held at Amsterdam in August 1907.

† † †

In 1913 the time came for another Italian campaign at last. Malatesta published *Volonta* at Ancona (June 8, 1913, to June, 1914). After a lively anti-electioneering propaganda in 1913, the career of this paper culminated in, and was cut short by, a real popular movement in Ancona and the smaller towns of the Romagna, where Anarchists, Socialists, revolutionary Republicans and Anti-Clericals co-operated for some days in a way the originators of the combination of 1874 (see above) could not have dreamed better. This time there was hard fighting, a final defeat, but no discom-



fiture, rather a very quick recovery. But Malatesta had to leave Italy once more, after adventures which the press so grossly distorted or misstated that the more we read about them the less we know. I know only that one fine day he arrived safely at Geneva and very soon after in London.

Here the war overtook him like all of us. The readers of *Freedom* know his opinions from articles like "Anarchists have Forgotten Their Principles" (November 1914), "Italy Also!" (June, 1915), "Pro Government Anarchists" (April, 1916), circulated in France as a pamphlet ("Anarchistes de Gouvernement"). Other means of information fail me; the *Geneva Reveil* and the *Cronaca Sovversiva* ought to be consulted before all.

For many months after 1916 Malatesta to a far away blockaded outsider at least, as I am now, appears to have remained silent. In 1919 he saw the time had come to return to Italy. But to escape from England in 1919 was a harder task for him than to escape from Italian persecutions ever so many times during his long career of nearly fifty years of a rebel's life. For although the Italian Consul gave him a passport for Italy, the French Government refused to allow him to travel through France. However, the captain of a ship was persuaded to grant him a passage to Genoa, where he landed in December, and was welcomed enthusiastically by the Italian workers. Now in Italy once again Malatesta was able to throw himself into the struggle with renewed vigour. He settled in Milan and from there

travelled throughout the country addressing meetings in all the major towns and cities. It was after one such meeting, held in Florence at the end of January 1920, that he was arrested by the authorities and freed only after a general strike had been threatened. Soon after this incident Malatesta accepted the editorship of the newly founded anarchist daily newspaper *Umanita Nova* whose circulation later in the year was to be 50,000 copies.

Malatesta participated in the Second Congress of the *Unione Anarchica Italiana* which was held in Bologna between the 1st and 4th of July. Here the congress accepted with enthusiasm the programme he had written for it. With the occupation of the factories by the workers in Milan and Turin which began in August, Malatesta visited many of the factories that had been taken over and addressed the workers, who received him with great warmth. Despite this though, and Malatesta's constant warnings against a sell out, the revolutionary movement was betrayed by the workers' own unions aided by the socialist parties.

In October 1920 Malatesta was arrested together with 80 other anarchist militants. He was held for ten months in Milan's San Vittore prison before he was brought to trial, and during that time was treated in the most abominable manner, his age, he was almost 70, making no difference. When at last he was tried, in July 1921, he and the majority of his comrades were acquitted.

On his release Malatesta moved to Rome and resumed his work on *Umanita Nova* which had moved from Milan during his imprisonment. *Umanita Nova* continued to appear despite the governmental rationing of news print and attacks on the printing works by groups of fascists, until it was finally forced to close soon after Mussolini's so called march on Rome in October 1922.

Malatesta was refused a passport to attend the 1921 International Anarchist Congress in Amsterdam, but he did somehow manage to cross the border into Switzerland, (maybe the same way he had done 50 years before) to attend an international meeting to commemorate the 50th anniversary of the St. Imer Congress of which he was the sole surviving participant.

With the enforced closure of *Umanita Nova* Malatesta opened a little shop undertaking mechanical repairs and electrical installations. He was though eventually forced to close this down after his clients were systematically molested by the police.

In January 1924 he began to edit the bi-monthly review *Pensiero e Volonta*. This publication was to contain some of his best writings until it was forbidden in November 1926 along with all other non-fascist publications. With the closing of *Pensiero e Volonta* Malatesta was constantly followed by the police until the end of 1926 when he was placed under house arrest in Rome. The police were not only stationed outside the house where he lived with his companion, but also outside his flat inside the house. All visitors were arrested and his mail was opened. Despite this though he continued to write and did manage to get articles out of the country to be published in the International anarchist press. The best of these articles include the reply he made to Arshinov's Platform,

published in 1927 in Luigi Bertoni's bi-lingual *Le Reveil/Il Risveglio* of Geneva and his last article, the superb recollections of Kropotkin published in 1931 in *Studii Sociali*.

Virtually imprisoned in his flat, separated from almost all his comrades and friends and isolated from the international anarchist movement he had done so much to stimulate, Malatesta's health began to decline. Early in 1932 he fell fatally ill from the respiratory complaint that had plagued him throughout his life. From April onwards he could only breathe with the aid of oxygen. He died at 12.20 p.m. on July 22nd 1932 and was buried in an unmarked grave as the fascists feared his resting place would be a rallying point for anarchist resistance.



MAX NETTLAU

ERRICO MALATESTA SYNDICALISM AND ANARCHISM

The question of the relation between the labour movement and the progressive parties is an old and everlasting one. This question still is, however, and will remain of interest as long as there exists, on the one hand, a large portion of the masses tormented by unsatisfied needs and incited by sometimes fiery, but always vague and indefinite aspirations to a better life, and, on the other hand, men and political parties who, having a particular conception of a better form of society and of the best means of establishing same, endeavour to obtain the consent of the masses, whose support is necessary for the realisation of their projects. This question is of still greater importance now that, after the catastrophes brought about by the war and its aftermath, everyone is preparing, even if only spiritually, for a revival of activity which to be followed by the fall of the still pugnacious though already tottering tyrannies.

This is why I shall endeavour to show clearly what, in my opinion, the attitude of the Anarchists should be towards the labour organisations.

I do not think that, today there still exists among us any one who would deny the usefulness and necessity of the organisation of labour as a means of material and moral betterment of the masses, as a fertile field for propaganda and as a force indispensable to the social transformation we are aiming for. No one any longer doubts the importance of the organisation of labour, which matters more to us Anarchists than to anyone else, for we believe that the new social order must not and cannot be forcibly imposed by a new government, but must of needs result of the free and concerted effort of all. Moreover, the labour movement is now a powerfully and universally established fact; fighting against it would be joining hands with the oppressors, ignoring it would be remaining outside of the people's life and forever being condemned to impotency.

Still, although we all, or almost all, agree as to the usefulness and necessity of the Anarchists taking an active part in the labour movement, acting as its initiators and its supporters, we, nevertheless, disagree as to the form, the conditions and the limits of such participation.

Many comrades aspire to fuse into one the Labour and Anarchist movements; and, wherever they are able to do so, as for instance in Spain and Argentina, and also to a certain extent, in Italy, France, Germany etc., they do their utmost to give the labour organisations a purely anarchistic programme. These are the comrades who call themselves "Anarcho-Syndicalists" or those who, uniting with others who in reality are not Anarchists, take the name of "Revolutionary Syndicalists."

It is necessary clearly to explain what is

meant by "Syndicalism."

If it is the "future society" we desire, i.e. if, by "syndicalism" we mean the form of social organisation which is to take the place of the capitalist society and of the state, then, either "syndicalism" is the same as "Anarchy" and is nothing but a confusing word, or it is something different from "Anarchy" and, for this very reason it cannot be accepted by Anarchists. As a matter of fact, among the various ideas and plans concerning the future society, as expounded by this or that syndicalist, some are genuine anarchistic ideas and plans, but others are only duplicating, under different names and with different modalities, the same authoritarian structure, which is, today, causing the evils we deplore; they have, consequently, nothing whatever in common with "Anarchy."

But I am not going to deal here with syndicalism as a social system, for as such, it cannot be of any value in determining the present action of the Anarchists with regard to the labour movement.

What we are concerned with, here, is the labour movement under a state and capitalist regime; and, under the name of "Syndicalism" are included all labour organisations, all unions which were created in order to resist oppression by employers and to lessen or, if possible, bring to an end, the exploitation of human labour by those who have taken hold of the raw materials and the instruments of labour.

Now, my contention is that these organisations cannot be anarchistic and that it is not right to want them to be such, for if they were, they would not any longer fulfill their aim and could not be used for the ends Anarchists have in view when taking part in them.

Unions are created with a view to defend today, the present interests of the toilers, and to better their conditions as much as possible until they are in a position to make the social revolution, which will change the present wage slaves into free workers, freely associated for the benefit of all.

In order for the union to accomplish its aim and to be, at the same time, a means of education and a field for propaganda tending to cause a future and radical social transformation, it must include all the workers or, at least, all those who aspire to better their condition, and enable them to offer some kind of resistance to their exploiters. Are we to wait until all workers have become anarchists before we invite them to organise themselves, and before we accept them as members of organisations thus inverting the natural course of propaganda and of the psychological development of the individuals – organising the resistance when resistance is no longer needed, the masses already being able to accomplish the revolution? In this case a union would be the very same thing as an anarchist group and would remain unable either to obtain better conditions or to bring about the revolution. Or, do we want to have the Anarchist Programme written on paper and be satisfied with a formal, unconscious recognition of its principles, and thus gather together a flock sheepishly following their organisers and ready to scatter or go to the enemy when the first opportunity arises to

prove that they are anarchists in earnest?

Syndicalism (I mean "practical syndicalism," not "theoretical syndicalism," of which each one has a different conception) is reformist by its very nature. All that we can expect of it is that the reforms it aims at and obtains be such and be obtained in such a way as to help education and revolutionary preparation and leave the door open for always greater demands.

Each fusion or confusion between the Anarchist and Revolutionary movement and that of Syndicalism results either in rendering the union powerless to attain its specific aim, or in attenuating, falsifying and extinguishing the spirit of Anarchism.

A union may be founded with a socialistic, revolutionary or anarchistic programme and, in fact, the various labour organisations generally were born with such programmes. But they remain true to their programme only so long as they are weak and powerless, that is, so long as they still are groups of propaganda, initiated and animated by a few enthusiastic and convinced individuals rather than organisms capable of any efficient action. Then, as they succeeded

in attracting the masses into their midst and in acquiring sufficient strength to demand and command ameliorations, their original programme becomes nothing but an empty formula to which nobody pays any more attention; the tactics adapt themselves to the necessities as they arise and the enthusiasts of the first hour must either adapt themselves or give up their place to "practical" men, who pay attention to the present only, without giving any thought to the future.

Certainly, there are comrades, who, though they stand at the very head of the syndicalist movement, remain sincere and enthusiastic Anarchists. Just so are there labour organisations inspired by Anarchist thoughts. But bringing forth the thousands of cases in which these men and these organisations act in contradiction to the Anarchist principles in every day practice, would be too easy criticism. A pitiful necessity, we admit! One cannot act purely as an Anarchist when one is compelled to bargain with employers and the authorities; one cannot make the masses do things for themselves when the masses refuse to do them and request, nay, insist on having leaders.



But why confuse Anarchism with what is not Anarchism; and why assume, as Anarchists, responsibility for compromises made necessary by the very fact that the mass is not anarchistic even if it has written an Anarchist programme into the constitution of its organisations?

† † †

In my opinion Anarchists should not want the unions to be anarchistic; they should only work in them for anarchistic purposes as individuals, as groups and as federations of groups. Just as there are, or there should be, groups for study and discussion groups for written or spoken propaganda among the masses, co-operative groups, groups working in offices, in the fields, in the barracks, in the schools, etc., special groups should also be created in the various organisations interested in the class struggle.

Naturally, the ideal would be that every one be an Anarchist and that the organisations function in an anarchistic manner; but then it is obvious that if this would be the case it would no longer be necessary to organise for the struggle against exploiters, as there would be no more exploiters. Present conditions being what they are, the development of the masses in which we are working as it is, Anarchist groups should not demand of the organisations that they act as if they were anarchistic; they should only endeavour to make these organisations use tactics as near the Anarchist tactics as possible. If, for the sake of the organisation's life and needs, they find it truly necessary to come to terms, give in and come in foul contact with the authorities and with the exploiters, so be it; but let the others and not the Anarchists do it, for their mission is to demonstrate the insufficiency and precarious character of all ameliorations that can be obtained under the capitalist regime, and to steer the struggle toward ever more radical solutions.

In the unions, Anarchists should fight so that these remain open for all the workers, whatever opinion they may hold and to whatever party they may belong, the only provision being that they agree to unite with the others in the struggle against exploitation. Anarchists should oppose the narrow trade union spirit and all pretexts to monopolise the organisations and the work. They should prevent the members of the unions from becoming mere tools in the hands of politicians for electoral or otherwise authoritarian ends; they should preach and practice direct action, decentralisation, autonomy, free initiative, they should endeavour to make the members of the unions directly take part in the life of the organisations without the need of leaders and permanent functionaries.

They should, in a word, remain Anarchists, always keep in contact with the Anarchists and remember that the labour organisations do not constitute the end but only one of the various means, no matter how important it may be, of preparing the advent of Anarchy.

Errico Malatesta

(From *Pensiero e Volonta*, April-May, 1925.)



DISCIPLINE!

Discipline: the great word they use to paralyse the will of class conscious workers.

And we too want discipline, for there is no material possibility of victory in the absence of agreement, in the absence of co-ordination of sporadic efforts into common, simultaneous action.

But it should not be woolly discipline, blind devotion to leaders, obedience to whoever gives the order not to move.

Revolutionary discipline is consistency with the ideas accepted, adherence to undertakings entered into, the feeling of duty to share the work and the risks with one's fellows in the fight.

Let us speak out clearly.

Given the material resources on which the government can rely, what we need today for victory is a general movement or one which, initiated in one place spreads rapidly to encompass Italy as a whole. We need to have weapons. We need the complicity or passive acquiescence of a part of the army, we need agreement on aid from the public services to the government being interrupted and turned instead to the purposes of the revolution. It must be made impossible for the authorities to act, and likewise such persons as may be deemed most likely to organise and oversee the defence of the bourgeois order. The mass has to be involved in the revolution straight away with action to show how it has the mastery, how wealth is the property of all and so all must look after it and use it in an intelligent way. Many other things are needed that revolutionaries are aware of, or must find out about, and on which they ought to reach agreement.

But how do we go about acting on them?

Those who do, or say they do, want a "disciplined" revolution think of it in the same terms as would a General on the General Staff, or the old Mazzinian conspirators and—why not say it?—a little like we ourselves used to think of it in the old International when we were organising the Rebellions of 1874 and 1878 and so many others that never even reached

the ears of the public, because they never even reached square one in terms of implementation. A central committee, nominating sub-committees and so on, collecting funds, getting hold of and distributing the wherewithal, making plans, setting the date, handing down orders. Generally it comes to nothing.

At the eleventh hour someone informed, many took fright, some were arrested, instructions failed to arrive or were misinterpreted, a thousand unforeseen problems and a whole laboriously elaborated plan ends in fiasco, sometimes a heroic one, but a fiasco nevertheless.

And if the old conspiratorial approach availed nothing in those days, then the problems would be all the greater nowadays. Today the government has greater resources with which to scuttle any plot; it arrests the ringleaders, mobilises the mercenary press, sends out phoney telegrams, and so forth.

Then again, in addition to spies and those gripped by fear, there are the ones who are undisciplined by nature, who are sometimes to be numbered among the most fervid, who throw up the head when given an order, but who later on act on their own energy with real discipline as if one had told them: Do what you will.

Nowadays folk do not want to take orders any more. That is a good thing for us, but it will bode ill for others; but in any event it is a fact that has to be faced.

This being so, if revolution is to be made today, if one wants to make revolution for real, one must adopt some other approach.

One must agree on what is to be done, and in what circumstances; and whenever those circumstances provided for do crop up, act immediately without waiting for orders from anyone and turning a blind eye to those orders which may be contrary to the action agreed upon.

That is if it is the party that makes the first move. But if, on the other hand, action should begin among the masses, so much the better; we must follow the mass and shove it towards the attainment of our objectives.

Had this approach been taken with regard to the cost of living protests the situation today would be quite other than it is.

anyone rejecting and not voluntarily accepting its discipline cannot be a member of the Third International."

"It is understood that individual instances of indiscipline must be subjected to a more rigorous vigilance and punishment, with the Party leadership being awarded a more centralised power than it has had at its disposal thus far."

So it has been left up to the congress which will convene at the end of December, to decide whether there is to be schism and purge on a massive scale or merely individual expulsion of the most compromised and most compromising members.

We will be happy if the Socialist Party's quandary comes to an end and if its present lumbering organisation, with its roots in groups that are mutually contradictory and cancel each other out, were to be replaced by homogeneous groupings with well-defined, trustworthy principles.

Meanwhile, we note that the Socialist Party is still afflicted with that authoritarianism that has undermined its internal framework and jeopardized its orientation from its earliest days.

Authoritarianism is an infirmity of the mind which has its roots in arrogance and humility. It is a claim to nothing short of infallibility, and a belief in the infallibility of others which, on the one hand, makes one fawningly, slavishly and blindly obedient to whoever is or believes himself to be a superior and, on the other, intolerant of all opposition emanating from someone who is, or believes himself to be, an inferior.

And the Socialist Party, even if it does have a penchant for calling itself scientific, critical and so on, has always demonstrated a need for intellectual leaders to invoke and practical leaders to obey.

The ultimate leader was Marx and theoretically he remains so. In the whole of socialist literature and oral propaganda, Marx and the Communist Manifesto of 1848 are invoked like Prophet and Gospel, and in addition to backing their policies up with rational argument, they debate as to whether this assertion or that tactic is or is not compatible with the holy books. That is just what the Catholics, the Mazzinians, the Jurists, all religious people and all authoritarians do—so, in their spiritual make-up they are all of a piece.

But Marx has been dead for a long while now and as always is the case with prophets that spoke in riddles, his followers have interpreted him variously, with the outcome that one would be hard put to it to justify one teaching and one all-encompassing tactic. For this reason, Marx was being pushed aside by the demands of practical politics and thus there was a threat that he would be forgotten.

But along came Lenin—and what with him having the prestige of force triumphant everyone, and I mean all or almost all socialists who have not gone over to the enemy, recognises him as the truest and best interpreter of Marx and fall into line behind him.

THE AUTHORITARIAN PSYCHOSIS OF THE SOCIALIST PARTY

By seven votes to five the Socialist Party leadership "adopts the twenty one points of the Moscow convention on the founding of communist parties, according to which it must proceed to a thorough going purge, rooting out from the party all reformist and opportunist elements such as and how they arise from the debates of the next Congress."

Whilst accepting the formula devised by Moscow, the other five's order of the

day "affirms the need to tailor the political outlook of each section of the Third Communist International to the historical background and actual, concrete circumstances of each country subject to the approval of the International and, in this light, reaffirms the need to maintain the unity of the Italian Socialist Party on the basis and within the confines of what is laid down by precisely that 21st point, according to which

Now comes the business of interpreting Lenin and the theses he had voted at the Second Congress of the Third International.

But Lenin is ultra-authoritarian; he issues orders and I still find that repugnant.

With Lenin what we have is what happens with all parvenus, all who are newcomers to power or wealth.

The nouveau riche is always more hateful, more unbearable than the Lord who is born to it. The latter, being born to privilege and raised in it, believes he has a right to his position, thinks that the world could not be other than it is and consequently, exploits and oppresses with a perfectly clear conscience and with a feeling of security that, except in cases of particular individual badness, invests him with a certain moderation and affability that, from time to time, makes him, unfortunately, a likeable fellow in the eyes of those under him. In contrast the nouveau riche, el piojo resucitado (the beggar on horseback), is greedy for his pleasures, needs ostentation and seems to want to submerge the pangs of conscience and fear of being poor again in luxury and superciliousness.

The same thing goes for political power. Former revolutionaries come to govern are more tyrannical than governors drawn from among the traditional governing classes; in the long run "liberals" are more reactionary and more base than conservatives.

It could not have been otherwise in Russia.

People who have been persecuted all their lives, ever threatened by the gendarme and gaoler and sometimes by the hangman manage with a single blow to seize power and have their own gendarmes, gaolers and hangmen! Is it any wonder then, if they become intoxicated, if they undergo a rapid change of trade and set about issuing orders like a Czar and think they can give orders even where their writ does not run?

Lenin imagines he can treat Turati like some unruly corporal in his red guyard!

That is a mistake.

With his authoritarian, centralising obsession, Marx was one of the causes of the break-up of the First International which he had made such a powerful contribution to establishing.

Lenin and his friends, who have now founded a Third International will end up killing it with that same authoritarian, centralising obsession.

Except that, with things moving so much more quickly these days, whereas Marx was able to see his creation completely operational before he did it to death, Lenin risks killing off the Third International before it really gets born.

That is distasteful to us, for the Third International which could have been a powerful influence for progress with its dictatorial claims and having retained the germ of corruption of parliamentary activity in its bosom already threatens to come to the same ignominious end that the Second International did, unless it is overtaken by the revolution in action.

AT LAST!

What is the "dictatorship of the proletariat?"

A straight talker at long last!

Up to now, whenever we said that what the socialists term dictatorship of the proletariat is only, in fact, the dictatorship of some men who, with the assistance of a party, superimpose and impose themselves on the proletariat, they used to treat us as if we were little short of slanderers.

Flying in the face of all probability and all known facts the insistence was that in Russia the whole problem of a squared circle—that is a government truly representative of the interests and wishes of the governed, had already been solved.

Consequently, Moscow had become the Mecca of the proletariat; the source of light, and, as well as light, peremptory orders as to the ideas that those who, with permission from their betters, wished to call themselves communists ought to profess and the conduct they should observe.

As a result of this marvellous Russian-made discovery of a government made in the image and likeness of the people and for the people's (or proletariat's as one might say) benefit, all that emanated from Russia seemed to be invested with a miracle working virtue and it was enough to call them Soviets, Russian-style for any Council or Committee to reach the exalted position of the supreme factor of revolution.

But here I have it—the spell is broken.

This time it is not we—we, the anarchists, those irreverent defamers if ever there were any—who strip away the mask. No, this time it is the official Italian Socialist Party daily, up to now the most authorised mouthpiece for the word from Moscow:

It is Avanti! on the 26th that says:

"In Russia, under the soviet regime, the Party really directs all State policy and all public activities; individuals as well as groups being utterly subordinated to the decisions of the Party, so that THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT IS REALLY THE DICTATORSHIP OF THE PROLETARIAT AND, AS SUCH OF ITS CENTRAL COMMITTEE."

Well now we know what we have to look forward to: the dictatorship of the Leadership of the Socialist Party, or of the as yet unborn Communist Party or, to be more specific, of D'Aragona and his accomplices!

But the leaders of the Socialist Party, those aspiring to the dictatorship ought to understand that, in Italy at least, that is impossible; it is impossible because of us, the anarchists and syndicalists being present.

If we were outnumbered by the socialists to the same degree as our comrades maybe inside Russia, nothing would be simpler: the dictators would get rid of us by all the methods used by all dictatorships, gallows and jails and would keep on going until brought to a halt by revolution or reaction.

But we are now a force to be reckoned with and what's more we are growing rapidly, favoured by circumstances and what Avanti! terms the generous temperament of the working masses. And we are determined not to submit.

It is not that we think the masses are always right and that we shall always want to follow them in their changeable attitudes. We have a programme, an ideal to make victorious and this sets us apart from the mass and we are party men. We want to act upon the mass, to prod them towards that course we believe best, but, as our end is one of liberation and not domination, we want to get the masses used to thinking for themselves and acting for themselves.

we believe that liberty educates to freedom and solidarity and thus we abhor any authoritarian set-up whether it be in society generally or any particular party or association.

The socialists want to prepare the people for liberty through authority.

And so: if, to take a hypothesis we do not accept, it were true that if the revolution is to succeed and the new society structured, public powers need to be concentrated in the hands of a few, if it were true that it is necessary for someone to give the orders, then let the Socialists note this well, we would want it to be us who gave the orders and we would not submit, except by force, to the orders of those who are, in our view, mistaken.

It follows from this that in Italy a revolution made with an authoritarian outlook with dictatorial objectives would, of necessity, lead to a war between revolutionary and revolutionary.

We do not want that: the socialists should not want that.

This being so then, theories aside, and taking a realistic view of things it would behove the socialists to drop all dictatorial claims and accept the libertarian view of revolution; of a revolution developing variously in accordance with the various moral and material conditions in the different regions, communes and corporations; which would assume a varying complexion according to which party held sway in the various locations, this party or that, and which would reach a common end through the gradual harmonization of interests and wills, and not through authoritarian imposition from above.

Were the socialists to accept this programme—freedom for all—much mutual suspicion would vanish and we should be able to start today to co-operate to bring down the current régime and help ourselves tomorrow towards a happier development of the revolutionary future.

A BIT OF THEORY

Rebellion is rumbling on all sides. Here, it is the expression of an idea; there, the result of need; more often it is the consequence of a network of needs and ideas which reciprocally give rise to and reinforce one another. It devotes its attention to the causes of social ills or it follows a side issue, it is conscious or instinctive, it is humane or brutal, generous or narrow and selfish, but it is steadily growing and spreading.

This is history in the making, and it is useless to waste one's time complaining of the course it takes, because this course has been laid out by all the evolution that went before.

But history is made by men, and since we do not wish to be mere passive and indifferent spectators of the historic tragedy, since we wish to co-operate with all our strength in bringing about the circumstances which seem to us the most favourable to our cause, we must have some standard to guide us in judging the events that occur, and especially in choosing the position that we will occupy in the struggle.

The end justifies the means. This maxim has been greatly slandered. As a matter of fact, it is the universal guide to conduct.

One might better express it thus: each end carries with it its own means. The morality or immorality lies in the end sought; there is no option as to the means.

'Once one has decided upon the end in view, whether by choice or by necessity, the great problem of life is to find the means which, according to the circumstances, will lead most surely and economically to the desired end. The way in which this problem is solved determines, as far as human will can determine, whether a man or a party reaches the goal or not, is useful to the cause or—without meaning to—serves the opposite side. To have found the right means is the whole secret of the great men and great parties that have left their mark in history.

The object of the Jesuits is, for the mystics, the glory of God, and for the others the power of the Company of Jesus. They must, therefore, endeavour to degrade the masses, terrorise them, and keep them in submission. The object of the Jacobins and all authoritarian parties, who believe themselves to be in possession of absolute truth, is to force their ideas upon the common herd and to bind humanity upon the Procrustean bed of their beliefs.

With us it is otherwise; entirely different is our goal and very different, therefore, must be our means.

We are not fighting to put ourselves in the place of the exploiters and oppressors of today, nor are we fighting for the triumph of an abstract idea. We are not like that Italian patriot who said,

"What matters it if all the Italians die of hunger, provided Italy be great and glorious." Neither do we resemble that comrade who admitted that he would not care if three-fourths of the human beings were massacred, provided Humanity was free and happy.

We wish men to be happy—all men, without exception. We wish every human being to be free to develop and live as happily as possible. And we believe that this freedom, this happiness, cannot be given to men by any man or any party; but that all men must, by their own efforts, discover the conditions of happiness and win them. We believe that only the most thorough application of the principle of solidarity can put an end to struggle, oppression, and exploitation; and that solidarity can come only as a result of a voluntary agreement, an intentional and spontaneous harmonising of interests.

For us, therefore, everything that aims to destroy economic or political oppression, everything that helps to raise the moral and intellectual level of humanity, to make men conscious of their rights and their power and to get them to look after their interests themselves, everything that arouses hatred of oppression and promotes human brotherhood, brings us nearer to our goal and, therefore, is desirable—subject only to a quantitative calculation as to how to secure, with the resources available, the maximum useful result.

And, per contra, anything is undesirable, because opposed to our aim, which seeks to preserve the present state of things, or to sacrifice a man, against his will, to the triumph of a principle.

What we desire is the triumph of love and freedom. But does that mean that we refrain from using violent means? Not at all. The means we employ are those that circumstance make possible or necessary. It is true that we would prefer not to hurt a hair of anybody's head; we would like to wipe away all tears and not to cause any to be shed. But the fact is that we have to make our fight in the world as it is, or else be condemned to be nothing but fruitless dreamers.

The day will come, we firmly believe, when it will be possible to work for men's happiness without doing any harm either to oneself or to others. Today this is not possible. Even the purest and gentlest of martyrs, one who, for the triumph of the right, would let himself be dragged to the scaffold without resistance, blessing his persecutors like the Christ of the legend, even such a one would still be doing much harm. Apart from the harm that he would be doing to himself—which, after all, counts for something—he would cause all those who love him to shed bitter tears.

The main problem always, therefore, in all the acts of our life, is to choose the lesser evil, to try to accomplish the largest possible total of good with the least possible harm.

Humanity drags painfully along under the weight of political and economic oppression. It is stupefied, degraded, killed—and not always slowly—by

poverty, slavery, ignorance, and their consequences. For the maintenance of this state of things there exists powerful military and police organisations which meet any serious attempt at a change with prison, hanging, and massacre. There is no peaceful, legal way of getting out of this situation—and that is perfectly natural because the laws are made by the privileged class in order to protect their privileges. Against the physical force that blocks our way there is no appeal except to physical force—there can be no revolution except a violent one.

There is no doubt that the revolution will cause much misfortune, much suffering. But it might cause a hundred times more and it would be a blessing compared to what we endure today.

It is a well known fact that in a single battle more people are killed than in the bloodiest of revolutions. It is a well known fact that millions of children of tender age die every year for lack of care, that millions of workers die prematurely of the disease of poverty, that the immense majority of people lead stunted, joyless, and hopeless lives, that even the richest and most powerful are much less happy than they might be in a society of equals, and that this state of things has lasted from time immemorial. Without a revolution it would last indefinitely, whereas one single revolution which went right to the causes of the evil could put humanity for all time on the road to happiness.

So let the revolution come! Every day that it delays means an enormous mass of suffering inflicted on mankind. Let us work so that it shall come quickly and shall be the kind of revolution we must have in order to put an end to all oppression and exploitation.

It is through love of mankind that we are revolutionists; it is not our fault if history drives us to this painful necessity.

Therefore, for us and for all those who look at things as we do, each piece of propaganda or of direct action, whether by word or deed, whether done by a group or by an individual, is good when it helps to bring the revolution nearer and make it easier, when it helps to gain for the revolution the conscious co-operation of the masses and to give it that character of universal liberation without which we might, indeed, have a revolution, but not the revolution that we desire. And it is specially in connection with a revolution that we must keep in mind the principle of using the most economical means, because here the cost is figured up in human lives.

We know too well the terrible material and moral conditions in which the working class lives not to be able to understand the acts of hatred, vengeance, and even ferocity which may occur. We understand how there can be some of the oppressed who, having always been treated by the bourgeoisie with the most shameful cruelty, having always seen that anything is permitted to those who have the power, may say to themselves some fine day when they have the power, "Now we will do what the bourgeois used to do." We understand how it can

happen in the fever of battle that some people, naturally kind-hearted but not prepared by long moral training—very difficult under present conditions—may lose sight of the goal to be reached and may regard violence as an end in itself and let themselves be swept along to savage excesses.

But it is one thing to understand and excuse, and another thing to recommend. Those are not the kind of deeds that we can accept, encourage, and imitate. We must, indeed, be resolute and energetic, but we must try never to go beyond what is absolutely necessary. We must be like the surgeon who cuts when he must but avoids causing needless suffering. In a word, we should be guided by love for mankind, for all mankind.

We consider this love for mankind as the moral basis, the very soul of our social programme; we believe that only by conceiving of the revolution as the great human jubilee, as the liberation and fraternising of all men, to whatever class or party they may have belonged—only in this way can our ideal be made real.

Brutal revolt will undoubtedly occur, and it may, indeed, help to give the last great blow which shall overthrow the present system; but if it is not steadied by revolutionists acting for an ideal, it will devour itself.

Hate does not create love: with hatred one cannot rebuild the world. And a revolution inspired by hate either would fail completely or else would lead to fresh oppression, which might, indeed, be called "anarchist", as the present Governments are called "liberal", but which would none the less be oppression and would not fail to bring about all the conditions that oppression inevitably produces.

L'En Dellevs, 17th August 1892

REPLY TO THE PLATFORM

BY CHANCE (it is common knowledge that the non fascist press in Italy is suppressed) I have come across a French pamphlet entitled "Plateforme d'organisation de l'union générale des anarchistes (Project)", which, translated means Project for the programme of organisation of the General Union of Anarchists.

This is a project for anarchist organisation, published in November 1926 by a "Group of Russian anarchists abroad" that seems to be directed in particular at our Russian comrades. But it deals with questions that equally concern all anarchists; and besides, it is clear, not least from the language in which it is written, that it seeks to recruit comrades from all countries. In any case it is worth examin-

ing, by the Russians as by everyone, whether the proposal put forward is in harmony with anarchist principles and thus, whether putting it into practice would really help the anarchist cause.

THE MOTIVES of the comrades who are proposing this Platform are excellent. They complain, with reason, that the anarchist have not had and do not have an influence on politico-social events in proportion to the theoretical and practical value of their doctrines, let alone their numbers, their courage and their spirit of sacrifice—and they believe that the main reason for this relative lack of success is due to the absence of a large, serious and effective organisation.

And up to this point, in general, I would agree.

Organisation, which really is no more than the practice of co-operation and solidarity, is a natural and necessary condition of social life: it is an inescapable fact which is bound to concern everyone, whether in human society in general or in any group of people with a common goal to achieve.

Since man has neither the desire nor the ability to live in isolation, since indeed he cannot become a real man and satisfy his material and moral needs without entering into society and co-operation with his fellows, it inevitably happens that those who lack the means or a sufficiently developed awareness to create a free organisation with others who share their interests and feelings, must submit to the organisation of others, generally of a ruling class or group, which aims to exploit to its own advantage the labour of the rest. The age-old oppression of the masses by a small and privileged number has always been the consequence of the inability of the majority of people to agree among themselves and create organisations with other workers for production and enjoyment and, in the event, defence against their exploiters and oppressors.

Anarchism emerged as a remedy for this state of affairs. Its basic principle is free organisation, created and maintained by the free will of its components without any kind of authority, that is without anyone having the right to impose his own will on the others. And it is therefore natural that the anarchists should attempt to apply that same principle on which, in their view, all human society should be founded, to their own private and organisational life.

From certain arguments it might seem there are anarchists opposed to any kind of organisation; but in reality the many, too many discussions that take place among us on the subject, even if obscured by questions of terminology or poisoned by personal differences, are basically concerned with the form and not the principle of organisation. Thus it happens that when those comrades who, to judge from what they say, are the most adamant opponents of organisation, really want to get something done, they organise themselves just like the rest, and often better. The problem, I repeat, is entirely one of method.

That is why I can only be sympathetic towards the initiative taken by these Russian comrades; for I am convinced that a more general, more harmonious, more stable organisation than any so far attempted by anarchists would most certainly be an important factor of strength and success, a powerful vehicle for the diffusion of our ideas, even if it did not succeed in eliminating all the mistakes and weaknesses that are perhaps inevitable in a movement like ours which is so much in advance of its time and which has therefore to struggle against the incomprehension, indifference and often hostility, of the majority.

I THINK it above all urgent and essential that the anarchists reach agreement and organise themselves as much and as best as they can so as to be able to influence the direction the masses take in their struggle for improvements and emancipation.

Today the greatest force for social transformation is the labour movement (trade union movement) and on its direction largely depends the course events will take and the goal to be achieved by the next revolution. Through organisations founded for the defence of their interests, the workers become aware of the oppression they suffer and the antagonism that divides them from their masters, they begin to wish for a better life, they grow accustomed to fighting together and insolidarity, and can obtain those improvements that are compatible with the continuation of a capitalist and state regime. After, when the conflict has gone too far to be resolved, there is either revolution or reaction. The anarchists must be aware of the usefulness and importance of the trade union movement, they must support its development and make of it a means of action, doing all they can to guarantee that, in co-operation with the other existing forces of progress, it will result in a social revolution involving the suppression of a class, total liberty, equality, peace and solidarity between all human beings. But it would be a great and fatal illusion to believe, as many do, that the labour movement of itself can, and must, by its very nature lead to such a revolution. On the contrary, all movements founded on material and short term interests (and a vast labour movement cannot be founded on any others) but lacking energy, drive, the combined efforts of men of ideas, who fight and sacrifice themselves for an ideal future, tend inevitably to adapt to the circumstances; they foster the spirit of conservatism and the fear of change in those who manage to obtain better conditions for themselves, and often end by creating new privileged classes and by supporting and consolidating the system one wishes to demolish.

Hence the urgent need for purely anarchist organisations fighting both from within and from outside the trade unions to achieve a fully anarchist society and to sterilise all the germs of degeneration and reaction.

But it is clear that to attain their ends the anarchist organisations must, in their

constitution and operation, be in harmony with the principles of anarchism, that is, they must in no way be polluted by the spirit of authoritarianism; they must be able to reconcile the free action of individuals with the need and the pleasure of co-operation and help to develop the awareness and initiative of their members; they must be a means of education for the environment in which they are operating and a moral and material preparation for the future we desire.

Does the project in question provide an answer to these requisites?

I do not think it does. In my view, instead of creating among anarchists a greater desire for organisation, it seems to have been formulated with the express design of reinforcing the prejudice of those comrades who believe that organisation means submission to leaders and belonging to an authoritarian centralised institution that stifles all free initiative. And in fact, are expressed those very intentions which some, contrary to the evident truth, and despite our protestations, persist in attributing to all anarchists who are described as organisers.

Let's see.

First of all it seems to be mistaken—and in any case impracticable—to wish to unite all anarchists in a "General Union", i.e. as the Project states, in a **single** active revolutionary grouping.

We anarchists can say we are all of the same party, if by the word party we mean all those who **are on the same side**, and that is, who share the same general aspirations and who, in one way or another, fight for the same goal against common enemies. But this does not mean it is possible—or perhaps even desirable—to unite together in one specific association. There are too many differences of environment and conditions of struggle, too many possible means of action which one or the other prefers, too many differences of temperament and personal problems of incompatibility for one General Union, if taken seriously, not to become, instead of a means of co-ordination and synthesis of everyone's contributions, an obstacle to individual activity and perhaps, too, a cause of the bitterest infighting. How, for example, could one organise in the same way and with the same people, an open association for propaganda and agitation among the masses, and a secret society, forced by the political conditions of the country where it is operating, to conceal its intentions, its means and members from the enemy? How could the **educationists** and the **revolutionaries** adopt the same tactics, since the former believe that propaganda and example are sufficient for a gradual transformation of individuals, and thus of society, while the latter are convinced that it is necessary to destroy with violence an order which is based on violence and to create, against the violence of the oppressors, the necessary conditions for the free dissemination of propaganda and the practical application of the ideological gains? And how to keep people together who, for reasons of their own, do not like or respect one another

and in no way could be equally good and useful anarchist militants?

Moreover, the authors of the Project (Plateforme) declare "unacceptable" the idea of creating an organisation that would reunite the representatives of the different currents of anarchism. Such an organisation, they say, "incorporating theoretically and practically heterogeneous elements would be no more than a hotchpotch (assemblage) of individuals who see in different ways all questions concerning the anarchist movement and would inevitably disintegrate as soon as put to the test of real life."

All right. But then, if they recognise the existence of anarchists of other tendencies they must also allow them the right to organise themselves in their turn and to work for anarchy in the way they think best. Or will they claim to expel from anarchism, to **excommunicate** all those who do not accept their programme? They say they "want to regroup in a single organisation all the **healthy elements** of the libertarian movement; and naturally they will tend to judge as **healthy** only those who think like them. But what will they do about the **unhealthy elements**?

Certainly there are among anarchists, as in every human community, elements of differing quality; and what is worse, there are those who, in the name of anarchy, circulate ideas that have an extremely dubious affinity with anarchism. But how to avoid this? **Anarchic truth** cannot and must not become the monopoly of one individual or one committee, nor can it depend on the decisions of real or imaginary majorities. It is necessary only—and this is sufficient—that everyone be allowed the greatest freedom of criticism, and that each person be able to uphold their own ideas and choose their own comrades. In the last analysis time will tell who was right.

LET US therefore abandon the idea of gathering all anarchists together in one organisation and consider the **General Union** these Russians are proposing to us for what it really is, i.e. the Union of a fraction of anarchists; and let us see if the form of organisation proposed conforms to anarchist principles and methods and whether it could therefore contribute to the triumph of anarchy.

Again it seems to me that it could not.

I do not doubt the sincerity of the anarchist propositions of these Russian comrades: they want to achieve anarchist communism and are searching for the quickest way to do so. But it is not enough to want something: it is also necessary to adopt the right means, just as when one wants to go somewhere it is necessary to take the right road, otherwise one ends up in a quite different place. Thus, far from making it easier to achieve anarchist communism, their organisation, being typically authoritarian, could only distort the spirit of anarchism and lead to consequences quite different from what they intended.

In fact, their General Union would consist of so many one-sided organisations with **secretaries** that would **ideologically** direct the political and technical activity;

and to co-ordinate the activity of all the member organisations there would be an **Executive Committee of the Union**, charged with carrying out the decisions taken by the Union and with the "ideological and organisational conduct of the organisations in conformity with the ideology and the general tactical policy of the Union".

Is this anarchic? In my opinion this is a government and a church. It is true there are no police and bayonets just as there are no faithful disciples ready to accept the **ideology** dictated, but this simply means that their government would be an impotent and impossible government, and that their church would be a nursery of schisms and heresies. The spirit, the tendency remains authoritarian and the educative effect would be always anti-anarchist.

Judge whether this is not true.

"The executive organ of the general libertarian movement—the anarchist Union—introduces into its ranks the principle of collective responsibility; the whole Union will be responsible for the revolutionary and political activity of every member; and each member will be responsible for the revolutionary and political activity of the Union."

And after this, which is the absolute negation of any individual independence and action, the proponents, remembering they are anarchists, describe themselves as federalists and thunder away against centralisation "the inevitable results of which," they say, "are enslavement and the mechanisation of social life and the life of the organisation".

But if the Union is responsible for what each member does, how can it grant individual members and different groups the freedom to apply the common programme in the way it thinks best? How can one be responsible for an act that one does not have the ability to prevent? Hence the Union, and through it, the Executive Committee, must supervise the activities of the individual members and order them what and what not to do; and since disapproval after the event cannot compensate for responsibility previously accepted, no one would be able to do anything before obtaining approval and consent of the committee. And then, can an individual accept responsibility for the actions of an organisation before knowing what it is going to do and if he cannot prevent it doing something he is opposed to?

Moreover, the authors of the **Plateforme** say that it is the "Union" that wills and disposes. But when mention is made of the will of the Union, does this perhaps mean the will of all its members? In that case, for the Union to be able to operate it would be necessary for everyone, always and on every subject, to have the same opinion. Now if it is natural that everyone should be agreed on general and basic principles, as otherwise they could not be united, or remain united, it is inconceivable that all thinking beings could, at the time, be of the same opinion on what should be done in all circumstances and on the choice of people to fill executive posts.

In reality—as the text of the **Plateforme** shows—the will of the Union can only mean the will of the majority, expressed by means of congresses, which nominate and control the Executive Committee and decide on all important questions. Naturally the congresses would be composed of representatives elected by the majorities of the member groups, and these representatives would decide on what to do, again by majority votes. Thus in the best of hypotheses, the decisions would be taken by the majority of a majority, which could very well, especially when there are more than two diverging opinions, represent no more than a minority.

It should also be noted that, given the conditions in which anarchists live and operate, their congresses are even less properly representative than bourgeois parliaments, and their control over the executive, if this has authoritarian powers, could only with great difficulty be opportune and effective. In practice those who go to anarchist congresses are the ones who are able, those with money and who have not been detained by the police; the ones who only represent themselves or a small number of friends as well as those who are real representatives of the views and desires of a large community. And save for the precautions taken against traitors and spies, in fact because of these same necessary precautions, a serious examination of mandates and their value is impossible.

In any case this is a real majority system, a fully parliamentarian one.

It is known that the anarchists do not accept majority government (democracy), just as they do not accept government by a few (aristocracy, oligarchy or class or party dictatorship), nor the government of one (autocracy, monarchy, or personal dictatorship).

The anarchists have made innumerable criticisms of so-called majority government, which moreover, in practice always leads to the domination of a small minority.

Is it necessary to do so again for the benefit of our Russian comrades?

Certainly anarchists recognise that in community life it is often essential for the minority to accept the view of the majority. When there is a need or clear usefulness in doing something, and in order to do it everyone's co-operation is necessary, then the few must realise they have to adapt themselves to the desire of the many. And in general, to be able to live peacefully together, and on an equal footing, it is necessary for everyone to be amenable, tolerant and flexible. But this adaption by one side to the other must be reciprocal and voluntary and stem from an awareness of its necessity and from the readiness of each person, not to paralyse social life through hostility; and it must not be imposed as a principle or statutory norm. And this is an ideal which, perhaps, in the practice of social life will be difficult to attain entirely, but it is certain that in every human grouping, the freer and more spontaneous the agreement between majority

and minority, the freer it is from any formulation that does not derive from the nature of things, the closer one is to anarchy.

So, if anarchists deny the right of the majority to govern in human society generally, where the individual is forced to accept certain restrictions, because he cannot isolate himself without renouncing the conditions of human life, and if they want everything to be done through the free agreement of everyone, how on earth could they adopt the idea of majority government in their essentially free and voluntary associations and begin declaring that the decisions of the majority must be accepted, even before they are known?

It is understandable that non-anarchists believe anarchy, that is free organisation without the domination of the majority and vice versa, to be a utopia which is or is not possible in a remote future; but it is inconceivable that those who profess to anarchist ideas and would like to achieve anarchy, or at least begin seriously to head in that direction, now rather than tomorrow, repudiate the fundamental principles of anarchism through the very method they propose for assuring its success.

AN ANARCHIST Organisation must be founded, in my opinion, on very different bases from those proposed by the Russian comrades.

Full autonomy, full independence and thus full responsibility of the individual and the group; free agreement between those who think it useful to unite and co-operate to achieve a common goal; moral duty to support the enterprises undertaken and to do nothing that would go against the accepted programme. Upon these bases one then builds the practical framework, adapted to bring real life to the organisation. Hence the groups, the federations of groups, the federations of federations, the meetings, the congresses the committees charged with liaison, etc. But all this must be done freely so as not to obstruct the thought and initiative of individuals, and only so as to give more weight to enterprises which, if isolated, would be impossible or very ineffective.

In this way the congresses of an anarchist organisation, while suffering as representative bodies from all the imperfections which I have mentioned, are free from any hint of authoritarianism because they do not make laws, they do not impose their own decisions on others. They serve to sustain and increase personal contact between the most active comrades, to assess and stimulate programmatic studies on the ways and means of taking action, to inform on the situation in the different regions and the most urgent action to be taken in each area, to formulate the various opinions currently held by the anarchists and make a kind of statistics of them—their decisions not being obligatory rules, but suggestions, advice, proposals to put to all those involved, and not commitments except for those who accept them. The administrative organs that they nominate—Liaison Commission, etc.—

have no executive power, they only take initiatives on behalf of those who desire and approve of these initiatives, and have no right to impose their views; they can certainly support them and spread them as a group of comrades but cannot present them as the official line of the organisation. They publish the congress resolutions and the views and proposals communicated to them by groups and individuals; and help for those who want it, to facilitate relations between the groups and co-operation between everyone who is in agreement on various points: each person is free to make direct contact with anyone he wants, or to use other committees nominated by special groups.

In an anarchist organisation the individual members can express any opinion or adopt any tactic which does not contradict the accepted principles and which does not harm the activity of the other people. In each case a given organisation lasts as long as the reasons for union are greater than the reasons for dissent. Otherwise it is dissolved and substituted by other more homogeneous groupings.

Of course the duration, the permanence of an organisation is a condition of success in the long battle we must fight, but also it is natural for any institution to aspire instinctively to an indefinite life. But the duration of a libertarian organisation must be the consequence of the spiritual affinity of its members and of the adaptability of its constitution to the continual changes in circumstances. When it is no longer able to fulfil a useful mission, it is better that it should die.

Those Russian comrades will perhaps find organisation as I conceive it and as it is, ineffective.

I understand. These comrades are obsessed by the success the Bolsheviks have had in their own country, and they would like, in the Bolshevik way, to unite the anarchists in a kind of disciplined army which, under the ideological and practical direction of a few leaders, marches compactly to the assault of the present regimes and then, the material victory won, presides over the constitution of the new society. And perhaps it is true that under this system, given that the anarchists accepted it, and the leaders were men of genius, our material efficiency could become great. But with what results? Would it not happen with anarchism as it has happened in Russia with socialism and communism?

These comrades are anxious for success and we are too; but to live and to gain victory there is no need to renounce the very reasons for life and to distort the character of the eventual victory.

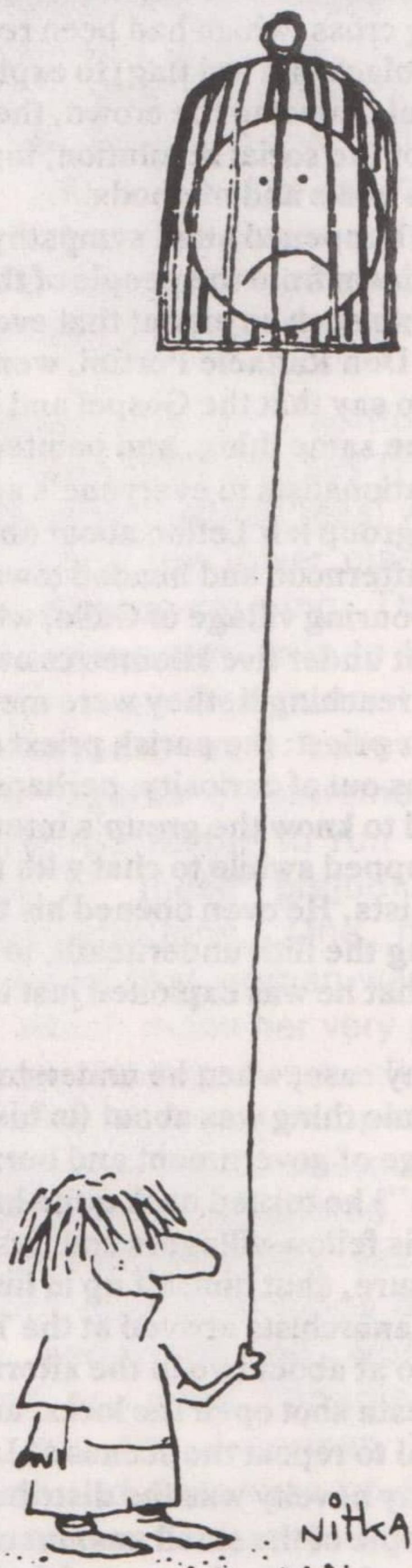
Le Réveil 15th October 1927.

THE CONVICTION, which I share, of those who see the need for a revolution to eliminate the material forces which exist to defend privilege and to prevent every real social progress, has led many of them to believe that the only important

thing is the insurrection, and to overlook what has to be done to prevent an insurrection from remaining a sterile act of violence against which an act of reactionary violence would be the eventual reply. For these comrades all practical questions, of organisation, of how to make provisions for the distribution of food, are today idle questions: for them these are matters which will solve themselves, or will be solved by those who come after us . . . Yet the conclusion we come to is: Social reorganisation is something we must all think about right now, and as the old is destroyed we shall have a more human and just society as well as one more receptive to future advances. The alternative is that "the leaders" will think about these problems, and we shall have a new government, which will do exactly as all previous governments have done, in making the people pay for the scant and poor services they render, by taking away their freedom and allowing them to be oppressed by every kind of parasite and exploiter.

I say that in order to abolish the "gendarme" and all the harmful social institutions we must know what to put in their place, not in a more or less distant future but immediately, the very day we start demolishing. One only destroys, effectively and permanently, that which one replaces by something else.

MALATESTA



THE MATESE GANG

The insurgent guerilla's 'propaganda of the deed' in 19th Century Italy.

The history of Italian Anarchism in the second half of the nineteenth century, which was its formative period as an organised movement of men and ideas, is also the history of a whole series of attempted insurrections (Or 'conspiracies' as they were called). These were exploited by the government to justify the usual picture of the anarchist as a bandit and villain, but at the same time they contributed considerably through their popular fame to the understanding and spreading of libertarian ideas.

These attempts were failures, and we must accept that this was often due to their dilettante approach. But it would be unfair to lay the blame on the men concerned; the fault came more from the period. Their faith in insurrection as a means to social renewal, and optimism that a handful of brave men would be enough to change the course of events, were typical of the nineteenth century belief in general progress and in particular of the 'risorgimento' (The name given to the national liberation movement from Austrian domination).

The anarchists were certainly not the only people to start these conspiracies. Before them there had been the 'Carbonari', the 'Mazziniani', and others from Ciro Menotti to Garibaldi, whom official historians have felt obliged to treat with far greater respect than Cafiero, Bakunin, or Malatesta. However in contrast to their more 'famous' contemporaries, the anarchists never had any intention of taking power and imposing a new status quo through force of arms. With greater honesty they simply intended to perform exemplary actions to awaken the understanding of the exploited masses by pointing out to them the path to follow and the enemies to fight. This was what 'propaganda of the deed' meant.

At the Berne congress of the International, Cafiero and Malatesta declared: 'the Italian Federation believes that the ACT OF INSURRECTION, made to affirm the principles of socialism by ACTIONS, is the most effective means of propaganda, and the only one which, WITHOUT DECEIVING AND CORRUPTING THE MASSES, can penetrate to the deepest levels of society...'

In an Italy still busy celebrating unification, which had only meant a change of overlords for the working class, the anarchists alone encouraged the oppressed to build their future by themselves. One of the most important attempts at insurrection from a point of view of planning and resulting propaganda, was the one made in 1877 in the Matese region by members of the Italian Federation of the International, henceforth known as 'the Matese gang'. They included many of the men who best represent Italian anarchism at that period, especially Carlo Cafiero and Errico Malatesta. The region was not chosen casually. It was hard to penetrate, mountainous, sparsely populated, and ideal terrain for guerilla warfare. It was easy for making sorties into the various centres of population and then retire to the safety of hide-outs in abandoned farms. It also corresponded well to their intention of making contact with the peasants, especially those in the south, for they were the natural ground for sowing the ideas of the anarchist social revolution, being regarded by the ruling class as mere 'objects' to be ruled.

On the 3rd of April 1877, Carlo Cafiero arrived with a few friends in the Matese. Making use of his distinguished appearance, (the witnesses later called him 'a lord'), he was able to pass as an English gentleman with a number of servants who was looking for a quiet spot to stay. With this cover he rented a house in the small village of San Lupo, which was isolated being one and a half hours by carriage from Solopaca on the Naples-Benevento-Foggia line. The house which was called 'Taverna Jacobelli', was large, detached, and in particular had a rear exit leading directly to the woods at the back. Here they planned for the others to concentrate over the next few days with all the supplies of arms, munitions, packs, water-bottles, etc., which were necessary for guerrilla operations.

The anarchists had arranged things carefully, and observed their usual secrecy. However, due to the treachery of a certain Salvatore Farina, the Minister of the Interior, Nicotera, knew all about their plans long before the arrival of Cafiero in S. Lupo. Nevertheless, he



Map of the region where the 'Matese' operated. The dotted line shows the path followed by the Internationalists, and the cross shows where they were captured. (From P.C. Masini 'Gli Internazionalisti' 1958)

made no move, and had them observed. The purpose was clearly to catch them in a trap at the right moment and to make political capital out of the whole business; governments and institutions change, but the mentality of Ministers of the Interior always stays the same. But this wait and see tactic was not successful, either because of the anarchists' skill, or because of the freedom of movement they were allowed so as not to arouse their suspicions. As a result they were able to almost complete their concentration of men and supplies at Taverna Jacobelli before the local police authority had realised fully what was happening.

A large group of 'servants' arrived at the house of the 'Englishman' on the 4th of April with various boxes of 'ornaments and household objects'. The preparations for the insurrection went on all day undisturbed. But towards evening the local commander of carabinieri became suspicious of the activity around Taverna Jacobelli, and decided to send in a reconnaissance patrol. This patrol kept their distance to begin with, but then they saw what looked like lantern signals in the dark, and approached the house. It was a move worthy of the proverbial intelligence of the carabinieri, because they stumbled upon the group of Internationalists in the wood at the back of the house, who opened fire. The shooting was wild because of the darkness, and the anarchists did not know the size of the force they were up against. Two of the four carabinieri were wounded, and as we shall see, one of them died a few weeks later as a result of a subsequent infection; a fact which had great importance in the trial following the insurrection. But he was the only casualty of the whole affair. On hearing the shooting, other carabinieri in the neighbourhood were rushed to the spot in force, but they were unable to do anything except ascertain that the insurgents had left. The anarchists had made rapid preparations and taken the road to the mountains even though many comrades had not yet arrived, which reduced their ranks. 'Operation Matese' for better or worse was under way, albeit badly, for several comrades arriving later were arrested at

Solopaca and Pontelandolfo nearby, and those who had escaped had only been able to take a small part of their supplies. They had no rations, and above all they had left their ramrods behind at Taverna Jacobelli, which were essential for cleaning and loading the rifles of that period. From this point of view, the patrol's unexpected attack caused great harm to the group's effectiveness. But at the same time their forcing the issue had made the anarchists move, before the trap planned by the minister, Nicotera, was ready. So at least the Matese gang was able to perform a part of the actions they had planned. It was certainly appropriate to say that 'not all the evil had bad results' as the proverb goes.

Dawn on the fifth of April 1877 found the anarchist group marching north. They wanted to get away as far as possible from the police forces who were following them, and to make for the most isolated villages where it would take some time for the alarm to be given. The weather however, was very unfavourable. At that time of year the Matese mountains were covered with snow, and the higher one went, the worse the weather became. The cold and the difficulty of securing a regular food supply, was for a good part of the expedition the major enemy of the insurgents. The group was led by Cafiero, Malatesta, and Pietro Cesare Ceccarelli, and the leadership changed round every twenty four hours; a first if limited attempt at rotation of command. They marched the whole day further into the Matese, and also the whole of the following one.

On the 7th April the anarchists made for the region of Cusano, and having spent the night in a farm, skirted round the lake of Matese, heading for the village of Letino. They entered the village at ten o'clock of the morning of the 8th, a Sunday, carrying a huge black and red flag, and were cheered by the people who were surprised and delighted. By chance the Council was in session in the Town Hall at that very moment discussing what to do with some old weapons that had been confiscated from poachers. The Internationalists were in time to requisition them, and to distribute them

together with rifles from the National Guard to the people.

They then followed this with actions of even greater importance.

The insurgents declared publicly that King Vittorio Emanuele II was deposed, and broke his portrait into pieces. They then went on to burn all the "paperwork" of the District in a great bonfire in the square: lists of property, tax records, mortgages etc., to symbolise the abolition of the rights of the state and of private property. Finally they destroyed the measures fixed on the mills, which were used to calculate the hated tax on grain.

Ideological reasons lay behind these actions. Cafiero went up on the podium of a big cross (which had been replaced by the black and red flag) to explain in the local dialect to the crowd, the principles of the social revolution, together with its goals and methods.

It all happened amid sympathy and enthusiasm from the people of the village; to such an extent that even the priest, Don Raffaele Fortini, went so far as to say that the Gospel and socialism were the same thing, and pointed to the Internationalists to everyone's applause.

The group left Letino about one o'clock in the afternoon and headed towards the neighbouring village of Gallo, which was just under five kilometres away. But before reaching it, they were met by another priest: the parish priest of Gallo. Perhaps out of curiosity, perhaps fear, he wanted to know the group's intentions and stopped awhile to chat with the anarchists. He even opened his tunic, showing the filth underneath, to show them that he was exploited just like the others.

In any case, when he understood what the whole thing was about (in his fashion: "change of government and burning papers") he turned back quite happy to calm his fellow-villagers and, just to make sure, shut himself up in his house.

The anarchists arrived at the Town Hall of Gallo at about two in the afternoon. Malatesta shot open the locks, and they entered to repeat the scenes at Letino. The only novelty was the distribution to the people of the small amount of money that was found in the care of the District



A view of San Lupo, where the "Matese gang" established their base.

Tax Officer. Everything took place, as before, with enthusiasm and without any kind of difficulty.

But the government troops, even if they had kept out of sight, had not stayed still with their arms folded. Under the command of General De Sanget almost twelve thousand men had meanwhile laid siege to the entire range of the Matese: three companies of riflemen to the south, an infantry regiment in the north, and other forces from Campobasso, Isernia, Caserta, Benevento and Naples. It was thus that the Internationalists, on leaving Gallo, found themselves practically and unexpectedly surrounded.

In whatever direction they turned to find some other village to occupy, they found garrisons of soldiers, and had to turn back on their tracks to escape detection. The bad weather further complicated the situation. A terrible downpour of rain mixed with snow surprised them not far from Gallo, soaking their arms and ammunition and making walking more difficult than ever. Things were going badly.

The men spent the whole of the ninth and the tenth of April trying to find a hiding-place and to break out of the encirclement, but they had no success. They were tired, hungry, and soaked by the rain, which did not look as if it was going to ease. The rifles were by now useless, and the lack of ramrods, which had been left behind at S. Lupo, meant that they could not be cleaned or reloaded. With these conditions even a final shoot out had become impossible.

On the eleventh the group finally found a place to rest three miles beyond Letino, at the Concetta farm, and decided to stop there to rest. The idea was to wait until the weather got better and then to try, once more, to break out of the net of government troops. But it remained only a plan because a peasant, hoping for a reward, had given information to the soldiers, and on the twelfth of April a detachment of riflemen burst into the house, taking the anarchists by surprise. Because of the state of the men and their weapons, there was no resistance. The insurrection of the Matese had finished.

The prisoners were sent to various jails in the district and, soon afterwards, they were all concentrated in the prison of S. Maria Capua Vetere to await trial. At the start the outlook was far from bright: Nicotera, Minister of the Interior, on a wave of the anti-anarchist hysteria predictably whipped up by the "right-thinking" press, intended to judge the whole group by a war tribunal. In that

case, there would probably have been only one conclusion, the firing squad.

That things did not turn out this way was due, apparently, to the intercession of Carlo Pisacane's daughter, Silvia, who (life's coincidences!...) had been adopted just before by his Lord the Minister. The latter (still life's coincidences!) had also been a comrade-in-arms of Carlo Pisacane on the Sapri expedition. A sin of his youth, evidently, but one that saved the skin of Malatesta and friends.

However, their problems were not solved as a result. Even if the possibility of a summary judgement had been removed, the accusations still included a list of crimes that boded ill. The preliminary investigation finished on the 27th of December 1877, with instructions to the court as follows:

- a) Against all the arrested, including those from Pontelandolfo and Solopaca, the crime of conspiracy with the object of removing and destroying the form of government, encouraging the people to arm themselves against the powers of the State, provoking civil war, inciting them to fight amongst themselves and to devastate, massacre and rob an entire class;
- b) Against the twenty-six who performed the actions in S. Lupo, Gallo and Letino, also the crimes of actions in an armed group to further the above-mentioned purposes, and joint responsibility in the crimes of intentionally wounding by fire of arms Antonio Santamaria and Pasquale Asciano, carabinieri, in the performance of their duty: wounds which caused the permanent weakness of one of Asciano's limbs, and, after forty days, the death of Santamaria.

Luckily for the accused, King Vittorio Emanuele died on the 9th January, and his successor, Umberto I (who was as everybody knows, a "good king") granted the country an amnesty which

even embraced many political crimes. And as a result of this the long list of accusations against the Matese gang was somewhat shortened.

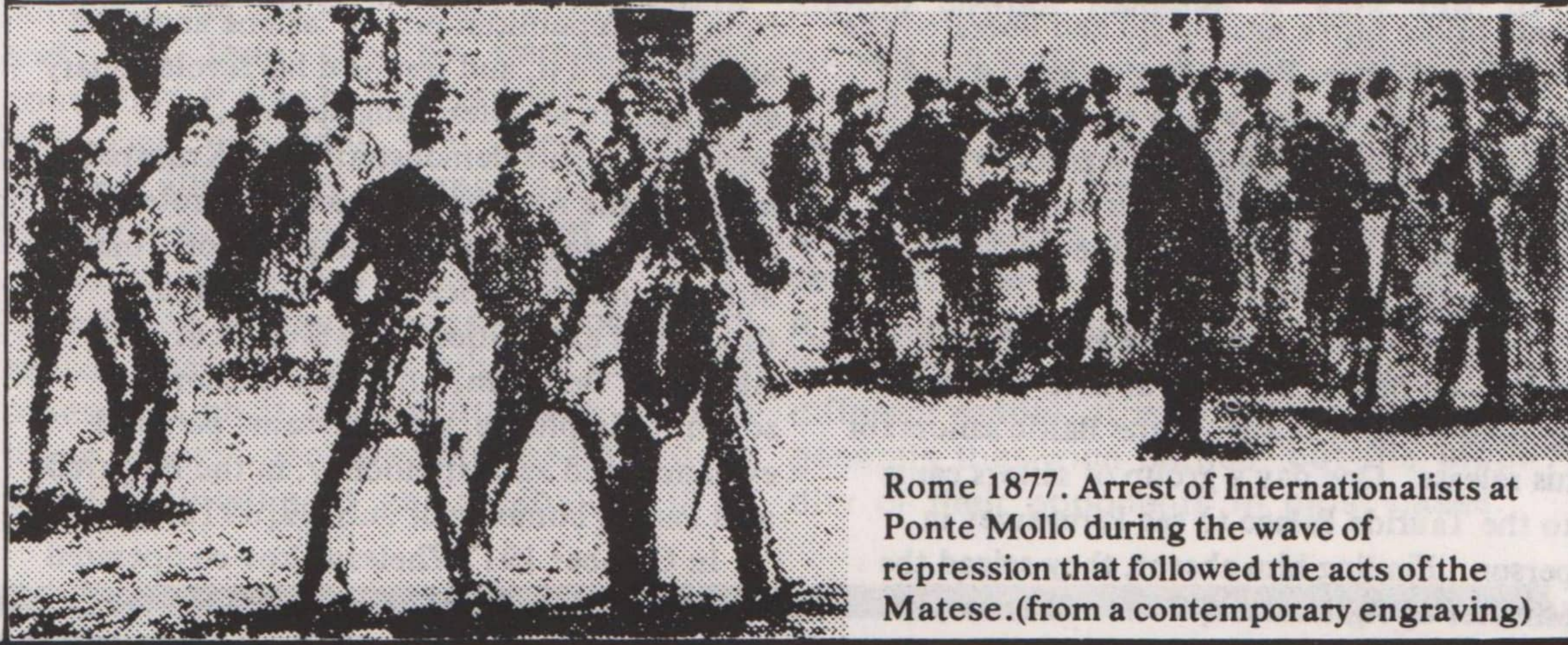
The trial was held before the Court of Assizes at Benevento and started on the 14th of August 1878.

It unfolded amidst great popular sympathy for the accused, the same sympathy they had felt around them as they burnt the "paperwork" in Letino and Gallo. The anarchists soon proved to be a tough nut for the public prosecutor. Intelligent, well prepared, sure of their own minds, they replied promptly to the judges, refuted them, and missed no chances of making propaganda for their own ideas of equality and freedom. In this they were skilfully helped by the defence-lawyers, among whom was the very young, but already capable, Saverio Merlino, who was also an anarchist.

To oppose their line of defence, which was juridically unimpeachable, the Director of Prosecution Forni was obliged to concentrate all his murderous energies on the shooting of the 4th of April, and the consequent death of the famous carabinieri. He maintained that the rebels had fired and killed intentionally, from "blood-lust". Cafiero and Malatesta replied vigorously to this grotesquely exaggerated accusation and the defence-lawyers showed that, as we have already mentioned, death was caused not by the anarchists' bullets but by the "consequent infection" (in other words the wretched soldier had been badly looked after). The darkly dramatic picture of the anarchist murderer became even more inconsistent, as did the arguments of the prosecution which depended upon projecting such an image.

The verdict was announced on the 25th August, after an hour and a quarter of discussions. The jury declared the accused NOT GUILTY of the death of the carabinieri and applied the amnesty to the other charges. The Matese gang was absolved and granted liberty. It was the sentence the people had been waiting for. A crowd of two thousand welcomed the anarchists, applauding them, on the way out from the prison, a tangible sign of the response that "propaganda of the deed" encouraged among the exploited in that period. A correspondent from the "Corriere del Mattino" of Naples, the next day concluded his article on the subject thus: "A trial like this in every province, and the government would be killed at its own hands."

R: BROSIO
Rivista Anarchica June 1972
 (translated by A. Hunter)



Rome 1877. Arrest of Internationalists at Ponte Mollo during the wave of repression that followed the acts of the Matese. (from a contemporary engraving)

“THE GUARD IS TIRED”

ANATOLI ZHELEZNIAKOV

STORMY PETREL

“The guard is tired.” With these words, uttered on the night of January 5/6, 1918, a young anarchist sailor named Anatoli Zhelezniakov dispersed the Constituent Assembly and carved a small niche for himself in the history of the Russian Revolution. When the tsarist regime collapsed in February 1917, Zhelezniakov had been serving on a minelayer based in Kronstadt, the famous headquarters of the Baltic Fleet near the capital city of Petrograd. After the February Revolution, anarchists and other militants occupied the villa of P.P. Durnovo, the Governor of Moscow during the revolution of 1905, and converted it into a revolutionary commune and a “house of rest,” with rooms for reading and discussion and a garden as a playground for their children. To hostile minds, however, the Durnovo villa had become a foul den of iniquity, “a sort of Brocken, where the powers of evil assembled, witches’ Sabbaths were held, and there were orgies, plots, dark and sinister, and doubtless bloody doings,” as N.N. Sukhanov wrote in his notes on the Russian Revolution. Yet the villa was left undisturbed until June 5, 1917, when a number of its anarchist occupants tried to seize the printing plant of a middle-class newspaper. The First Congress of Soviets, then in session in the capital, denounced the raisers as “criminals who call themselves anarchists,” and on June 7, P.N. Pereverzev, the Minister of Justice in the Provisional Government ordered the anarchists to evacuate the house immediately.

The next day fifty sailors, Zhelezniakov among them, rushed from Kronstadt to defend their fellow revolutionaries, who had meanwhile barricaded themselves in the villa against a government attack. For the next two weeks the anarchists remained entrenched in the villa in defiance of both the Provisional Government and the Petrograd Soviet. But after some of them broke into a nearby jail and liberated the inmates, Minister Pereverzev ordered a raid on the house, during which an anarchist workman was killed and Zhelezniakov was taken captive, relieved of four bombs, and locked up in the barracks of the Preobrazhensky Regiment.

After a summary trial the government sentenced him to 14 years at hard labour and ignored all petitions from the Baltic sailors for his release. One day a group of sailors came to the Tauride Palace to see Pereverzev in person. Finding him absent, they seized the Minister of Agriculture, Victor Chernov, the



Socialist Revolutionary leader and future chairman of the Constituent Assembly to whom Zhelezniakov, some six months later, would address his order to disperse; and it was only an impromptu speech by Trotsky, who (in a phrase that was to become famous) praised the Kronstadt sailors as “the pride and glory of the Revolution,” that saved Chernov from being lynched.

A few weeks later, Zhelezniakov escaped from his “republican prison” as one anarchist journal called it, and resumed his revolutionary activities. In an interesting episode, he organised a mass demonstration of Kronstadt sailors at the American embassy to protest against the death sentence imposed on Tom Mooney in San Francisco, as well as the threatened extradition to California of Alexander Berkman, whom the authorities sought to implicate, with the same perjured evidence used against Mooney, in the Preparedness Parade bombing of July 22, 1916.

In October 1917 Zhelezniakov co-operated whole-heartedly with the Bolsheviks in the

overthrow of the Provisional Government. Although the crew of his minelayer elected him as their delegate to the Second Congress of Soviets, which met on October 25, 1917, he was busy that night leading a contingent of sailors in the storming of the Winter Palace that overthrew the Provisional Government. After the October Revolution Zhelezniakov was named as commander of the detachment guarding the Tauride Palace, and it was in this capacity that he carried out (on Bolshevik orders) his historic mission of dispersing the Constituent Assembly, ending its life of a single day. It seems fitting that an anarchist should have played this role. For the anarchists, as opponents of all government, rejected representative democracy almost as vehemently as they rejected the tsarist and proletarian dictatorships. Universal suffrage was counter-revolution, as Proudhon had said, and parliament was a nest of fraud and compromise, an instrument of the upper and middle classes to dominate the workers and peasants. The anarchists had only scorn for what they called the “parliamentary fetishism” of the other revolutionary groups and openly denounced the Constituent Assembly from the first.

From the outbreak of the Civil War Zhelezniakov fought in the Red Army as commander of a flotilla and later of an armoured train. He took part in crucial campaigns against the Don Cossacks led by Ataman Kaledin and against Generals Krasnov and Denikin. When Trotsky reorganised the Red Army, putting tsarist officers in positions of high authority and abolishing the system of self-government among the rank and file, Zhelezniakov protested vigorously, as did many other revolutionaries who opposed the return to old military methods. For this the Bolsheviks outlawed him, as they outlawed the Black Guards in Moscow and Makhno in the Ukraine.

Zhelezniakov, however, returned to Moscow illegally and discussed the matter with Sverdlov, chairman of the Soviet Executive Committee, who assured him that there had been a misunderstanding and offered him a high military position. Zhelezniakov declined and left for Odessa, where he resumed his activities against the Whites. But he was too effective a warrior to be let go so easily, and the following year, 1919, the Bolsheviks repeated their overtures. This time Zhelezniakov accepted, and he was appointed as commander of the armoured



train campaign against Denikin, who placed a reward of 400,000 rubles on his head. Zhelezniakov fought bravely and without injury until July 26, 1919, when he was killed near Ekaterinoslav by a shell of Denikin's artillery. He was 24 years old.

The Soviet government, though it had outlawed Zhelezniakov and declared him a traitor, now embraced him as one of its heroes. His body was brought to Moscow and buried with speeches and pomp. A statue of Zhelezniakov stands today in the city of Kronstadt – erected by the Bolsheviks in tribute to his role in the October Revolution and the Civil war. Poems and songs by Soviet writers have been composed in his honour and are recited and sung to this day, but without any hint that Zhelezniakov was an anarchist. On the contrary, the Communists claim him as one of their own and avoid mentioning his anarchist affiliations by calling him a “revolutionary”, a “hero,” and a “martyr for the people.” Soviet sources, in fact, say that he joined the Bolshevik party, but this is untrue. Though he had participated in the October Revolution and he had fought in the Red Army, Zhelezniakov remained an anarchist to the last. As he told his comrade Volin: “Whatever may happen to me, and whatever they may say of me, know well that I am an anarchist, that I fight as one, and that whatever my fate, I will die an anarchist.”

During the summer of 1917, while imprisoned by the Provisional Government after the Durnovo villa affair, Zhelezniakov wrote a remarkable poem, the only one of his that survives. First published in 1923 in the journal *Krasny Flot* (Red Fleet), it was reprinted in the 1970 edition of the annual Soviet literary anthology *Den Poezii* (Poetry Day). It is a

fine and moving poem, of which my unrhymed literal translation can only give a hint.

Falcon, Falcon,
Do not laugh at me now,
That I should find my destiny in jail,
I was higher than you in the heavens, above the earth,
I was higher than you and the eagle.

I saw many celestial bodies unknown to you,
I learned many great secrets;
I often spoke with the stars,
I flew as high as the bright sun.

But the day quickly passed and the next one came,
And I burned with a rebellious flame.
I was pursued by the enemies of freedom,
My brothers were the wind and thunder.

But once in the dark night of the steppe
During a fatal storm I became weak
And since then here I sit like a thief in his chains,
Like an unfaithful and captured slave.

Falcon, falcon, when you chance to fly
Into the limitless and mountainous space. –
Don't forget to give the clouds my greetings,
Tell all that I shall break my chains,
That my life in jail is only a twilight nap,
Only a spectral day-dream.

(1917).

Paul Avrich.





OCCULT AUTHORITARIANS

"Be beautiful, be natural, and be like God." Such a line might come from any contemporary book on the occult, advocating the latest harmless fashion in, say, dowsing or UFO-chasing or plant telepathy. But in fact it was written by a Nazi, Julius Streicher, who walked around carrying a whip, and who wrote sado-pornographic fantasies about Jewish rapists and Aryan virgins—who was, in short, a Nazi's Nazi.

That he should utter such a piece of conventional occultist wisdom does not of course falsify that wisdom, or stigmatize others who have uttered it. But it does suggest that there may be more than a chance connection between occult and authoritarian ideas. As we'll see, the Third Reich was not at all hostile to occultism. Nor is the Soviet Union, nor the Union of South Africa. Pseudosciences and the occult tradition seem to flourish remarkably well under—and within—certain regimes. But at the same time, the occult seems to have a quite different reputation elsewhere.

The Occult Underground

Lately it is fashionable to treat the occult as somehow essentially anti-authoritarian. And it is true that occult beliefs have often been rooted in "underground" movements opposed to (and persecuted by) the Establishment. When the Inquisition tortured and burnt helpless women as witches, the conflict between authority and the occult was plain. Likewise when American Indians, faced with extinction, resorted to the ritual of the Ghost Dance in 1890, magic was a weapon to be used against the oppressor. Even in 1971 it was possible to find tens of thousands of people joining in a great

magical ritual in Washington, chanting, praying, trying (apparently) to exorcise the evil with the Pentagon.

An even stronger argument linking the occult with anarchism has been put forward in Theodore Roszak's brilliant *The Making of a Counter-Culture* (1970). His claim is that the established order, technocracy, has monopolized the truths of orthodox science, and it is therefore up to revolutionaries to seek truths elsewhere, perhaps in the "fringe" sciences of the occult. Roszak finds himself "harking back to the shamanistic world view", to

an anarchist tradition which has always championed the virtues of the primitive band, the tribe, the village. The spirit of Prince Kropotkin, who learned the anti-statist values of mutual aid from villagers and nomads little removed from the neolithic or even paleolithic level, breathes through all the young say about community. Our

beatniks and hippies press the critique even further. Their instinctive fascination with magic and ritual, . . . attempts to resuscitate the defunct shamanism of the distant past. (pp.264-5)

In fairness, Roszak does not suggest that anarchists might profit from an acquaintance with the ouija board or the dowsing rod; what he does seem to suggest is an outright rejection of science and a flight from reason. It is for others to fill in the blanks and specify where that flight might lead. Colin Wilson, for example, in *The Occult* (1971) begins:

Primitive man believed the world was full of unseen forces . . . The Age of Reason said that these forces had only ever existed in man's imagination; only reason could show man the truth about the universe. The trouble was that man became a thinking pygmy, and the world of the rationalists was a daylight place in which boredom, triviality and 'ordinariness' were ultimate truths. (p.25)

A return to beauty, nature and godliness is to be predicted from these lines, and it comes two pages later.

Wilson writes that modern man has become trapped in his image of himself as a thinking pygmy. He must somehow return to the recognition that he is potentially a 'mage', one of those magical figures who can hurl thunderbolts or command spirits. (p.27)

But here the mask of anarchy is slipping badly; anarchists are not normally expected to wish for a world in which they possess thunderbolts of absolute destruction or powers of absolute command over slaves. Such wishes are

common enough in occult circles (e.g. Charles Manson and friends) but have nothing at all to do with ideals of social equality, political freedom or working towards world peace. These are plainly wishes for naked power, and we have seen them expressed before, in Nazi Germany.

Aryan Science

Belief in racial supremacy is not included in Colin Wilson's 795-page survey of occult beliefs. An odd oversight, for it is surely the most consequential occult theory of all time, leading directly from a wish to "hurl thunderbolts", etc. (that is, a wish to become important) to global war and gas chambers.

"The blood particles of a Jew are completely different from those of a Nordic man," said Streicher in 1935. "Hitherto one has prevented this fact (sic) being proved by microscopic examination." Thus wishes were called facts, and as in almost any conventional pseudo-science, the call was for a flight from reason, a return to Nature:

Close to Nature, clear and full of commonsense—this is how the Aryan saw the 'true depth' of Nature in this embarrassingly naive picture. Abstract high-faluting, 'formalistic', incomprehensible—this, on the other hand, is how 'Jews' and 'Bolsheviks' see only the surface of Nature. (W.R. Fuchs, quoted in my *The New Apocrypha*, p.234)

Orthodox science was rejected as under "Jewish influence" (e.g. Einstein's theory of relativity). One Nazi physicist, Phillip Lenard wrote: "... science, like every other human product, is racial and conditioned by blood." Another, Rudolphe Tomaschek, went further:

Modern Physics is an instrument of (word) Jewry for the destruction of Nordic science... True physics is the creation of the German spirit.

Such statements, though far removed from anything that might be called scientific thought, are much closer to the occult: Tomaschek was also an astrologer. Indeed, he is cited as a scientific authority on astrology in a book by John Anthony West and Jan Toonder, *The Case for Astrology* (1970, p.180). West and Toonder do not of course mention his Nazism.

Astrology fits in well with Nazi ideas, particularly the idea of "Destiny". A man would not be held responsible for his actions if he were "obeying orders", nor if he were obeying the dictates of his stars. Several of Hitler's inner circle (though not Hitler himself) regularly consulted astrologers.

Occultists, at least, considered Nazism inseparable from their beliefs. In 1933 one astrological magazine claimed that "awareness of one's national heritage and blood ties with the Aryan race are indivisibly bound up with astrological science."

The vagueness and bankruptcy of this occult science can be seen in two horoscopes of Hitler. One, prepared in 1923, showed him to be born under Aries; this "martial" sign is seen to give him qualities of leadership, combativeness and lack of caution. Later, astrologers learned that Hitler was born under not Aries, but Taurus. A new horoscope was prepared, showing how Taurus gave him "earthy" qualities, strong will and determination. Heads I win...

At the height of the Second World War, the German admiralty hit upon two wonderfully occult schemes for locating Allied convoys at sea. One was to place a small metal ship model on a map of the Atlantic and suspend a pendulum over it.



One of the many horoscopes cast for Hitler

If the pendulum moved, they reasoned, a convoy would be found at that map reference.

The other method required more effort: Ten men with infra-red cameras were sent to an island in the Baltic. They pointed these cameras at the sky and snapped away. The principle behind this operation was the Hollow Earth Theory (*Hohlweltlehre*), which states that the earth is hollow and we live on the inside of it. The sun only appears to rise and set, due to strange optical laws. More such laws explain why a Berliner can't look up in the sky and see Britain: sharply-curving rays of light give the illusion of a horizon. The admiralty hoped their infra-red cameras would overcome these problems and take photos of British seaports.

Far more popular than the *Hohlweltlehre* was the World Ice Theory (*Weltislehre*) invented by Hans Hörbiger. Hörbiger believed that most cosmic phenomena could be explained by

ice: All planets are thickly coated with ice, the Milky Way is little more than an aggregate of ice cubes, and all space is filled with ice crystals. Now and then ice falls into the sun, causing sunspots, he claimed, and our moon (burdened with ice) will eventually fall on us.

Millions of loyal followers in Nazi Germany raised Hörbiger's theory to the level of a political movement: "Our Nordic ancestors grew strong in ice and snow; belief in the World Ice is consequently a natural heritage of Nordic man." Believers tended to confuse World Ice with Nazism, so that Hitler's Propaganda Ministry finally had to explain: They could be good Nazis without believing in World Ice.

Soviet Pseudo-Science

Hitler is alive and well and living in Atlantis. So said a group of Czechoslovak occultists, more or less, to Mss. Ostrander and Schroeder, authors of *PSI: Psychic Discoveries behind the Iron Curtain* (1970). Hitler is (was) also a clairvoyant, a medium, an initiate into secret Tibetan rites, and a magician.

Hitler was a practitioner of the black arts of the occult. If we are to avoid falling into the grip of these Dark Powers again we must begin to understand psi, we must discover what forces can be unleashed by the human mind, what incredible energies it controls. (pp.322-323)

This was in the summer of 1968, a month before real forces were unleashed on Czechoslovakia; tanks of the Warsaw Pact rolled into Prague as had the Panzers thirty years before. Parallels are often drawn between the behaviour of the Soviet government and the Third Reich, but almost no one (except Martin Gardner in *Fads and Fallacies* (1952) has pointed out that both have taken a plunge into the occult.

PSI lists scores of pseudo-scientific research projects being mounted in Russia, Bulgaria and Czechoslovakia. We are told of cosmonaut telepathy tests, experiments in dowsing, reincarnation, alchemy, astrology and so on. A Czechoslovak engineer finds that wearing pyramid-shaped hats can cure headaches; a "Leningrad housewife" separates the white and yolk of an egg without touching it; a Polish telepathist claims he pulled off psychic bank robberies at the personal request of Stalin. Wonder is heaped upon wonder, giving the impression that the USSR is buzzing with psychic vibes. But, as so often with occultist anecdotes, the claims are staggering while the evidence is nil.

While Nazi ideas at times ranged towards the deeply mystical end of the occult spectrum, Soviet ideas range the other way, towards the pseudo-scientific end. Magic must be given a materialistic rationale in Russia, using accredited scientists, impressively-named projects, and gadgetry.

Thus stories are peppered with the names of scientists: Professor Kitaigorodsky studies long-distance ESP; Dr Porsnev, the habits of the yeti; Dr Zeigel speculates on UFOs from Mars; while Dr Jonas experiments with astrological birth control. Projects bear long, pompous names ("The Bio-Information Section of the A.S. Popov All-Union Scientific and Technical Society of Radio Technology and Electrical Communication"). Fields of esoteric research get scientific sounding names: "dermo-optics" (seeing colour with the fingertips) "bioplasma" (the supposed psychic aura, or the soul), "biophysical effect method" (dowsing) and "Suggestology" (Yoga). Finally, spurious gadgets test spurious qualities: the "tobiscope", useful in acupuncture; the "psychotronic generator", useful in mesmerism; Kirlian photography, useful in seeing auras.



Most of the scientists involved are genuine, in the sense that they took genuine degrees (usually in some field of biology). The reason Russia has so many crank biologists is easily traced back to 1948, when Trofim Lysenko, a half-educated plant breeder, was given absolute control over Soviet biology. It took Russia years of crop failure to rid itself of Lysenkoism, whose opponents had been fired, exiled or silenced. The same level of tolerance towards dissenters continues today, judging by the remarks of a Lenin-grad Professor, Dr Tugarinov, who says that critics of psychic research are scientific conservatives, they "should be made to suffer." (PSI, p. 18)

Other Places

Occultists are not slow to point out their martyrs: Wilhelm Reich, exile from both Nazism and Communism, was jailed in America. Psychic surgeons have been getting official heat in both Brazil and the Phillipines. Scientology was banned in part of Australia, and Scientologists have been denied entry to Britain. None of these persecutions seems to have caused much damage to the cause in question: Americans still sit inside their Reichian orgone boxes. Scientologists go on peddling their

useless brand of psychotherapy in Britain. And of course psychic surgeons go on cutting up their patients with rusty knives. And it might be mentioned that Nazism, banned in West Germany, seems to be doing all right for itself.

Occultists have not shown much tolerance themselves, when in power. And they have not achieved much power, except in the most repressive nations: Nazi Germany, the USSR, South Africa and Brazil. All four nations have been or are devoted to genocide, and in all four, certain occult racial theories have predictable consequences, but they also foster further "researches" into the occult. Thus it is from South Africa that Robert Ardrey dredged up his thesis (in **The Territorial Imperative**, 1967) that human beings are "natural" hunters and killers of one another; private property, war and social inequality are tied to our instincts and cannot be eliminated. He bases this on a cursory study of the habits of the cicada-killer wasp and other man-like creatures.

Scitnology too has a firm hold in South Africa. Its founder, L. Ron Hubbard, once wrote:

One sees with some sadness that more than three quarters of the world's population will become subject to the remaining quarter as a natural consequence about which we can do exactly nothing. (**History of Man**)

This sounds closer to cynicism than sadness, but then it chimes in well with the Sout African Justice Minister Kruger's comment on the murder of Steve Biko: "It leaves me cold."

Brazil is no stranger to genocide, nor to the occult. Guy Lyon Playfair (**The Flying Cow**, 1975) estimated that 30 per cent of the country belonged to a spiritualist church, including members of the government. Brazil honoured one famous spiritualist with a commemorative postage stamp. The urge to "command spirits" is apparently so strong that Brazil has for some time been sending as many Indians as it could catch into what spiritualists would call "the other side".

Occult Authoritarians

For some people, one occult belief seems to lead to another, like the alcoholic's first drink. Professor Hans J. Eysenck of the Institute of Psychiatry, London, began by believing in ESP (**Sense and Nonsense in Psychology**, 1958) and went on to the notion that one's intelligence depends on one's race (**The Inequality of Man**, 1973). This theory, promoted by Arthur Jensen, Cyril Burt and others, must be classified as pseudo-scientific, since it appears to depend more on wish than evidence.

A key piece of evidence often cited by Eysenck, Jensen and others was a long-term study by the leading psychologist Cyril Burt of twins. Burt compared the IQs of twins raised apart with those of

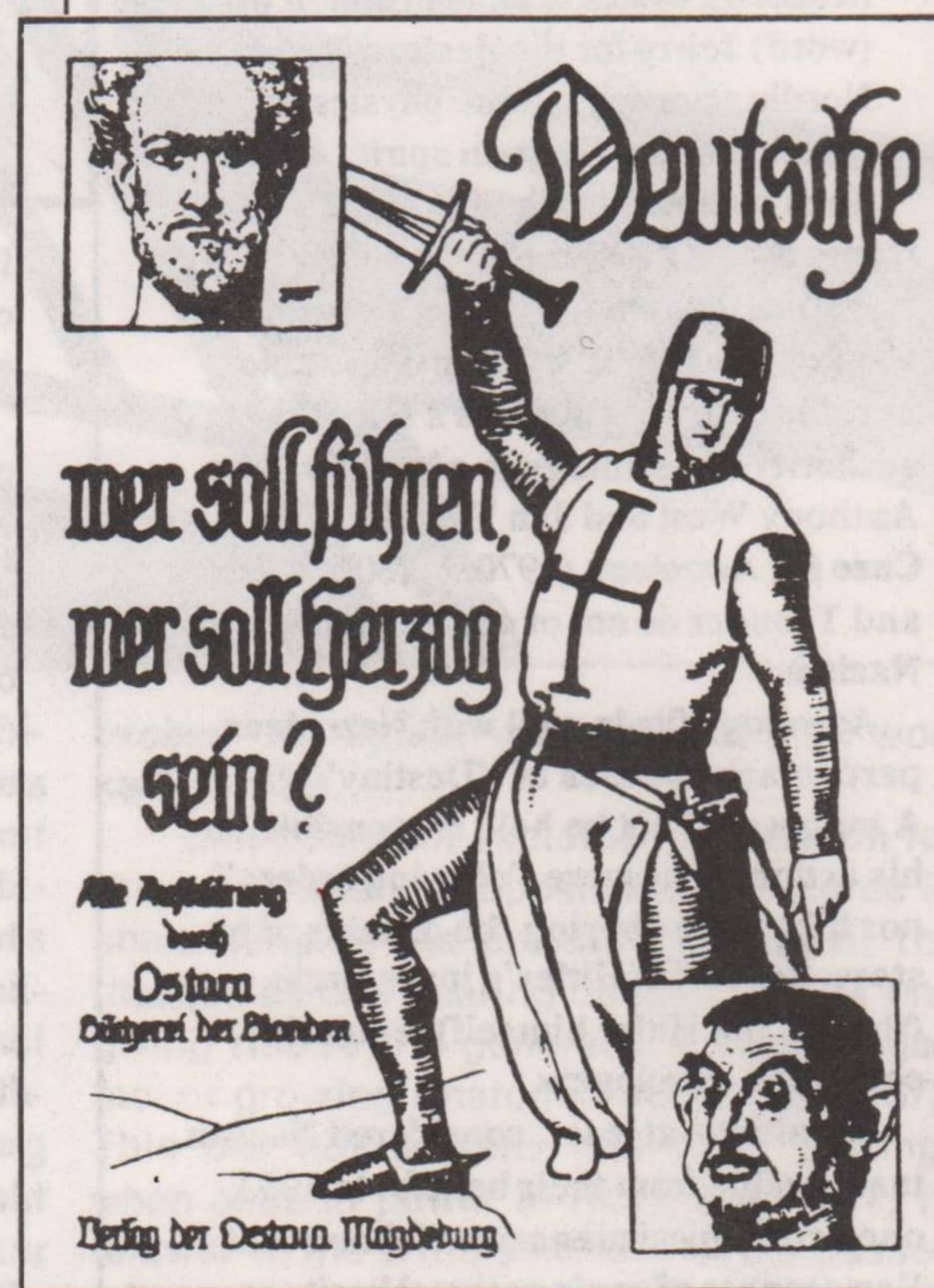
twins raised together, finding apparent evidence of a link between heredity and IQ. But in 1977 Burt's evidence was found to have been faked (See L.J. Kamin **Science and Politics of IQ**, 1977).

This would not of itself discount the theory, but it does show that those who hold it are not all genuine scientists. A scientist who distorts facts into lies to support his theory is not practising science, but pseudo-science.

By coincidence, Burt too was a strong supporter of telepathy, and contributed an article to **Science and ESP** (J. Smythies, ed., 1967). And by another coincidence, a leading researcher into ESP, Walter Levy, was caught faking evidence in 1973 (**Scientific American**, Sept. 1974, p.72).

Eysenck went on to study the effect of zodiac sign on personality in 1977. His political advancement, meanwhile, may be surmised from an article in **Searchlight** (No. 33, pp.6-7): Apparently he has gathered about him at his Institute academics sympathetic to fascism, including Dr John J. Ray. Dr Ray is said to be a former member of the Australian Nazi Party. What next?

Perhaps the most thorough study of right-wing psychology to date is **The Authoritarian Personality** (1950) by T.W. Adorno and others. Over 2000 persons were studied at length, using a battery of personality tests, opinion questionnaires and interviews. It was possible to rate people (according to the opinions they expressed on questionnaires) by scales of "ethnocentrism", "fascism", "anti-semitism" and "politico-economic conservatism". Not surprisingly, these categories often overlapped; persons expressing ethnocentric opinions (e.g. that



Above Back page from an issue of *Ostara*, 'Library of the Blondes', in 1922: this grotesquely racist magazine was run by Lanz von Liebenfels, founder of the New Templars

foreigners are untrustworthy) on one questionnaire often express fascist opinions on another (e.g. that "People can be divided into two classes: the weak and the strong").

One fact which emerged from this study was that persons who score high on ethnocentrism and high on fascism also tend to be more superstitious than those who score low in these scales. That is, they tend to agree more strongly with such statements as these:

Science has carried men very far, but there are many important things that can never be understood by the human mind.

Every person should have complete faith in some supernatural power whose decisions he obeys without question.

Some people are born with the urge to jump from high places.

Some cases of feeble-mindedness are caused by overstudy.

Some day it will probably be shown that astrology can explain a lot of things.

It is possible that wars and social troubles will be ended once and for all by an earthquake or flood that will destroy the whole world.

It's a mistake to trust anybody who doesn't look you in the eye.

Interviews with forty-five high-scorers (whom I will call "fascists") and thirty-five low-scorers ("non-fascists") seemed to confirm this. The interviewers (without knowing the test scores of their subjects) rated each subject on his attitude towards science. The results of these ratings were:

Attitude:	No. of fascists	No. of non-fascists
Pseudo-or anti-scientific	28	1
Neutral (or unknown):	13	5
Scientific:	4	29

The trend is clear.

Conclusions

It is hard to conclude that occultism with its anti-scientific bias has any value for the anarchist. At best, it seems a useless and frivolous activity; at worst, it may lead to darker levels of ignorance, superstition, intolerance and compulsion. But there are also particular reasons for the anarchist to discard the occult:

1. The occult often appeals to plain selfishness. The emphasis is often on developing superpowers, becoming one of the "elect", gaining the secret key to some mystery—in other words, the occultist is encouraged to feel he is somehow set apart and above the common herd. Truths not accessible to others have been revealed to him through some special mode of understanding. Even if, like L. Ron Hubbard, he pities or patronises the rest of mankind, he no doubt takes some comfort in being an "adept". This philosophy has no place in anarchism, which is surely based on the intrinsic worth of every human being.

2. The occultist is often glad to submit his will or his mind to some supernatural power—to higher authority. Whether the authority is the zodiac or super-intelligent beings in UFOs, a vague principle of "destiny" or an occult force such as "orgone energy", the principle is much the same. It first of all gets the occultist off the hook for his own actions, relieving him of normal human responsibilities; and second, it leads him to believe that somehow all will be well if he simply obeys. It would be harder to find a principle further removed from anarchism than this—essentially fascistic—doctrine.

3. Science proceeds by revolutions, while the occult simply stands still. Astrology has learned nothing of the stars since Babylonian times, for the astrologer is locked into the tyranny of dogma. The scientist, by contrast, is not only permitted to question scientific theories, he is **obliged** to try overthrowing them. There are no absolute truths in science, and no inviolate hierarchy of beliefs.

This is not to say that science is dis-

order, a haphazard heap of meaningless facts and dubious theories. For a new theory to overthrow an old, all that is required is that it (a) be a simpler or more comprehensive explanation of natural facts, and (b) be testable.

It would be rash to try drawing a strict analogy between science and anarchism, yet it is clear that anarchism (at least as an ideal) is revolutionary, undogmatic, supports no absolute truths and considers no hierarchy of belief to be sacred. In this it is surely far more like science than like the occult. For occultism insists upon stasis, unchanging absolute truth, and a hierarchy of beliefs which must be accepted without question. It is hard to see how someone who believes that a state should not control a person's life can at the same time believe that person's mind should be controlled by possessing spirits, or Theosophical Masters of Wisdom, by the force of "blood" or "history" or any other such absolute entity.

Anarchists do at times give themselves to occultism, notably when real revolutions fail. In the 1960s it may have seemed as though the Western world was undergoing a kind of revolution, and where it failed, revolutionaries turned from the real world (where Paris workers were telling the students to stuff it; where America responded to anti-Vietnam protest by electing Nixon and continuing the war) to the world of dreams and magic. Alexander Herzen noticed something of the kind after the failed revolutions of 1848:

Then there were all kinds of fanatics, monomaniacs with every kind of madness. It was due to this nervous, strained, irritable condition that table-turning numbered so many victims among the exiles. Almost everyone was turning tables, from Victor Hugo and Ledru Rollin to Quirico Filopanti who went further and found out everything that a man was doing a thousand years ago. And with all that, not a step forward. (*My Past and Thoughts*, 1968).

John Sladek

The Misadventures of ANN and ARCHIE...

ARCHIE - I'VE GOT AN ARTICLE ON CRIME, AND ONE ON DANDRUFF, FOR THE NEXT ISSUE OF 'LIBERTARIAN STRAIN' - BUT I'M NOT SURE HOW TO FINISH THEM - ANY SUGGESTIONS?

SURE - WORKERS MUST RISE UP, ABOLISH THE STATE, ESTABLISH WORKERS' COUNCILS, - EVERYONE'S HAPPY - BINGO! NO MORE CRIME! PROBLEM SOLVED, END OF STORY...

AND DANDRUFF?

EASY - WORKERS RISE UP, ABOLISH STATE, DITTO DITTO DITTO DITTO DITTO - BINGO! NO MORE DANDRUFF! OK?

BUT THAT WON'T HAPPEN TOMORROW: WHAT ABOUT OUR ATTITUDE IN THE MEANTIME?

Y'KNOW, SOMETIMES I GET THE FEELING THAT OUR THEORY LACKS CURRENCY...

HMM, GOOD QUESTION, UM, NOW LET ME SEE... MUTTER... MUMBLE... PROLONGED SILENCE...

THAT REMINDS ME - I MUST GO & WASH MY HAIR - MY DANDRUFF'S BAD AGAIN...



yes - avoid the pitfalls of reformism - but where's our grasp of history? why this gap between our ideal and the present situation?

ANARCHISTS IN FICTION

There is an old Spanish proverb which says that history is a common meadow where everyone can make hay, and as a result we always watch out for the distortions made by historians. Noam Chomsky's essay on 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship' is without doubt the finest study of this subject. But it is not just historians whether liberal, communist or fascist who intentionally misrepresent Anarchism. Fiction is a medium which has a far wider audience and so we will be including a series in the

Review showing how Anarchism and Anarchists have been portrayed. To start off with I have selected excerpts from three writers: P.C. Wren who represents the most violent reactionary attitude towards it, Hemingway who

personifies the privileged liberal with an intensely patronising view, and finally Hermann Hesse, who although not an Anarchist himself wrote what I think is the greatest anarchist novel of all time, 'Steppenwolf'.

Beau Sabreur by P.C. Wren (1925)

Beau Sabreur is a sequel to Beau Geste and its hero is Major Henri de Beaujolais, an old Etonian, Frenchman, Hussar, Spahi officer, and Secret Service Agent dedicated to maintaining French 'civilisation' in North Africa. The villain of the novel is Becque, an Anarchist, mutineer, and secret agent of the German and Turkish governments! The author in his foreword to the novel has the following to say in all seriousness: "The reader may rest assured that the deeds narrated and the scenes and personalities pictured in this book are not the vain outpourings of a film-fed imagination, but the rearrangement of actual happenings and the assembling of real people."

The story starts with de Beaujolais fresh out of Eton being told by his uncle, a general, to go and enlist as a trooper in a Hussar regiment. There he meets his adversary for the first time.

"Becque seemed to have plenty of money and plenty of ideas—of an interesting and curious kind. He was an 'agent', a Man with a Message, a propagandist and an agitator. Apparently his object was to 'agitate' the regiment, and his Message was that Law and Order were invented by knaves for the enslavement of fools."

De Beaujolais goes to a recruiting meeting organised by Becque. He is of course accompanied by his faithful servant Dufour.

"Becque was clearly a monomaniac whose mental content was **hate**—hate of France; hate of all who had what he had not; hate of control and discipline and government; hate of whatsoever and whomsoever did not meet with his approval. I put him down as one of those sane

lunatics afflicted with a destruction-complex; a diseased egoist, and a treacherous, dangerous mad dog . . . It appeared that Dufour had not taken the Oath of Initiation, and it was forthwith administered to him and to me. We were given the choice of immediate departure or swearing upon the Bible (!?!) with terrific oaths and solemnities that we would never divulge the secret of the Society or give any account whatsoever of its proceedings. The penalty for the infringement of this oath was certain death. We took the oath, and settled ourselves to endure an address from Becque on the subject of the Rights of Man—always meaning unwashed, uneducated, unpatriotic and wholly worthless Man, bien entendu. Coming from the general to the particular, Becque inveighed eloquently against all forms and manifestations of Militarism, and our folly in aiding and abetting it by conducting ourselves as disciplined soldiers."

De Beaujolais then sets out to provoke Becque to a duel.

"'Good', said I. 'Have you ever been wrongfully imprisoned, or in any way injured or punished by the State?' 'Me? Prison? No,' he replies. 'What do you mean? Except that we're all injured by the State, aren't we? There didn't ought to be any State.' 'And you hold your tenets of revolution, anarchy, murder and mutiny, and the overthrow and destruction of France and the Republic, firmly, and with all your heart and soul, do you?' I asked. 'What's your game? Are you fooling, or are you from the Third Central?' (!?!) 'Never mind,' I replied. 'Are you prepared to die for your faith? That's what I want to know.' 'I am,' answered Becque. 'You shall,' said I, and arose to signify that the conversation was ended. Opening the

door, I motioned to the creature to remove itself."

Then the duel which our gallant hero of course wins:

"Scrutinising Becque carefully, I came to the conclusion that he would show the fierce and desperate courage of a cornered rat, and that if he had paid as much attention to fencing as to anarchistic sedition, he would put up a pretty useful fight."

After his victory, de Beaujolais is told to see his officer whom the Sergeant describes thus: "I know that Lieutenant d'Auray de Redon is one of the finest gentlemen God ever made . . . He has often saved me from suicide—simply by a kind word and his splendid smile."

De Beaujolais is then congratulated by Redon, another member of the secret service. He refers to the wounded Becque as "a mad dog as you say, but I fancy that the mad dog has some pretty sane owners and employers." At last the Great Anarchist Conspiracy Theory is about to be proved. The man is not merely a vile Anarchist who believes in no Government at all, but he is also an agent of the German government! The scene shifts to North Africa where our hero charges around covering himself with glory and being rapidly promoted. Meanwhile nasty incidents start to happen and Becque is suspected of being at work again stirring up hatred against the French. De Beaujolais then escapes from the slaughtering of a French garrison with the American heroine who he has saved from a fate worse than death, and makes his way south on a secret mission to a potentially friendly Emir who he wants to win over. Unfortunately the Emir takes a fancy to the heroine and de Beaujolais' mentality is suitably summed up when he says: "As an honest and

honourable man I must put the orders of my General, the honour and tradition of my Service and, above all, the welfare of my Country, before everything—and everybody. Logic showed me the truth and suddenly I stopped in my stride, turned and shook my fist in the Emir's very face and shouted: 'Damn your black face and blacker soul, you filthy hound! Get out of my tent before I throw you out, you bestial swine! WHITE WOMEN! You black dogs and sons of dogs!' And shaking with rage I pointed to the doorway of my tent."

Becque, the Anarchist, then arrives as a secret agent for the Turks and plots to deliver the heroine to the mercy of the rapacious Sudanese soldiery. So de Beaujolais fights him for France, and to protect Miss Mary Vanbrugh's honour. He wins of course. "I would not rejoice over a fallen foe, and I would not express regret to a villainous renegade and a treacherous cur—who, moreover, had plotted the death, mutilation, and dishonour of *Mary Vanbrugh*."

Even if this grotesque rubbish was presented as satire today it would be derided for going over the top, but the author claimed it was based on fact and we can estimate that it was probably accepted as roughly accurate by hundreds of thousands of readers. But the ludicrous contradiction of a man being an Anarchist and an agent of an enemy government at the same time is typical of the warped paranoia that we face from the patriot.

The Fifth Column [1938]

For Whom The Bell Tolls [1940]

A Farewell to Arms [1929]

Over the River and into the Trees [1950]

Hemingway was the archetypal liberal who supported the 'underdog' overseas from the comfort of the best restaurants in town. His most unpleasant work is the play 'Fifth Column' supposedly written in Madrid while under fire. This piece of bad theatre glorifies the Communist secret police, the SIM. Needless to say in the play, all their victims were Fascist and there was no reference to their torture and murder of Anarchists or members of the POUM. His most famous novel (For whom the Bell Tolls) was also set in the Spanish Civil War when a young American explosives hero (one of the many surrogate Hemingway clones), takes command of a guerrilla detachment in the Guadarrama. His mission is to blow a bridge just before a major Republican offensive, and needless to say the fate of free Spain rests in his hands. He sends off one of his men to get an urgent message through to the Russian General Goltz, but Andres the messenger has trouble when he gets to the Republican lines where he is delayed by Anar-

chists. "He knew now he was up against the crazies; the ones with the red and black scarves."

Andres is finally allowed to explain his mission and the 'Anarchist Officer' says to him: "There is too much of this silly guerrilla nonsense going on. All of you should come in and submit to our Libertarian discipline. Then when we wished to send out guerrillas we would send them out when needed." "Andres did not like these people who were like dangerous children; dirty, foul, undisciplined, kind, loving, silly, and ignorant, but always dangerous because they were armed. . . . It is not liberty not to bury the mess one makes, he thought. No animal has more liberty than a cat, but it buries the mess it makes. The cat is the best anarchist. Until they learn that from the cat, I cannot respect them." And Andres passes on offended by the smell.

Hemingway also wrote two novels set in Italy. In the first, 'A Farewell to Arms', he is not rude about Anarchists, just tolerant in a benign and superior way. And then in a much later one, 'Over the River and into the Trees' where he takes the role of a beat up American Colonel, there is an almost maudling affection for an Anarchist bartender in one of his fashionable drinking haunts in Venice.

"The bartender shook hands with him. This bartender was an Anarchist but he did not mind the Colonel being a Colonel at all. He was delighted by it and proud and loving about it as though the Anarchists had a Colonel too, and in some ways, in the several months that they had known each other, he seemed to feel that he had invented, or at least erected, the Colonel as you might be happy about participating in the erection of a campanile, or even the old church at Torcello." And so on until the Colonel says goodbye. "The bartender looked at him with his wise Italian eyes, not merry now, although the lines of merriment were clearly cut where they radiated from the corners of each eye. I hope there is nothing wrong with him, the bartender thought. I hope to God, or anything else, there's really nothing bad."

Steppenwolf [1929]

Herman Hesse's 'Steppenwolf' is the great surrealist novel, and it explores the duality of the human character through the medium of Harry Haller. Harry is a pacifist (like Hesse), and his anarchist soul is trying to break out of its bourgeois mould. One evening he sees a mystery man advertising an 'Anarchist Magic Theatre' who gives him a pamphlet which accurately describes the struggle within Haller. He searches and searches again for the man later as the bourgeois side of his character starts to suffocate the anarchist Steppenwolf within him. His liberation comes through

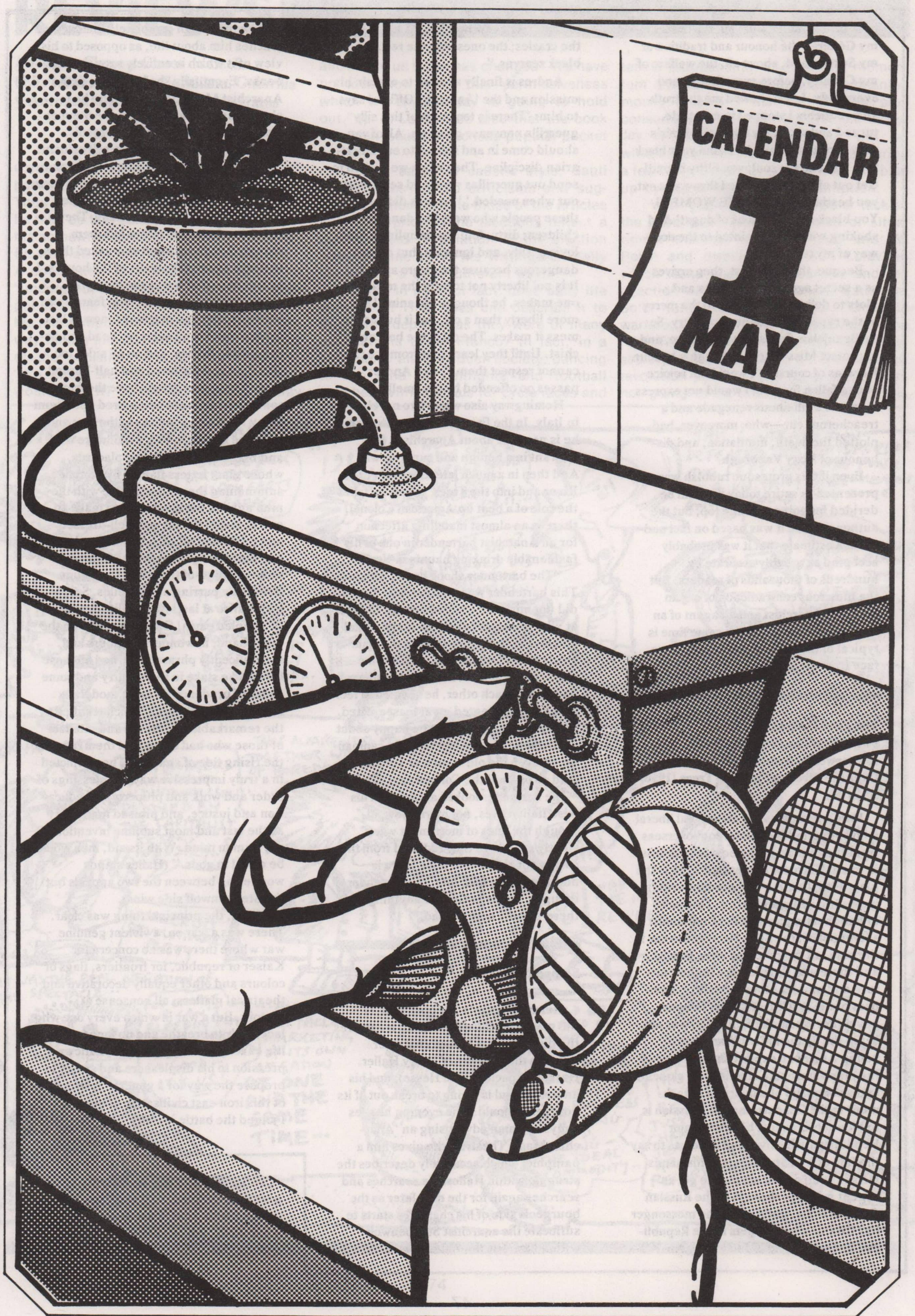
a girl who though completely uneducated teaches him about life, as opposed to his view of it which is entirely seen through books. Eventually she leads him to the Anarchist Magic Theatre where he is shown many visions to help the Steppenwolf finally overcome the bourgeois.

The most striking of these is self evident:

"I was swept at once into a world of noise and excitement. Cars, some of them armoured, were running through the streets chasing the pedestrians. They ran them down and either left them mangled on the ground or crushed them to death against the walls of the houses. I saw at once that it was the long prepared, long awaited and long feared war between men and machines, now at last broken out. On all sides lay dead and decomposing bodies, and on all sides too, smashed and distorted and half-burned cars. Airplanes circled above the frightful confusion and were being fired upon from many roofs and windows with rifles and machine guns. On every wall were wild and magnificently stirring placards, whose giant letters flamed like torches, summoning the people to side with the men against the machines, to make an end at last of the fat and well-dressed and perfumed plutocrats who used machines to squeeze the fat from other men's bodies, of them and their huge fiendishly purring automobiles. Set factories afire at last! Make a little room on th crippled earth! Other placards, on the other hand, in wonderful colours and magnificently phrased, warned all those who had a stake in the country and some share of prudence (in more moderate and less childish terms which testified to the remarkable cleverness and intellect of those who had composed them) against the rising tide of anarchy. They depicted in a truly impressive way the blessings of order and work and property and education and justice, and praised machinery as the last and most sublime invention of the human mind. With its aid, men would be equal to gods." (Haller stands wondering between the two appeals but the Steppenwolf side wins).

"Well, the principal thing was clear. There was a war on, a violent genuine war where there was no concern for Kaiser or republic, for frontiers, flags or colours and other equally decorative and theatrical matters, all nonsense at bottom. But a war in which every one who lacked air to breathe and no longer found life exactly pleasing gave emphatic expression to his displeasure and strove to prepare the way for a general destruction of this iron-cast civilisation of ours. . . . I joined the battle joyfully."

(Contributions to this series will be greatly welcomed, so if you know novels dealing with Anarchism or portraying Anarchists, tell us about them or write a short appreciation yourself.)



HOME-IMPROVEMENT HANDY-HINTS FOR THE ANARCHIST. NO.1

DO-IT-YOURSELF RADIO STATION

RADIO COMMUNICATIONS

The need for anarchist publications and correspondence networks is clear. They serve the purpose of communicating items of interest to the anarchist movement in a form both inexpensive and lasting, in a form that allows one to refer back to what was said and written "back when." The chief disadvantage is that the mode is slow, it depends on state postal service, and it is vulnerable to tampering and spying and it is subject to the whims of chance. Maybe your copy of Black Flag or Open Road will reach you, and maybe it won't.

Radio communication has the advantages of being nearly instantaneous, virtually tamper-free (perhaps jamming, but if a problem develops, one's broadcast can always be switched each time to a different channel) and best of all, it is possible to broadcast into areas where the State would never allow anarchist propaganda to go.

Not being a radio operator of any great knowledge, I will have to restrict myself to simple advocacy. We need radio communication. The practicalities of obtaining that capability certainly rest with individuals and local groups of anarchists around the world. If the local State laws prohibit or severely restrict operation of radio (as one might expect in totalitarian countries) it would behoove those of us in places less restrictive to obtain the knowledge and material necessary to provide radio to those comrades denied it, and devise some method of getting it to them. Ham radio transceivers are not that difficult to build or operate (one may, of course, buy them ready-to-run at a higher cost than one built from components) and if the set must be operated illegally in the first place, one needn't worry about passing the license exams. An operable Ham radio could be put into operation in the US for about \$600. A pirate radio, small enough to be easily transported by or even contained and operated

from) an automobile can compensate for its less efficient antenna by boosting power above regulation limits and still carry across the Atlantic or from Northern Europe to Eastern, Southern European countries and Africa, perhaps quite a way into Asia as well. Much of the quality of Ham radio communication depends on atmospheric conditions and the quantity of signals present in your local area. It might be difficult to pick up San Francisco if the operators next door are debating the respective attributes of their equipment.

Much of the Ham radio traffic consists of exactly this kind of thing. How's the weather in Sydney, and do you like the signal my new Megawatt Z-200 Alpha puts out? If we needed to transmit messages of a clandestine nature it would be a simple matter to establish a code-and-cipher arrangement (for instance, one broadcaster identifies the key, perhaps the letter "R" and the number "6". The following broadcast is the coded message, with "A" represented by "L", "B" by "M" and so on. This isn't what I'd call a sophisticated code, but it would probably go way over the head of the casual listener. Most amateur radio people tend to be statist oriented, and a simple "Comrade X will jump bail at two o'clock on Tuesday" would most definitely get promptly reported. The really essential thing about codes is not to repeat the code once it has been used, and not to follow a pattern.

The other type of radio I'd like to discuss is Citizen's Band radio. CB radio has become so popular in the US as to make it almost unusable in the cities. It requires no specialist knowledge to operate one and only the most basic of electrical skills to rig one up. Unlike Ham radio, CB usually will not carry more than six to eight miles, unless modifications are made to its power capabilities or its antenna is raised very high. One main disadvantage is that a CB antenna (because the units are manufactured with such a weak

signal - 5 watts) must be exposed, and so anyone searching for the radio need only look for its antenna. CB radio isn't illegal in very many places, but it could provide excellent short range tactical radio communications. Smugglers and revolutionaries in Mexico use CB for field communications, but at considerable risk, as possession of CB is a prison offence there. American tourists used to have their radios confiscated upon entry (or perhaps shortly thereafter, as many would simply refuse to enter the country once they realised the radio couldn't go in), but the Mexican government became alarmed at the drop in tourism, and now issues permits and seals the unit so that it cannot be operated in their country. A quality Japanese-made CB with antenna (23 channels) costs about \$50-60. A 40 channel unit costs about \$100. There are also single-banded CB radios which are slightly more powerful, and which cannot be clearly received on regular CB which cost between \$150-250. "Sidebanders" like to pretend they are Ham operators or as they use the Ham "Q" code rather than the "lower-class" CB 10-Code.

Considering that CB radio is largely unavailable in most of the world, American anarchists might make it a point to learn as much as possible about it, and undertake the exporting of radios and radio technology to comrades who desire it. It is possible to build a CB from scratch, but the Japanese electronics industry has cut cost down to where it seems pointless to do so if it is at all possible to get the assembled sets to comrades through regular freight channels. This is not the case with Ham radio, however. Assembling one from components is perhaps half as expensive as buying one off-the-shelf.

Regardless of the expense (which isn't all that much anyway) the possibilities of anarchist radio are very attractive, and the proliferation of radio communications among anarchists will pull the movement together and make defence, mutual aid and exchange of ideas and debate far easier. J.F.

PRIVILEGED KNOWLEDGE

Many people - probably most - who drive a car have little idea of how the engine, gearbox, differentials, voltage-regulator or other bits and pieces work. We all happily use alarm clocks without worrying about how an escapement or a balancewheel works. But we are quite confident that if we did want to know about these things we could go to a library or to someone who was a motor-mechanic or a watchmaker, and after it had been explained to us then we would under-

stand. There is no mystique about cars or alarm clocks. That is not privileged knowledge.

But consider how it might be if what you wanted to know about was the human lymphatic system, or the precise function of the pancreas. Most of us I think would face the task of finding out with some trepidation, and without really expecting to understand the answers in very much depth. Furthermore I think we would be less inclined to go to a doctor and ask.

Part of the reason for the difference between the medical example and the engineering one may be that medical understanding really is more difficult to acquire than basic

engineering knowledge - certainly I wouldn't want to dismiss that. But I think a more fundamental and important reason is that medical knowledge is privileged knowledge. Medicine has its mystique. One must be properly initiated. Electronics also, I want to claim, carries with it its mystique; its air of inaccessibility and secret ritual.

Imagine coming in to the room where your comrades are sitting and saying "Let us start up a community newspaper." Certainly, they reply, why not? Or again "Let us start producing our own vegetables." Yes, they reply, that shouldn't be too difficult. But imagine coming in to the room and saying

"Let's start up our own radio station." How could we, they gasp, we don't know anything about it. That's expert stuff. You can't just set up a radio station!

Well, I have a great secret to impart: Radio is not magic. It will work for anybody if they put the bits together in the right order. Building a small radio transmitter is about as simple or as difficult as wiring up a tropical fish tank with its heaters, thermostats, lights, time switches and air-pump, or correctly setting up a large trainset layout. Of course the components are somewhat smaller and probably a little more delicate, and the underlying theory would be more difficult if you wanted to learn about it, but radio transmitters, like cars and alarm clocks, will work even for people who don't understand *why* they work. The theoretical questions are interesting and a lot of fun to pursue, but the important thing is that they shouldn't put you off building specific pieces of hardware for specific purposes.

I suspect that another reason for the reserved attitude of the Left to the rather sophisticated sort of protest suggested by Free Radio broadcasting is its taint of commercialism and "high technology" consumer-oriented gimmickry. This image I believe unjustified and mistaken. It is true that the electronics industry is no better than any other, and that semiconductor devices do make use of non-renewable resources (though none of them I think, in very short supply). But the phrase "make use of" is very important here — all the world's resources are there to be *used*, wisely and thoughtfully one hopes, for the enjoyment and benefit of the living things that share the earth, including man. A radio station which can give pleasure, convenience and all kinds of aesthetic fulfilment to man and which injures no living thing is nothing to be ashamed of — it is not a waste of resources any more than the beaver's dam is a waste of wood. My utopian dreams include an electronic technology not just matching but dwarfing, perhaps, what exists at the moment, harnessed to the furtherance of man's highest ideals.

The rest of this article will be aimed at demystifying radio at least to the point where the reader will feel sufficient confidence to put the practical suggestions to the test if the occasion arises. The last item, on possible lines of improvement and experiment, is an exception: this is intended more for people with some sort of electronics or physics background who might like to have a go at taking the basic idea a step further in some interesting direction. It therefore contains privileged information and should not be read by the uninitiated!

What is the Point of Building Radio Transmitters?

Probably the first thing which readers of the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* will want to know is just why I am suggesting that they should build radio transmitters. Apart from the intrinsic enjoyment of getting them to work well, there are about three major and recurring reasons or motives:

1. For straightforward purposes of communication and coordination. e.g. Establishing communications between the front of a large demonstration and the rear, keeping workers in communication on the fields on a large

rural commune (or as a radio baby-alarm in the same kind of situation), communications networks between urban centres/communes/individuals, etc.

2. For purposes of open-circuit radio broadcasting. Radio broadcasting in most countries has been very effectively kept out of the hands of private, non-commercial interests, and most emphatically out of the hands of the Left. This is because of its power and immediacy and the personal, even intimate qualities of radio as against other mass media. Also coming practically latest to the mass media field it was a good deal easier to control than the printing press or the arts. Pirate Radio in the service of left-wing causes has the attraction of a degree of novelty still sufficient to attract an audience, and unlike other forms of "propaganda by deed" it is more likely to win the sympathy and even the involvement of the unaligned public and is certainly most unlikely to cause any direct physical injury. Radio piracy has little tendency to alienate or damage a cause.

3. For purposes of espionage and "bugging." Your enemies are going to use this sort of technique against you if they think it will help them, and I see no reason why the Left shouldn't have the technology to play that kind of game also if the occasion arises. It's dirty and I don't like it and I don't want to be responsible for the spread of such techniques or to recommend that you make use of them, but your ethical judgments are your own affair and this isn't an article on moral philosophy.

If these are the reasons or motives for building radio transmitters, what are the reasons or motives for not doing so? Well, in the first place, nearly everything that is worth doing with radio equipment is illegal in nearly every country. Penalties are not often heavy, though this would depend a great deal on the individual circumstances. Anyone contemplating some infringement should make it his business to find out about possible legal consequences and balance these against the expected gains. Such consequences, typically, assuming one were a) caught and b) convicted would amount to a fine and confiscation of the transmitting equipment. A large percentage of "first time" pirates in the U.K. get off with a stern warning from the Post Office, but how widely this applies elsewhere I am not sure.

In any case reasonable precautions should minimise the risk of being caught red-handed such precautions for instance as a look-out system for Post Office vehicles, occasional changes of transmitter location, and in the last extreme, a willingness to abandon the hardware and take to one's heels! Pirate transmissions can be tracked down by electronic means either quickly or not so quickly depending on the sophistication of the local authorities involved, but one should at least refrain from making their job easier by giving inadvertent clues to one's position over the air. Even the most sleepy Post Office Radio Services Department is likely to act if they have been given the address! Something else which you must know about before embarking on broadcast piracy in particular is the rights of entry of Post Office or other officials to your dwelling. The international variations

in all these matters make it impossible to offer any rigid formulae or guidelines.

Amongst the other "anti"-arguments would be the possible loss of respectability which a group or campaign might suffer through the employment of illegal means. Again, this is a matter for personal judgment. Another disadvantage in the use of radio for communication is that it is never strictly private. Anything one says stands a fair chance of being overheard by someone somewhere. A further counter argument might be the possibility (however remote) of interference with essential services (or, for that matter, the police and military!) If a transmitter is only used within the ordinary F.M. broadcasting band such interference is unlikely to occur, but has always served as a useful myth to stir up feeling against pirate operators.

What Difference does "Wavelength" Make?

"Frequency" and "wavelength" refer to the same thing but have their roots in different methods of measurement and conceptualisations. "Frequency" is the preferred term in the technical literature at the moment. "Wavebands" are formally defined *ranges* of frequencies allocated for different purposes by international agreement.

A great part of the 1960s wave of radio piracy took place on what is called "Medium Wave" or "A.M." (standing for "amplitude modulated"). This is the ordinary broadcast band received by cheap transistor radios everywhere, and uses frequencies of the order of 1.6 MHz - 500 KHz. In wavelength this is about 200 - 550 metres. The other popular broadcast band is called V.H.F. ("very high frequency") or "F.M." ("frequency modulated") and uses frequencies of the order of 88 - 108 MHz, or round about 3 metres wavelength. Its technical characteristics are therefore very different to those of Medium Wave.

There is a case to be made out for the use of either band, but Medium Wave has the disadvantages of requiring larger transmitting aerials, higher power levels in the transmitter circuitry and somewhat greater technical sophistication all round. For our present purposes therefore V.H.F. seems the obvious choice. Transmitters for these frequencies can be much simpler in design than the most basic transistor radios, and the availability of suitable semiconductors and components is excellent. These factors combine to give the novice the optimum chances of success.

One of the biggest limitations introduced by the use of V.H.F. is that except in unusual circumstances the signal will not travel further than the horizon, and in practice seldom achieves anything like horizon range. This means that there is little point in high transmitter power, but if maximum range is desirable a high aerial site is a considerable advantage. The range limitations can also work to the advantage of the user, in that he is less likely to be noticed by Authority more than a few miles distant, and also specific frequencies may be shared by large numbers of users provided that they are somewhat dispersed on the map.

Ten years ago the Post Office in England were a great deal more adept at tracking down electronically the Medium Wave pirates than the V.H.F. ones, but it would be fair to say

that this situation is now reversed in Britain (due to V.H.F.'s becoming for a time a safe pirate haven) and the same may apply to other countries. It is however a myth that a V.H.F. transmitter is easier to track in any absolute sense than a Medium Wave one (it is very difficult to make Yagi beams etc. as directional as a long ferrite rod).

The use of V.H.F. means that plenty of radios are easily available capable of receiving the signal, and V.H.F., is also ideal for the sort of mobile communications purposes envisaged as one of the users for the unit described. The nominal frequency range (i.e. the range of frequencies to which it can be tuned) is 88 - 108 MHz, the same as on the dial of an ordinary V.H.F. radio. The transmitter therefore is the output part of the communication system in each case and the receiving part is always a domestic V.H.F. radio. Obviously the frequency on which the receiver receives must be the same as the one on which the transmitter transmits, and we will have more on how to achieve and maintain this happy state of affairs later on.

The Basic Transmitter Unit

Only one transmitter circuit¹ is employed, with very small variations, in the projects to be described in this article. The circuit of this unit is given in Figure 1. All the components used are in good supply and likely to remain so. Also experiment has showed that the circuit is exceptionally tolerant of variations in component types and "values" (electronic specifications), to the extent that a table of tolerance has been added to facilitate anyone building from the "spare box" who may not have an exact component as specified in the main table. It turns out in fact that only one component is at all critical, this being the turning coil, L1. Considerable differences in efficiency result from substituting and generally experimenting with this coil, but experiment elsewhere in the circuitry simply isn't worthwhile.

Several building techniques are permissible, and the actual choice will depend to some extent on the final purpose intended for the unit. Experienced radio hobbyists will find that the unit can be accommodated without difficulty on a piece of Vero-Board 2.5 x 5.5 Cms., which is really very small, but a simpler method of construction which practically ensures that the novice cannot make a wiring error is to use what are called "bus-bars." The components are soldered to two lengths of stiff, bare copper wire constituting the battery "positive" and "negative" rails in such a way that the physical device closely resembles the circuit diagram on the printed page. Capacitor C1 is a convenient component to start with, followed by R2, R3, C3 and C4. Proceeding in this way the circuit is built up as a wiry "skeleton", and when completed it is first tested thoroughly and then, preferably, placed in a metal box with suitable outlets for the wires and embedded in "epoxy resin." This has little electrical effect but strengthens the wire "chassis" and prevents parts from moving about of rattling. The tuning capacitor or trimmer as well as the tuning coil L1 should not be embedded in the resin as these may need to be adjusted back on to the correct frequency after the resin dries, or indeed at

any time when a frequency change is desirable. Also the resin does slightly detract from the performance of L1. The metal box should be connected to the negative battery rail for shielding purposes. Obviously the wire frame inside must be mounted in such a way that components other than the negative rail do not short circuit to the metal box. The epoxy resin mentioned is the same material used in car-body repair outfits and certain modern glues and cements and comes in two parts - the resin itself and the hardener. When these are mixed the liquid resin quickly solidifies into a very strong, electronically inert material which suits our present purposes. However it does have the disadvantage that once embedded in the resin no further servicing or component replacement is possible. This disadvantage can be avoided by the use of slightly more elaborate mounting systems such as tag-board instead of the resin-immersion.

In certain instances, as shall be discussed under the relevant headings, the intended purpose for the unit dictates the constructional technique to be used, but it is a good idea to build one unit initially by the simplest technique to gain experience of its characteristics before going on to more sophisticated variants. The components used are sufficiently cheap for the first attempt to be viewed as a training exercise and either discarded or dismantled for salvage at some later date.

The differences in size between the Vero-Board and the "bus-bar" units is only slight. The component layout is not critical, but the general rule with all V.H.F. equipment is to keep the wiring as short and direct as possible.

For those who have never soldered before, a small electric soldering iron is pretty well essential for this kind of work, about 15 - 40 watts being suitable, and the golden rules are: scrape the surface (wires, etc) to be joined until they are clean and bright, always use resin-cored wire solder, and bring the soldering iron and the solder to the components *at the same time* (do not carry a blob of molten solder to the joint on the tip of the soldering iron). A little practice will soon establish your confidence in the basic technique. Always solder the transistors themselves into the circuit *last*, so that they do not have to withstand the heat conducted up the lead wires from other soldering operations all around the chassis. Modern silicon transistors are less heat sensitive than their germanium predecessors, but don't dwell on the joints to the transistors themselves, and cool them off rapidly after each soldering each lead by touching the joint with a wet finger or sponge.

Certain components *must* be soldered into circuit *the right way round*. In the present case these components which have "polarity" (sensitivity to which way round they go) are: C1, C6, C5, C7, the two transistors, and of course the battery or supply leads. Instructions are given on the diagrams regarding which way these go and it is vital to follow these carefully.

The tuning coil L1 is the most critical component and constructors may find it worthwhile experimenting with different coils in this position. My own findings are that the

optimum radiated output is achieved with 3½ turns of copper wire 1mm thick wound on a former 0.7Cms in diameter which is removed after winding. The turns are "stretched out" evenly to occupy a length of about 1Cm., and the aerial wire is soldered 1½ turns from the side of the coil connected to the positive rail. Any deviation from these dimensions will cause the transmitter to operate on some slightly modified frequency and VC1 will need to be adjusted to compensate. Properly ordered experiments are quite complicated to conduct and unless the builder is fairly experienced it might be best to imitate the prototype L1, at least to begin with.

For most purposes the 2N2219 is the best choice in the TR1 position. This has been found to give the highest output with supply voltages of 12 or less, and different specimens are consistent in their performance. The 2N3053 offers the advantage of being able to withstand higher battery voltages, up to about 25 volts at least, but I have found fairly wide variations between the performances of different specimens. The power advantage only becomes significant above 12 volts, making this device particularly suitable for fixed broadcasting transmitters operating from substantial power supplies.

On some prototypes where the microphone was physically close to the transmitter chassis various problems arose due to the internal wiring of the crystal microphone insert. If a loud howling noise is produced in the receiver when a hand, etc., is brought close to the microphone, try either reversing the connections to the insert or "earthing" the metal case of the insert to the negative battery rail.

Setting Up

General instructions will be given for setting up before discussing the uses for the unit in more detail.

Assuming that the unit has been correctly assembled and a microphone insert and battery are connected, it should be possible to locate the transmitting frequency by tuning across the dial of a nearby V.H.F. receiver. When the correct frequency is found a loud feedback howl will be heard, indicating that the microphone is "live" and too close to the (radio) loudspeaker which it is feeding. At very short range it will be possible to receive the signal at several different dial settings on the radio, but only one of the apparent or virtual signals is the "fundamental" or "real" transmitter frequency, so this must next be found by increasing, in steps, the distance between the transmitter and the radio. When only one of the multiple signals remains (the strongest) the "fundamental" has been located and all the other false responses can be ignored. Finally *the position of the "fundamental" on the radio dial can be adjusted*, up or down the scale, using VC1 on the transmitter. It should be turned slowly, in small steps, with a pause between each adjustment to see how it has affected the position of the "fundamental" on the receiver dial. This whole process is more straightforward in practice than the description might lead you to believe, and becomes very simple with practice.

When the transmitter is "sitting" on a

suitable clear channel the setting up procedure is complete and the unit is ready for use.

ON A SHOESTRING

In Part 1 the circuit and construction of a two-transistor V.H.F. transmitter were discussed and a number of uses suggested for the unit. In this second part we will go on to give a more detailed treatment of these projects, as well as offering some pointers regarding possible directions for development and improvement of the basic circuit (reproduced below, Fig. 1).

Before going on to this however I would like to take up some points of criticism made by Richard Elen of *Undercurrents* after the appearance of Part 1. Firstly, and perhaps most importantly, with regard to the possible fines imposed on radio-piracy offenders, Richard says that "First-timers average £100 these days." This may be so, as my own experience is largely confined to Northern Ireland and somewhat out of date. Furthermore, it appears that the police and other mobile services are entitled to operate within the F.M. broadcast band in this country, making the risk of being heard by, or of causing interference to, one of these somewhat greater than was suggested in Part 1. I apologise therefore for any false impression which was given.

Another of Richard's points regards the moral defensibility of publishing details of how to construct a radio listening "bug". My own feelings are that there are indeed limitations as to what one should publish - I would object, for example, to the publication of an article on how to poison a city's water supply - but the dissemination of information about crude radio "bugs" might actually serve to weaken the position of those who use them, as well as which I can imagine circumstances (for example where life is at stake) in which their employment might be quite justified. There are, after all, other values as well as privacy which might sometimes have to come first.

Richard's further points are technical ones, for which I am grateful, and I will incorporate these in the text as they arise.

The principal limitation of the circuit presented is its *stability*. Depending on how rigidly it is constructed and how well it is shielded in its metal box the device will have some tendency to "drift" in frequency as it warms up, or to alter its transmitting frequency as a result of being touched or moved physically or of having (for example) the length of its aerial altered. Constructors should be aware of this limitation, but it would be wrong to stress it unduly. The circuit has been employed extensively by the author and others over the course of the last two years and this has never caused serious difficulties. There are at least two courses of action which could be taken to eliminate this problem: 1) The unit could be crystal controlled and amplitude modulated, as described in the final part of this article, or 2) a completely different and more sophisticated circuit could be employed in which the oscillator operates at a half or a third of the radiated frequency and drives a P.A./doubler (or tripler). This proposal is well within the competence of the experienced radio hobbyist but probably a little outside that of the "first-time" constructor for whom this article is primarily intended.

As a final note before proceeding to the question of the use of the basic transmitter unit in a number of different projects, the reader's attention is drawn to two small oversights in Part 1. Firstly, it was not indicated in Fig. 1 (Part 1) where the crystal microphone insert should be connected. The insert should be connected between points Y and Z in Fig. 1 (below). Shielded cable should be used for the microphone wiring with the outer braiding going to point Z (the battery negative line). Secondly, no details were given in Part 1 regarding the aerial to be used with the unit. A stiff vertical rod aerial about 0.7 metres long is generally satisfactory. Its length must not be altered after the unit has

been tuned on to frequency as a small frequency shift may result.

TWO WAY RADIO COMMUNICATION

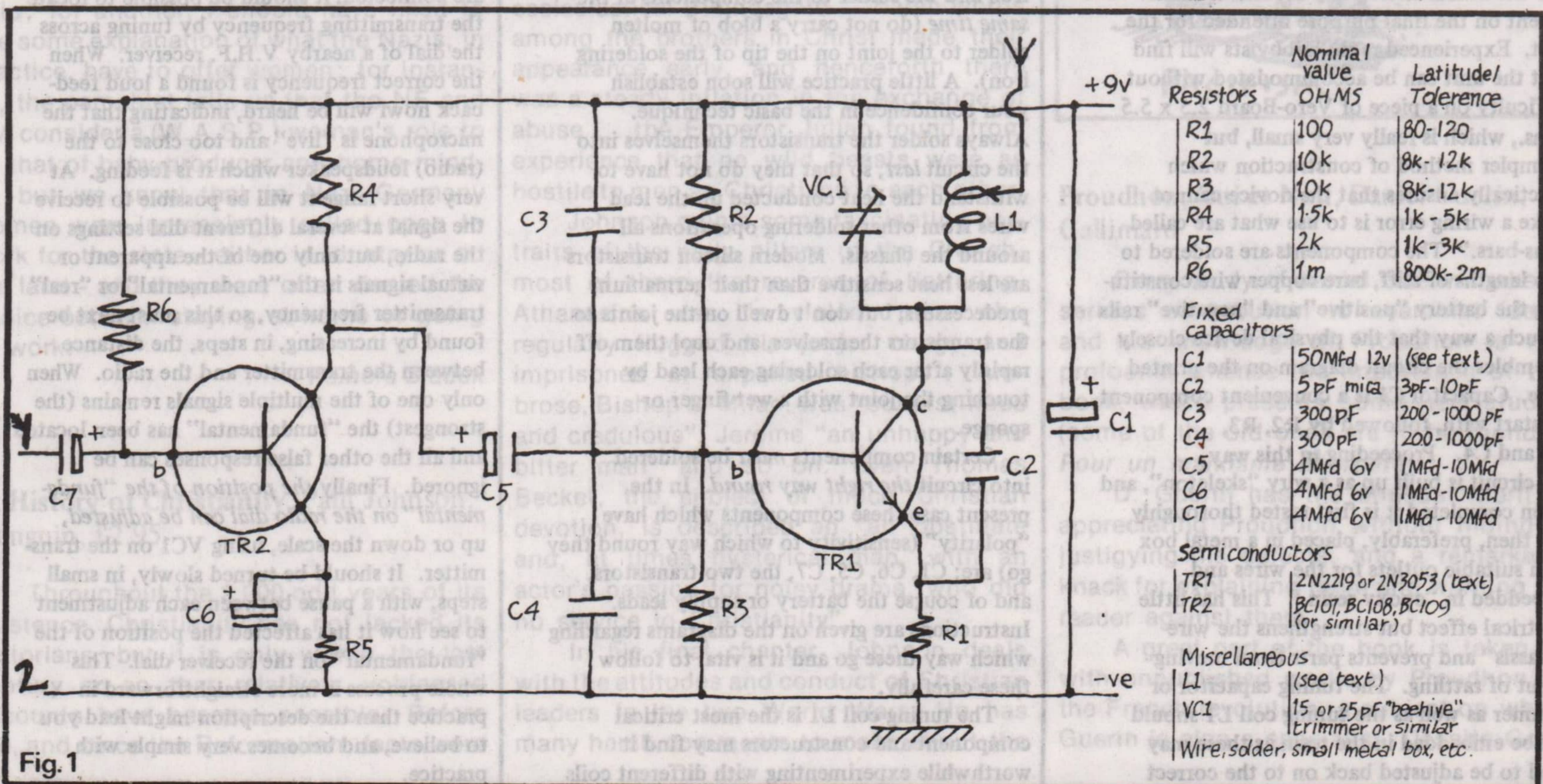
Systems of two-way radio communication are among the most frequently requested items on the radio freak's list, and also among the most demanding on his expertise and resources. There is quite a lot to go wrong in a system involving two receivers, two transmitters and "instant switchover" facilities, and the constructor should think more in terms of building the system up as a number of discrete sub-systems than of getting everything to work quickly starting from scratch.

However our basic transmitter unit makes the task just about as simple as it can ever be. You will require two Basic Transmitter Units (henceforth referred to as "Basic TXs"), two V.H.F. portable radios, and two switches. Things could scarcely be simpler than that.

The general philosophy is to modify each of the V.H.F. radios so that it includes a Basic TX, and therefore becomes a two-way radio. The performance of the radio, on V.H.F. or any other waveband which it happens to cover, is in no way affected by the addition of the unit.

It is best to choose fairly large (but not massive) portable radios for conversion, a) because there is likely to be more room to house extra items either inside the case or bolted externally, b) because they tend to be more sensitive and stable anyway and hence better at receiving weak signals at distance, and c) because they usually work on 9 volts or more, which obviates the need for extra batteries to provide sufficient voltage for the TX. Another minor advantage is that the loudspeaker tends to be quite large, providing a useful space behind the speaker grille (and "inside" the speaker cone) to house the crystal microphone insert.

The Basic TXs should be housed in small metal (e.g. aluminium or tin) boxes for this



project, the boxes being connected to the negative battery rail. Also this is the only project for which the value of C1 is important. If it is greater than about 50 MFd the TX will not switch on and off instantaneously, but will tend to "fade" up and down. For all other projects C1 may be any capacitor to hand up to about 1000 MFd, provided the working voltage is greater than the intended supply voltage.

For this project a crystal microphone (the high output type if possible) is connected between points Y and Z (X is not used). Shielded cable must be used, the outer braiding going to the negative rail (point Z).

Only two switching operations are required, aerial changeover and battery changeover. Both are accomplished by the use of a 2-pole 2 way toggle switch or similar. Theorists may be appalled at the idea of switching V.H.F. currents in this way, but none of the problems which one might have expected has actually shown up in practice, so I will not take space here to deal with these hypotheticals. Suffice it to say that slider switches or very tiny ("sub-miniature") toggle-switches are *not* recommended. Rotary wavechange switches have been found quite satisfactory electrically, though the circular movement of the hand needed to switch over is a bit awkward.

If the receiver uses a low supply voltage (e.g. 4.5 or even 3 volts) it will be necessary to have additional batteries come into circuit in the "transmit" position, as shown in Fig 4. Otherwise the row of batteries at the bottom of the diagram can be omitted. 12 volts is a safe figure to regard as an "upper limit". Strictly even this is a bit high if C1 has a working voltage of 12, and it might be safer to employ a 25 or 50 volt component in this position if higher supply voltages are envisaged.

The actual procedure involved in assembling the two-way system is more or less self-evident from the plates and diagrams. The Basic TX boxes can be mounted inside the receiver cases if space permits, but in practice it is usually necessary to mount them externally. The wiring involving the *aerials* should be kept very short and direct, and this factor should be the deciding one in choosing a mounting position for all the items.

If the hand is brought very close to the aerial wiring (e.g. in switching from "receive" to "transmit" it is possible that the proximity of same will pull the transmitter very slightly off frequency. Should this prove a nuisance it can be reduced in two ways: a) by fitting metal shielding behind and around the switch and aerial wiring (e.g. copper foil) which is then earthed to the negative rail, and b) by connecting the transmitter aerial to the coil L1 at a point nearer to the *positive* rail of the chassis (i.e. further from the side connected to TR1). This latter method sacrifices a little power but effects a dramatic improvement in frequency stability.

Usually, in a two-way setup like this one, the two transmitters operate nominally on the same frequency, but there is no reason why they must do so. There is no necessary limit on the number of sets which can inter-communicate, but obviously if more than two are involved then a common frequency does become a necessity.

The microphone is quite sensitive enough mounted inside the receiver case as described, but can also plug into the side of the set as an external unit on its own cable. Sound quality is good and the range, while very unpredictable, never drops below about 2 kilometres, even through built-up city topography. In short, it is about equal to the medium priced "Citizen Band" equipment imported occasionally from Japan and the United States, but more versatile by reason of operating on an ordinary domestic waveband and being tunable in frequency.

LOCAL BROADCASTING

"Local Broadcasting" is a rather pretentious way to describe what can be achieved with these units, but if a good aerial site is available a coverage of a few kilometres radius is possible. Aerial height and position is the most important factor in determining range, output power coming a poor second.

Fig 5 illustrates the basic broadcast technique. The transmitter is located at the top of a mast of some kind, at the centre of a "dipole" aerial, and power as well as the programme material or "audio" are fed to it by means of a single two-core shielded cable. This eliminates one major source of inefficiency or "loss," namely the cable which is usually necessary to link the transmitter to its aerial. The setup has been drawn as all outdoor, but this is for reasons of clarity only — some or all items may be indoors if necessary, though there is a worthwhile advantage in having the aerial out of doors and in the clear.

Power may be derived from one or more car batteries, which can stay on charge while the station is transmitting, and the audio can come from a cassette recorder or some more elaborate assembly such as a mixer fed by microphones, tape-decks, record decks or whatever is desired.

Before building the Basic TX unit for use in this project a decision must be made as to the voltage on which it will operate. Below gives the results of a series of tests to measure radiated output at different battery voltages and using the two alternative transistors. It will be seen that radiated output power increases sharply with supply voltage, but constructors should be aware that an increase in radiated output of 100% is only just perceptible to a distant listening station. Signal strength follows a similar logarithmic law to the human ear.

Supply Voltage	Relative Output Power	TR1
2.8	(unit commences to oscillate)	2N2219
6.0	0.3	2N2219
9.0	0.5	2N2219
12.0	1.0	2N2219
12.0	0.8 (typical)	2N3053
15.0	2.0	2N3053
18.0	3.0	2N3053
24.0	6.0	2N3053

Table 2 Relative Power Output (12v. using 2N2219 = 1.0)

Whatever voltage is chosen, C1 should have a rating of *at least* 10% more than this voltage, and C5, C6 and C7 should have a rating of *at*

least half the supply voltage (preferably slightly more). The BC107 is the best choice for TR2 if supply voltages in excess of 15 are envisaged.

If the supply voltage is in excess of about 15 volts heat dissipation may become a problem in TR1. Small commercial cooling-fins can be added to conduct this away, and if necessary the value of R2 can be increased to about 12 - 18 kilohms, which will give a further reduction in heat dissipation. Embedding the unit in epoxy resin gives it yet a further heat sink, but any cooling fins on the transistor should be left above the resin to allow air to circulate.

There are just two further modifications to the circuit of Fig 1 when it is used in this project: Firstly, it has been found advantageous to use link-coupling for the dipole aerial, as shown in Fig. 7. The aerial can be made from a metre and a half of brass curtain-rail or stout copper wire, embedded in the epoxy resin for support. More elaborate aerial systems have been tried but without noticeable improvement. Secondly, if the unit is to be fed from the "earphone" or "monitor" socket of a cassette recorder or some other fairly high output device it is best to omit C6 entirely. This reduces the gain of TR2 and lessens the likelihood of audio overload or distortion.

There is little need for electrical shielding when the Basic TX is used in this way, and it may be housed in a plastic box with brackets connected for fixing to the mast. When everything has been thoroughly tested the box may be sealed and completely weatherproofed with a coating of silicone rubber sealer (commonly sold for caulking baths and wash-basins and for sealing aquariums).

RADIO "BUG"

This is the simplest application of the Basic TX, and the circuit of Fig. 1 may be used without modification, with a crystal microphone (high output type) wired across points Y and Z and a 9 volt battery such as the PP3 or PP9 supplying the power. If the unit is concealed in a room (and therefore not touched etc) shielding is again relatively unimportant and the circuitry can be "bare" as shown in Plate 1. The aerial can be a metre or so of wire hanging from the unit, or if very short range is all that is required it can be omitted entirely.

Fig. 8 shows a circuit for an additional microphone amplifier which can be added if extra sensitivity is desired. If this circuit is added then C7 on the Basic TX circuit board must be *reversed* (i.e. the positive side should not face TR2 but the new R8 of Fig. 8). This will give better pick-up of distant voices, but can cause distortion of very nearby voices, and also seems to exaggerate any "echo" or "live acoustic" which a room may have. Even greater gain is possible if a capacitor similar to C6 is wired across R7, but on several prototypes this caused instability and/or pick-up of "mains hum" and is therefore not recommended.

In general the unit should be concealed in a high position (e.g. on top of a wardrobe or pelmet) with the microphone facing out into the room and the aerial wire hanging down out of sight. It should not be concealed

close to mains wiring as this can cause hum pick-up in the audio stages.

Table 3 Addition! Components needed for Fig. 8

Resistors	Capacitor	Transistor
R7 2k	C8 4 Mfd 6v	BC107
R8 1.5k		BC108 or
R9 1m		BC109

(+ high-output crystal microphone insert).

DIRECTIONS FOR IMPROVEMENT AND EXPERIMENT

This section is addressed to this with some electronics background who might like a more technical discussion of some of the ideas involved with the development of the Basic TX. Subsections are numbered for ease of reference.

1. Basic TX Data

Normal current consumption on 9 volts using either transistor, 25 - 35 m.a. Base voltage on TR1 (measured with 20k per volt meter, supply = 9 v), 0.9 - 1.1 v. Recommended maximum D.C. input (on 24 volts using 2N3053), 3.5 W. Measurements of relative radio frequency power output can be made using a 1.5M dipole aerial some 3 - 4 metres from the transmitting aerial (and broadside-on to the active element). A good quality germanium diode (OA70 etc.) is wired across the centre of the dipole and the voltage across this measured on a sensitive 0 - 1 volt testmeter. Alternatively comparative current measurements can be made using the 0 - 500 uA or 0 - 1 mA ranges. This experimental rig permits different L/C ratios to be tried in the L1/VC1 position, which seems to be the paramount factor in determining output efficiency.

2. Crystal Control for the Basic TX.

The oscillator circuit in Fig. 1 may be crystal controlled very simply. A crystal with a fundamental frequency of oscillation in the region of 30 MHz is inserted in place of the feedback capacitor C2 and the value of R1 is reduced to about 10 - 30 ohms, depending on the activity of the crystal. The circuit will oscillate on the third overtone of the crystal (90 MHz) region when VC1 is adjusted correctly. "Starting" is very reliable and the circuit behaves well generally. The modulator circuit shown however is no longer able to provide enough deviation and the oscillator must be amplitude modulated by the insertion of a high level audio source in series with the power supply to the oscillator (i.e. between C1 and L1 on Fig. 1). A miniature driver transformer with the secondary winding in series at this point was found to give a good impedance match. The winding should be shunted by a 500 pF capacitor to provide R.F. decoupling.

3. Custom Built Cross-band Radiotelephone. This has not been tried yet but seems theoretically sound. Two basic TX units and two F.M. tuners with audio output chips could be combined to give full cross-band communication (no switchover from "transmit" to "receive"). The units would consist of a

transmitter and a receiver chassis in each box, feeding two different aerials (Figs. 9 & 10), and working continuously while the units were switched on. This would require that the two transmitters operated on different frequencies, of course, and a channel spacing of about 1 MHz would probably be adequate to avoid interference. The "transmit" and "receive" chassis within each unit would need to be shielded from one another fairly carefully to avoid overload of the receiver and consequent breakthrough, but this would not be an insuperable problem with a good F.M. tuner front-end.

Audio feedback involving both units and two radio frequency links is a possibility in cross-band operation, so each unit would need a volume control and preferably a "fine-tuning" facility on the receiver.

The possibility of this complex feedback path can be put to interesting use in a device sometimes called an "absolute radio distance meter." The feedback is deliberately maintained, and as its frequency depends only on the separation between units the frequency of oscillation provides a direct measure of the distance between the two units.

Only two units can work cross-band at any one time, and the band-space required is fairly large. Also one might expect the adjustment of the units to be rather critical, making it a project for the experienced radio hobbyist.

4. Minor Improvements.

A small increase in output can be obtained by substituting a V.H.F. choke for R.1 in Fig.1 15 - 25 turns of thin copper enamelled wire wound on the body of a high-value resistor is quite satisfactory.

Two transistors in parallel may be used in the TR1 position. This gives an increase in output, but also loads L1/VC1 with extra capacity, which shifts the frequency of oscillation and upsets that ever-so critical L/C ratio once again, calling for a downward adjustment to the length of L1.

David Gardner (from *Undercurrents*)

TABLE 1

Components for Basic Transmitter Unit

Resistors	Nominal Value in Ohms	Latitude/Tolerance
R1	100	80 - 120
R2	10k	8k - 12k
R3	10k	8k - 12k
R4	1.5k	1k - 5k
R5	2k	1k - 3k
R6	1m	800k - 2m
Fixed Capacitors		
C1	50 MFd 12v	See text
C2	5 pF mica	3 pF - 10pF
C3	300 pF	200 pF - 1000 pF
C4	300 pF	200 pF - 1000 pF
C5	4 MFd 6v	1 MFd - 10 MFd
C6	4 MFd 6v	1 MFd - 10 MFd
C7	4 MFd 6v	1 MFd - 10 MFd

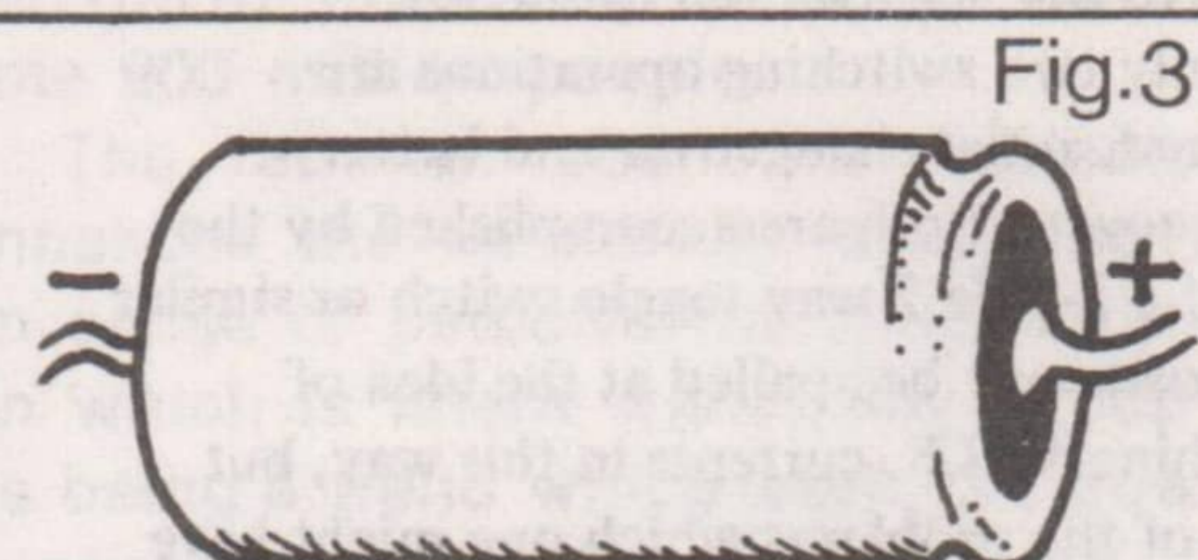
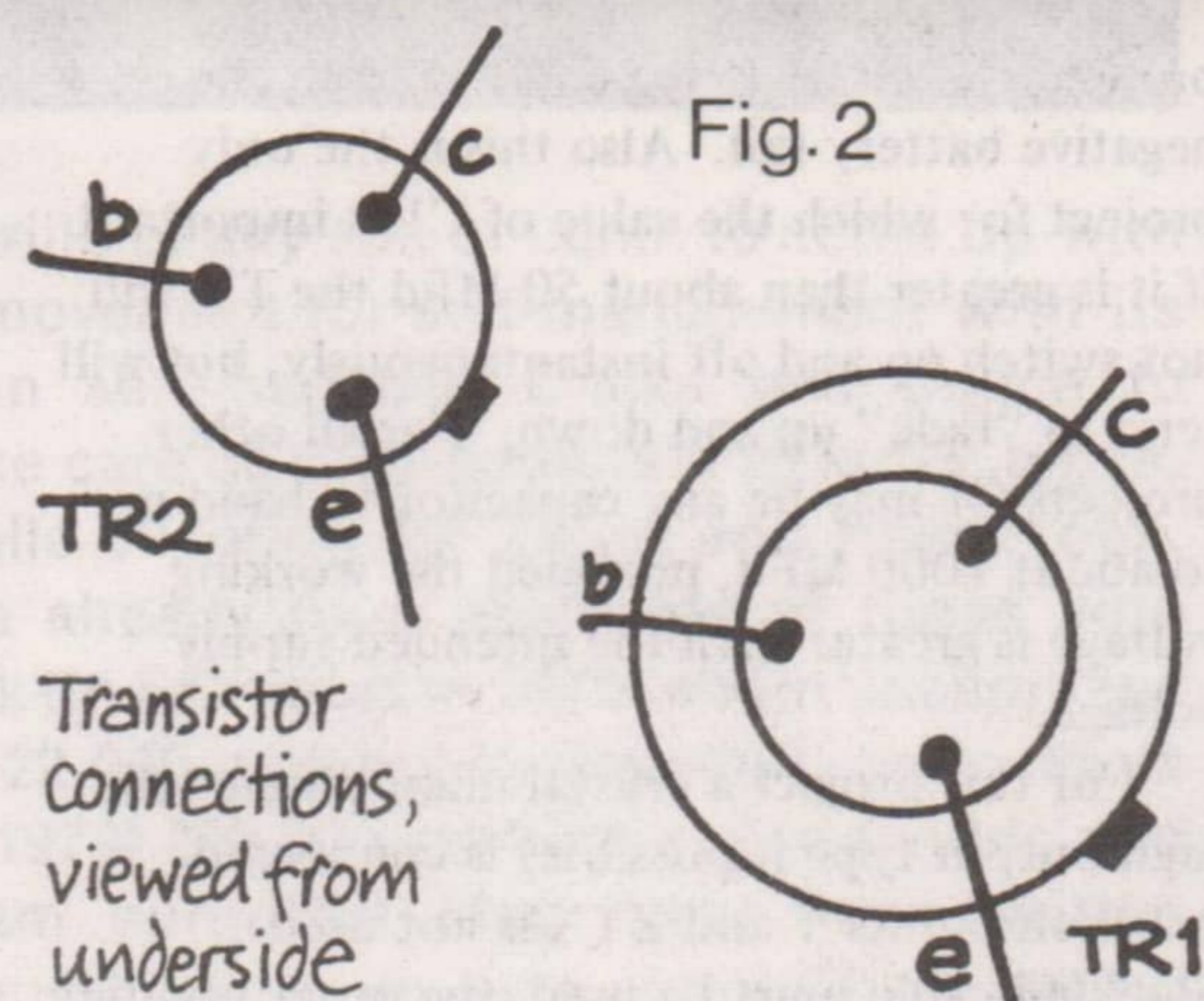
Semiconductors

TR1	2N2219 or 2N3053 (see text)
TR2	BC107, BC108, BC109 or similar

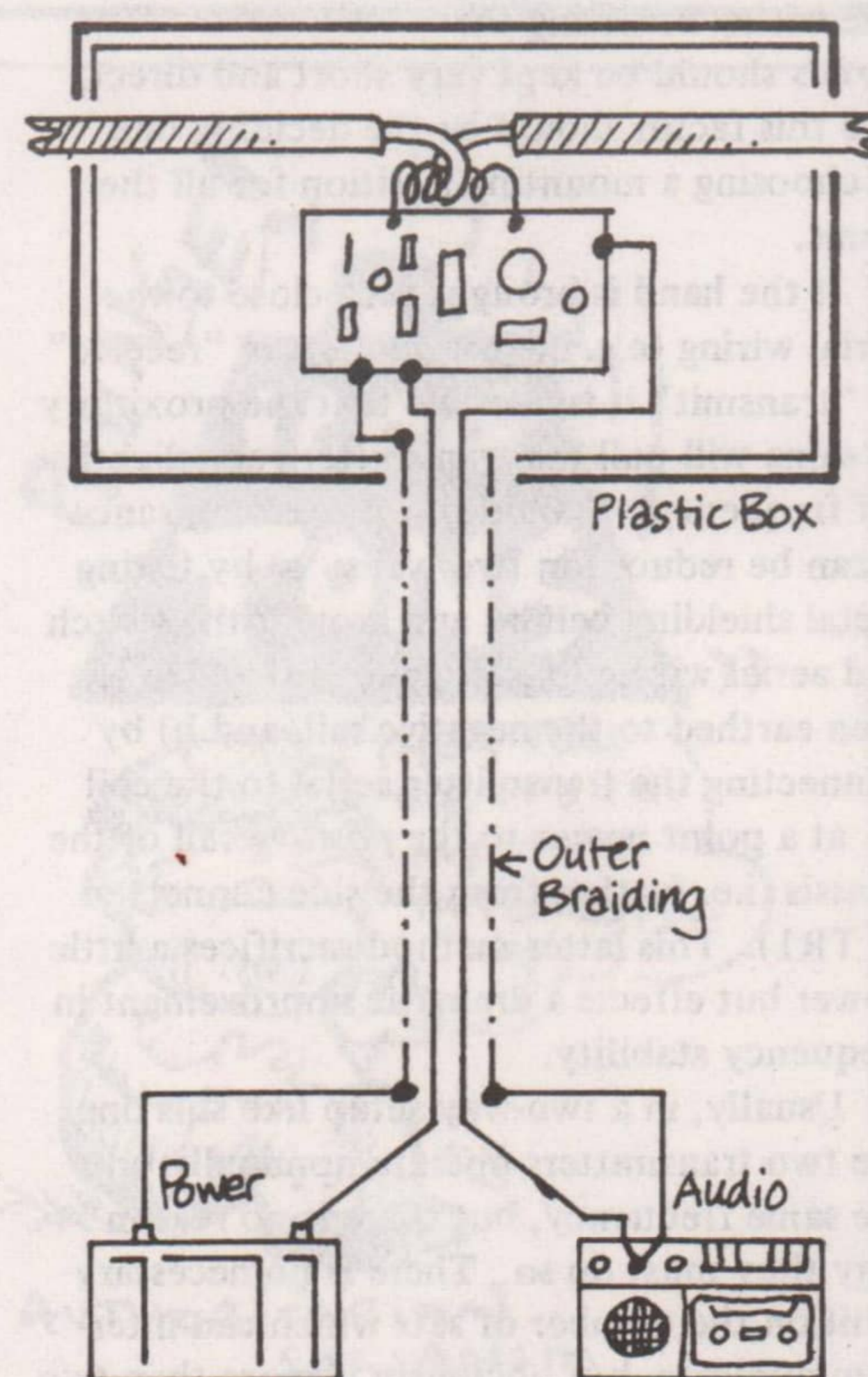
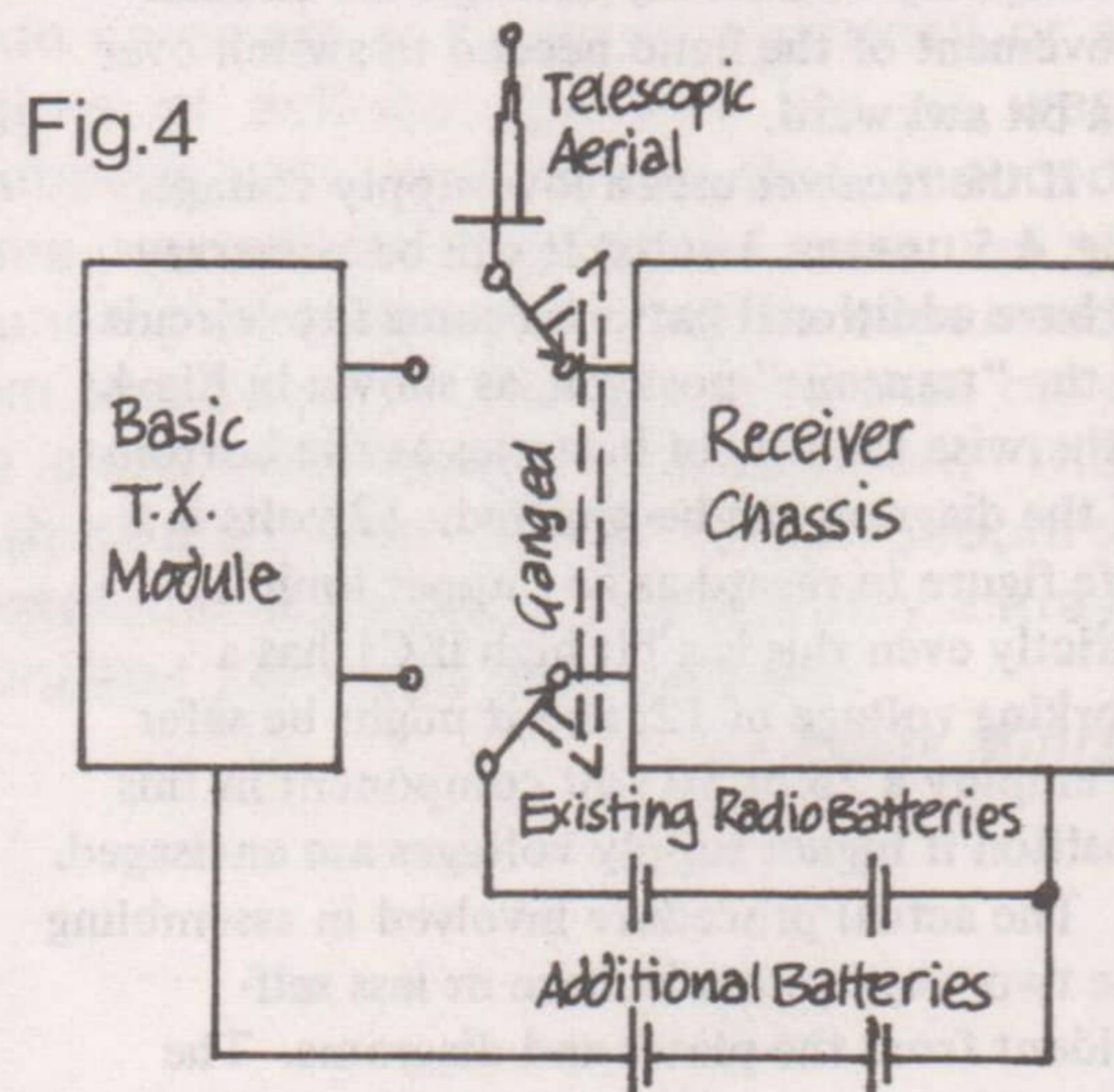
Miscellaneous

L1	see text
VC1	15 pF or 25 pF "Beehive" trimmer or similar

Wire, solder, small metal box etc.



If the positive and negative sides of C1, C5, C6 or C7 are not marked, they can be identified visually; the negative side is connected to the metal case, positive is surrounded by insulating material, as shown.



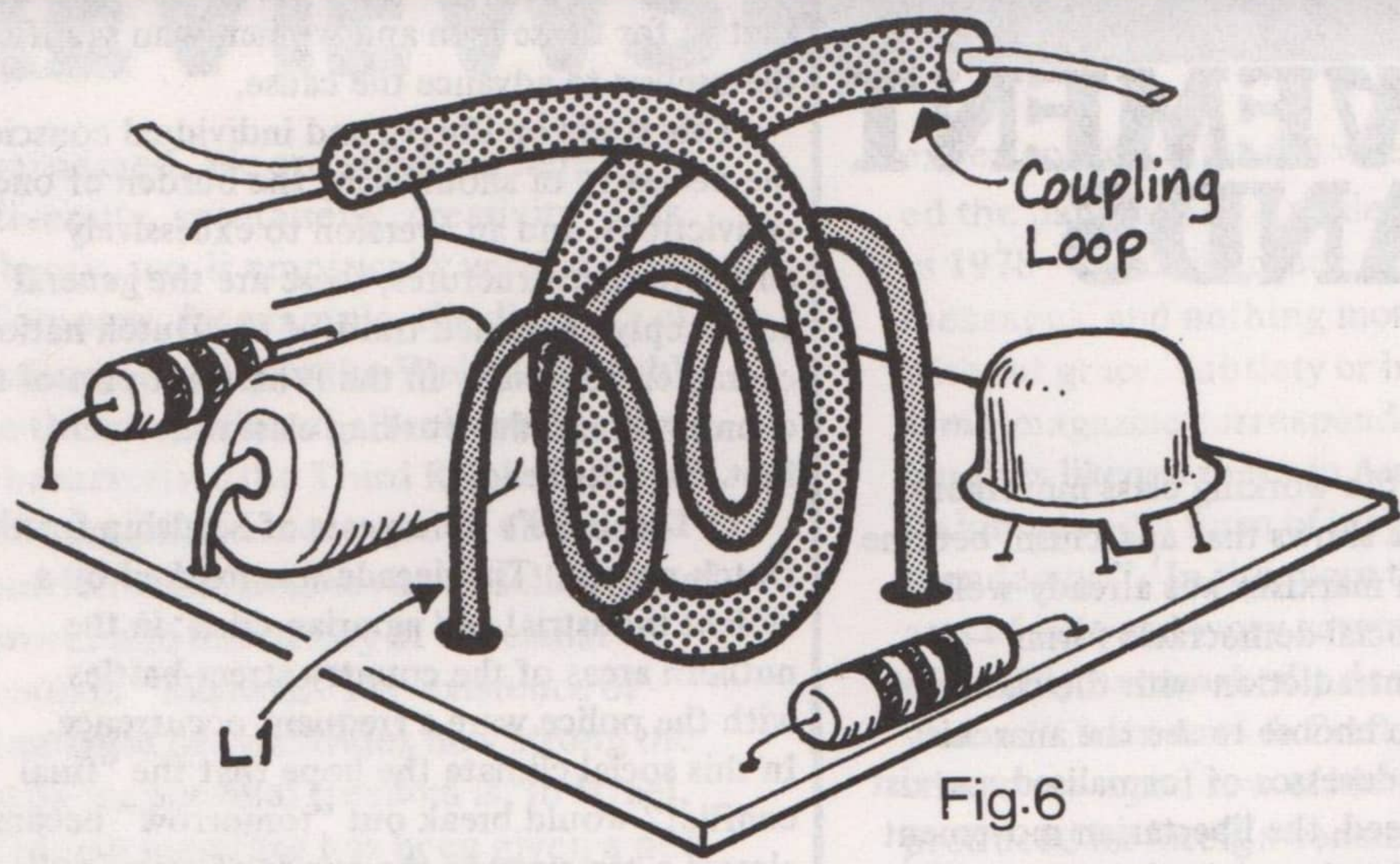


Fig. 6

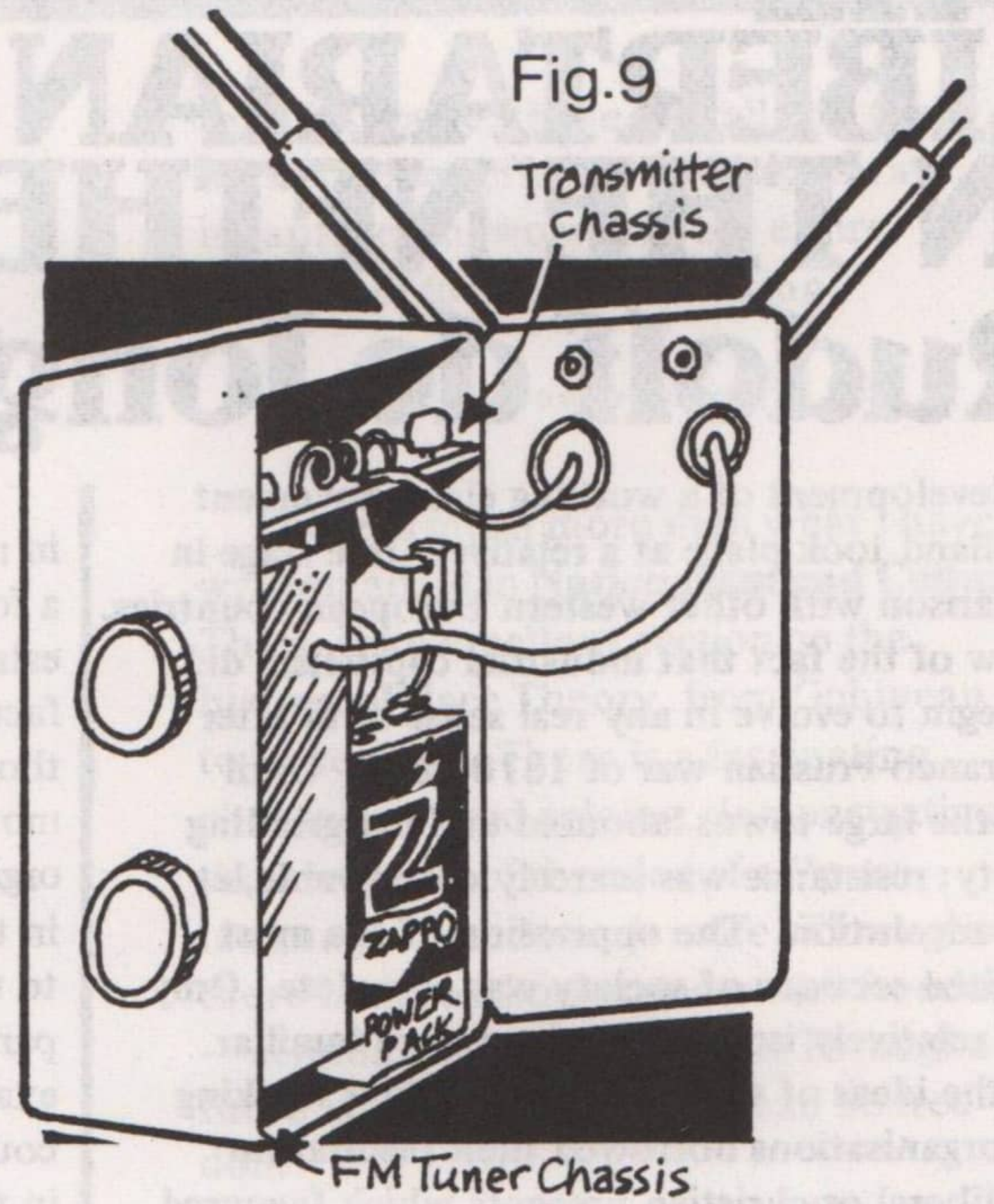


Fig. 9

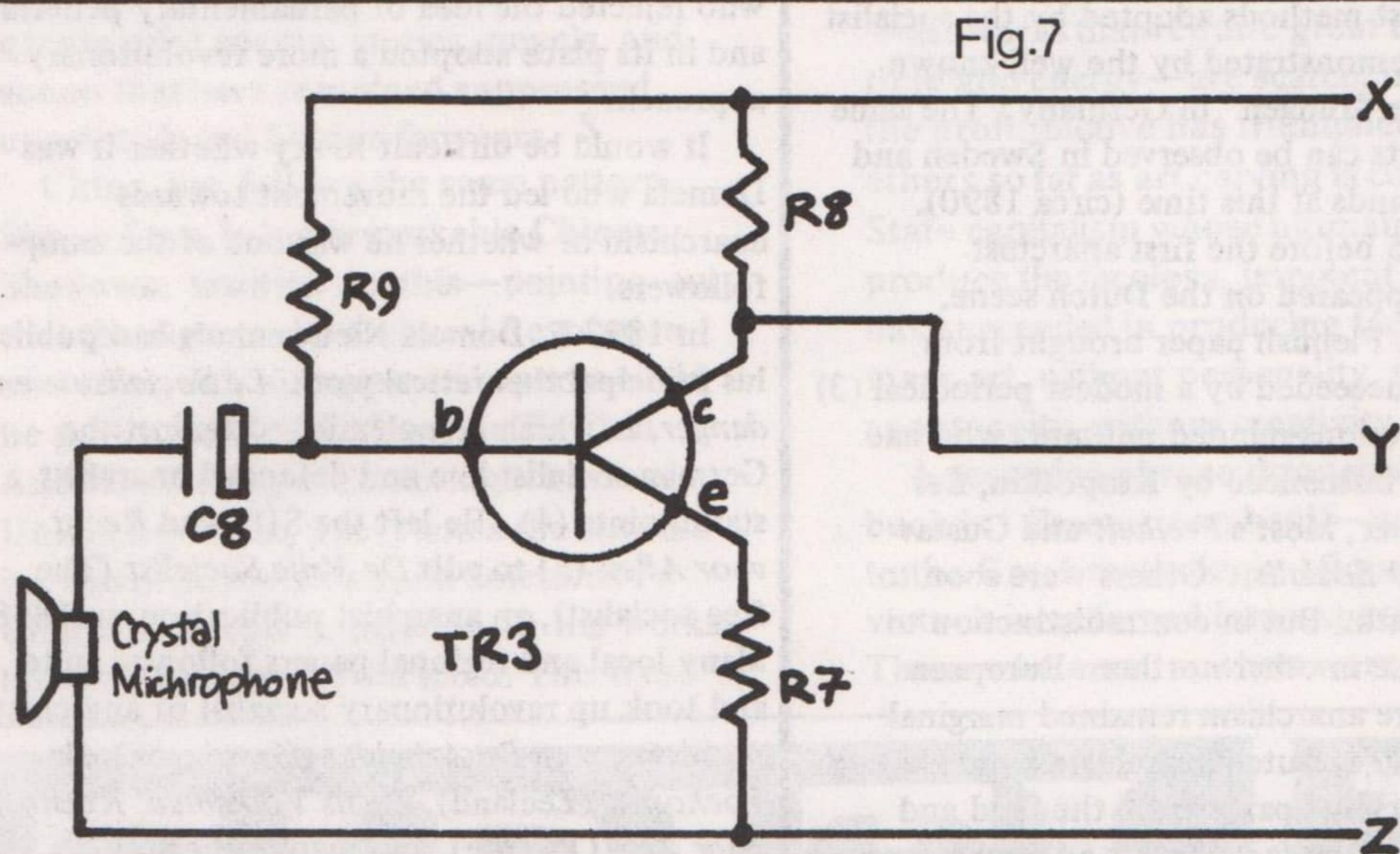


Fig. 7

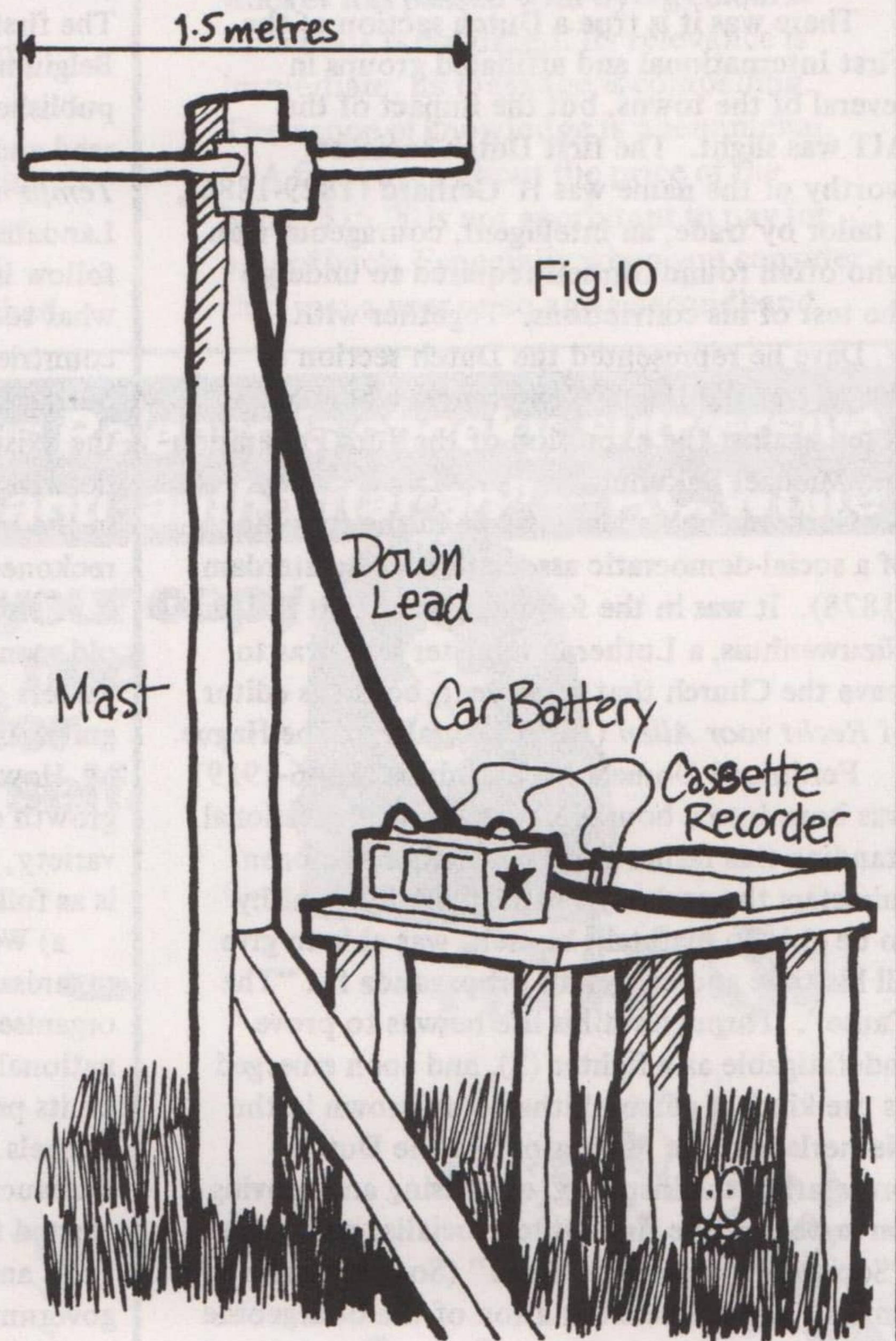


Fig. 10

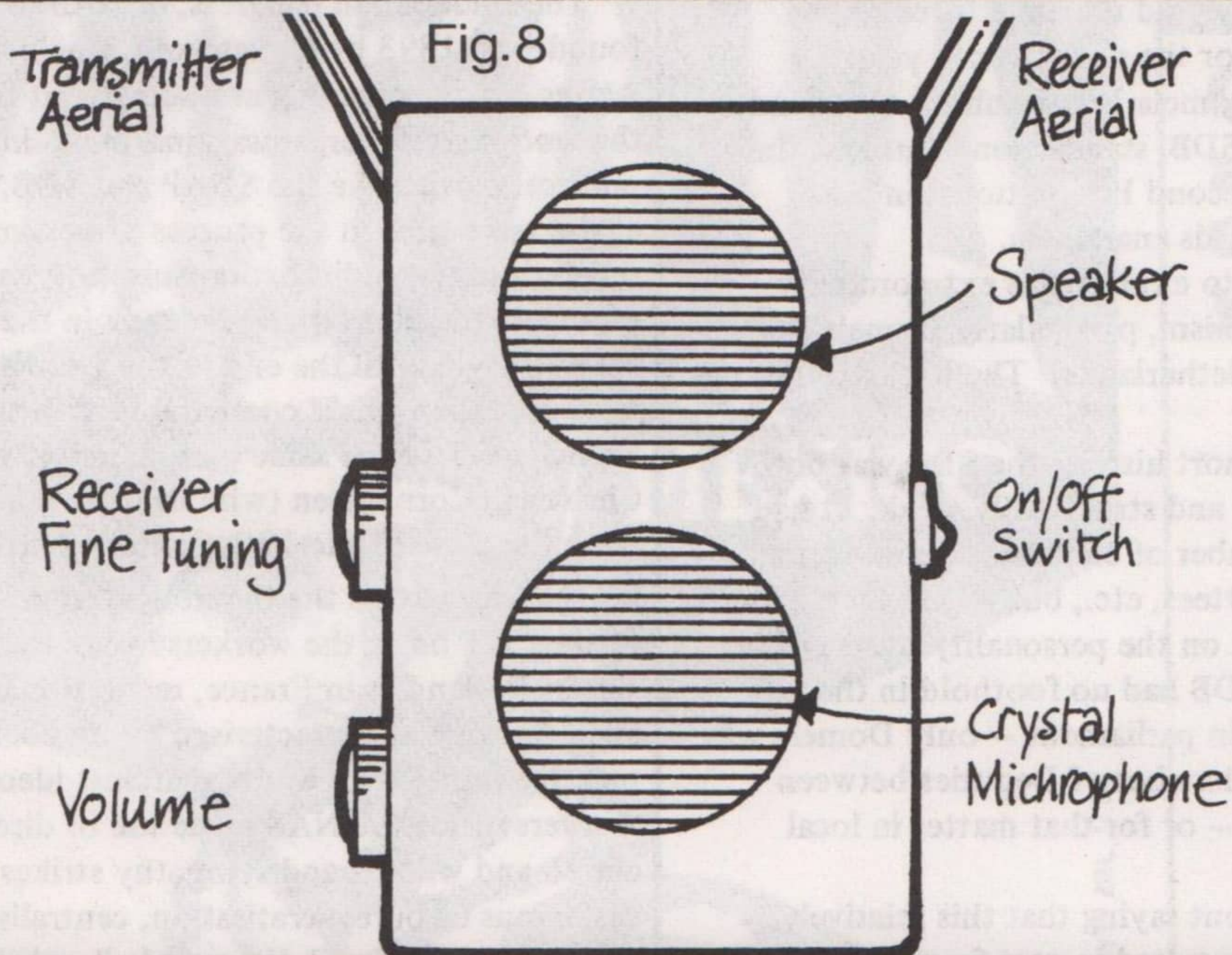
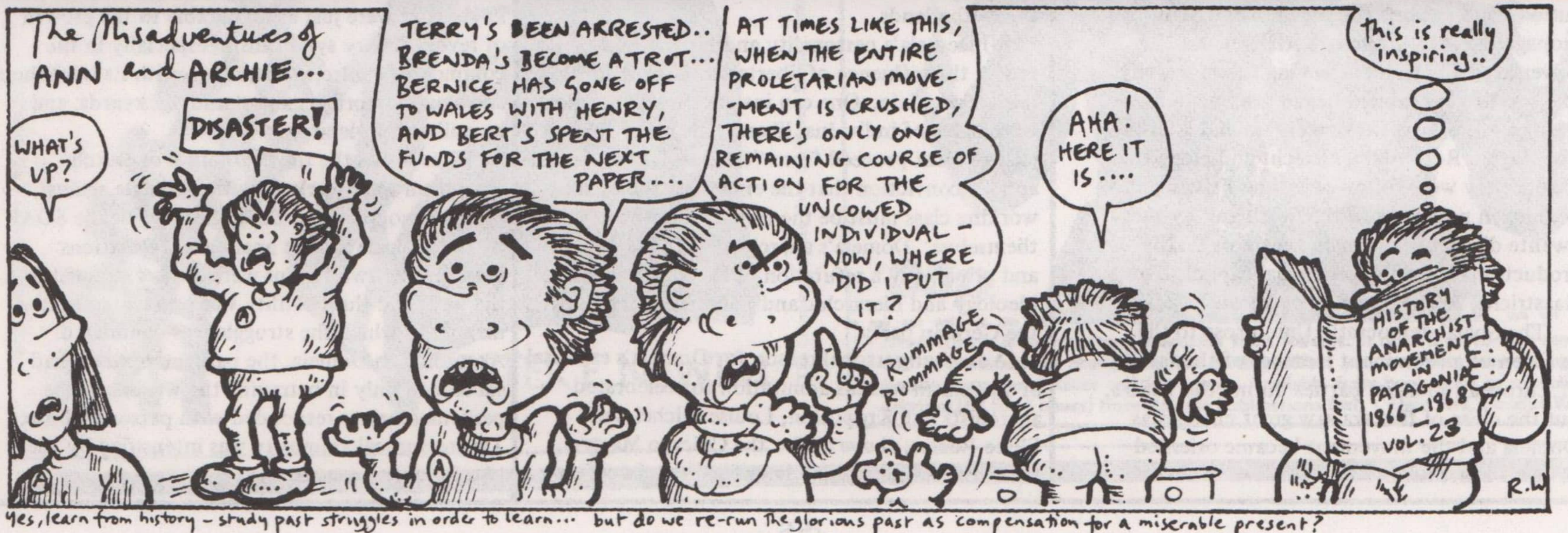


Fig. 8



Yes, learn from history - study past struggles in order to learn... but do we re-run the glorious past as compensation for a miserable present?

THE LIBERTARIAN MOVEMENT IN THE NETHERLANDS

Rudolf de Jong

The development of a working class movement in Holland took place at a relatively late stage in comparison with other western European countries, in view of the fact that industrial capitalism did not begin to evolve in any real sense until after the Franco-Prussian war of 1870-1871. Until 1870 the large towns laboured under a grinding poverty; resistance was scarcely conceivable, let alone revolution. The oppression of the most exploited sections of society was complete. Only a few relatively isolated workers were familiar with the ideas of socialism and the first working class organisations borrowed their inspiration from liberal or christian precepts which favoured class co-operation and an acceptance of the established structures of society.

There was it is true a Dutch section of the First International and affiliated groups in several of the towns, but the impact of the AIT was slight. The first Dutch socialist worthy of the name was H' Gerhard (1829-1886), a tailor by trade, an intelligent, courageous man who often found himself required to undergo the test of his convictions. Together with V. Dave he represented the Dutch section of the AIT at the Hague Conference, where he voted against the expulsion of the Jura Federation and Michael Bakunin.

Gerhard took a leading role in the founding of a social-democratic association in Amsterdam (1878). It was in the following year that F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, a Lutheran minister who was to leave the Church that same year, began as editor of *Recht voor Allen* (Justice for all) in The Hague.

Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis (1846-1919) was born into a bourgeois family of professional standing (his father and grandfather had been ministers themselves) and sufficiently wealthy to be able to maintain himself, was able to give all his time and energy to propaganda for "The Cause". Throughout his life he was to prove indefatigable as a fighter (2), and soon emerged as the kind of person hitherto unknown in the Netherlands: the "liberator" of the Dutch proletariat, the inspiring, organising and moving force behind the first Dutch socialist party, the "Social-Democratische Bond" (Social-democratic union). To the consternation of the bourgeoisie and the established order, it began to mobilise the proletariat.

Recht voor Allen swiftly adopted a radical outlook and became the organ of the SDB, propagating revolutionary socialism and universal suffrage and attacking the monarchy. The socialist movement began to expand in the western cities, first in Amsterdam and later in The Hague, Rotterdam, Utrecht and along the Zaan. They were followed by the Frisian and Groningen provinces to the north and by the Twente district – the main centre of textile production – and the provincial capitals like Maastricht, Arnhem and so on to the east.

The Social-democratic Union rose to the position of a prominent member of the family of European socialist parties during the 1880's, but the close of this era saw great changes as Domela and the movement became oriented towards anarchism.

The history of the working class movement in northern Europe shows that anarchism became a force only when marxism was already well-established in its social-democratic forms – a fact which is in contradiction with the claims of those marxists who choose to see the anarchist movement as a predecessor of formalised marxist organisations. Indeed, the libertarian movement in these countries has its origins in an opposition to the reformist methods adopted by the socialist parties, as is demonstrated by the well-known example of the "Jungen" in Germany. The same course of events can be observed in Sweden and in the Netherlands at this time (circa 1890).

It was 1885 before the first anarchist publications appeared on the Dutch scene. The first was a Flemish paper brought from Belgium and succeeded by a modest periodical (3) published by serious-minded militants who had read and been influenced by Kropotkin, *Les Temps nouveaux*, Most's *Freiheit* and Gustav Landauer's *Der Sozialist*. Others were soon to follow in its path. But in contradistinction to what took place in other northern European countries where anarchism remained marginal during the 1890's, Dutch anarchism would sweep the existing socialist party from the field and notwithstanding the fact that its adherents were in the minority would remain a force to be reckoned with for the next twenty years.

Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis, the grand old man of the SDB, stands alone amongst the leaders of the Second International in his gravitation towards anarchism.

How are we to explain this extraordinary growth of anarchism, particularly Domela's variety, in the Netherlands? The background is as follows:

a) With its short history the SDB was both organisationally and structurally weak. It had organised a number of conferences and formed national committees, etc., but was in fact centred on its paper and on the personality of its editor, Domela. The SDB had no foothold in the bureaucracy or in parliament – only Domela was elected to the Chamber of Deputies between 1888 and 1891 – or for that matter in local government.

It goes without saying that this relatively loose structure resulted in part from the dilatory nature of economic and social developments in the Netherlands.

b) Domela's personality and his writings reflect the influence of libertarian ideas from a fairly early date. One can instance his attachment to the idea of individual liberty, his belief that all change must proceed from "the base", the people, and his conviction that the emancipation of the working class must be the task of the workers themselves. Domela's anarchism is fundamentally and principally a refutation of the authoritarian ideology and hierarchic and military structure of the German party.

A further personal reason for Domela's espousal of anarchism was his admiration for celebrated anarchists like Kropotkin, Louise Michel, and Elisee Reclus, above all for the Chicago Martyrs, the Russian nihilists and later for Francisco Ferrer,

that is, for those men and women who sacrificed themselves to advance the cause.

This stress on liberty and individual conscience, the necessity of shouldering the burden of one's convictions, and an aversion to excessively authoritarian structures, these are the general and deeply engrained traits of the Dutch national character, especially in the Protestant part of the country where the working class movement first lifted its head.

c) The 1890's were years of hardship for the Dutch people. The decade was marked by a violent industrial and agrarian crisis; in the northern areas of the country street-battles with the police were a frequent occurrence. In this social climate the hope that the "final conflict" would break out "tomorrow" became almost a certainty in the minds of many militants who rejected the idea of parliamentary penetration and in its place adopted a more revolutionary approach.

It would be difficult to say whether it was Domela who led the movement towards anarchism or whether he was one of the camp-followers.

In 1897 F. Domela Nieuwenhuis had published his principal theoretical work, *Le Socialisme en danger*, in which he polemicised against the German socialist line and defended anarchist standpoints (4). He left the SDB and *Recht voor Allen* (5) to edit *De Vrije Socialist* (The free socialist), an anarchist publication, in 1898. Many local and regional papers followed suite and took up revolutionary socialist or anarchist positions, e.g., *De Arbeider* (Groningen), *De Toekomst* (Zeeland), *Zaans Volksblad*, *Recht door Zee* (Twente), and many others.

The trade union congress, or NAS (6), was founded in 1893 by Christiaan Cornelissen (7). Acting in the beginning as a secretariat for all the working class organisations, including political parties like the SDAP and SDB, it was at the same time in the process of becoming a revolutionary syndicalist organisation and would represent the libertarian tendency in the Dutch class struggle until the end of the 1920's. The NAS as it then was is comparable with the French CGT of the same period, and it was Christiaan Cornelissen (who lived in France from the close of the 19th Century until his death) who passed the theoretical framework of the CGT on to the workers inside the NAS' But in Holland as in France, revolutionary syndicalism was characterised by its libertarian practice rather than by its anarchist ideology: workers inside the NAS made use of direct action and wildcat and sympathy strikes, were suspicious of bureaucratisation, centralism and parliamentarism, and distrusted all politicians.

It is clear that socio-economic conditions in Holland were just as favourable to the growth of revolutionary syndicalism, especially in the commercial centre, Amsterdam, with its workshops and small factories, its port and dockyards, and its militant proletariat.

Thus it was the the beginnings of Dutch anarchism were marked by the struggle against social-democracy and the beginnings of the SDAP by the struggle against anarchism. Relations between the two groups were always strained to the limit and this hostility was aggravated by the manner in which the struggle was conducted. According to Domela, the parliamentarians had succeeded only in betraying the workers. The parliamentarians responded with personal abuse. This reciprocal animosity was intensified by the two following events:

– The Hoogerhuis affair, a *cause celebre* which at the time was likened to the Dreyfus affair.

The three Hoogerhuis brothers were given long prison sentences for a minor theft committed in 1895. Their innocence was beyond any doubt, but the campaign to free them from jail (1896-1900) came to nothing as a result of the mutual antipathy between the SDAP and Domela (8).

– The second and more significant event was the failure of the general strike in 1903 (9).

In January of that year the dockers of Amsterdam came out on strike and were later joined by the railway workers. The result was an overwhelming victory for the strikers, the greatest they had ever won, and one which brought joy, hope and optimism to workers and socialists of every persuasion. The strikers' success in paralysing the economy was taken as confirmation of the correctness of anarchist ideas on the general strike. Then the government – led by Abraham Kuyper, the mouthpiece of the Protestant petit bourgeoisie – introduced a bill aimed at banning strikes on the railways and in other public services. Responding to this threat, the working class organisations set up a defence committee on which the SDAP, the anarchists, the NAS and the socialist trade unions were represented. Both Domela and Troelstra, however, refused to take part in its activities.

A general strike was launched by the committee in April, but petered out a few days later after Kuyper's bill had been voted on in parliament. It was a bitter defeat for the workers: many militants lost their jobs as the reactionaries celebrated.

The strikers looked to the committee to take the initiative. In anarchist circles and in the NAS there was talk of a betrayal by the SDAP, which for its part considered the general strike to be a deplorable "anarchist adventure". Three years later, the socialist unions affiliated to the SDAP founded their own congress, the "NVV" (following the lead of the union of workers in the diamond trade). Exceptionally reformist and closely linked with the SDAP, the NVV rapidly increased its membership. In France, the CGT retained for a considerable period its revolutionary syndicalist ties and traditions, while at the same time moving in a reformist direction. In Holland, reformism took wing independently of the already existing organisation. The history of the NVV shows no trace of its having been influenced by a revolutionary tradition; on the contrary, it was the struggle against revolutionary syndicalist conceptions which for a long time was its characteristic feature. If the NAS is first and foremost a symbol of the class struggle, then the NVV is a symbol of organisation. The existence of sizeable Protestant and Catholic trade unions – opposed to the ideas of class struggle – was a contributory factor to the reformism of the NVV (10).

After 1903 – as indeed before – the anarchists were faced with the problem of "what was to be done", given that the revolution would not happen "tomorrow". Compared to the SDAP and the NVV, still growing later, the movement was tangential; and yet it remained fairly active, supporting a wealth of publications (for propaganda, education and entertainment), choral societies, and women's and young people's groups, each reflecting widely disparate influences and persuasions. The following tendencies would survive until the outbreak of the Second World War:

1. The group which formed in the orbit of

Domela and *De Vrije Socialist*. In principle a socialist anarchist who saw the propagation of ideas as his main task, Domela showed himself in practice to be an individualist (*De Vrije Socialist* was a vehicle for Domela's personal viewpoint and not that of an organisation) who adhered to the concept of free and independent groups co-operating only in order to achieve temporary concrete aims. He opposed the idea of a structured anarchist organisation holding national conferences, and did not take part in the international anarchist conference in Amsterdam in 1907, when attempts were made to establish a system of international contacts between the different organisations.

2. Over the years a number of organisationally-minded minority groups made occasional attempts to establish a coherently structured national organisation with its own procedural methods, publications, etc. However, these initiatives remained too much the preserve of a minority of militants to lead to any measure of genuine success, notwithstanding the participation of leading theoreticians and publicists such as J. Methofer, B. Reyndorp, Christiaan Cornelissen, and many others (11). It was these people rather than Domela who engaged in theoretical work directed towards revitalisation of revolutionary syndicalism and of the NAS. In addition they criticised vigorously the low standard of Domela's *De Vrije Socialist*, its use of personal abuse and neglect of detailed reporting. But in spite of these well-founded criticisms the great majority of anarchists, as well as the workers in the NAS and even their opponents, together with many ordinary sympathizers of the libertarian movement, all retained their admiration for Domela Nieuwenhuis, the man who had never stinted either time or money in his efforts to help the workers. Tens of thousands of workers marched in Domela's funeral procession in Amsterdam in 1909, making it without doubt the most moving and sincere demonstration ever mounted by the working class movement in Holland.

3. The groups which formed around the regional papers generally stayed clear of the polemic in which the influential libertarians involved themselves. In effect this meant that they duplicated the tendency of *De Vrije Socialist* to concentrate on the local, day-to-day struggles of workers, while avoiding the negative aspects of "Domela-ism".

4. The NAS. In decline after 1903, the NAS re-established itself thanks to the organisational abilities of H. Kolthek and others like him (1902: 10,526 members; 1906: 3,250; 1913: 9,112).

5. Christian, tolstoyan and humanist anarchism (12). The ideas of Tolstoy, principally that of non-violence, found more of an echo in christian and socialist circles in the Netherlands than elsewhere. J.K. van der Veer, the first conscientious objector (1898), was a tolstoyan anarchist. At the beginning of the century a tolstoyan colony was founded at Blaricum with the co-operation of a number of lutheran clergymen. "Walden" near Bussum was another (13).

These attempts to set up "free environments" lasted for a few years only, but christian anarchism left its mark on the spread of ideas which went to make up Dutch anarchism. The tolstoyans abjured every form of collective and individual violence and adhered to vegetarian, ascetic, purist and moralist principles.

The links between the working class movement and christian anarchism remained fairly loose, despite their shared asceticism and

opposition to alcohol, characteristic of all working class organisations in the Netherlands. But the christian anarchists were blinkered by their elitism and disdain for "the masses".

6. The most important result of the founding of the agrarian colonies was the creation in 1902 of "Gemeenschappelijk Grondbezit" (Collective possession of the earth) (14). The efforts of J. Methofer made the GGB into the umbrella organisation for producers' co-operatives.

Despite its name the GGB was primarily a grouping of workshops and small-scale crafts (textiles, print and tobacco trades). After 1918 attempts were made to recruit members from the construction industry.

The GGB remained fairly small in size, more or less marginal to the libertarian and socialist movements and never exclusively libertarian or anarchist. Several of its member co-operatives are still in existence.

7. Revolutionary anti-militarism played a leading role in the libertarian movement. The general strike as a weapon against capitalist wars, proposed by Domela at the international socialist conference in 1891 and opposed by Liebknecht, was perhaps the real cause of the split between Domela and "the Germans".

The IAMV (International anti-militarist association) was founded in consequence of an international conference in Amsterdam in 1904 (15). Only the Dutch section was active in any meaningful sense. The ideas of Domela and others on the subject of organisation (permissible only with concrete aims in view) meant that many anarchists were able to overcome their differences and co-operate only in the anti-militarist struggle. Thus the IAMV with its annual conference and national executive committees became the most structured and perhaps the most representative of the libertarian organisation, publishing *De Wapens Neder* (Down with weapons), a periodical controlled by the organisation as a whole. Refusing to attend an international anarchist conference in 1907, Domela nevertheless put in an appearance the following day at an international anti-militarist conference where the same delegates were present.

The critique of militarism exercised a large measure of influence in Holland. The IAMV was neither pacifist or non-violent, nor did it subscribe to the ideas then popular with bourgeois idealists: arbitration between states, the Palace of Peace (16), and, later, the League of Nations. The IAMV, with its slogan of "war on war", always considered the struggle against militarism as a struggle for social revolution and for the liberation of soldiers and workers.

It spread libertarian socialist propaganda amongst the troops, encouraging them to refuse military duties, and agitated on behalf of Indonesian independence, the struggle against the militarisation of the mind and international solidarity. The reverend N.J.C. Schermerhorn (1866-1956) – perhaps the most respected figure in the movement – took a leading role as a propagandist.

8. The freethinkers and their organisation "De Daageraad" (The dawn) appealed to many anarchists, although the group itself was never exclusively anarchist; on the contrary, "De Dageraad" is the only organisation in which socialists with differing points of view have always collaborated.

Although neither a socialist nor an anarchist, Multatuli (1820-1887) is worthy of mention in this context as one of the great writers and

intellectual emancipators of the Netherlands (17). His writings brought several generations of socialists, anarchists and communists to lead militant lives. And in addition to these schools of libertarian thought there were vegetarianism, neo-malthusianism, and groups and individuals attempting to reconcile anarchism with parliamentary socialism (G. van der Zwaag and later H. Kolthek).

It is clear that these various strands are all inter-related and in spite of mutual disagreement and dislike there was a great deal of interplay between them, with militants belonging to several groups at one and the same time. Those intellectuals who took an interest in socialist ideas were oriented more towards marxism than anarchism. As early as 1909 the SDAP split, with the marxists going on to found the social-democratic SDP, which after the Russian Revolution called itself a "communist party", the first in the world. The orthodox marxists of the SDP shared little common ground with the libertarians, turning their attention to the social-democratic masses and, after 1912, the NAS. There were however two outstanding militants in the ranks of the marxist intellectuals: H. Roland Holst and H. Gorter, both of whom occupied a position that was less hostile to anarchism. They were at the same time the most important poets of the time. Gorter became one of the theoreticians of council communism after the Russian Revolution.

There is no precise information which would tell us which levels of society the adherents of the libertarian movement belonged to. It would appear that there was for some considerable time a strong working class involvement, especially amongst the large number of Domela's followers. Many of the activists were clearly working class intellectuals, self-educated people with a knowledge of languages, etc. The animosity between intellectuals with a middle-class background and workers was less acute in the Netherlands than elsewhere.

It is just as difficult to put any exact figure on the number of libertarians. According to the year-books published between 1903 and 1914 there were somewhere between sixty and eighty groups spread across the countryside as well as in the towns. The areas in which the anarchist presence was strongest were northern Holland (including Amsterdam), the Groningen and Frisian (19) provinces, and the Twente region.

There were about ten groups publishing their own papers, of which *De Vrije Socialist* came out twice weekly. After *De Vrije*, *De Arbeider* was the most important of these papers; its editor for many years was H. A. Kaspers. Pamphlets, public meetings and conferences were given pride of place amongst the activities of the movement. By 1908 the IAMV could count one thousand members in its twenty-two local groups. The circulation of its monthly paper, *De Wapens Neder*, rose to 81,000 copies in 1909; but in 1910 there were only 2,500 to 3,000 subscribers, rising again to around 6,000 in 1913. 5,000 copies of its year-book for soldiers were printed each year, and between 10 and 20,000 (and sometimes as many as 100,000) copies of its manifesto at each printing.

Holland was not directly affected by the First World War. The SDAP made no move to oppose the mobilisation in 1914, whereas the libertarians and members of the SDP remained true to the principles of internationalism. Christiaan Cornelissen, still living in France, was one of the signatories to the "Manifesto of

the Sixteen", but no one in the Netherlands rallied to this position.

The war brought about a polarisation of society: on the other, war-profiteers and the new rich. For the first time, the communists of the SDP worked together with the NAS, which in three years increased its membership from 10 to 30,000, and the libertarian organisations. The anti-militarist cause and the IAMV also made advances: the number of conscientious objectors ran into hundreds and during the 15 months of the war almost 950,000 copies of *De Wapens Neder* were printed. In spite of exceptional social tensions and the events in Germany and Russia, the Netherlands underwent only a parody of revolution (in 1918). The eight-hour working day and other social reforms were introduced – universal suffrage had existed since 1917 – but it was nevertheless reaction which came out on top.

The post-war years were decisive ones for the anarchist movement, now in decline. In fact, this process had already begun before 1914 but had been retarded by the war (21). The *De Toekomst* group, with its emphatic attitude on the need for organisation, moved hesitantly closer to the Communist Party (22). The NAS too joined the Moscow Profintern; a faction of 8,000 members set up the NSV, the Dutch syndicalist movement, in 1923 and affiliated with the Berlin AIT, but internal dissent on the question of parliamentarism did not die down until after 1929. The NSV – with 3,000 members – was scarcely in a position to assume an independent role in the social struggle, but it did publish anarcho-syndicalist ideas – lucidly expressed – in *De Syndicalist*, a weekly paper edited by Albert de Jong. For example, it carried a number of reports and features on the constructive work being undertaken by Spanish revolutionaries. To an even greater extent than the NAS before 1914, the NSV responded positively to the idea of anarcho-syndicalism and reflected the influence of R. Rocker and Russian anarchists like Alexander Schlapiro. By 1939, however, its membership had fallen to 1,500 (23).

The NAS retained its militant outlook (during the widespread strikes in Twente in 1931-32, for example) but it too lost a lot of ground. Under the leadership of H. Sneevliet the NAS would soon adopt a trotskyst, and later an independent marxist-leninist, stance; it went under during the German Occupation (24).

On the death of Domela Nieuwenhuis, the editorship of *De Vrije Socialist* passed to G. Rijnders (1876-1950), a man of mediocre talent. Faithfully reflecting the personality of its editor, the paper fell back more and more on its traditions and increasingly lost touch with the direction in which social reality was moving. In the 1930's it went so far as to publish anti-semitic articles, which led to a final break between Rijnders and a number of militants, although a proportion of its readership stayed with what had been "Domela's paper".

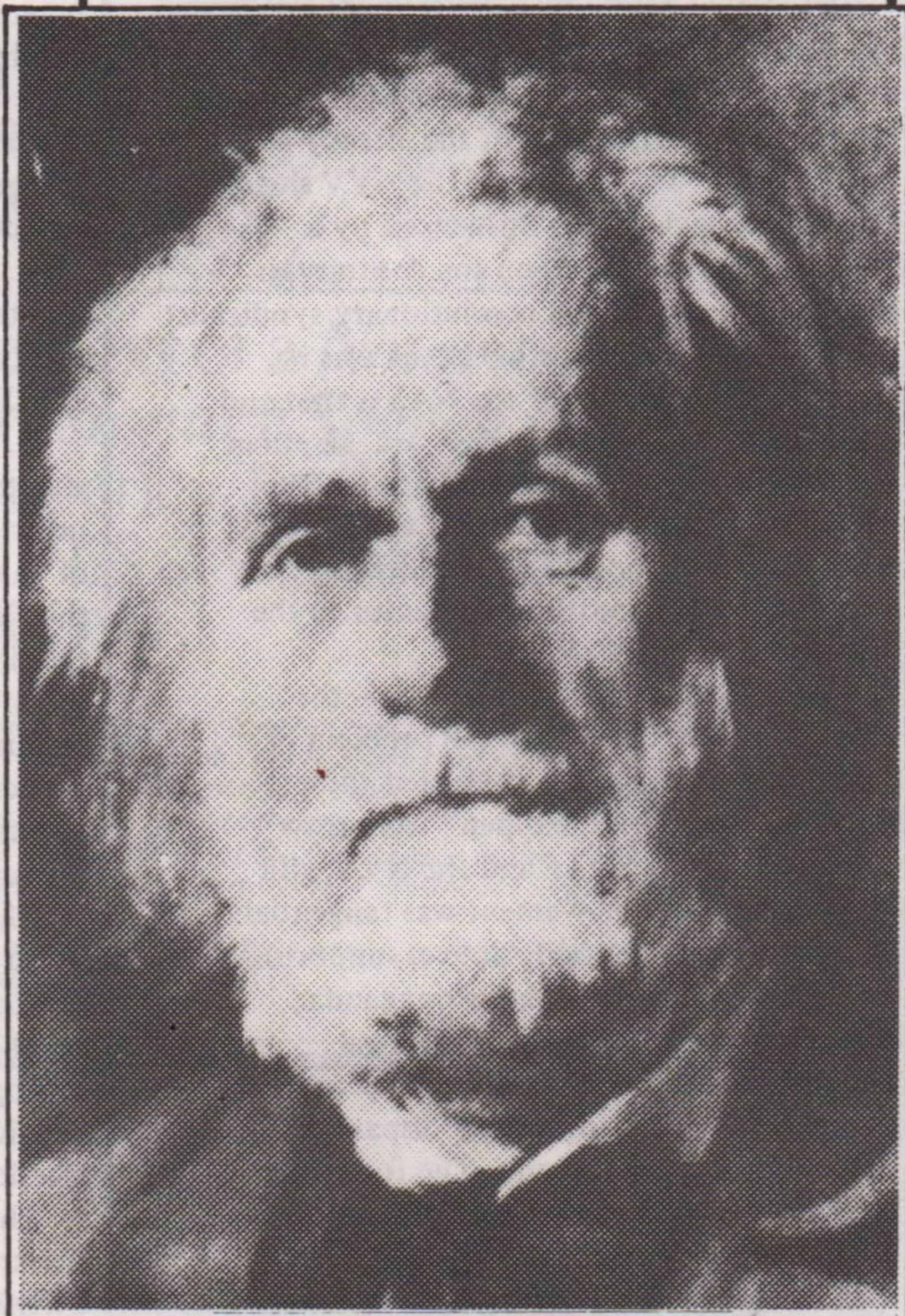
De Arbeider was the only one of the regional weeklies to survive during the 1930's

De Arbeider was the only one of the regional weeklies to survive; during the 1930's it became the national voice of the movement, with a circulation of several thousand copies. H. Eikenboom and A.L. Constandse (25) were two of its editors.

A new movement involving young

anarchists in the orbit of *Alarm* (A.L. Constandse) and *De Moker* (The Hammer) emerged during the 1920's. Structured organisation, syndicalism, and above all else all of the "old guard" whose militancy was more a matter of speech than of action were an anathema to the people involved with *De Moker*, which was to achieve a circulation of 2,500 and sometimes even 4,000 copies. The programme outlined by *De Moker* was one of direct action (even theft was allowed), opposition to national service, and rejection of every compromise with the established order. These young people were almost all self-educated workers whose politics called for intensive activity (also in the IAMV). Later to be compared with the "Provos", their movement went into eclipse around 1930, but several of them moved on from *De Moker* to *De Arbeider* (26).

During the war a group of christian intellectuals, including Bart de Ligt, had expressed forcefully their opposition to militarism. In the post-war years some of these christian socialists, calling themselves "intellectual revolutionaries", became communists, while others turned to libertarianism. Clara Meyer-Wichman (1884-1922) was one of these libertarian intellectuals and wrote lucid accounts of syndicalism, female emancipation, sociology, and the "rights of punishment" before her premature death. Other intellectuals were sympathetic to the NSV (Arthur Lehning, for instance), members of the IAMV, or else joined the group which formed around *Bevrijding* (Liberation), which was published monthly between 1929 and 1940 and took its inspiration from the ideas of Bart de Ligt (27). Finally becoming a convinced atheist, he like others close to *Bevrijding* saw anarchism as a moral regeneration of Man which had somehow to be advanced. "Reorientation" was one of de Ligt's key words. The glossy *Bevrijding* printed numerous articles on the following themes: education, sociology, psychology – Fromm, Reich, and the Frankfurt School were



Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis

familiar to its readers —, the tactics of non-violence (Bart de Ligt's correspondence with Gandhi has been published), the anti-colonialist struggle, etc.

The impact made by the IAMV was felt more strongly during the 1920's than in the years before 1914; for example, the average circulation of *De Wapens Neder* rose to 10,000 copies in 1928. An international anti-militarist conference was organised in 1921, and its anti-militarist bureau took on the job (helped later by the IAK) of co-ordinating activities with libertarian organisations in other countries and with the anarcho-syndicalist international, the AIT. Its press bureau did a great service to the international movement by publishing news of persecutions against militants, etc.

The other notable event of 1921 was a hunger strike by a young conscientious objector, Herman Groenendal, which sparked off a widespread anti-militarist agitation (28).

Influenced by the *Bevrijding* circle during the 1930's, the IAMV accepted its ideas on non-violence and even refused to extend solidarity to the Spanish anarchists in their armed struggle against Franco, which led the members of the NSV and many others to break with the IAMV.

Between 1930 and 1940 the size of the movement's working class base diminished as the intellectual element grew more predominant. When the Germans invaded the Netherlands in 1940 the movement had already ceased to play any significant role in society. The economic crisis, international fascism, and political reaction at home hit the revolutionary workers' movements hard. The movement disintegrated on the outbreak of war.

Although anarchists were involved in the Resistance, there was no proper underground anarchist organisation to speak of. Neither the old organisations nor the old publications re-appeared after the Liberation in 1945; Rijnders alone continued to publish his *Vrije Socialist*, still without any improvement in its content, until his death. There were others who revived old titles (*Socialisme van Onder Op, Recht voor Allen*) but they were read only by a dwindling circle of friends.

The OVB (29), a new trade union congress, subscribed to the concept of class struggle and avoided all "political" pressures, but at the same time sidestepped the question of its relation to specific socialist tendencies and ideologies. During the period of the Cold War, in an atmosphere of social peace and harmony, the socialists entered various coalition governments.

Some pacifist anti-militarists who could be considered libertarians came together in the ANVA, which brought out *Vredesactie*. The modest funds of the NSV had been safeguarded before the Occupation, and it was this which made possible the publication of the revue *Buiten de Perken* (Beyond the limits) (1961-1965), which in an unobtrusive way gleaned both readers and sympathy from outside the traditional areas by elaborating a new anarchism. Since 1961 *De Vrije* — at present edited by young people — has also undergone a transformation.

During the 1960's, Dutch society underwent a process of rapid and profound change. It is even possible to speak of a cultural revolution, in view of the re-awakening of libertarian attitudes and of anti-hierarchical ideas, and the eruption of the "Provo" (1965-1966) and "Kabouters" (1970) movements, which attracted international attention (30).

Many citizens — especially "intellectuals" — are today searching for a new and anti-authoritarian approach to their work and to personal and social relationships, in communications, education, the church. Once again there is interest in anarchism and an attempt to develop a libertarian practice; at the same time, it must be said that this spirit of inquiry, however genuine, has not so far resulted in the establishment of a movement that is truly libertarian.

Translated by Peter Silcock

(This article was originally published in *Le Mouvement Social*)

Footnotes

(1) A comprehensive history of the libertarian movement in the Netherlands has not yet been written. A recent book by Dr. A.J.C. de Vrankrijker, *Onze anarchisten en utopisten rond 1900* (Bussum, 1972) has its shortcomings. But there is of course much information on all the aspects of the movement to be found in the many other books and essays. The International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam houses a large collection of books and pamphlets, movement newspapers, archives and manuscripts.

In *Mededelingenblad, Orgaan van de Nederlandse Vereniging tot beoefning van de sociale geschiedenis* are to be found the biographies of several anarchists, notably those written by A. Welcker: Akrates-Drion (no. 32), H.J. van Steenis (44), J. Methofer (43).

Foreign works include: Max Nettlau, *Bibliographie de l'Anarchie* (Brussels, Paris, 1897, reprinted 1969) and *Histoire de l'Anarchie* (Paris, 1971). The section on Holland in *Anarchism* by George Woodcock (London, 1962) contains a number of errors.

(2) The memoirs of F. Domela Nieuwenhuis, *Van Christen tot Anarchist*, were published in 1910, but the authoritative biography of Domela Nieuwenhuis has yet to be written.

The most important study is that by A. de Jong, *F. Domela Nieuwenhuis* (The Hague, 2nd. ed., 1972, 88p). In English there is R. de Jong, "Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis: Anarchist and Messiah", in *Delta: a review of arts, life and thought in the Netherlands*, winter 1970-71.

The catalogue of the Domeal Nieuwenhuis exhibition (1959) contains an (incomplete) bibliography of 229 titles with references to translations.

(3) *Anarchist. Orgaan van goddeloozen, haveloozen en regeringloozen*, 1888-1896.

The first anarchists, J. Methofer, C. Croll, B. Reyndorp, B. van Ommeren, were all former members of the SDB.

(4) *Le Socialisme en danger* (Paris, 1897). Preface by Elisee Reclus, with several articles taken from the international libertarian press; a complete Dutch translation has never been made.

(5) The SDB — by now minute — was to unite with the SDAP in 1900.

(6) The NAS too still awaits its historian; its archives are in the IISH. Henriette Roland Holst, *Kapitaal en Arbeid in Nederland*, (Amsterdam 1902 and 1932) contains some good general material on the NAS. See also: *Gedenkboek uitgegeven door het NAS* (Amsterdam, 1918) and D. Schilp, *Dromen van de revolutie* (Amsterdam, 1967).

(7) The memoirs of Christiaan Cornelissen (1864-1943) — written in Dutch in 1943 — have not yet been published. The manuscript is in the possession of A. Lehning, who has had the chapters dealing with the international

conferences of 1891, 1893, and 1896 published in the *Mededelingenblad* (nos. 10-11), as well as a biography and bibliography (no. 6).

Cornelissen tried for a long time to hold the SDB together. His work on economics, *Traite general de science economique*, has been published only in French, with the exception of the first edition of *Theorie de la valeur* which also appeared in Dutch translation (1903).

Les generations nouvelles has not been translated into Dutch.

A biography of Cornelissen by a young Dutch historian is projected.

(8) On the Hoogerhuis affair, see U.D. Hannema, *De Hoogerhuiszaak* (Doctoral thesis, Drachten, 1964).

(9) There is a monumental work on the strikes of 1903 by Dr. A.J.C. Ruter, *De Spoorwegstaking van 1903. Een Spiegel der Arbeidersbewegingen in Nederland* (Leyden, 1935). The pamphlet *De Spoorwegstakingen van 1903*, written by A. de Jong to mark the fiftieth anniversary of the strike, takes a libertarian view.

(10) Trade union membership, 1910-1922.

	NAS	NVV	Protestant	Catholic
1910	3454	40660	6587	11650
1914	9697	84261	11023	29048
1918	23068	159449	28008	69139
1920	51570	247748	66997	141002
1922	31391	217467	71332	142035

(C. Lammers, *De Vakbeweging en haar problemen* (Amsterdam, 1951, p. 31)

(11) Several approaches were made towards co-ordinating and organising the movement on a national scale:

1905, *De Vrije Communist*, organ of the Federation of Libertarian Communists.

1907, a second *Vrije Communist*, organ of the National Federation of Libertarian Communists. It was this Federation which organised the 1907 international conference. Later, the Federation called itself social-anarchist (Federatie van Sociaal-Anarchisten) and its paper became *De Toekomst*.

1924m *De Vrije Samenleving*, organ of the "Sociaal-Anarchistisch Verbond".

During the war in Spain a Dutch anarchist federation (FAN) was set up.

These initiatives were confined to small factions as a result of the opposition of *De Vrije Socialist* and — to a smaller extent — the regional publications, but primarily as a result of the individualism characteristic of the movement in the Netherlands.

(12) On the christian anarchists and their colonies, see also: M. Nettlau, *Histoire de l'Anarchisme*. There is also an inadequate work by R. Jans, *Tolstoj in Nederland* (Bussum, 1952) with a summary in English.

(13) Frderik van Eeden (1860-1932), one of the most famous writers of his generation, provided both the inspiration and organisational ability for "Walden" (the name is taken from Thoreau's Walden). Van Eeden was friendly with many libertarians, notably G. Landauer, but was not an anarchist himself.

(14) A team of students at the University of Amsterdam is at present researching into the GGB (the organisation was in existence until 1956). There is a work, *Verbonden Schakels* (utrecht, 1932), published to mark the thirtieth anniversary of the foundation of the GGB, with chapters by Methofer, Cornelissen, and the christian anarchists F. Ort, Lod. van Mierop, etc. See also: F. de Jong Edz., "Anarchisme en productieve associatie", in *Anarchisme een miskende stroming?* (Amsterdam, 1967).

Freie Arbeter Shtime

In the Autumn of 1977 "Partial Checklist of International Anarchist Papers," (p.105), the *Freie Arbeter Shtime* was incorrectly listed as being in the Hebrew language – the FAS was a Yiddish-language paper. Was? The FAS is gone . . .

The End of an Era

The *Freie Arbeter Shtime* – the world's oldest continuous Yiddish publication – is dead. In December 1977, after 87½ years, the FAS printed its last issue, a victim of rising paper and printing costs.

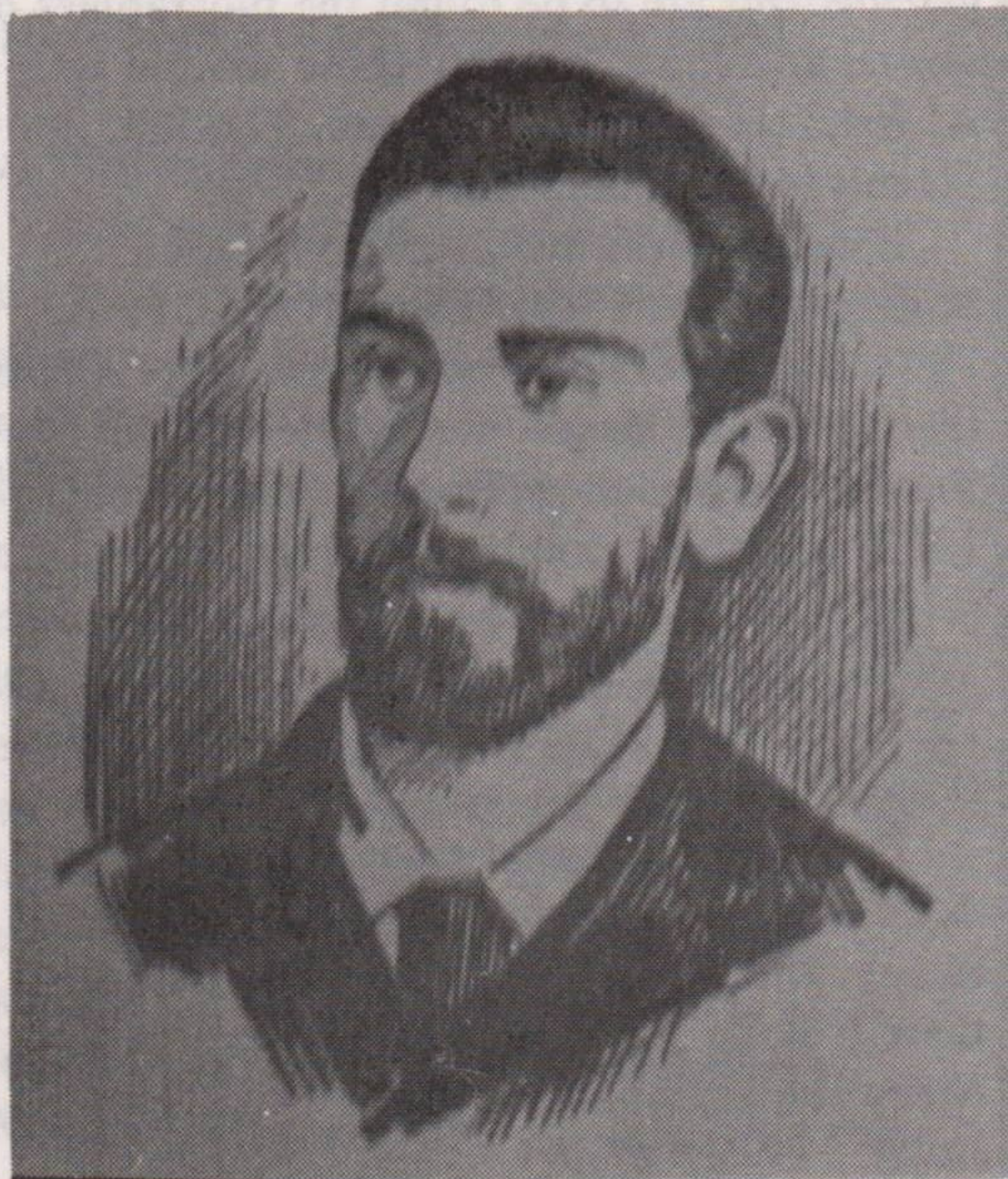
That the FAS was able to last 87½ years – a long time for any radical publication – is in itself a tribute. Begun as a paper for Yiddish speaking immigrant workers in 1890, it lasted long after the mass emigrations to America ended, long after most immigrants and their children had become "Americanised." The "Anglicisation" of Jewish immigrants in England spelled the end of one of the FAS's precursors, the *Arbeter Fraind*; in the US, Americanisation had meant the end of most Yiddish newspapers – never mind radical. With *Dos Freie Wort*, the FAS's brother-paper in Buenos Aires shut down under the present junta regime, only *Problemen*, the FAS's sister-paper in Tel Aviv, remains as a voice of Yiddish Anarchism.

Throughout its 87½ years, the FAS upheld the Anarchist Ideal. At times derided as "reformist" this was more a function of its non-sectarian character than anything else. It played an important role in the struggles of Jewish immigrant workers in the US, fighting sweatshops, organising, agitating, showing that there was something better to be fought for. The International Ladies Garments Workers Union (ILGWU), the Amalgamated Clothing Workers Union, and their various locals, although today far removed from their radical origins, continued to testify to the FAS's role in their foundings by placing paid greetings in every Labour Day and May Day issue, as did a number of other Jewish workers' and cultural organisations.

The FAS had a dual character: the propagation of libertarian ideas and the development of Jewish secular culture. Its first editor, David Edelstat, embodied both: today known as one of the first of the "proletarian poets," he died at the age of 26 from sweatshop-contracted tuberculosis. His poetry was a call to action. In "In Kamf" (In Struggle), he wrote:

We are driven and despised, we are tortured and persecuted, for we cherish the poor and the weak. We are shot and hanged, robbed of our lives and our rights, for we demand truth and freedom for downtrodden slaves. Cast us into your iron chains, tear us apart like bloody beasts – you can only kill our bodies, you will never destroy our spirit. Murder us, tyrants, but new fighters will come and we will fight on and on, until the world is free.¹

David Edelstat



In "Vakht Oyf!" (Awake!) he said:

How long will you remain slaves and wear degrading chains? How long will you produce riches for those who rob you of your bread? How long will you stand with backs bent – humiliated, homeless, and weak? It's daybreak, awake, open your eyes, and see your own strength. Ring the freedom bells everywhere, gather together the suffering slaves, and fight for your sacred rights!²

And from "Mayn Tsavoe" (My Testament):

Oh, good friends, when I die, bring our freedom flag to my grave, our flag stained red with the blood of the working man. And there, beneath the red banner, sing me my song of freedom that rings like the chains of the enslaved, Gentiles and Jews. And in my grave, I, too, will hear my song and there, too, will I weep. Then when I hear the swords resound in the final flight, with bloodshed and pain, from my grave will I sing to the people and cheer their spirits.³

Written straight from the heart by one who knew the sweatshops; perhaps this was one reason the *Freie Arbeter Shtime* lasted long after the others had passed – it did not

speak to "the people" but *from* and *with* them.

The roll-call of FAS writers was awesome. On the Anarchist side, in addition to innumerable translations of the writings of Bakunin, Kropotkin, Malatesta, Ferrer and others, there were articles by Emma Goldman, Alexander Berkman, Gustav Landauer, Aba Bordin, Sam Dolgoff, Paul Avrich, Voline and Rudolf Rocker, to name but a few. On the cultural side, contributions from Joseph Leftwich, M. Ravitch, H. Leivik, Abraham Reisen and many more.

The history of the Anarchist workers' movement worldwide came alive in the pages of FAS with hundreds of articles by participants and observers: Morris Nadelman on the Makhnovist movement; Jack Frager on Emma Goldman; Augustin Souchy on the heady "Godlen Years;" Mollie Steimer – now in Mexico – writing about being deported after a jail term following World War One, back to Russia from whence she was also forced to leave – and so on and so on, history from the bottom up, a constant reminder of the great traditions stretching throughout the pages of the Unknown History.

The FAS was internationally known. M. Stanger, now connected with the SAC in Sweden, wrote about reading worn-out copies of the FAS while slaving in a bakery in his native Rumania in the 1920s, never dreaming that half a century later he would be writing his own memoirs for the paper that served as one of his teachers.⁴ Like the old *Arbeter Fraind*, the FAS served as a link between Jewish Anarchists in New York City, Paris and London. Donations were regularly received from the "Freie Arbeter Shtime Group" in Paris until the very end. The Wobbly poet and newspaperman Ralph Chaplin (author of "Solidairty Forever") recalled being introduced to Anarchist ideas – Proudhon, Bakunin, Kropotkin, Most, etc – by an "FAS correspondent" on his way to Detroit via the box car.⁵

The *Freie Arbeter Shtime* was my first textbook of Yiddish; I was introduced to it by my close friends and comrades, Sam and Esther Dolgoff, in April 1973 when they invited me to a lecture at the City University of New York, on the Jewish Anarchist Movement in the East End of London, given by Bill Fishman. I feel privileged not only to have read it, but to have contributed a few articles in its last years of publication. As with others, the FAS helped open and expand a new world for me. And for that I shall always be grateful.

Shelby Shapiro.

Notes:

1. In Eleanor Gordon-Mlotek, *Mir Trogn A Gezang* (NYC: Workmens' Circle Education Dept., 1977, 2nd ed.) p. 80.
2. *Ibid.*, p.88.
3. *Ibid.*, p.92
4. M. Stenger, "Vi azoy kh'bin gevorn an anarkhist in rumanie," *Freie Arbeter Shtime*, Mar. 1977, p.6.
5. Ralph Chaplin, *Wobbly: The Rough-and-Tumble Story of An American Radical* (Chicago: U of Chicago Press, 1948) p.56ff.

THE SURVIVOR

Volume 1
By Kurt Saxon

JUST A FEW OF THE ARTICLES IN VOLUME 1

- BURLAP-PROOFING YOUR HOSE
- CONVERT A FORDORER CAR TO A GYPSY VAN
- MAKING A 1910 HAND BLAND
- MAKING IMITATION GOLD & SILVER
- HOMEMADE MECHANIC'S FOOT-POWERED COMBINATION LATHE
- TONKES FOR PEENING
- BUILD AN AIR-CAPPER
- BLACK POWDER: HOW TO MAKE THE BEST
- MAKING A STEEL FROM IRON
- SET UP YOUR OWN HOME FOUNDRY
- GLASS BLOWING & FORMING
- BUILD CONCRETE GARDEN FURNITURE
- HOW TO FILE A BIRD'S CLAW
- SURVIVAL AMMUNITION
- HOW TO GET A FEDERAL FIREARMS LICENSE & WHY
- MAKE YOUR OWN CANDLES, INCENSE, YEAST CHERRY, ETC.
- BASIC CROSSBOW PLUS ARROW SLING

THE SURVIVOR VOLUME 1
14x11 1/2 \$10.00

THE SURVIVOR

Volume 2
By Kurt Saxon

JUST A FEW OF THE ARTICLES IN VOLUME 2

- Gold Slender
- Portable Shop
- Write on Metal
- Tie a Hangman's Noose
- Make a Simple Sextant
- Teles Coll
- Read Furniture
- Survival Shelter
- Shoe Repairing
- Utility Press
- Weaving Rag Strips
- Survival Fishing
- Saw Filing
- Electroplating
- Non-Metallic Objects
- Training for Endurance
- Intruder Detector
- Leatherwork for Profit
- Hand-Wrought Hardware
- Animal Traps
- Silk Screen Printing
- Arc Welder Built Cheap
- Emergency Home Sanitation
- Mini and Maxi Survival Kits
- Spot Welder
- Plus Survival Editorials, Letters, Chemistry, Mechanics & Much More

THE SURVIVOR VOLUME 2
14x11 1/2 \$10.00

THE SURVIVOR

Volume 3
By Kurt Saxon

JUST A FEW OF THE ARTICLES IN VOLUME 3

- HOME CHEMISTRY
- BOOKBINDING
- IMPROVED WEAPONRY
- GARDENING
- SURVIVAL FOODS
- AIR-DIESEL TORCH
- TOOLS AND WORKSHOPS
- TEMPERING AND MELTING FURNACE
- MAKING SHOES AND SHOES
- FOOD DEHYDRATING
- HOME BUSINESSES
- LIE DETECTOR
- HOMEMADE BASIC ELECTRONICS
- BUILDING FURNITURE
- ELECTROPLATING
- LABORATORY EQUIPMENT
- MONEY LIFTING & EQUIPMENT
- STEAM DRIVEN AIRPLANE
- WIND DRIVEN BATTERY CHARGER

THE SURVIVOR VOLUME 3
14x11 1/2 \$10.00

Volumes one and two are made up of 24 monthly issues of THE SURVIVOR, reworked, enlarged and indexed. Each has hundreds of entries on money-saving, money-making trades, crafts, hobbies and overall Survival projects. 19th Century science and technology from many sources is featured throughout both volumes. As our technology fails, that of simpler times can be substituted by anyone who can read.

THE SURVIVOR is a goldmine of ideas for the self-reliant. Set up a home business. Protect your family. Insure the survival of the best of your line.

Aside from what's happening now, THE SURVIVOR shows you how people did things in the last century. You can utilize the best of your ancestors' knowledge to ride out the worst of the chaos which is sure to come.

A continuation of volume two. Home chemistry, bookbinding, improvised weaponry, gardening, survival foods, air-diesel torch, tools and workshops, tempering and melting furnace, making shoes, food dehydrating, home businesses, lie detector - homemade, basic electronics, building furniture, lab equipment, wind driven battery charger, etc.

Old Time Home Food Processing

for Fun and Profit

by Kurt Saxon

OLD TIME FOOD PROCESSING (For Fun and Profit)—14 1/2 x 11 \$10.00

These 19th century processes will provide more food for yourself and your family. Eat well during the coming shortages. Home food processing will save you money now and you can earn more selling your surplus. Meat curing and sausage making, canning, pickles, preserves, catsups, jellies, jams, etc.

Granddad's Wonderful Book of Chemistry

By Kurt Saxon

• INTERPRETING OLD FORMULAS
• CHEMICAL MANIPULATIONS
• LABORATORY APPARATUS
• CHEMICAL PREPARATIONS
• PREPARING GASES
• MAKING ESSENTIAL OILS
• MAKING ACIDS
• EXTRACTING ALKALOIDS
• MAKING MISCELLANEOUS CHEMICALS
• MAKING FLUID EXTRACTS
• MAKING SULPHURIC AND NITRIC ACID
• COMPLETE TABLES OF WEIGHTS AND MEASURES
• MANUAL OF LABORATORY GLASS BLOWING
• FINDING SPECIFIC GRAVITY

GRANDDAD'S WONDERFUL BOOK OF CHEMISTRY—14 1/2 x 11 \$10.00

Knowledge of kitchen chemistry may be your key to survival. Make herbal extracts, essential oils, acids, gases, alkaloids, etc. Make most of the needed chemicals from easy-to-get raw chemicals. Plus, a complete course in laboratory glass blowing. Also, a guaranteed source for all the basic chemicals, by the pound or in bulk.

The Poor Man's JAMES BOND

Kurt Saxon

THE POOR MAN'S JAMES BOND 14 1/2 x 11 \$10.00

The ultimate armed civilian. Now, in a single big volume, five books in one on improvised weaponry, pyrotechnics, etc. Defend your survival refuge and stores. Those who prepare to survive deserve to survive. The threat of desperate, maddened looters makes this book the most important in your Survival library.

OUTSIDE U.S. SEND BANK OR POSTAL MONEY ORDERS MADE OUT TO U.S. FUNDS

<p>The Survivor—Volume 1 \$10</p> <p>The Survivor—Volume 2 \$10</p> <p>The Survivor—Volume 3 \$10</p> <p>Granddad's Book of Chemistry \$10</p> <p>Old Time Food Processing \$10</p> <p>The Poor Man's James Bond \$10</p> <p>California add 6% Sales Tax</p> <p style="text-align: center;">Total Enclosed</p>	<p>Orders Mailed Day Received All Books Postpaid Order From: ATLAN "V" FORMULARIES P.O. Box 438 Eureka, California 95501</p>	<p>Name _____</p> <p>Address _____</p> <p>City _____ State _____</p> <p>Zip _____</p>
---	---	---

REVIEWS



NATIONALISM AND CULTURE

Rudolf Rocker [St. Paul: Michael E. Coughlin, Publisher, 1978].

Hardback £10.00, paperback £6.00.

A Fitting Tribute

This review/essay celebrates a truly major event—the reprinting, after a long absence, of Rudolf Rocker's **Nationalism and Culture**. If the writing of this book had been the only accomplishment of an entire lifetime, that alone would have earned Rocker immortality—this reprinting is a fitting tribute. Without the slightest bit of hesitation, this reviewer considers it not only one of the best books he has ever read, but one of the best books ever written—thought-provoking, insightful, a remarkable synthesis of knowledge from a vast range of disciplines. **Nationalism and Culture** is all of this and more. Reading it is an exciting experience. In my two readings of the book I found myself—both times—going over the same chapter, the same page, the same paragraph, several times. Not because of poor writing or poor translation, but only in the hope of digesting it all. It caused me to reassess much of what I had read (and thought) before, and has given me new perspectives in judging what I read (and think) now.

The book is concerned with much more than what its title suggests. Rocker is not “simply” interested in the sole question of nationalist ideas and cultural development. He is interested in tracing and describing the growth of totalitarianism—what it is and how it came to be, with how the Age of Revolution came to be the Age of Reaction, with how (on a more superficial level) the slogans of freedom became the rallying-cries of despots—issues that confront us as much today as they did in the 1930's. Perhaps these issues confront us even more, since the numbers of totalitarian regimes have increased and their power has been con-

solidated. When **Nationalism and Culture** was written, the totalitarian phenomenon was still in its adolescence.

There are those who object to the all-inclusive term “totalitarianism,” claiming that you cannot lump Fascism together with Marxism-Leninism, even though—or rather despite—certain surface similarities. Rocker demonstrates the common philosophical sources of both creeds, distinguishing totalitarianism from other forms of dictatorship.

One of the first lessons he teaches is that there is no such thing as a social law (and here we are using the term “law” in its non-legislative sense); only in the realms of physical science—biology, chemistry, physics—can we speak in terms of immutable laws, in terms of what “necessarily” happens. Any and all attempts to devise social laws that are universally applicable are doomed to failure. The great diversity of human cultures, social structures, strivings, ideas and feelings—all of these factors point to the foolishness of laying down universally applicable laws and systems of social development. The factor of ethnocentricity—the whole grab-bag of cultural assumptions and biases that even would-be social scientists carry with them—complicates the problem still further. Sigmund Freud, for example, claimed that the Oedipus Complex was a universal law:

... The most important conflict with which a small child is faced is his relation to his parents, the **Oedipus complex** . . . The reactions against the instinctual demands of the Oedipus complex are the source of the most precious and socially important achievements of the human mind; and this probably holds true not only in the life of individuals but also in the history of the human species as a whole . . . 1

Field-work by various anthropologists presented pictures of societies in which the Oedipus Complex was absent². Erich Fromm, in his essay, “The Crisis of Psychoanalysis,” noted that:

... He (Freud) was to some degree a critic of society . . . But he was also deeply rooted in the prejudices and philosophy of his historical period and class. The Freudian unconscious was mainly the seat of repressed sexuality, ‘honesty’ referred mainly to the vicissitudes of the libido in childhood, and his critique of society was restricted to its sexual repression. Freud was a bold and radical thinker in his great discoveries, but in their application he was impeded by an unquestioning belief that his society, although by no means satisfactory, was the ultimate form of social progress and could not be improved in any essential feature.³

REVIEWS

Tendencies exist; but to force the history of all peoples and cultures into one "scientific" mould is, as the Freudian example demonstrates, impossible.

This lesson culminates in a brilliant critique of Karl Marx's "scientific socialism"—which Rocker labels as just another fatalistic religion. The theory that there are Forces of History that will result in the Millennium through the force of their own dialectic logic is not borne out by the facts. A perfect example is the course of German history. The breakdown of international capitalism in one of the most highly industrialised countries in the world, together with the existence of a highly organised and class-conscious working class (despite the disunity of the Left, the class-consciousness remained) should have led—by Marxian prognoses—to proletarian revolution in the 1930's. Yet instead of the socialist revolution, a new revolutionary force triumphed—Nazism. Afterwards all kinds of reasons for the failure of a socialist revolution were devised. Similarly, it is well known that no one expected a revolution to occur in Tsarist Russia, least of all the Bolsheviks—but it did. In order to explain this development and not contradict Marx, new theories had to be invented. To the previous scientific axioms of historical stages as discovered by Marx, a new "law" was added—the "law of combined development" whereby these hitherto "necessary" historical stages could be skipped and there was "... a drawing together of the different stages of the journey, a combining of separate steps, an amalgam of archaic with more contemporary forms." This is due, we are told, to the "most general law of the historical process"—unevenness. Thus Trotsky vindicates Marxism by saying that (a) it is necessarily so, except when (b) it isn't. This is somewhat akin to saying that "the exception proves the rule." Sounds nice, but a moment's reflection shows that exceptions "necessarily" disprove rules.

The early portions of the book, dealing with the origin and development of the State, owe an obvious debt (credited) to Bakunin's *God and the State*; but Rocker carries things a step further. We are given a crash course in the history of social philosophies and later democratic philosophies. He discusses—among others—Hegel, Hobbes, Locke, Rousseau, Robespierre, Nietzsche, Machiavelli, Calvin, the Stoics, the Cynics, the Sophists, Godwin, Lessing, Herder—and the list goes on. It is here that Rocker's boldest ideas are stated, for we are dealing with two diametrically opposed philosophical camps—the liberal and the democratic. The logical conclusion of liberal ideas is Anarchism; from democratic ideas—totalitarianism. The liberal school is based on the primacy or sovereignty of the individual and the individual's rights; the democratic school is based on the primacy or sovereignty of a collective entity (be it "the State," "the People," "The Race," or whatever) from which all rights flow and to which all individuals are subordinate. The "discovery" of this fictional collective entity and the divining of the entity's movement as the mainspring of history is one of the main sources of totalitarianism, through which the entity is allowed to develop according to its own so-called "laws".

How is the collective entity's supremacy expressed? Rousseau's concept of the "common will" (*volonté générale*) is the answer—all must be subordinate to the common will, and nothing that would detract, subtract or divert the common will can be allowed. Rousseau's "freedom" is the furtherance of the common will, not the liberties of individuals. The liberties of individuals, in fact, in and of themselves, by definition, deny the "common will" and must be stamped out. To quote Rocker:

Just as Hobbes gave the absolute state a power embodied in the person of the monarch, against whom no right of the individual could exist, so

Rousseau invented a phantom on which he conferred the same absolute rights. The 'Leviathan' which he envisioned derived its fullness of power from a collective concept, the so-called 'common will'—the *volonté générale*. But Rousseau's common will was by no means the will of all which is formed by adding each individual will to the will of all others, by this means reaching an abstract concept of the social will. No. Rousseau's common will is the immediate result of the 'social contract' from which, according to his concept of political society, the state has emerged. Hence, the common will is always right, is always infallible, since its activity in all instances has the general good as a presumption.

Rousseau's idea springs from a religious fancy having its root in the concept of a political providence which, being endowed with the gifts of all-wisdom and complete perfection, can consequently never depart from the right way. Every personal protest against the rule of such a providence amounts to political blasphemy. Men may err in the interpretation of the common will; for, according to Rousseau, 'the people can never be bribed, but may often be misled!' The common will itself, however, remains unaffected by any false interpretations; it floats like the spirit of God over the waters of public opinion; and while this may stray from time to time into strange paths, it will always find its way back again to the centre of social equilibrium, as the misguided Jews to Jehovah. Starting from this speculative concept, Rousseau rejects every separate association within the state, because by such association the clear recognition of the common will is blurred.

The Jacobins, following in his footsteps, therefore threatened with death the first attempts of the French workers to associate themselves into trade guilds, and declared that the National Convention could tolerate no 'state within the state' because by such associations the pure expression of the common will would be disturbed. Today Bolshevism in Russia, fascism in Germany and Italy, enforce the same doctrine and suppress all inconvenient separate associations, transforming those which they permit to exist into organs of the state.

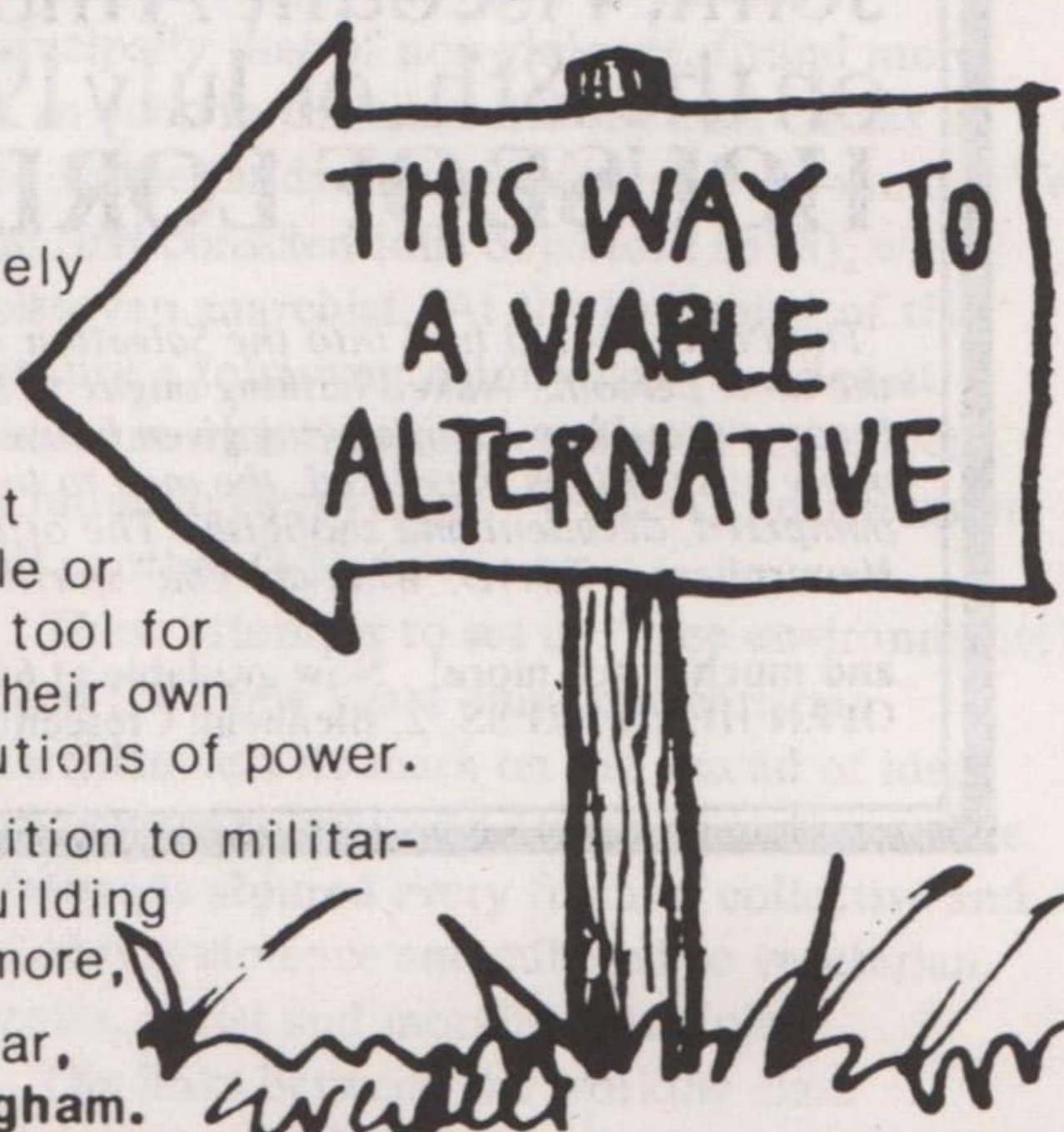
Thus there grew from the idea of the common will a new tyranny, whose chains were more enduring because they were decorated with the false gold of an imaginary freedom, the freedom of Rousseau, which was just as meaningless and shadowy as

peace news for nonviolent revolution

— is an independent paper produced collectively as a forum for readers' contributions. We are nonviolent anarchists—working to undo all relationships of authority and dominance (sexual, racial, economic, military...) without treating anyone as expendable in that struggle or as closed to change. The paper aims to be a tool for people making change in—taking control of—their own lives as much as for resistance to the institutions of power.

It consistently covers sexual politics, opposition to militarism and secrecy, personal growth, racism, building alternatives, opposition to nukes—and a lot more.

Peace News 20p fortnightly. Subs £7.00 a year, trial 5 issues £1 from: 8 Elm Avenue, Nottingham.



REVIEWS

was the famous concept of the common will. Rousseau became the creator of new idols to which man sacrificed liberty and life with the same devotion as once to the fallen gods of a vanished time. In view of the unlimited completeness of the power of a fictitious common will, any independence of thought became a crime; all reason, as with Luther, 'the whore of the devil.' For Rousseau, the state became also the creator and preserver of all morality, against which no other ethical concept could maintain itself. It was but a repetition of the same age-old bloody tragedy: God everything, man nothing! (p. 163f)

But how is this mysterious common will to be discerned and carried out? Rousseau jumped from his "natural law" to legislative law—and Law-givers became the Elect of which Plato and Calvin spoke. From these various concepts it was but a short step to Jacobinism, the vanguard party of Bolshevism (whose leaders were in touch with the dialectic forces of history) and the **Fuehrer Prinzip** (whereby the Leader embodied the inexorable laws of the Race)—and ultimately all of the tragedies of the 20th Century, from Purge Trials in Russia, to the Holocaust of the Third Reich, to the atrocities of the Khmer Rouge in Cambodia.

Distinguishing the two social ideas—collective vs. liberal—is the most outstanding analytical concept of the book. It does much to explain the paradoxes of our time—as well as point a way out of them. Later attempts made by others to "lay bare" the social, historical and philosophical roots of totalitarianism have suffered because they were unable to distinguish between the two schools. Their beginning premises have been fuzzy and emotion-laden. This is true both of J. Talmon in his **The Origins of Totalitarian Democracy** [NY: Praeger, 1960] and Hannah Arendt in her **The Origins of Totalitarianism** [NY: World Publishing, 1958]. It is significant to note that **Nationalism and Culture** is nowhere cited in the footnotes or bibliographies of either writer. Talmon lumps all of those seeking changes in the status quo as budding totalitarians. Arendt interprets the rise of totalitarianism as, among other things, the success of the "mob", which she defines as the refuse and outcasts from all the various social classes. "Refuse" and "outcast" are value-judgement categories, hardly conducive to rational analysis. And if the majority of the population, if only momentarily, supports the totalitarian dictator, can it reasonably be argued that the majority from all classes are outcasts of their respective classes? The materials presented by both Arendt and

Talmon support Rucker's thesis—but not vice versa. Both books, incidentally, are well worth reading, not only for that reason, but also for other valuable insights. As solid theories on the rise of totalitarianism, however, they fail.

Grasping the idea of the common will and the idea of an Elect which can discern it, explains the philosophical basis for the professional revolutionary party and its "democratic centralism" ("The Party is always right"—and thus did the Old Bolsheviks confess during the purge trials); the use of "criticism-self-criticism" as a means of social control forcing the individual to conform to the Correct

Line under peer pressure; the race fanaticism of Nazi Germany which placed extermination of the Jewish people above the military priorities of winning the war; and so on.

Rucker writes of the incompatibility of cultural and growth of the State, holding that the greater the degree of State control, centralisation and triumph of collective philosophy, the lesser the cultural development, that is, if the State is total, and everything must be subordinated to it, then culture, too must be



The Full and True Text of a *Notorious, Remarkable and Visionary Speech* made by John, Viscount Amberley, Earl RUSSELL, on the 18th., of July 1978 at 9.8p.m. in the HOUSE OF LORDS.

"The Police should turn into the Salvation Army... Mr. Brezhnev and Mr. Carter are really the same person... Naked bathing ought to be universal... Three quarters of the National Income should go to girls being given houses of their own at the age of twelve to have as many husbands as they liked, the men to live in communal huts... The Royal Family is pampered, decadent and snobbish... The official rating of the human race in the Northern Hemisphere is TOAD! What are you? spiritless papal bumboys? Forward the Creative Spirit!..."

and much much more! Now available at 60 pence including post & packing from OPEN HEAD PRESS, 2, Blenheim Crescent, London, W.11.

REVIEWS

harnessed. We are speaking here of diversity, spontaneity, creativity. This theory, too, is empirically verifiable. Compare, for example, the diversity of cultural activity in the Weimar Republic to the stagnation of all cultural life that characterised the Third Reich. In Russia, this stagnation increased in direct proportion to the Bolshevik consolidation of power and the victory of "socialist realism" followed. The existence of **Samizdat** demonstrates how strong the urge for personal freedom is. In Israel, Yiddish literature has been given a new lease on life as Russian Jewish immigrants print poems, stories, novels, and sonnets that have remained suppressed, unprinted, and hidden for years.⁵

China, too, follows the same pattern. Simon Leys, in his remarkable **Chinese Shadows**, testifies to this—pointing out that throughout the Cultural Revolution and after, only six approved operas could be performed.⁶ Olga Lang, in **Pa Chin And His Writings** (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967) notes the successive rewrites, revisions and deletions Pa Chin was forced to make to fit his works into the State-approved mold. The West

experienced a mini-fad when it discovered the paintings of Huhsien County early in 1978—in reality crude propaganda messages, and nothing more, executed without grace, subtlety or imagination. **Time** magazine correspondent Robert Hughes likened them to American television ads—"a form of inspirational mendacity."⁷ In the more traditional arts of jade and ivory carving, the level of quality has markedly decreased. Just visit a "China Arts & Crafts" centre where row upon row of identical carvings produced for foreign consumption numb the eyes. The number of truly fine pieces—art works that require great amounts of time and energy—are scarce; in China, the profit-motive has triumphed over all others so far as art carving is concerned. State capitalism whose ultimate goal is to produce the faceless, impotent mass man has succeeded in producing face-less mass art, without personality, without spontaneity, without creativity.

A recurring phrase throughout the book is "Procrustean bed"—an allusion to the Greek mythological figure whose victims were forced into a special bed. Those who were too short were stretched

to fit its frame; those too tall had their legs chopped off. It is a fitting phrase, for it captures in two words the entire essence of totalitarian thinking.

There is much more than what I have written about in **Nationalism and Culture**. There is an excellent section on the history of Race Theory, from Gobineau to Rosenberg. There is a fascinating chapter on word origins, demonstrating the absurdity of the idea of a "pure language". And much more. Throughout there is the author's concern for freedom—economic, political, social. Throughout there is the faith that there can be freedom.

The acid-test of whether a piece of literature is a classic—the test of time—Rocker has passed with flying colours. This book is not dated. Its relevance is immediate. Its message is compelling. The scope of knowledge is phenomenal.

A final word about the price of the book: \$15.00 is not exorbitant to pay for a hardback. Especially when you consider that just a year or so ago a secondhand

ZAPATA OF MEXICO

EMILIANO ZAPATA described as the greatest outlaw known to the Western Hemisphere and the purest embodiment of the Mexican Revolution. This fascinating new biography describes the man, what he hoped to achieve, and just how much he and his comrades did achieve in Southern Mexico.

PETER E. NEWELL

0 904564 24 X £2.95 (pb only) illust.

The Cienfuegos Press, Over-the-Water, Sanday, Orkney KW17 2BL, U.K.

"News Release is cheeky, subversive and anti-authoritarian" — P.C. White

Get your copy and find out for yourself.

35p

NewsRelease is the quarterly magazine from Release. It reports up-to-date news and information on changes in law as they affect you and also covers drugs, housing, women's issues and lots more. Available from bookshops or on subscription (£2 for 4 issues) from Release Publications Ltd, 1 Elgin Ave, London W9

REVIEWS

copy was selling for \$17.50 at a San Francisco used book store. The paperback price—\$10.00—may seem a bit steep—but the publisher is a small one subject to all the problems that other radical small publishers have. You owe it to yourself to buy this book and read it. And then read it again . . .

Shelby Shapiro

FOOTNOTES

1. Sigmund Freud, "Psychoanalysis," *Encyclopaedia Britannica* (13th ed., 1926) in Gerard Lauzun, *Sigmund Freud: The Man And His Theories* (Greenwich, Conn.: Fawcett Publications, 1962), p.154
2. Marvin Harris, *The Rise of Anthropological Theory: A History of Theories in Culture* (NY: Thos. Y. Crowell, 1968), pp. 425 et seq.
3. In Erich Fromm, *The Crisis of Psychoanalysis: Essays On Freud, Marx, And Social Psychology* (Greenwich: Fawcett Publications, 1971), p. 17f.
4. Leon Trotsky, *The History of the Russian Revolution*, Vol. 1 (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1957 ed.), p. 5f.
5. Sol Liptsin, "Yidische literatur in yisroel," *Kultur Un Lebn*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (NY: Workmen's Circle, May 1978), p. 9f.
6. Simon Leys, *Chinese Shadows* (NY: The Viking Press, 1977), p. 143.
7. Robert Hughes, "The Arcadians of Huhsien County," *Time* (Asian edition, Jan. 9, 1978).

Spanish Diary, John McNair, Manchester ILP, 40p.

These thirty odd pages with portrait cover are in essence McNair's reports to the ILP in London between August 1936 and the following June as published in their journals. Don Bateman's biographical introduction and editorial notes are invaluable. Concise and without padding the diary merits this pamphlet accessibility and so a place in all Spanish War collections.

Readers will find it useful, if not actually essential as I did, to read *Homage to Catalonia* in conjunction since McNair was Orwell's initial contact in Spain whilst in the end they were to escape together from Stalinist arrest and assassination.

Quicker than any other organisation the ILP had raised £500 and within a few weeks of the rebellion McNair arrived in Barcelona with the money in his pocket. That and the promise of further help was welcomed warmly at the HQ of the Ramblas of POUM the brother party to the ILP. McNair learned what he could of the situation and by September was back in London reporting on the various anti-Franco forces and their needs. An ambulance, money, volunteers and later a country mansion home for Basque refugee children was the result. When POUM asked for his personal return he did so in November and after a brief visit to Madrid with John

McGovern M.P. he established a co-ordinating office in Barcelona. In the beginning he was helped by Bob Smillie until that Glasgow university student and grandson of the famous worker's leader joined the militia on the Huesca front. His initial secretary was Sybil Wingate, of another famous family, but she too soon left for the same field of action.

John McNair (1887-1968) was a brilliant minded gentlemanly Scot of medium height and build, a self-educated one-time errand boy who eventually went to university and won his MA when 73. He was ideal choice as ILP agent because following many years residence in Paris he was fluent in French and had some Catalan and Castilian to reinforce the traditional affinity many of his countryfolk have for Gallic and Iberian people. Once billed as The Boy Orator he was a life-long ILP activist and eventually its General Secretary. In 1955 his sympathetic life of his friend and fiery leader of the party was published as *James Maxton, Beloved Rebel*.

Much information is packed into these pages, especially the Barcelona scene when POUM and CNT (anarchist-syndicalist) were strongest and workers were free and jeans and berets the norm and then the change of costume and manners as the Communist PSUC succeeded in infiltrating the Civil Guard and police. That culminated in the street fighting and besieged buildings of the ghastly May Days. A lull did ensue but only whilst the Stalinists marshalled their powers before POUM was proscribed and the arrests and murders



"Can we have a little more reaction from the court to the absurd defence put up by the accused?"

ROOT & BRANCH

Number 5

\$1.50

REVOLT AGAINST WORK ■ NEW WORKING CLASS MOVEMENT IN SPAIN ■ INTERVIEW WITH PAUL MATTICK ■ NEW CLASS THEORY?

SUBSCRIBE TODAY!
A LIBERTARIAN SOCIALIST QUARTERLY

\$6.00 for 4 issues
\$15.00 for institutions

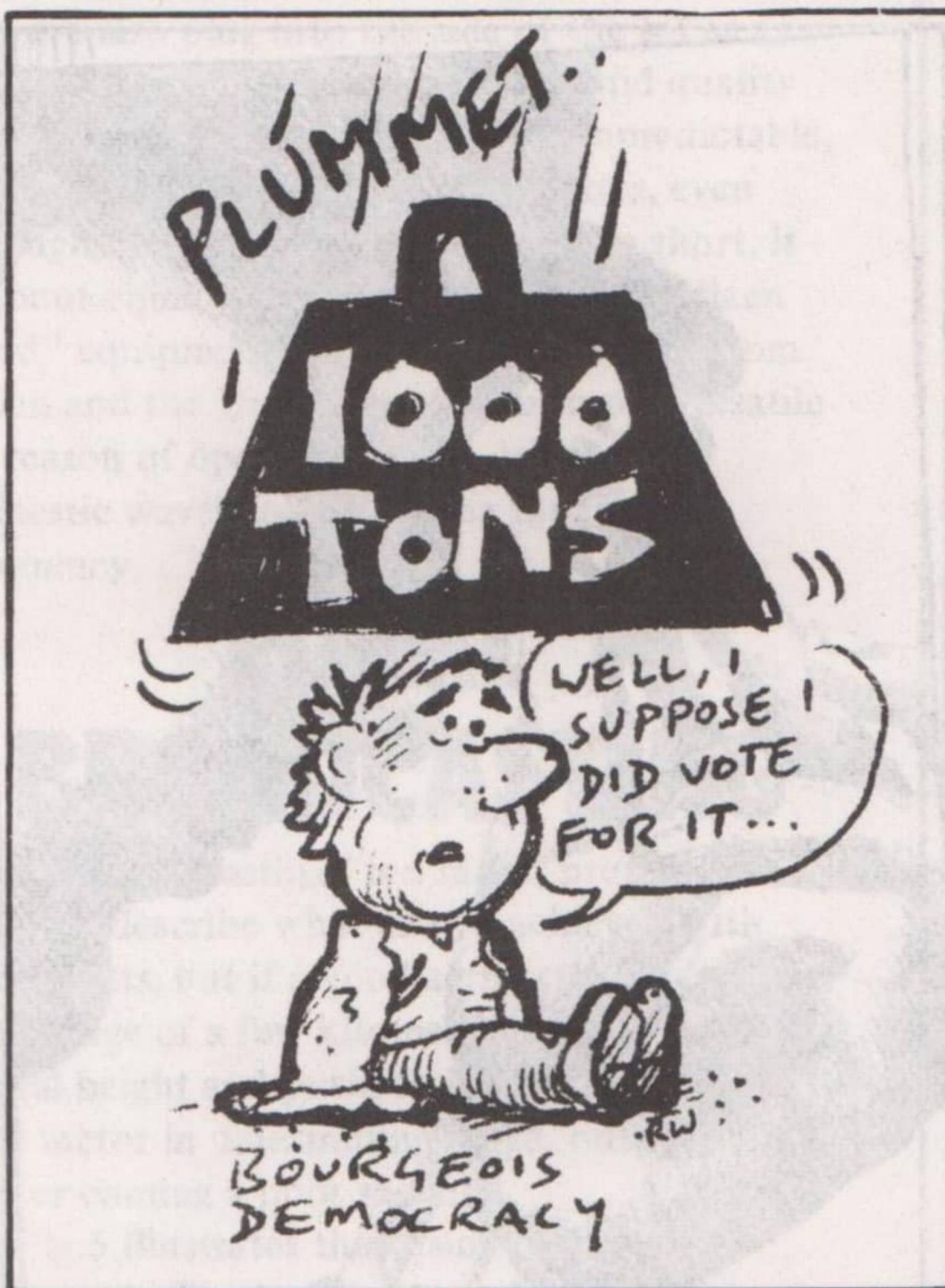
ROOT & BRANCH
Box 236
Somerville, MA 02143

REVIEWS

began. McNair was actually in France when he heard that his Party had been declared illegal. Already back in March he had suffered arrest but strings he'd pulled had been strong enough then to free him. Bravely he crossed the frontier again to be able to help the ILP contingent who were all in the POUM militia. Their escape was possible since their passports had not been seized "for safe-keeping" unlike those who'd admitted to such possessions who'd been recruited by the CPBG. An unlucky one was Bob Smillie who'd got ten days leave after three months in the trenches but was arrested at the frontier and died - supposedly of appendicitis - in prison in June. No friend was allowed to view his body.

When McNair read in the Stalinist paper that a warrant was out for him he had already been 'visited' and decided to flee. George Orwell had been severely wounded but luckily had left hospital to meet his wife in Barcelona. Otherwise like many others he'd have been dragged from his sick bed as a POUM militiaman. By the skin of their teeth, good luck and inefficient police news these three and another ILPer Stafford Cottman managed to cross the border at Port Bou after a nerve shattering train run of many stops and inspections. In France they read the "news" that McNair was under arrest as a Fascist spy and Trotskyist, etc etc etc!

Barry Duncan



Anton Pannekoek and Trade Unionism (Les Conseils Ouvriers and La Contre Revolution Bureaucratque)

Whether sham or genuine, the ignorance of anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism displayed in the writings of Anton Pannekoek are well-known and obvious. Before writing these remarks, I have used the French edition of his *Les Conseils Ouvriers*, as well as *La Contre-Revolution bureaucratique* (which contains a number of his articles) and D.A. Smart's *Pannekoek and Gorter's Marxism*. Pannekoek

had an attitude toward the trade union question which shows a number of ambiguities in his approach and accounts for the manipulations in which he engaged in the name of councilism.

Pannekoek's chief contribution (and I am tempted to believe, his only one) is an analysis of the role of trade unionism in developed society in the wake of the Great War (and even earlier in the case of the United States). "Notwithstanding their democratic forms, trade unionism and its bureaucracy are akin to the State insofar as it is beyond the capacity of the membership to bring the bureaucracy under control; every revolt founders on the carefully constructed edifice of procedural byelaws and statutes, before it manages to shift the hierarchy," he wrote in 1920. And in 1936 he wrote, "The aim of trade unionism is not the replacement of the capitalist system by some other mode of production, but rather to seek improvement in living conditions within the bounds of capitalism. In essence, then, trade unionism is not revolutionary but conservative ... As a result, there is a difference between the working class and the trade unions. The working class has to look beyond capitalism, whereas trade unionism is wholly contained within the parameters of the capitalist system."

Pannekoek notes how trade union officials "regardless of their working class origins, assume a new social identification with the passage of time at the head of their organisation ... they do not work in factories, they are not exploited by the capitalists, not threatened by unemployment ... they are preoccupied with 'the interests of the Industry', and play the role of intermediaries". Earlier Bakunin said as much in his "Statism and Anarchy" when he stated: "But, or so the marxists tell us, this minority (of leaders of the dictatorship of the proletariat) will consist of workers. Yes, of former workers, maybe, who just as soon as they become rulers or representatives of the workers, will cease to be workers and will look down upon the workers from the heights of the State ... Anyone who doubts this knows very little of human nature." Commenting on Bakunin's work, Karl Marx labelled it as "fairy tales about domination".

Perhaps Pannekoek was ignorant of this facet of the polemic between Marx and Bakunin; in any event he stops his critique halfway, confining it to unionists instead of embracing all the willing learners of the communist parties and those who fish in troubled waters under the cover of criticising trade unionism.

Pannekoek knew enough to concede that there were exceptions, such as the "One Big Union" of the IWW; but then "its members were hounded without respite by the capitalist world as a whole". From now



142 Pheasant Rise,
Bar Hill,
CAMBRIDGE CB3 8SD,
England.

THE INSTITUTE OF GEOMANTIC RESEARCH is a non-profitmaking body which was founded in 1975 to co-ordinate and encourage researchers in the field of geomancy: landscape geometry; ley lines, terrestrial figures and zodiacs; feng-shui and allied sciences; sacred geometry; cosmological town-planning; earth energies and dowsing; astro-archaeology; ancient stones and the modelling of the landscape. Membership of the Institute is £3.00 per annum, which entitles the member to 4 issues of the quarterly *Journal of Geomancy*, and any *Occasional Papers* published during the currency of the subscription.



REVIEWS

on "the organisation the workers really have need of in the revolutionary process is an organisation in which each worker participates, body and soul, in both action as well as leadership ... In such a set-up professional leadership would be redundant. Consequently obedience would be an obligation; each individual would have to obey the decisions which he himself helped to formulate. But complete power would always rest with the workers themselves." Pannekoek moves on to make a case for an assembly based set-up, with a strike or other committee being elected for each dispute with delegates "subject to instant recall" and with "the committee at all times unable to enjoy any independent power of its own." Taking the example of the Russian and German soviets, he did not go into the question of those tendencies behind them or the problems they faced with the State and the Party.

The omission of references to anarcho-sindicalism, not to mention the distorted Leninist assessment given of the CNT's performance in 1936, are a constant source of disquiet. He speaks of the "workers" (by which device he does not have to mention their ideological affiliations) and "Barcelona" (as if the business of revolutionary construction were not to be found beyond its gates) in his *Les Conseils Ouvriers*. In a Dutch version of that work, Pannekoek elaborates upon his conception of anarcho-sindicalism and advances an interesting criticism. He alleges that on account of its assertion that each individual was free to participate in other forms of struggle "according to his political or philosophical beliefs" (as in the Amiens charter of 1906), anarcho-sindicalism revealed its weakness when faced with ideological differences. As proof Pannekoek dredges up a reference to the "the real strength of nationalist ideology" which anarcho-sindicalism was unable to arrest in 1914. Pannekoek asserts that "The great problems of a social organisation of production were kept in the background; and there was no appreciation that a bureaucracy would be generated and would grow in the trade union ranks, with trade union leaders and "A type of organisation identical to that advocated by social democracy".

This latter criticism is exaggerated, for that very risk was denounced by Malatesta at the Amsterdam Congress in 1907 and also by Peiro in 1930 in his "*problemas del sindicalismo y del anarquismo*". Peiro's argument was that were the C.N.T. to become the focus of the economic dealings of society as a whole then "we shall find ourselves faced once again with the State in all its dimensions, since the State is no more than an administrative machine, a machine embodied, in the eventuality we suppose, by an indispensable



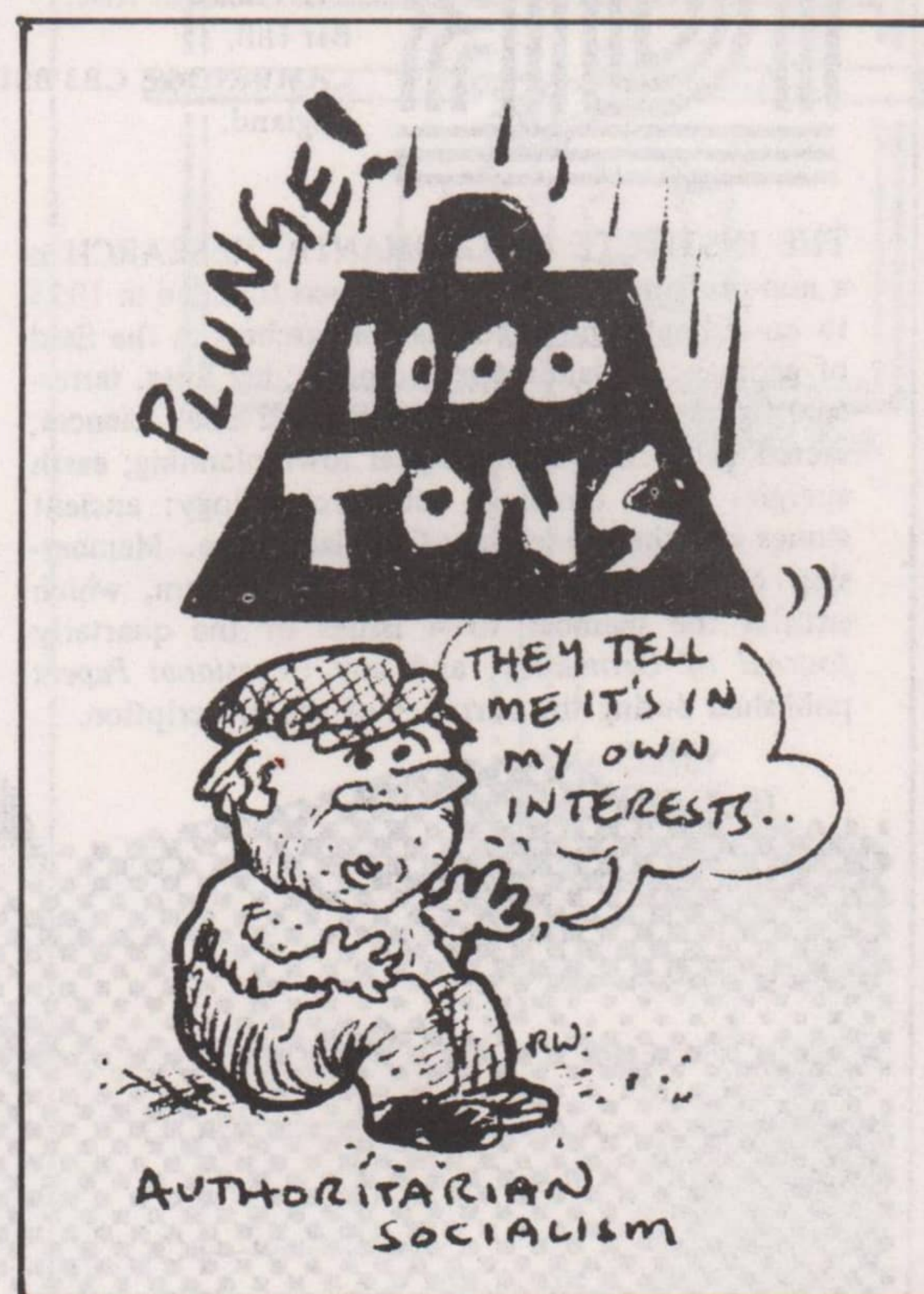
trade union bureaucracy". Anarcho-sindicalism made no secret of the dangers implicit in trade unionism, but in practical terms those dangers have been controlled by a variety of devices before, during and since the Civil War, up to the present day. Without being in a position to give any definitive interpretation, it seems to me that two factors at least have played a crucial role - the type of individual who looked to the C.N.T. for personal ambition and advancement, because accepted nowhere else, he might just as well make a name for himself in some sports society or stamp-collector's group; and the conviction of holding the truth, the rapid solution to the crisis, without bothering in the least about alternative solutions, the refusal to engage in dialogue or become a sucker for Messiahs. No great harm done if the Messiah should be Esperanto, carrot juice or nudism, but it is crazy when it affects strikes, guerrilla activity, contacts with other tendencies, etc.

I wonder if the same thing would not have befallen councillism had it been its fate to grow. With the exception of a few pages in Dutch, Pannekoek almost always speaks about the working class which is to form councils, defeat capitalism, being divided into tendencies, but there will be harmony between them, etc. In spite of his undeniable willingness to combat Leninism, Pannekoek was unable to avoid imprudent phrases ("Councillist organisation is the incarnation of the dictatorship of the proletariat" ... "The remnants of former exploiters and thieves have no say in the control of production"). Given such formulae, it would take but a moment for a

Carillo or any son of Lenin to come up with a movement for self-management with its own self-managed Cheka and police to take care of drug-addicts and kinky types, while cheering for Lenin and Pannekoek. We already have examples of those who talk (in Frankfurt in 1975) about assemblies of 22,000 workers in Sabadell, or (in Paris in 1979) 200,000 workers in Sao Paulo; and I am sure that Mao must have written something somewhere about China having been run for thirty years by an assembly of some 900 million people.

The rational, economic outlook of Pannekoek the ex-Marxist would not let him sense or perceive the bureaucratisation which is latent within any group ... this being a trend which even the powers of constant revocability does not halt. It is by means of rotating tasks, and rising above the dichotomy between manual and intellectual workers, through criticism and discussion in a spirit of comradeship and mutual respect that one can clip the wings of embryonic bureaucracy which thrives in trade unionism and also in a council or a regime of self-management etc. It was doubtless this realisation that induced some councillists to go to the extremes of shunning all action lest they be separated from the class, on the grounds that only the class will make the revolution. The truth of the matter is that to stir people's consciousness without going wildly astray is indeed no mean achievement.

Frank Mintz



REVIEWS



Pannekoek and Gorters Marxism, D.S.
Smart, Pluto Press, £2.95

This is a very interesting work which includes texts just translated into English for the first time. The editor sheds light on the complex period of the development of communism, the council communist tendency and the impact of the two Dutchmen, Pannekoek and Gorter on the German and Dutch social democratic movements. Smart pays particular attention to the social democratic stance on trade unions. The writings cover the period 1912 and 1921. They show the development and complexity of councilism. In a most effective way Smart sets out the differences between Rosa Luxemburg and councilists like Otto Ruehle. However, this only whets the reader's appetite. When, for instance, did the opposition between Luxemburg and Pannekoek begin? What did it consist of? And where did Ruehle, who was an anarchist for all intents and purposes, part company with Gorter?

Pannekoek seems to be a more interesting figure than Gorter, but not as much of an activist. As far back as 1912, his critique of the party went very deep and in 1920 his portrayal of trade unionism is already formidable. "The trade unions also resemble the state and its bureaucracy in that, democratic forms notwithstanding, the will of the members is unable to prevail against the bureaucracy; every revolt breaks on the carefully constructed apparatus of orders of business and statutes before it can shake the hierarchy." "Their counter-revolutionary potential cannot be destroyed or diminished by a change of personnel, by the substitution of radical or 'revolutionary' leaders for reactionary ones... The revolution can only be successful by destroying this organization.

Alongside such boldness, his reply to the criticism of Lenin in *Left Wing Communism - an Infantile Disorder* seems very bland. Pannekoek suggested that communism could not, as yet, be constructed in Russia. His restraint may be explained as a carryover from the single party, bearer of the revolution, form of Marxism, as well as a mechanistic view of capitalism's final crisis. As to the anarchists, in 1909 Pannekoek trots out the hackneyed Marxist judgement, but in 1920 he mentions them in examples of active trade unionism. However, he never probes any deeper, even in his later works.

Gorter, on the other hand, is the archetypal Marxist babbling the usual nonsense about the "genius of Marx" or "Scientific Socialism" or dictatorship of the class." He is an exemplary Eurocommunist, stays faithful to Marxism, backs the councils and is utterly opposed to the U.S.S.R. "If the Russian tactics of dictatorship by party and leadership are still pursued here after all the disastrous consequences that they have already had here, then it will no longer be stupidity, but a crime against the revolution." However, Gorter is a party fanatic: "And compare the idiocies of the anarchists, syndicalists and those members who don't want a party." In this last criticism the syndicalists he had in mind were Ruehle and his group who were active alongside the anarchists.

Smart's book gives a picture of a confused and ambiguous councilism. Nonetheless this anthology of complete texts helps to dissipate illusions, though personally I should have liked to have seen something about Ruehle and his union group, something from the German anarcho-syndicalists and their views on Pannekoek, Gorter and Ruehle.

Frank Mintz



Pictures on a Page, Harold Evans, Heinemann, £9.75

Without having to go into Marshall McLuhan's theories too heavily, we are in an image influenced society rather than a verbally influenced one, and obviously press photography and television are the two major areas of this development. *Pictures on a Page* is a surprising book to be written by a Fleet Street editor (Sunday Times) in the way it reveals the tricks of the trade and shows how photographic manipulation can be far more effective than mere heavy handed censorship. This manipulation comes at various levels. The photographer can pose the shot so that it utterly perverts the truth and yet looks totally realistic: A good example given is of a photographer in Korea asking GI's to give water to a dying peasant for a 'human compassion' shot, but they all refused except one who agreed providing it was quick and he did not have to use his own water bottle. The next possibility comes through the selection by the photographer, i.e. submitting one shot which though unposed is not representative of the truth but conforms to 'what the readers want'. At an editorial level there are obviously several possibilities open. Firstly suppression of shots that do not correspond with the policy of the editor or proprietor. Many truthful shots of the Vietnam war were turned down on the grounds that "they might upset people at breakfast". Next the caption chosen can turn the whole meaning of the photograph round. Thirdly, cutting and cropping can also change the point of the photograph entirely. Fourthly, a hostile or sympathetic selection in portraits can totally change people's attitude towards an individual. (Evans makes no mention of the way 'wanted' mugshots can be retouched to prevent sympathy.) Finally the visual image is the chief selling tool of politics. It does not matter what a statesman's policies are or if he is known to be a crook; posing a sincere, courageous, human expression will count for far more because it conditions a sub-conscious attitude. In 1984 Winston Smith heard a rumour that Big Brother did not exist except as a photograph in official portraits. This book helps one to understand how such a phenomenon develops even though Evans cops out predictably by saying that photographers and editors must face up to their professional responsibilities, which is about as convincing as Nixon with his hand on his heart.

REVIEWS



Women and the National Front, Searchlight Pamphlets, 40p

This pamphlet deals with the attitudes of the National Front and the British Movement towards women. It begins to explain how women play a part in these fascist organisations and how they are recruited. There is an interesting section on Nazi attitudes towards race and birth control, and another on the Nazi ideal of womanhood.

This is a handy pamphlet for those who do not yet know anything about the position of women in the Nazi philosophy. But I felt there were too many gaps: for one thing I should have liked to see some attempt at explaining the appeal these organisations hold for women, and some facts and figures about female membership; for another, I should have liked to see some explanation of what the Nazis, in practice, have to offer women: for instance, the pamphlet tells us that the NF and BM consider a (W.A.S.P.) woman's role to be that of baby-producer and home-minder, but we know that in Nazi Germany women were increasingly called upon to work for the state - either in industry or on the land - and they were often denied the choice between staying at home or going to work.

Pamela Sladek

A History of Christianity, Paul Johnson, Penguin, £2.95

Throughout the 2,000 odd years of its existence, Christianity has not lacked its historians, but it is only within the last century or so that relatively unbiased accounts have become possible. Before the, and since the Reformation, facts were

unashamedly distorted according to the Catholic or Protestant prejudices of the writers. (Prior to the Reformation, of course, history, as an objective discipline hardly existed). Paul Johnson is a Catholic, it is true, but he has nevertheless managed to produce a balanced and fair description of the development of the faith nominally professed by one third of the world's population.

Though Mr. Johnson does not regard the Gospels as reliable historical documents, (he acknowledges that many of the original texts have been tampered with by Christian editors for propaganda purposes), he claims that "there can be at least absolutely no doubt about Christ's historical existence". But this is just not true. Christ's historical existence has been questioned consistently from the 2nd century A.D., the latest scholar to do so being Professor G.A. Wells of Birkbeck College, University of London. Curiously enough, Mr. Johnson lists of Professor Wells's books in his bibliography, but it is clear from the above statement that he has not actually read it.

As Mr. Johnson readily acknowledges, the story of Christianity has been disfigured by wars, persecutions and hideous bloodshed. This goes back right to the beginnings. Assuming he existed, Christ had been dead only a few years before his followers were quarrelling bitterly over the burning question as to whether or not uncircumcised Gentiles could be admitted to the ranks of the faithful. Christians have been fighting each other ever since, their founder's prophecy "I come not to bring peace but a sword", having been all too accurately fulfilled. As Johnson writes: "Those who disputed with what later became the ecclesiastical Billingsgate ... harsh words among the brothers in Christ made their appearance early, and henceforth there was a steady inflation in the exchange of abuse ... the Emperor Julian found from experience that no wild beasts were as hostile to men as Christians to each other.

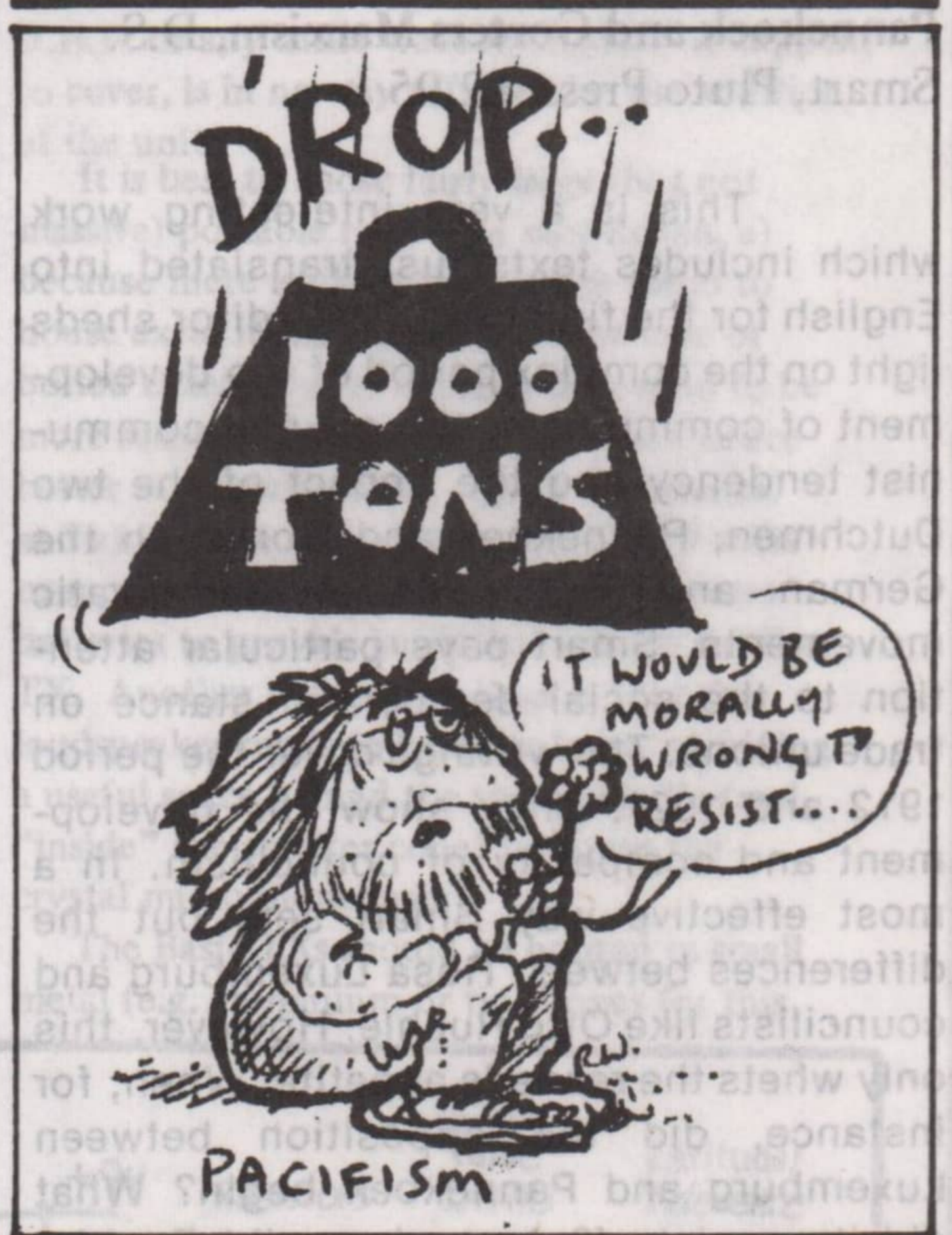
Johnson paints some fascinating portraits of the early pillars of the Church, most of them the reverse of flattering. Athanasius was "a violent man who regularly flogged his junior clergy and imprisoned or expelled bishops", Ambrose, Bishop of Milan, was "superstitious and credulous", Jerome "an unhappy and bitter man" and so on. Even Thomas Becket, the subject of much Christian devotion, is described as "an obstinate and, at times hysterical man, with an actor's passion for noisy drama, who did no service to Christianity".

In his final chapter, Johnson deals with the attitudes and conduct of Christian leaders in the two World Wars. He has many harsh comments to make about the

appeasement of Nazism by the German Catholic Bishops, and bitterly attacks Pope Pius XII for failing to condemn the persecution of the Jews. In this chapter, too, Johnson skillfully summarises the momentous changes in the liturgy and doctrine of the Catholic Church since Vatican 2, and the controversy arising from Paul VI's notorious encyclical reaffirming the Church's opposition to artificial methods of birth control. As the book first appeared in hardback in 1976, the narrative ends in 1975, which unfortunately precludes discussion of the current schism in the Catholic Church resulting from the proscription of the Tridentine Mass.

As can be seen from the above quotations, Johnson writes in a readable witty style, and there is a good index and adequate bibliography. His scholarly work is a remarkable achievement and valuable source of reference.

John L. Broom



Proudhon, Oui et Non, Daniel Guerin, Gallimard

Every study of Daniel Guerin makes a serious contribution to anarchist ideas, and his knowledge of Proudhon is very profound, whence the importance of this book, which presents some new studies (some of the old ones are to be found in *Pour un marxisme libertaire*).

D. Guerin has the unusual merit of appreciating Proudhon without hiding or justifying his defects, and a remarkable knack for explaining them and warning the reader against them.

A great part of the book is taken up with unpublished works by Proudhon on the French revolution, a subject on which Guerin is also a specialist. Despite Guer-

REVIEWS

in's knowledgeable presentation, and the notes written to accompany the texts, Proudhon's writings are rather dull, or at least I don't find them very relevant to my present preoccupations. Nevertheless, some extracts make an effect: "You need take no more notice of corruption in governments than of chastity in honest women. It's no longer a subject of conversation." "Power is more frightful and execrable the lower the origin of the men who exercise it ... are not ex-servants the worst masters? And the worst proprietors those who have risen from the poor classes?" A good example of this is found in France, Spain and the USSR, whose leaders are the ex-bum boys of DeGaulle, Franco and Stalin; and the supposedly proletarian regimes are, for the moment, worse than the "democracies".

The short article "From Proudhon to Bakunin" gives some very interesting details of the reciprocal relations between the two men, and of the influence Bakunin derived from this.

"Proudhon father of self-management" is a longer essay. Here too, Guerin underlines the unsound hesitations of Proudhon, who generally approved of small-scale property. But there are also Proudhon's concrete aspects, approval of workers' associations, where the question of social accounting is seriously dealt with; at first by a collective payment (according to work), to arrive later at communism; although I don't know if Proudhon made a clear statement on this point. It is worth noting that this is what was put into practice in the Spanish war, together with the Kropotkinian idea of communism (to each according to his needs). It is a pity that the problem of competition, which Proudhon made a touch-stone of his system, was not studied more: "Remove competition ... society, lacking its motive force, stops like a pendulum whose spring is run down." The daily life of Eastern countries only confirms this. Guerin notes also: "From the available evidence, it seems that this conception is partly utopist. Competition, so-called market economy, inevitably produces inequality and exploitation, and would even if one could start off from a perfect situation of equality".

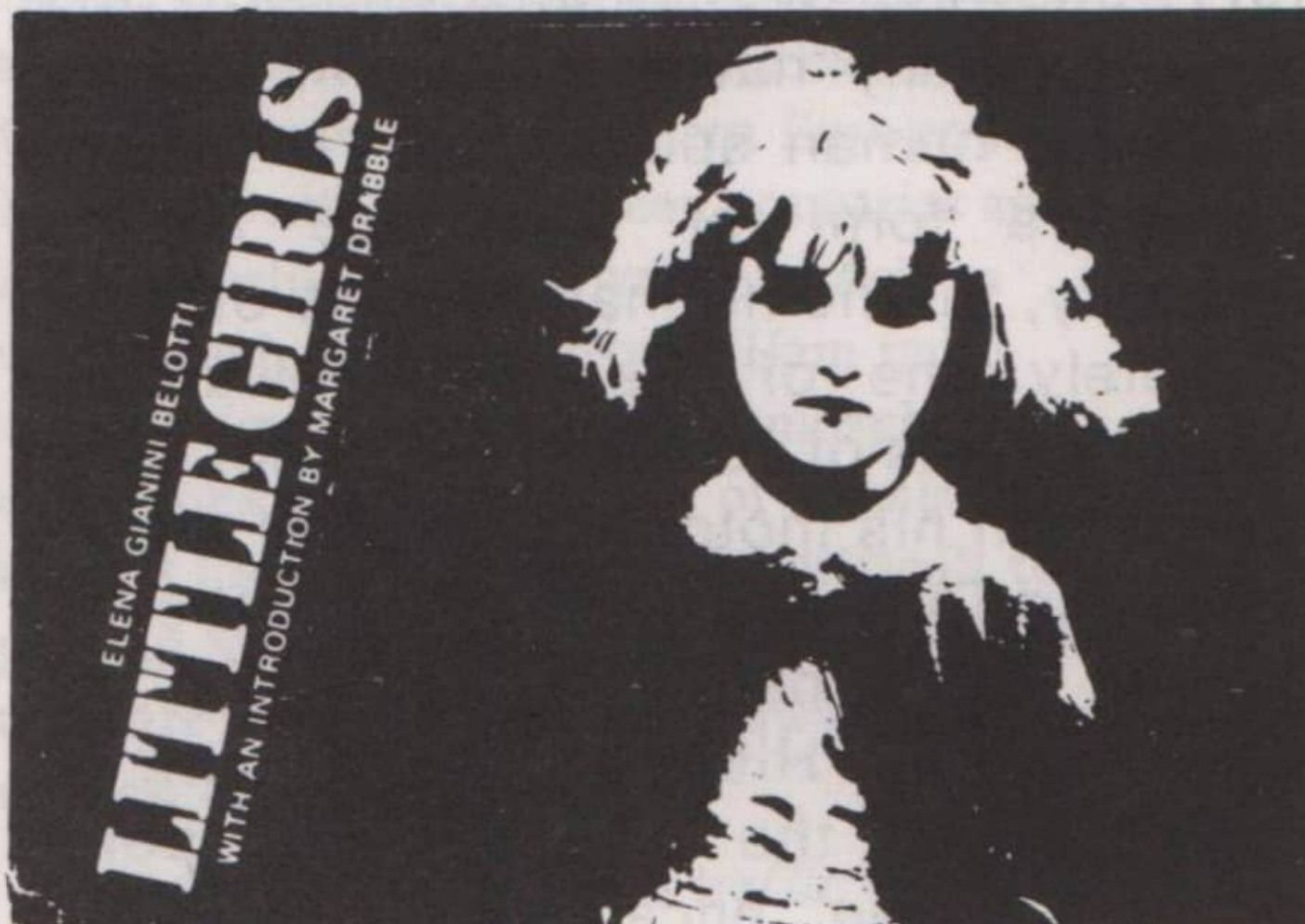
Likewise Pierre Besnard envisaged a system with one internal currency which could not be hoarded, and one external currency, and one could imagine a sort of limited competition, with a redistribution of the profits obtained by rich and poor collectives....

The last essay, "Proudhon's repressed sexuality" underlines his latent misogyny and homosexuality (although he was apparently anti-gay).

Apart from the long first part, the book is important and never sectarian.

Besides Guerin, partisan of "libertarian marxism", never falls into dogmatism. It seems to me that his position is more a question of words than a basic problem although some statements, on organisation, and his positions in favour of elections, as well as his (at one time) optimistic point of view on Algerian and Yugoslav self-management confuse his present ideas on this problem.

Frank Mintz



Elana Gianini Belotti, **Little Girls, Writers and Readers**
0 904613 06 2 P/B £1.25

This book is a description of the sex role conditioning process in Italy, but much of it applies to this country. Belotti makes the point that if there is any innate behaviour characteristic of females then it is almost impossible to determine beneath the layers and layers of educational and socialisation processes.

The author discusses the importance invested in sex differences even before birth: whether the unborn child is a girl or a boy, and how its wardrobe will be determined according to its sex (pink for girls, etc). Likewise in Britain a recent baby book (*The Bounty Baby Book*) gave new parents the following advice: "In the old days all babies were dressed alike in 'baby clothes' for some months, but nowadays most mothers prefer to give their babies special 'girl' or 'boy' clothes as soon as they can."

The book traces early childhood and the ways little girls are forced into a mould. There is an interesting discussion of children's toys and literature: For instance, boys are not allowed to have toys connected with housework and childcare; girls are very rarely portrayed on cartons containing "intellectual" toys, except as background figures who gaze on admiringly while boys play with the toys. The book concludes with a good chapter on nursery education and questions why there are no male teachers in nurseries and very few in primary schools.

This is a very interesting book, at times rather depressing as the list of inequalities mounts, but nonetheless most thought-provoking and vital to parents of small children.

Pamela Sladek

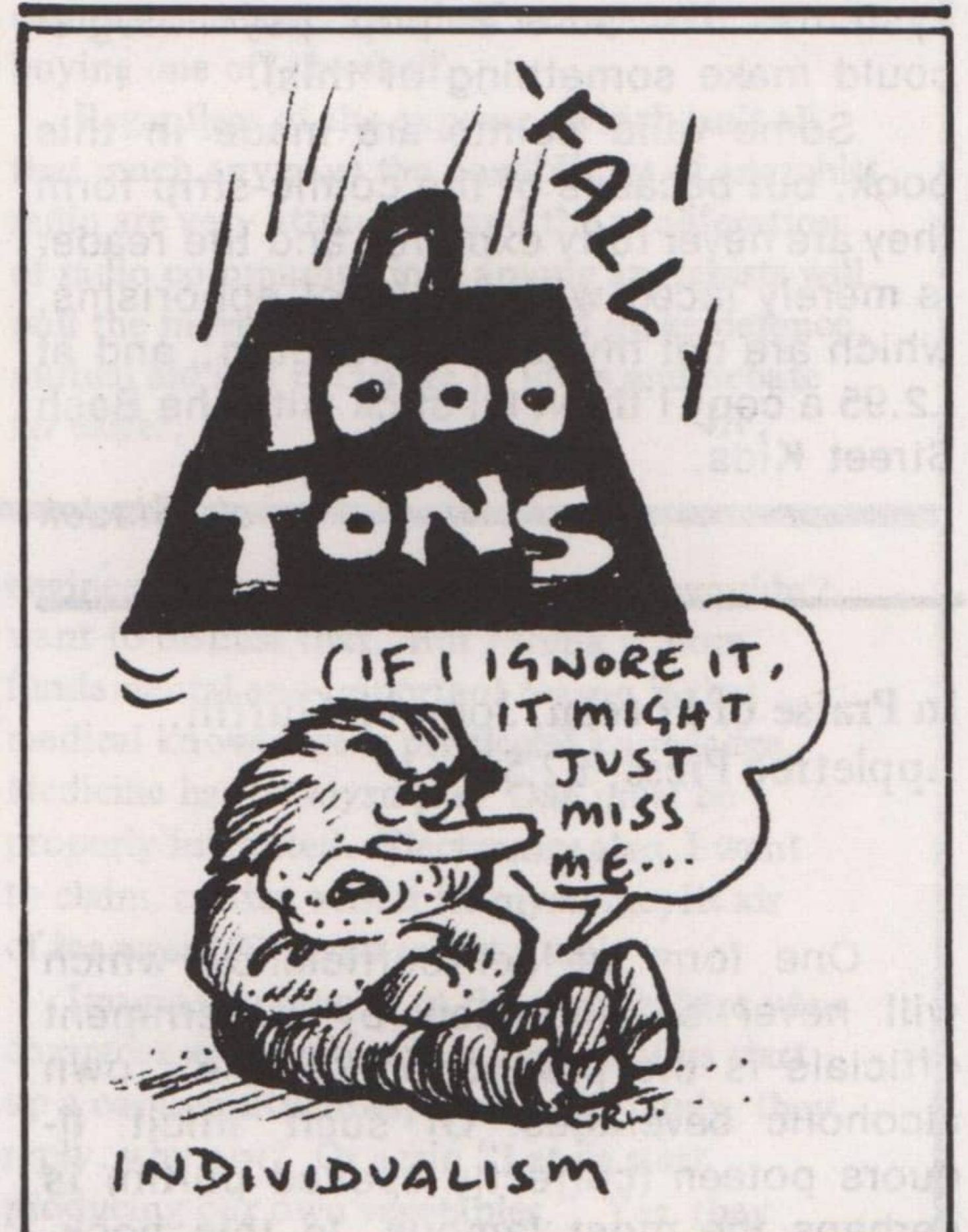
Adam Hopkins, **The School Debate**, Penguin, 1978, 95p.

Like most of the controversial issues of the day, education is now defined along rigid right/left wing party lines: On one side formal teaching, with corporal punishment, plenty of selection procedures and private schools (especially if they can be further subsidised by the state). On the other side informal methods, no selection and a rigid state monopoly. There seems to be very little space for talk of alternatives.

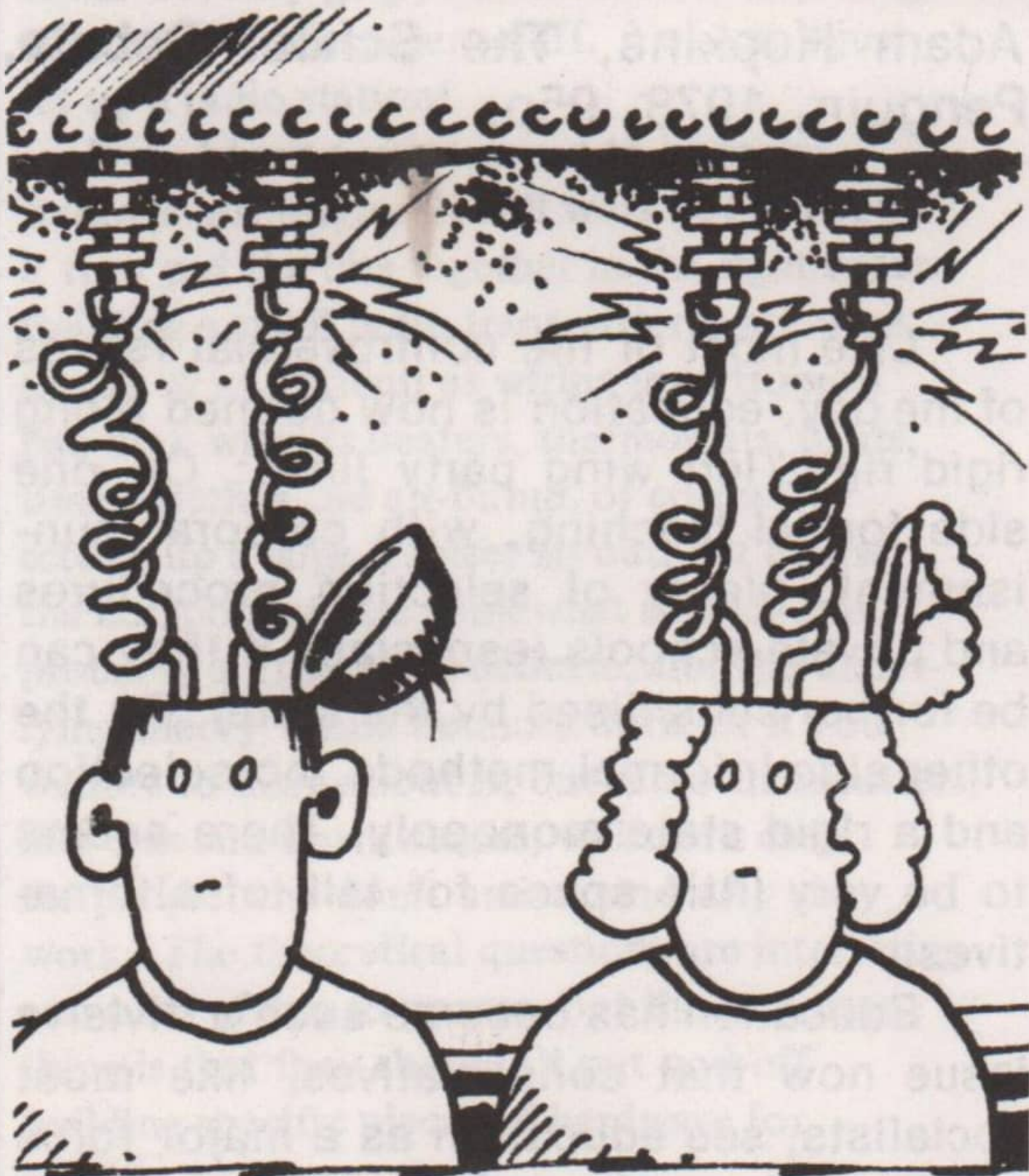
Education has become such a divisive issue now that conservatives, like most socialists, see education as a major force in changing society. But herein lies the basic error, for the more one learns, the more it is evident that the British education system merely reflects British society. Thus with the recent erosion of middle-class influence we have seen the erosion of grammar schools. Now we are left with a state comprehensive system for ninety-four per cent of our children, and a private system for the remaining six per cent, and I would be quite willing to speculate that most of the wealth and power in this country is in the hands of about six per cent of the population. It's the Labour Party idea of socialism: protected privilege for the top few and enforced state-run "democracy" for the rest.

Adam Hopkins outlines the excessive claims and demands made by both the right and the left and explains how behind "The Great Debate" a struggle for power in the schools is being waged between the government, the local authorities and the teachers, with no say at all for the parents or the children.

Pamela Sladek



REVIEWS



That'll Teach You, John Kirkbride,
Wildwood House, £2.95

This is a paperback book in strip-cartoon form, "each page an indictment on our current educational wisdom". Although the cover lists the author as John Kirkbride, the foreword consistently refers to "we" and "our children", and goes on to say "It has taken us the last five years ... to document some of the 'evidence'". I can therefore only guess that the mother of these children has also worked on the book but either wants no credit or is given none.

Kirkbride claims he could find no books, listing "in non-academic terms ... the negative aspects of our education system". So his alternative is the comic book form. The problem is, that put over in this form, all of his (their) arguments look extremely juvenile (something which often results when people criticise education systems: I'm sure a pop psychologist could make something of this).

Some valid points are made in this book, but because of the comic-strip form they are never fully explored and the reader is merely faced with pages of aphorisms, which are not my favorite reading; and at £2.95 a copy I think I'll stick with the *Bash Street Kids*.

Pamela Sladek

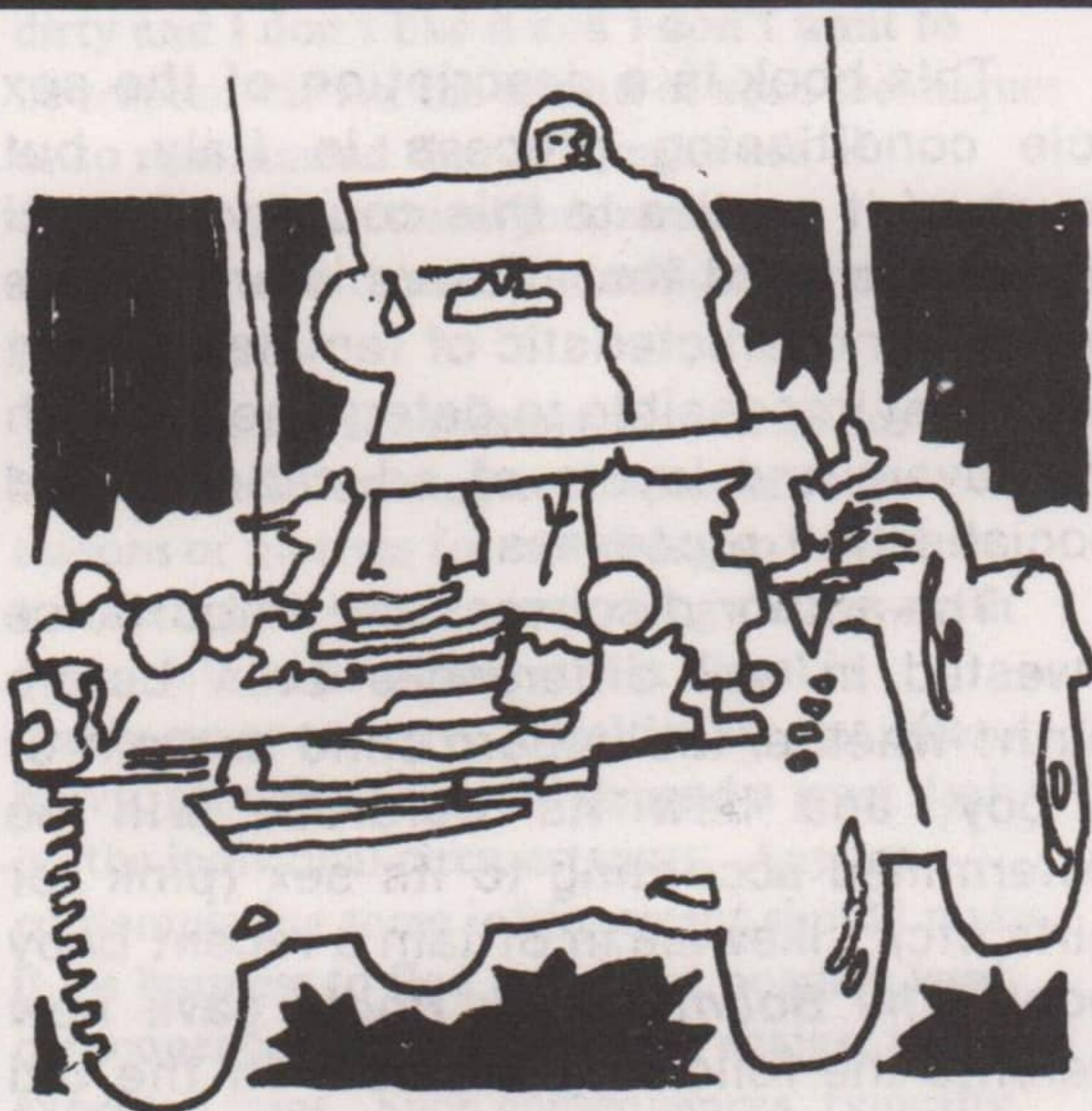
In Praise of Poteen, John McGuffin,
Appletree Press, £2.50

One form of self-sufficiency which will never be endorsed by government officials is the production of one's own alcoholic beverages. Of such 'illicit' liquors poteen (correctly spelled poitin) is perhaps the most famous. In this book,

John McGuffin explores the history and lore of this fine brew and illustrates it with characteristic Irish humour. Suitable photographs of triumphant policemen holding stills, 'worms' and other apparatus seized from the manufacturers intersperse photographs of Burco boilers and Liebig's condensers distilling poitin in Belfast kitchens in 1977. There is even a picture taken in Long Kesh concentration camp in 1977, showing two inmates (suitably disguised) literally 'having a jar'. The ingenuity of the human spirit!

As a form of resistance against authority, the home manufacture of spirit is surely one of the most rewarding. McGuffin tells of Jer Sean Jer, who, when stopped on his motorcycle in 1921 by the Black and Tans was asked "Where the hell did you get the petrol for that wreck, you Irish bastard?". His reply "Yerra, sure 'tis poitin driving the bike and 'tis poitin driving the man" encapsulates all that is noble in the spirit of resistance.

Nigel Pennick



Peace Keeping in a Democratic Society,
Robin Evallagh, Hale, £5.95.

In many ways this is a more specific and upgunned version of General Kitson's *Low Intensity Operations*. Evallagh is an army officer who served in Ulster and is one of many who have a burning feeling that the army was betrayed by the politicians (memories of Algeria, Aden and Vietnam). His chief obsession is with the law in relationship to government and security forces, and as far as he is concerned it is just one of the weapons in the State's arsenal, (despite an interesting contradiction which we will examine in a moment): "To counter terrorism successfully the government must conduct a co-ordinated campaign bringing into harmony its economic, political, social, legal, military, police, and public relations efforts against terrorism and insurrection so that each reinforces each other." (His

prose is hardly precise and the tautologies are tiring but that's the least of our worries). With significant vagueness he talks about establishing Regional Commissioners as the 'civil authority' when it is more likely that he is advocating a second rule of the Major Generals. His main points are that soldiers should be given full police powers: that all dissident organisations must be fully infiltrated from the beginning because obtaining information by torture 'can be counter-productive from a public relations viewpoint': that any citizen who does not aid the security forces in every way possible should be prosecuted, (in fact that is the law already in case you did not know): the army should wear civilian clothes to fight guerrillas effectively: new legislation should be enacted and enforced rigidly (the main army complaint in Ulster is over 'diplomatic leniency').

And then he says: "The security forces must know in advance what the law is since their actions may involve killing people and other serious derogations of the normal rights and liberties of citizens".

It is amazing this concern of his for 'the law'. He complains that the army are in fact acting as private citizens in Ulster from a strictly legal standpoint (true). He states that the government has in fact no legal right to direct army operations in Ulster (surprisingly enough also true), because only a magistrate can call troops to assist the police and the army can act only in upholding the law where it is broken. So having clarified why most military operations in Ulster are already illegal, he then says that the Law must be rigid, merciless and untainted, and that the Government should not be allowed to interfere. But a few pages later he says: "Unless the Army states the Government's case on television the rebels will win a propaganda victory by default."

It's a boring book to put it mildly, but if you can keep awake it is an interesting proof of state double-think in the change the rules game. It also shows, (not intentionally), that 90% of Revolutionary efforts must be directed at undermining the morale of the government and security forces and making even them doubt their own 'cause'. How many people expected the most highly motivated and powerful army in the Middle East to collapse in a matter of weeks after suffering virtually no casualties?



REVIEWS

Out of the Ghetto, Joe Jacobs, Jane Simon, £3.00

Joe Jacobs died before finishing these memoirs of his first twenty-six years in London's East End. Doubtless he'd have revised them once typed out though perhaps not as drastically as merited since there are really two books here: a political autobiography and a village tale with too many names for an outsider to grasp. His daughter as publisher and editor has written excellent final chapters and notes but refrained from revision, quite correctly for the author's conversational style has a charm in itself and only major cuts in the text or reconstruction of fact presentation might have been advisable. Lack of a professional publisher ought to have made the printers more concerned about their own proofs for there are far too many misprints; but the type is clear and on good paper. Some twenty illustrations provide pleasant surprises since there is no list! Again, whatever the extra cost, an index ought to have been provided.

Joe Jacobs (1913-1977) became a well known Communist orator and activist of the East End in the thirties. A denizen of the Jewish quarter there, much of his book concerns its colorful characters many of whom worked in local small sweated-labour tailoring and furniture workshops. To my taste he's too conscious of being a Jew and of Jewish differences to Goys or Yoks even if he does admit the success of many mixed marriages.

He joined the CPGB because it was the only Party actively engaged with the poverty and troubles of his district. As an impressionable teenager he succumbed readily to CP brainwashing, read and did what he was told without question. But soon he had the audacity to argue with more obedient fellow members and even with myrmidons sent down from King Street with Party Line instructions as ordained by the Comintern. Joe had the honour of twice being expelled! The blinkers fell from his eyes in later life but even in his early days he often felt doubts and found it difficult to accept such travesties of the truth as alleged in Stalinist Trials that founding fathers of Bolshevism had all been capitalist spies and provocateurs, etc., etc. The shifts, changes, lies and silences of the CPGB and its *Daily Worker* mouthpiece get dealt with, though few of the many expulsions, but then such got little or no publicity. Mosley incidents are treated in detail as are many local labour troubles and the international situation whether or not it affected East End residents. The Spanish War did since many from there took part, some never to return. Three of his friends

were the very first to fight there, his brother Hymie one of the last to be repatriated as a Franco POW.

His style of presenting the outside news of the day with all sorts of home and local and even personal affairs without break, even in the same paragraph at times, does make assimilation difficult. But mostly he paints vivid pictures of the people he knew and the events he experienced. By all accounts he was a pugnacious and opinionated fellow albeit one who attracted much affection. Certainly, whether in praise or the reverse, he pulls no punches and exhibits no inhibitions about naming people. The book is well worth buying and keeping.

Barry Duncan



Community and Communism in Russia, Jacques Camatte, David Brown, 60p

This book is interesting because while it begins as the normal and repetitive introduction to a prominent marxist thinker - in this case the Italian Amadeo Bordiga - the presenter very surprisingly turns out to be accurately critical and much more interested by the problem of communism as a direct possibility for Russia, not the transitional period.

In fact, Camatte does not refute Bordiga, but he shows all the shadows and weaknesses of his thinking on Russia: "he never questioned the proletarian socialist character of the Russian revolution" (p.5) - only towards 1950 did he admit there was a capitalist power in Russia. And although he was a follower by his abstentionism (criticised by Lenin in *The Infantile Disorder of Leftism*, he criticised the internal regulation of the Comintern on the same lines as Pannekoek and Karl Korsh, who -

paradoxically, as Camatte says - were rejected by Bordiga.

What Camatte really wants to probe is the problem (from p. 16 to the end) of the natural and internal conditions of Russia: was there a possibility of passing from precapitalist structure to a revolutionary, a communist one? This focus is entirely that of Bakunin and later of Kropotkin (see *Selected Writings on Anarchism And Revolution*, edited by Martin A. Miller, M.I.T. Press, 1970). Unfortunately, Camatte is only studying Marx's texts, but it is quite interesting that in this respect, Marx was very undecided.

Camatte takes his study up till the Revolution and he not only does not slander the anarchist movements - (Kronstadt, Makhno) but he praises them. (I should have appreciated a more detailed study corresponding to the map of peasants' revolts in 1905 and 1917-21 [p.36]: what were the similarities and differences between anarchis and non-anarchist movements? Were there local, regional influences which made for different trends in the coming to consciousness among the peasants?)

And the text ends with a vigorous evocation of 1968 in France and Czechoslovakia and the possibility of a new convulsive crisis. Camatte, writing in December 1972, repeated Bordiga's prediction that 1975 would be the big year. It is a pity that neither the author nor the editor has tried to justify this, or to explain, for example, that we need take 1975 only as a very near date, as the period 1975-80.

To know more about Bordiga's marxism which strikes me as being very leninist, see *Bordiga et la passion du communisme*, published by Spartacus, Paris, 1974, and also presented by Camatte.

Frank Mintz



REVIEWS

Lucha de Clases y Clases de Lucha
(Electoralismo, Vida Cotidiana, Guerrilla y Autogestion), Santi Soler, Anagrama

An important book this, for it is written by a militant who is not the least backward in his actions or in his writings. Thus in the biographical sketch he gives, he tells us that censorship "brought about his somewhat forcible inactivity (1973-75)" (in view of his connections with the MIL). A contributor to *Ajoblanco*, an anarchist "underground" magazine, and lots of other publications of that ilk, he has collected his more important articles without in any way falling into the hare-brained illusions of the socialists and Eurocommunists: "We know we have more leeway. Who would deny it? Or the fact that the leeway

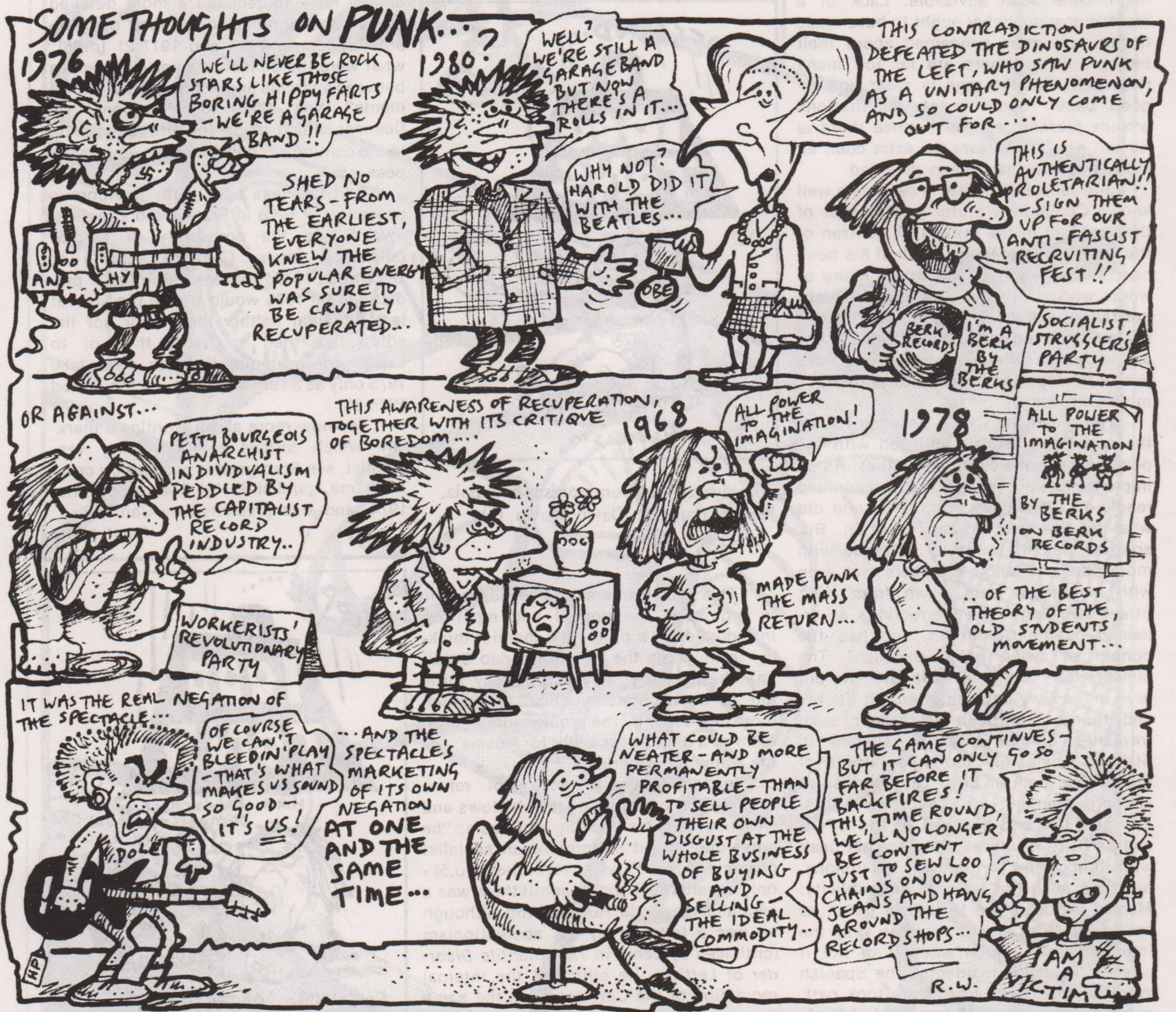
allowed to us today has changed? We have no idea how long this permissiveness which we enjoy today is going to hold out." (p. 5) Let us add also that the book has been issued in a cheap popular pocket edition.

In his easy but caustic style, Santi Soler tosses around criticisms and suggests solutions. While those of the articles published prior to the elections reflect a disenchanted repudiation of the election wave of June 1977, his writings on daily life are on a quite different key.

What, in point of fact, does daily life consist of? How does one describe it to Spaniards deprived as they were of many publications under Franco? In fact, in a priest and Falange-ridden society, dancing to the tune of bullfights and football matches, with intervals for cycle races and

tennis tournaments, and with its momentum bewitched by emigration - meaning money aplenty - that is, fascism plus consumption, reaction against the everyday is essential: but conflict will be whittled down to a strike aimed at securing a few more pesetas which will be gobbled up by the whirlpool of consumption.

With great clarity, Santi Soler tackles the description and explanation of situationist themes, through Freud and W. Reich and dwelling on Henri Lefebvre, which leads one on to councils and the rejection of daily exploitation. Later on, Soler turns to the topic of "Guerrilla warfare, then and now", focussing on the role of counter-revolution, that is to say, society today. "As long as the counter-revolution persists (and its promoters are not going to be the back-peddlers, as is



REVIEWS

only too clear) guerrilla warfare will have a *raison d'être* and its exponents will be right, in spite of anyone, even though it must lead them to failure." (p. 77). There follow two articles on Durruti and on Ulrike Meinhof, showing how the German state, like others, has exploited some people's repulsion in order to deck itself out with gigantic strength.

The final section, "Autogestion y utopia (Self-Management and Utopia), takes the capitalist model as propagated by the self-management socialists apart, and accepts only the system of permanent revocability (of delegates) at all times and constant self-determination by the grass-roots: "East and West alike, only this makes nonsense of social hierarchy and the classical dualistic scheme wherein there are those who order and others who obey." (p. 122).

The book closes with a call for an anarchism full of life, revolution and self-determination which may announce "the end of our wanderings in the desert."



Aztecs of Mexico, G.C. Vaillant, and The Ancient Civilisations of Peru, J. Alden Mason, both Pelican, £1.95 each

Ancient, destroyed civilizations are often so alien to modern-day modes of behaviour that they can be viewed as models for alternative forms of organization. These two famous civilizations which flourished until their obliteration by Spanish conquistadors were almost totally alien to one another. Contemporary, there was no contact between them. The Aztecs' claim to fame is their bloody record of human sacrifice which horrified the Spaniards doubly as a ghastly example of religion gone mad. The pagan rites which suffused every act of Aztec life were almost wholly based upon sacrifice of the

bloodiest kind - each act of the ritual calendar was accompanied by ceremonial which horrified the christian fanatics who beheld them.

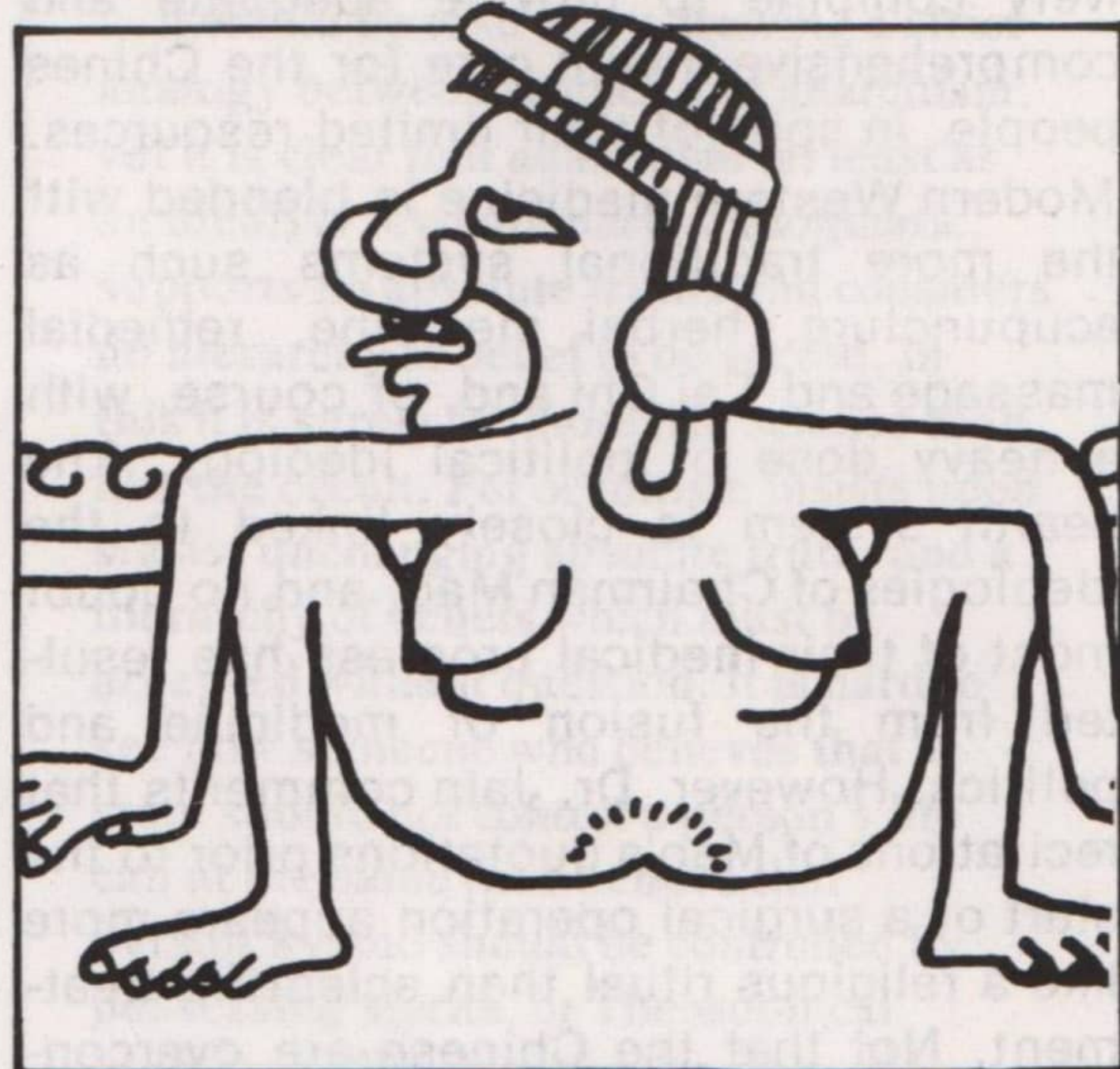
Vaillant demonstrates that although the Aztec way of life was riddled with the bloodiest excesses, their art and architecture were of the highest quality. A hierarchical system of government, from king downwards, paralleled that of Peru, but with one fundamental difference which I will come to in a minute. The Spanish conquest of Mexico and the subsequent centuries of repression is a sad tale (for the natives) which reduced a formerly prosperous people to peonage. After 1520, when the conquest was finally established, the process of converting the Aztec culture into a European 'Christian' one was commenced. The original stated intention of the church was to convert the native population into Spanish citizens with full civic rights, but in effect the natives were reduced to abject slavery. After the destruction of the Spanish armada in 1588 by the English, Spanish sea power was weakened, and control over colonies was loosened, to the detriment of the natives, who until then had nominally been protected from the worst excesses of slavery. From then until the Revolution, the pattern of peonage was established.

Peru forms a marked contrast, though it, too, succumbed to the conquistadors. Remarkably, Peru had a unique system of government - a socialist empire. At the top of the hierarchy was the Inca, an all-powerful priest-king, spiritual embodiment of the sun and his people. His power was limited by custom only. As a lineal descendant of the sun he ruled by divine right and was worshipped and implicitly obeyed as being himself divine. However, the empire was not organized in the manner of modern European monarchies - not even on the lines of Louis XIV's despotism. All land was the property of the state and was communally worked. Most of the llama herds were also state property, as were the mines.

These were the only means of production. The state insured the people against hunger, exploitation, unnecessary hardship, and all kinds of want, yet regimented the population, leaving it no choice, independence or initiative. It was the authoritarian welfare state par excellence - a form of non-theoretical fascism. There was a large class of nobles and priests, supported by the masses. Heavy taxes were levied on the peasants, for the benefit of the clergy and aristocracy.

However, in common with most ancient societies who had religious faith, there was no objection to this imperial socialism. Each act of life, as in Aztec Mexico, was viewed as an act of worship of the sun-god and his attendants. Each

object, and its placement, was designed with regard to its religious function in the overall scheme of things.



When the Spanish arrived, the wealth that was in the possession of the pagan church and the emperor astounded them. It was looted and found its way back to the coffers of Europe and gave the nascent discipline of capitalism a much-needed boost. Peru, shorn of the beneficial aspects of its state - the welfare system - became another colony to be exploited by the Christian church and its Spanish overlords.

Nigol



Health Care in New China, K.K. Jain, Rodale Press, £4.95

Since the 1969 Cultural Revolution, health care in China has undergone a radical transformation. Dr. Jain's book provides a valuable overview of how Chinese medicine is organised and how it functions and at the same time contrasts it vividly with the Western health system. Dr.

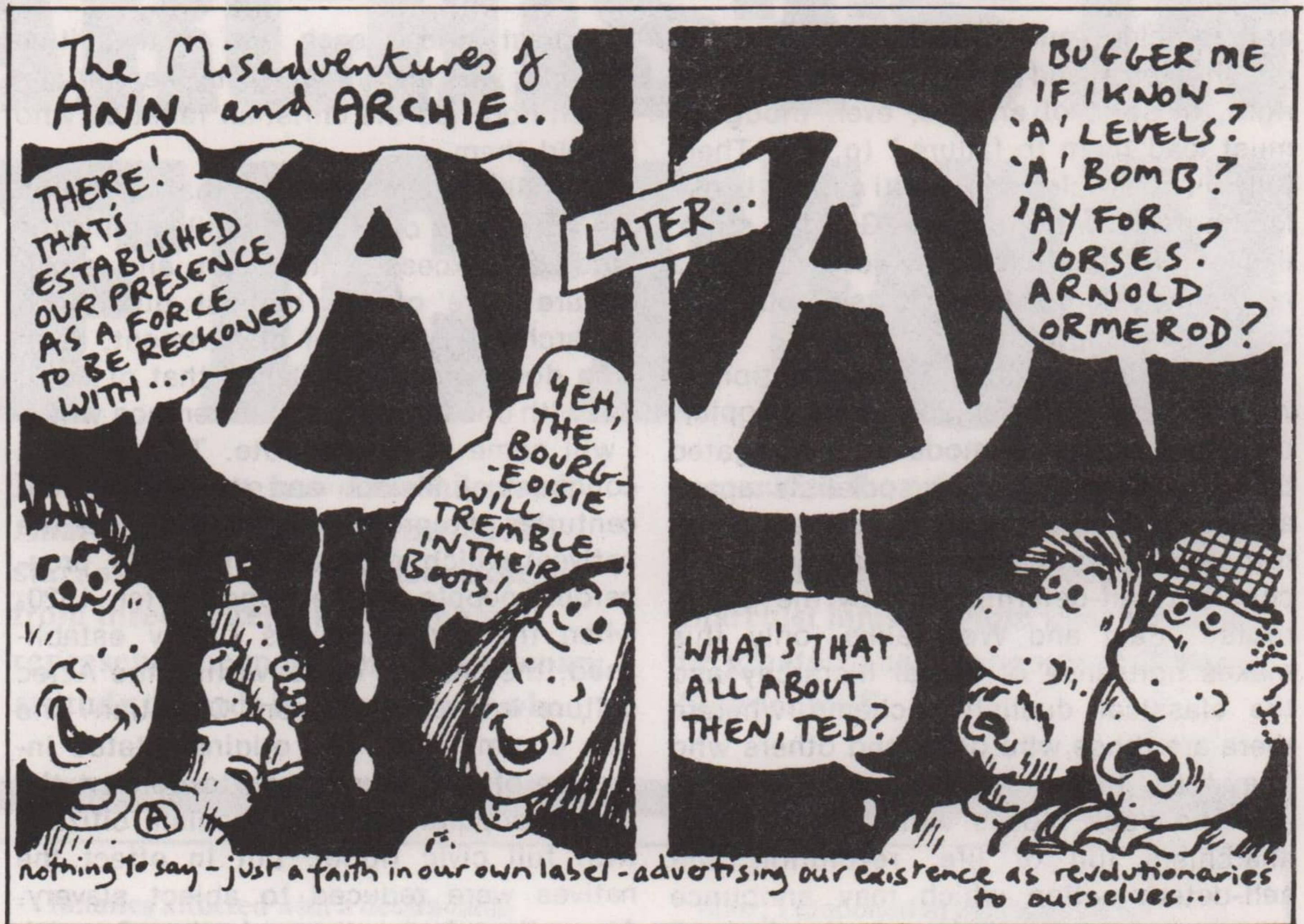
REVIEWS

Jain illustrates how doctors and other paramedical workers such as barefoot doctors, midwives and herbalists effectively combine to provide adequate and comprehensive health care for the Chinese people, in spite of their limited resources. Modern Western medicine is blended with the more traditional systems such as acupuncture, herbal medicine, remedial massage and T'ai Chi and, of course, with a heavy dose of political ideology. The health system is closely linked to the ideologies of Chairman Mao, and no doubt most of their medical progress has resulted from the fusion of medicine and politics. However, Dr. Jain comments that recitations of Mao's quotations prior to the start of a surgical operation appears more like a religious ritual than scientific treatment. Not that the Chinese are overconcerned with scientific method. The emphasis is more never-mind-how-it-works-if-it's-useful-then-use-it.

"Heal the wounded, rescue the dying, practice revolutionary humanitarianism!" Mao stressed the need for medical workers to live closely among and to serve all the population, 80% of which lives in rural areas. As a result, the medical service is largely decentralised with each rural area administered by a group of 15-20 communes (a county). Professional hierarchy is minimal and there are no clear cut distinctions between doctors and nurses. A doctor is fully trained after three years and qualifies automatically without sitting any examinations. Admission is based on criteria such as the individual's motivation to study medicine, his or her ability to identify with the masses and a recommendation by the Communist Party stating that he or she has studied the teachings of Chairman Mao. Barefoot doctors are peasant workers who give treatment 'without leaving productive work'. The counterpart of a barefoot doctor in a factory is called a worker doctor. Both receive a basic training of three to six months. They are able to deal with about 80% of ailments themselves, referring more serious complaints to the local hospital. Minus the politics, much of the Chinese health care system could form a basis for an anarchist alternative to medicine.

Dr. Jain's assessment is probably overoptimistic, as he, himself, admits. He was not allowed to travel freely in China and he notes that doctors were 'less than frank' in answer to some questions due to the presence of non-medical politicians who monitored their conversations. Even so, one comes away with the feeling that the achievements in Chinese medicine are impressive. We can all learn a lot from this book. So the next time someone grumbles about the imminent collapse of our health service, think on ...

Alan Fairlamb



Workers Against the Gulag, Pluto, £1.95, and Syndicalisme et Libertes en Union Sovietique, Maspero

In London and in Paris, two very similar books have been published. Pluto has given us *Workers Against the Gulag*, whilst Maspero of Paris has given us *Syndicalisme et libertes en Union Sovietique*. Whilst the introductions attempt to give a particular slant, the texts of the books are a devastating denunciation of life as it is lived in the Soviet Union. "Life is hard in the Soviet Union. It is harder if you are a worker. you are paid on a piece-rate system; how much is paid is decided by the management ..." We are shown how bonuses are not paid out, how labour legislation is not observed, how women have the lowest jobs, creches are few and far between, how food is scarce, expensive and in short supply, how electrical household goods are expensive and how only a tiny percentage of working-class couples possess them (where fridges are concerned the figures are 0.4% in Leningrad and 13.5% in Kostroma.) Then there is the housing shortage: and "medical care for the majority of the population is of low quality", though the ruling class enjoys special *de luxe* hospital facilities. The quality of education is uneven except in good centres where admission is gained by "string-pulling". While 97.5% of wage-earners are union members (the figure is from 1972), the union leadership is appointed by the government, and the current chief of the unions is a former Minister of the Interior. So much for defending the workers! In the factories, the plant committees are appointed by the leadership and the union concerns itself solely with

discipline and meeting the ministry's plans. Every worker carries a pass book in which reprimands are noted down. This list does not even refer to the lack of freedom or to political repression. A description of daily life is sufficient to account for the Soviet workers' reaction and struggle against the USSR.

Article 1.*

The Union of Soviet Socialist Republics is a socialist state of the whole people expressing the will and interests of the workers, peasants and intelligentsia, the working people of all nations and nationalities of the country.

*Article 1. The Constitution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics Coct. 7th 1977

Doubtless seizing upon the new climate created by intellectual dissidence, a press conference with Western journalists was called on 25th November 1977 in a worker's apartment. The journalists heard an announcement that an independent trade union of workers had been set up. At a second meeting on 26th January the union's statutes were revealed and a list distributed of 110 male and female workers from every one of the Republics of the USSR, all of them protesting an unjust punishment at work and bad working conditions. They seek, not revolution, but

REVIEWS

"observance of the law". They met, and decided to get organised, in the waiting rooms of the USSR Central Committee in Moscow, where they realised that they were all victims of injustice. Since then, many members have been arrested and sent either to jail or into mental hospitals.

The workers' communiques to the west speak for themselves: "The only reason" (for the rejection of their complaints) "is that we are decent, principled people who have come out against bribery, swindling, theft of socialist property, concealment of industrial accidents and other abuses by the managers at the enterprises where we used to work." (From a document signed by 35 people, addressees given, dated 20 May 1977) "We are middle aged people (35 to 45 years old) with more than a decade of working experience. We have been deprived of work for periods of one to five years."

"The whole country is gripped in a corrosive mould of bureaucratism. This has been witnessed by us and by our comrades in misfortune, who have grown to over 200. We worked in various enterprises in over 150 different cities and regions of the country." (Signed by 43 people on 1 February 1978.)

Out of 47 members of the union, 19 were sacked for having criticised working conditions on the basis of existing legislation; and four of them were evicted from their homes which went with the job. Three were heroes of labour (that is, the best workers, professionally and politically, in their firms). Five were ex-servicemen or lost their parents in the world war. In spite of a law which makes work compulsory, 8 individuals have been refused work. Of these, two have been five years without work and another has not worked in ten years. Out of the 47, 23 have been or are held in mental hospitals.

Another list of 106 union members indicates that 22 have been committed to asylums, two were arrested and two defeated efforts to have them committed to asylums.

One chapter deals with strikes in the USSR, beginning with the rash of strikes in 1962 against rises in the price of meat and milk products, which took place in many cities including Moscow. The most important strike was that in the Ukrainian city of Novocherkassk. In that city, in addition to the aforementioned price rises, it was announced that piece work rates in the largest plant, making electric locomotives, would be cut by 30%. The workers struck and demonstrated along with their families and other sympathisers. The "militia" stepped in but were seen off. The C.P. bigwigs made good their escape. The army arrived equipped with tanks and a detachment from the KGB. The date? 2nd June 1962. The troops were ordered to open fire,

whereupon one officer took out his Party card, tore it to shreds, then shot himself in the head. A number of soldiers refused to shoot; but the KGB troops opened fire with machineguns. Some 100 people died. The city was cordoned off and an effort made to hush up the affair. The strikers were sentenced and imprisoned.

We know of other strikes such as the one in Priuluk, a Ukrainian city of some 100,000 inhabitants. Following an incident in which a worker had been beaten to death by "militiamen", the workers insisted that the militiamen be removed; after lynching several of them and threatening to blow up a pipeline passing through the city. The outcome is unknown.

The French book includes testimony on the prospects for the USSR, from dissident intellectuals and workers who have recently been expelled. Boris Weil believes that the regime is solid and stable, "thanks" to aid from the West and the passivity of the population. "God forbid we should have war" the Soviet citizen thinks to himself, which means he can put up with all the rest. So if China did not exist, the USSR would have invented it. Weil goes on to say that even the worker who strikes or does as little work as possible is ready to serve the regime "in tanks in Czechoslovakia, Romania or wherever"; That a worker badgered by the Party on account of his protests "will get no backing from his workmates" because "Soviet society, at every level is demoralised. Lies, corruption, cynicism have seeped through every pore, into every stratum of the population." And Boris concludes,

"there are people, though, intellectuals and workers, who dare to challenge the System and its morality: and this goes to show that there is still hope."

Bielotserkovsky is emphatic that neither the workers, nor the cadres, nor the engineers, even if they are used to miserable living conditions, can put up with "the anarchic bureaucracy and arbitrariness in the management of enterprises."

The worker, Valentin Ivanov, stresses the lesson to be learned from the recent past; speaking of demands being made 2000 kilometres away from, and 15 years after, the 1962 strike in Novocherkassk, the attitude is: "Demonstrations achieve nothing. Even if the entire town takes part, they will simply send in the tanks to whip us back into line." Add to this the military service which is long and strict, and during which the habit of submission is inculcated. Nonetheless, the workers have a lively interest in the thinking of the dissident intellectuals and are very well aware that the situation is deteriorating, but ... "it will take slow, progressive reforms before things can change. And that is possible only if people are free to express their opinions and life is allowed to follow its course..."

It is notable how far this is from any libertarian presence, even though a clandestine bulletin was issued by students in Leningrad in March 1979, a bulletin which carried extracts from Bakunin and Marcuse. One can see, too, how the military and repressive potential rules out the very thought of violent reaction. Yet there are



REVIEWS

the recent examples of Berlin in 1953, Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968 and Poland in 1970; there might be changes at the top of the Party, easing the pressure; or a spontaneous outburst caused by increases in the cost of living, forcing the regime into at least a temporary retreat. Until one fine day - like here - the retreat is not just temporary but definitive.

In practical terms, we can help in two real ways: by means of official protests to the embassies or sending them direct to the dissidents' addresses, because, in the build-up to the Moscow Olympics, the USSR does not want any outstanding problems. Or we can hand out leaflets during cultural or sporting events and slip them in with shipments of goods destined for communist countries. There is a co-ordination for anti-authoritarians dealing with the Eastern bloc. Its address is: M. Gomez, 15 Rue Gracieuse, 75005 Paris, France.

Martin Zemliak

The Guillotine at Work. Vol. I: The Leninist Counter Revolution, Gregory Maximoff, Cienfuegos Press, £6.50(h/b)

This book was first published in Chicago in 1940 under the auspices of a number of comrades' groups: this latest reissue contains an introduction by Sam Dolgoff which places both the author and book in their context.

Written some forty years ago, the book is complementary to, and more important than, two other basic studies of the period, Boris souvarine's *Stalin* and Anton Ciliga's *La Pays du Mensange Deconcertant*. Whereas Souvarine cast light upon Stalin's career and the soviet system, and Ciliga relived his evolution from enthusiastic partisan through dissident to final opposition to the USSR, Maximoff is alone in dismantling the official apparatus and delineating the system of repression on a year by year basis. Neither Melgunov's *The Red Terror* (1924) nor Slozhenitsyn's *Gulag Archipelago* (1974 ff) had the patience and cold-blooded approach needed to accumulate data; and neither offered any explanation as to the basis of the Bolsheviks' popularity.

By contrast, Maximoff is as scrupulous as a book-keeper and has a botanist's eye for detail as he relates the deaths for which Lenin was responsible and reviews the words spoken by Lenin. One can detect three parallel topics in his book: (1) Leninism and its various aspects; (2) the repression as a day to day, as well as a judicial phenomenon; (3) the fate of the anarchists, and the anarchists' analysis of the USSR.

Lenin's complete works, in Russian,



run to 57 volumes; and Maximoff scrutinised everything concerned with the years following 1917, against the backcloth of repression. In 1917 Lenin adopted anarchist-style slogans, and his party was preaching that... "officialdom, the bureaucracy, are replaced either with the direct power of the people or, at least, are replaced under the special control, becoming not only elected deputies, but ones that *can be removed* at the first popular demand, being indeed reduced to the position of pure and simple delegates.... remunerated on a scale which *does not*

exceed the regular wage of a skilled worker" (p. 22).

Lenin himself explained the reason for this pose when he observed: "All agree in characterising the prevailing mood of the masses as one nearing despair and as one giving rise to the generally acknowledged fact of growing Anarchist influence" (p.57). This did not prevent him from stating, when once in power in November 1917, in answer to the criticism that he had passed a host of decrees without reference to the delegates from the soviets, that: "The new power had to brush aside various formali-

REVIEWS

ties which might have raised serious obstacles. The moment was too serious and under the circumstances no delay could be permitted." (p. 34).

One could believe that this was force of circumstance, or that Lenin was a pure and noble fellow even if he did keep bad company - Trotsky and Stalin. But the anarchistic veneer was already beginning to evaporate towards the end of 1917. (It had, by the way, made not an iota of difference to the vertical, hierarchical structure of the Party.)

"The State is an institution built up for the sake of exercising violence ... We want to organise violence in the interest of the people" 22.11.1917 (p. 48). And, as we are reminded yearly by *Pravda*, 27.12.1917 was the date of the "the setting up of the Cheka on Lenin's instigation". But the ultimate is found in a pamphlet *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Power* (dating from April 1918) in which a call is made "to apply much of what is progressive and scientific in Taylor's system" (p. 62). And as to discipline: "we must learn to blend the democracy of public debate among the mass of workers, which cascades with all the vigour of a spring flood, with *iron discipline during work and with unquestioning subordination* to the will of a single individual, the soviet leader, during the hours of work. This we have not yet learned to do. But we shall." "A dictatorship is an iron power, possessing revolutionary daring and swiftness of action, ruthless in crushing exploiters as well as hooligans. But our power is excessively soft, very often resembling jelly rather than iron" (p. 65).

Lenin the organiser of the Cheka, was not mealy-mouthed; "I say to myself: Yes we have to be on our guard and bear well in mind that the Cheka is necessary" (p. 97). "The philistines shout and howl: 'The Bolsheviks have introduced shootings.' Our answer should be: 'Yes, we did, and we did it purposefully.'" (p. 99).

And this in 1919: "Newcomers in our party are not getting much deadway. The

party convention decided upon a special membership re-registration. Bandits, grafters, adventurers caught by us within the party are being shot and will be shot in the future." (p. 96).

A staunch Marxist would argue that there is nothing shocking in all this, that it was required by the circumstances, that after all the N.E.P. had been decreed, allowing a measure of bourgeois commerce in the supply of goods and foodstuffs. But, how does he explain away the year 1921, with its repression of Kronstadt and the Ukraine? Why, capitalist provocation! Let us look elsewhere then, to the Party and internal criticisms. Lenin answered these: "The Opposition is finished. The lid has been clamped down on its activities. And now enough of the opposition for us." (p. 263).

What had this Workers' Opposition been saying? Remaining inside the Party ranks, and opposing the Kronstadt uprising, Kollontai and her comrades argued that the unions and workers' councils were quite capable of organising the economy without the Party, which should confine its activities to politics alone. But the militant Miasnikov levelled a broader criticism when he came to spell out his position. Maximoff extracts several paragraphs from this document:

"On the very eve of what was virtually a general strike in Petrograd (prior to the Kronstadt revolt) we did not know that this strike was going to come off although we had Communists in every department. We only knew that it was being prepared and led. What does this mean? It means that the working class has fenced itself off from the Communists by an impenetrable wall and the party is no more aware of this than were the sleuths of the Tsar's time. The workers dubbed the "comcell" (Communist cell) "Comsleyth". Why did they do this? Will you tell me that they penalise the Communist Party for no reason at all? That freedom of the press was granted and still is granted for the working class? My answer must be in the negative. The

working class penalises the party because the methods which the party worked out in 1918-1920 to deal with the bourgeoisie are now (in 1921) being practised upon the working class. This cannot go on." (p.267).

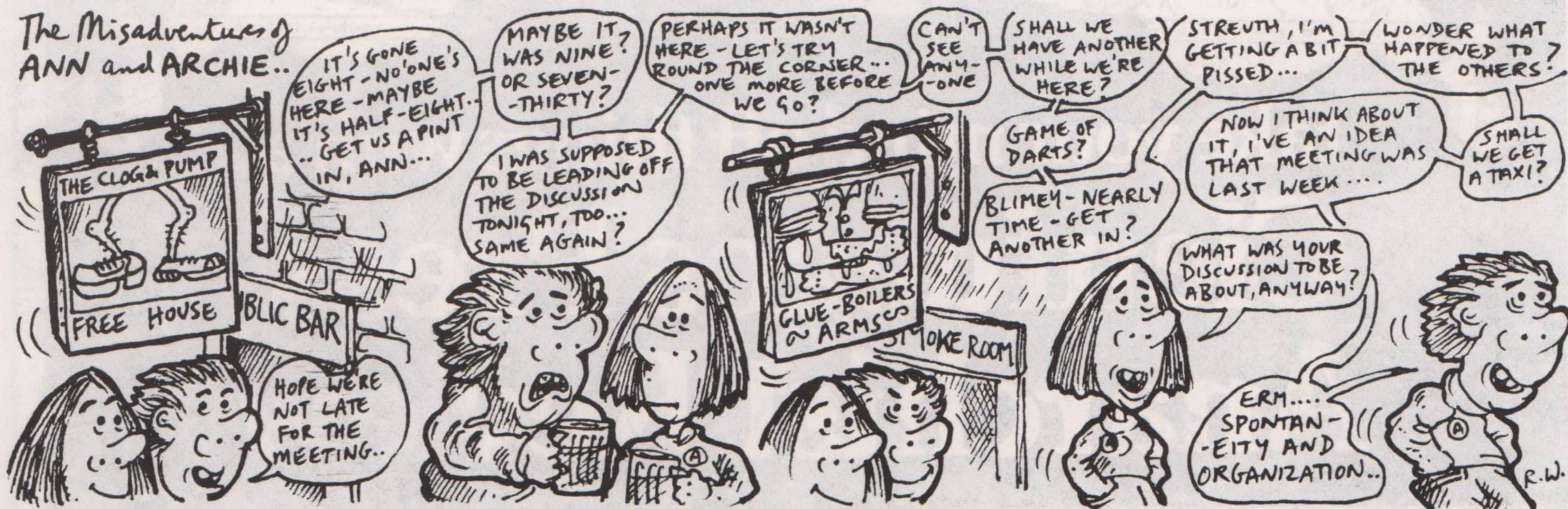
"We have freedom of speech in the markets, at the railway stations, in the trains, at the docks, but not in the factories and villages. There the Che-Ka vigilantly watches over the good behavior of workers and peasants" (p. 267).

Miasnikov also describes the position inside the Party. "Freedom of opinion in the Party is being suppressed by the foulest means." (p.268). "If one of the party rank and file dares to have an opinion of his own, he is looked upon as a heretic and people scoff at him, saying: 'Wouldn't llyitch (Lenin) have come to this idea if it were timely now?... You want to be cleverer than llyitch!' This is the typical 'agrummentation' of the honorable Communist fraternity." (p. 268).

The man bringing all these charges "is a proletarian who never had anything, a proletarian who has been in the party for fifteen years, who has been a party member in Russia and not abroad. I spent seven and a half years of the eleven years of my party membership before 1917 in prisons and at hard labour, with a total of seventy five days in hunger strikes. I was mercilessly beaten and subjected to other tortures. I had to "hobo" my way back and I escaped, not abroad, but for party work here in Russia. To me one can grant at least a little freedom of press, at least within the party. Or is it that I must leave or be expelled from the party as soon as I disagree with you in the evaluation of social forces? Such simplified treatment evades, but does not tackle our problems."

Miasnikov was arrested by the Che-Ka. Lenin's anarchistic glow had been only a ploy by which to seize power. "A good communist is *ipso facto* a good Chekist" (1920, a speech on the question of cooperation).

There are yearly statistics of repression, some drawn from Cheka sources



REVIEWS

which boast of using shootings, torture and widespread hostage taking. The effectiveness of the repression is soberly assessed by Maximoff ... "Shootings were the price of promotions" (p.79). Consequently, prisoners' hunger strikes were pointless: they were left to die, some committed suicide, others were consigned to asylums. Anti-Semitism was rampant, and every library was purged of "harmful" books, the Bible, Kant, Plato and so on, up to Bakunin. Official Cheka sources for 1918 list some 245 uprisings, 8124 deaths and 42,254 sent to prison. For 1920, 6,872 shot (officially - though Maximoff thinks the true figure is nearer to 30,000); 1921 (the year of the famine brought about by Lenin's policies) saw 5,200,000 perish.

In Maximoff's view, the new class in power did not need ownership of the means of production, enjoying as it did "unlimited power over the entire population" (p.236). "The army, fleet, police, courts and a monopoly of legal murders being at its disposal are powerful weapons for the consolidation and perpetuation of its domination and privileges. Through the schools and universities, its ranks are replaced by way of an artificial and hereditary selection." (p. 326).

Stalin's purges brought stability to the process, affording bourgeois luxury and consumer goods to a new class compris-



Let us put a stop to this chatter about the democracy of talkers, about freedom, equality, fraternity, the rule of the people and such other matters.

ing rich peasants (kulaks), communists and the highest paid workers. These "are fully aware that they owe their prosperity to the existing regime and they are devoted to it body and soul. Those classes want not revolutionary progress but the preservation of the *status quo*...Its intrinsic nature destines Bolshevism to develop along fascist lines, irrespective of personnel." (p.328).

The closing chapter "Whither Russia?" is extraordinarily perceptive. "Under conditions of terror, of absolute material

dependence upon the state (that is, the bureaucracy) man's behavior can be actuated only by fear. It determines his daily behaviour towards his fellow men. It determines the attitude of the worker, peasant, doctor, engineer, writer, artist towards their work and their fellow workers." (p. 330). "A grasping individualism takes the place of moral responsibility and a responsible attitude toward labour, property and collective opinion, towards man as such, his sense of dignity and the value of life. Pride and human dignity are becoming rare qualities To promote this corruption has become the duty of every Russian citizen, irrespective of age, sex and status." (p. 332).

"All Russia is dark in the long arctic night. But the morning is inevitable." (p. 337).

The harsh lesson, then? Merely the

Next time you're alone in the house...



take your mind off things with a
Cienfuegos Press
Anarchist Review

REVIEWS

reality reflected today in all the Eastern bloc countries, in Cuba and in Asia and Africa: An oppressive affliction which was, nevertheless, cast off in 1953 in East Berlin and later in Hungary, Poland and Czechoslovakia and occasionally inside the USSR itself. The accumulation of corpses and suffering cannot assuage the thirst for vengeance and exploitation. Marxism-Leninism, just like capitalism, nourishes those who will bury it. In 1956, in Budapest, the people (the photographs show us they were workers, children and the old) burned, alive or dead, the bodies of several members of the Hungarian Cheka: which just goes to show that no people can be so stupified that they will not awaken some day.

Martin Zemliak



The Third World War, General Sir John Hackett, Sidwick & Jackson

This book is supposed to be an exercise in futurology. In fact it is one of the crudest, crassest, and most boring bits of propaganda that have ever been written. Hackett 'phrophesies' that because Britain and Europe have forced back the tide of socialism, welfare state, and namby-pamby attitudes in the late seventies they are able to defeat Russian aggression in 1985. Needless to say the whole thing is a party political broadcast on behalf of the militarist party who want to have defence estimates swollen and their own little parishes of power upgunned. In every way it is the opposite of John Keegan's book for there is no mention of the cannon fodder except in multiples of thousands and the generals are described like chess

grand masters who are revered by their fellow citizens; (One is even described as a cult hero). Such a grotesque self-image can only be described as terrifying.

A.B.

Ecotopia, Ernest Callenbach, Pluto Press, £1.20

This is an important book which should not be taken seriously. Let me explain what this novel is about before justifying the contradiction.

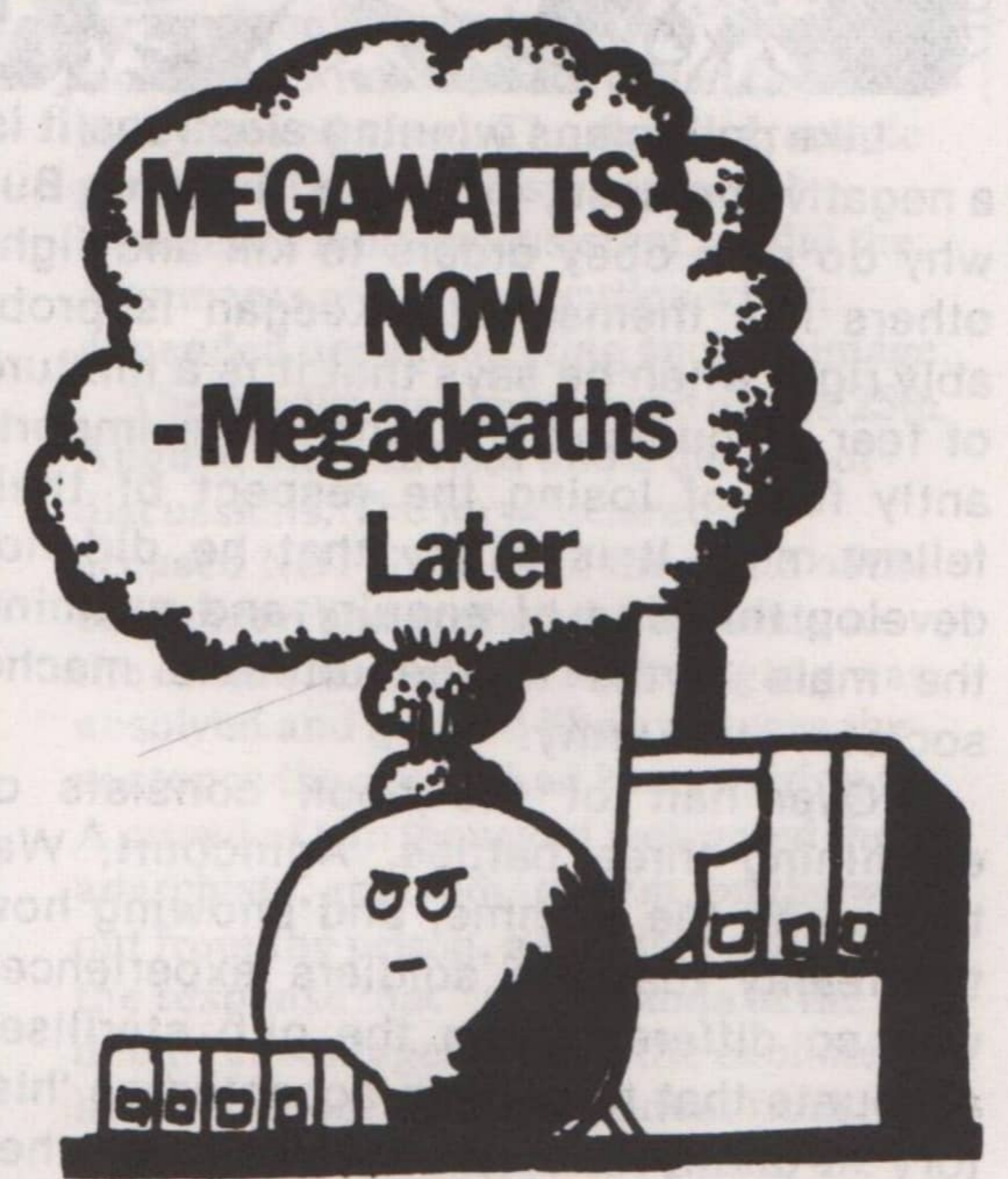
It is 1999 and the north west seaboard of the US is called Ecotopia having seceded nearly twenty years back. A journalist from the US is sent by the American president on a semi-official mission to see if there can be any form of re-establishing relations, and the book is made up of his despatches and diary entries as he observes this society. Obviously it is all describing the author's vision of an ideal society which is non-wasteful, in tune with nature, and basically libertarian. In fact the blurb describes it as a blending of socialist and anarchist ideas which is inaccurate for in reality it represents the 'market socialism' of the Peter Jay/Mondragon/Jugoslav way of thinking within a pluralist decentralised state. Evidently an Anarchist purist can only regard it as reformism at best, but it would be wisest to study this increasingly fashionable concept without too much prejudice and then make a detailed critique. In *Ecotopia* inheritance has been abolished and the economy is based on self-managed worker co-operatives competing within a market system, but only allowed a maximum twenty hour week to ensure full employment and prevent waste through over-production. The state was set up by the ruling feminist Survivalist party and all decision making and taxation is decentralised. All profits have to be invested in the central bank to help other co-operatives and no one can invest in or otherwise control a self-managed co-operative. This book is unconvincing on the political plane simply because it falls into the old trap of believing that the right leaders will emerge and that they can be democratically controlled. It also hazes over difficult areas and even concedes that there will be prisons, albeit very different, and counter-intelligence agents (i.e. secret police). However, the book is effective in its description of the change in social and sexual relations, especially the latter. At times though it can be irritating even in these areas when everyone seems to be 'creative', intelligent, and meaningful in an

elitist Californian dream left over from the sixties. But without doubt Callenbach's strength lies in his treatment of alternative technology and his advocated stable-state system of industry where a harmony is established so that nature is not exploited to the detriment of future generations.

Unintentionally, *Ecotopia* raises the issue of collective selfishness in a libertarian society, by that I mean a community, which is fortunately viable due to its existing expertise, and natural resources but which keeps them to itself so as to protect its own experiment. One of the basics of Anarchism is obviously its total statelessness and internationalism which logically denies all forms of immigration control. And yet we cannot ignore the way a nascent Anarchist society could be upset by refugees from famine or repression pouring in like a lifeboat being overturned after a shipwreck.

This is a book which I would recommend every libertarian to read even though the political side is naive, for it is a very thought-provoking exercise as far as the construction of a new society goes.

A.B.



The Face of Battle, John Keegan, Penguin, £1.25

This book is a landmark in military history writing because it sets out to subvert the norms of industry. Keegan is a historian in the Tolstoyan tradition of debunking the authoritarian interpretation of history, and his book has such great insight, analysis and well expressed observation that it is tempting to quote from it continually. Throughout he contrasts the theory of war, its ideals, and the utterly different reality. It is not the brilliance of generals that wins battles, but the stupidity of their opponents in most cases.

REVIEWS



Fontamara, Ignazio Silone, Journeyman Press, £1.00

This 1930 classic, first published in the UK in 1934, ought to be on all libertarian shelves so it is good to see a fresh edition available.

It is the true tale of a poverty stricken mountain village in southern Italy at the time of Mussolini's rise to power, of downtrodden simple peasants with never the time from toil to rise out of their ignorance, of how in the past they'd been exploited by slick townsmen who bought "enoblement" with their gains and then in the present by as slick myrmidons of Mussolini who wormed their way into power to their own benefit; of how fear spread in cities and countryside until fascist spores had tarnished all Italy with its mould.

Justifiably or not, *Fontamara* was decided to be a hotbed of revolt so vanloads of blackshirts were sent up to slaughter its inhabitants. Thus was Mussolini's early power structure cemented by the blood of those who refused to kowtow and rebelled against his growing tyranny. But twenty years after the destruction of Fontamara, Mussolini's own people in the north of Italy were to prove that the blood he had spilt had also fuelled the fire of freedom lovers who eventually caught and strung him up from the nearest lamp-post.

Silone himself died in August 1978, as old as the century for he was born on its first mayday. He had known Lenin and Trotsky, was a founder of the Italian Communist party, but became one of the first "outside" people to cut adrift because of Stalin's ways.

Without becoming an active Trotskyist he exploited his literary powers as an anti-fascist in exile and inside in the underground movement. After the war he was elected to the Italian Assembly as a socialist but later on rejected all official creeds in favour of independence.

In 1950 in *The God That Failed* he told how his disenchantment began at the 1927 Comintern. The Russians presented a resolution of censure against Trotsky for his analysis of the China question and denouncement of Chiang Kei Shek and the Kuomintang which was entirely against Stalin's recent opinion. (Trotsky was correct as massacres of Chinese communists was shortly to prove.) But only the Russians had seen the document; all the foreign delegates agreed to the censure without question - except for Silone who refused until the document had been presented and read by all. When he, (with Togliatti and the French and Swiss Treint and Humbert-Droz) stood firm, Stalin suavely said that the resolution must be

Like politicians winning elections it is a negative process, not a positive one. But why do men obey orders to kill and fight others like themselves? Keegan is probably right when he says that it is a mixture of fear of punishment, and more importantly fear of losing the respect of their fellow men. It is a pity that he did not develop this line of enquiry and examine the male myths in the ultimate macho society - the army.

Over half of the book consists of examining three battles, Agincourt, Waterloo and the Somme, and showing how the reality that the soldiers experienced was so different from the glib sterilised accounts that have been accepted as 'history'. Funnily enough one realises when reading all this that guerrilla warfare is subversive in yet another way. It defies the dramatic unities of time, place and action and hence confounds the hack tableau painter and hero-making worshipper of generals.

The Face of Battle is certainly *not* the sort of book which one would expect from the Senior Lecturer in War Studies at Sandhurst. Especially the last paragraph: "The young have already made their decision. They are increasingly unwilling to serve as conscripts in armies they see as ornamental. The militant young have taken that decision a stage further: they will fight for the causes which they profess not through the mechanisms of the state and its armed power but, where necessary against them, by clandestine and guerrilla methods. It remains for armies to admit

that the battles of the future will be fought in never-never land. While the great armoured hosts face each other across the boundary between east and west, no soldier on either side will concede that he does not believe in the function for which he plans and trains. As long as states put weapons in their hands, they will show each other the iron face of war. But the suspicion grows that battle has already abolished itself."

A.B.



REVIEWS

withdrawn since only unanimous decisions were acceptable in the Comintern. For all that, some time later, it was announced that the Executive of the CI had censured Trotsky for the document. (It was then of course that the latter was exiled to the east and subsequently from the USSR.) Stalin's organisational powers had completely defeated Trotsky and his adherents in the Party. Silone's account well shows how the CI had been packed by Stalin's men and others who saw how the wind blew and decided, weakly or snidely, to run with it.

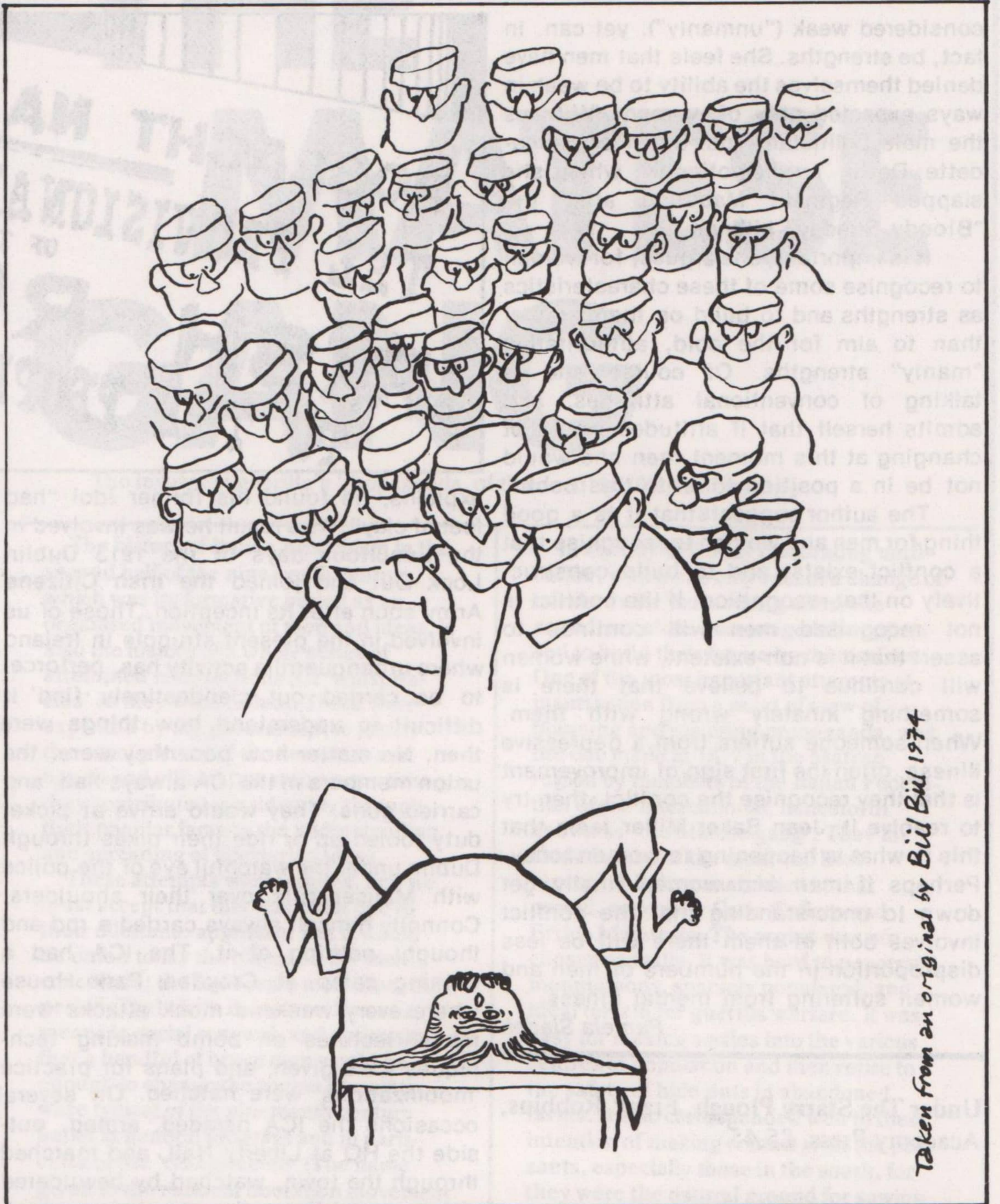
Barry Duncan

Complaints and Disorders. The Sexual Politics of Sickness, Barbara Ehrenreich and Deirdre English, Writers and Readers; .85p

Medicine, like other well-paid professions, is dominated by men. Therefore much of its theory has been misogynist in nature. During the Nineteenth Century, which *Complaints and Disorders* covers so well, the medical view of women changed little since the time of Hippocrates. One must bear in mind that this is an American book: the power and influence of the American Medical Association has meant that the usual injustices and inequalities are exaggerated. Doctors make more money from "women's illnesses" (just as they make more money treating cancer and heart diseases, both rich men's illnesses): One need only note the much higher numbers of hysterectomies (an Ancient Greek word if ever there was one), mastectomies and Caesarian births performed in America.

The authors cite two traditional views of women: The upper classes (those who could afford large medical fees) were weak and sickly, while the lower classes were strong, but disease-carrying. This dichotomy bears a close similarity to traditional views of other exploited minorities: Negroes, for instance, were believed to be much more capable of extreme physical hardship, yet too feeble to run their own lives. Most of these prejudices carry built-in contradictions. One mentioned here is the belief that woman was ruled by her uterus, which made her very emotional (still considered a negative quality), but at the same time she was supposed to be repelled by sex. Yet doctors in the Nineteenth Century suspected the existence (and threat) of female sexuality.

The book details all kinds of barbaric operations performed on women who masturbated or were "troublesome". It also goes into the American obsession with hygiene and describes how anxieties about disease were often projected on to



Taken from an original by Bill Bil 1974

"inferior" races (or on to women's genitals). The hygiene issue might have been explored a little further, though, considering the massive sales of vaginal douches, deodorants and deodorant tampons in America.

The book goes on to trace the advent of psychiatry, with its same genital obsession, and especially the mysteries of the uterus. Tranquillisers have now taken the place of crank remedies and surgery for "women's problems", and it is still widely accepted that physical or mental breakdowns are caused by something innately wrong with woman, rather than the life she is forced to lead.

The authors conclude with a call for women to take a more active role in medicine by forming self-help groups where lay, but *trained* women can help others. Interesting as this book is, and full of fascinating illustrations, I felt it was too short. The authors might also have called for all women to demand a female gynaecologist or obstetrician if that is what they prefer, and I suspect most women do.

The women's movement is making its influence felt in the field of mental health. Jean Baker Miller's *Toward a New Psychology of Women* explores ways for the psychologist to consider women as *women* (and not as the creatures imagined by Victorian doctors).

The book begins with a definition of the relationship between men and women as that between a dominant and a subordinate group. Interesting parallels are drawn between the behaviour expected of women and the behaviour expected of Negroes: both, for example, often had to pretend to be dumb to get what they wanted.

Jean Baker Miller feels that the position in which men have put themselves and women is not healthy for either sex; both have to restrict their behaviour to what is expected of their particular sex role. Women, she argues, have developed many positive character traits (such as the ability to co-operate with others and deal with problems at an intimate, emotional level) which, in the past have been

REVIEWS

considered weak ("unmanly"), yet can, in fact, be strengths. She feels that men have denied themselves the ability to be weak in ways expected only of women. (Witness the male politicians' put-down of Bernadette Devlin as "emotional" when she slapped Reginald Maudling after the "Bloody Sunday" killings.)

It is important, she argues, for women to recognise some of these characteristics as strengths and to build on them, rather than to aim for the cold, authoritarian "manly" strengths. Of course she is talking of conventional attitudes, and admits herself that if attitudes were not changing at this moment then she would not be in a position to write this book.

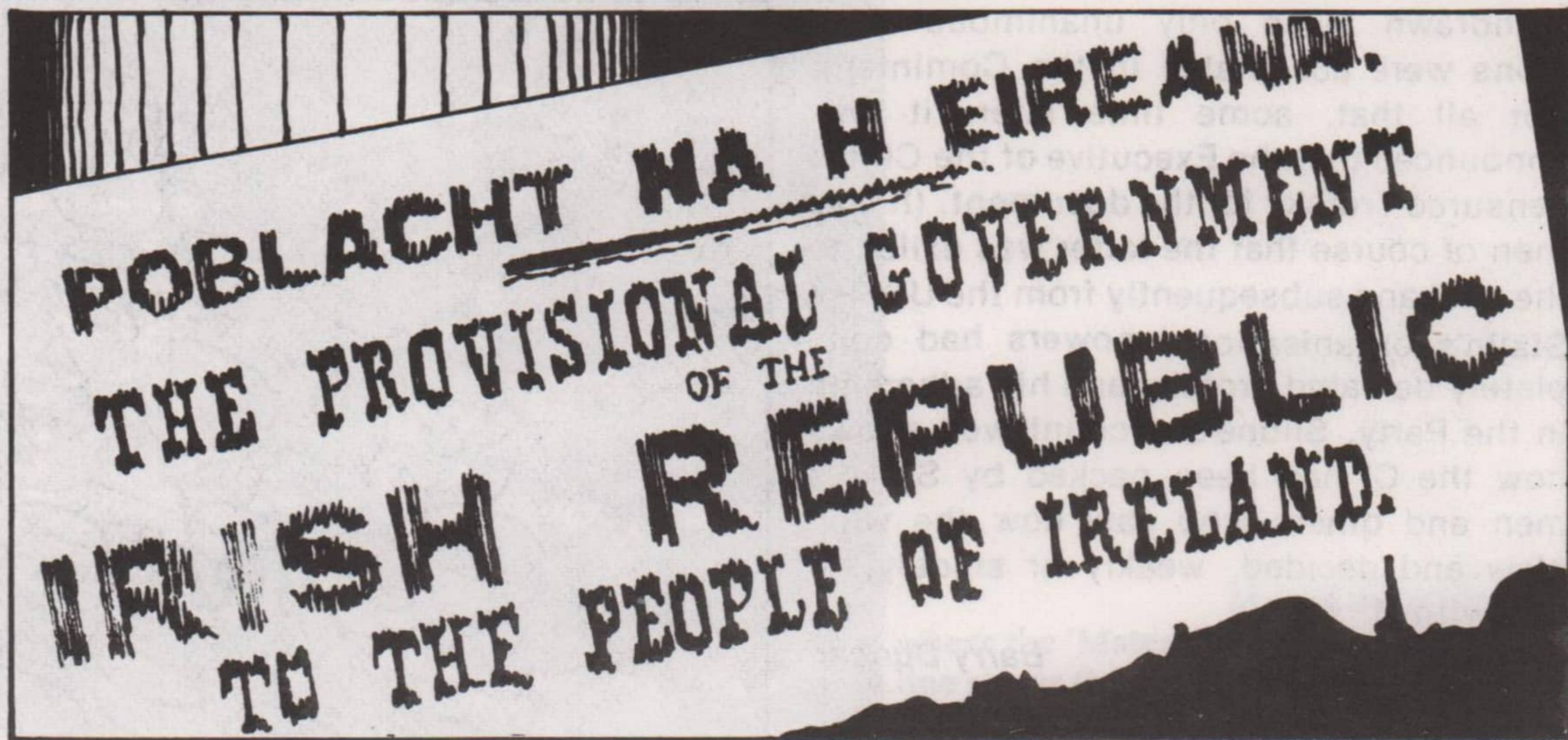
The author suggests that it is a good thing for men and women to recognise that a conflict exists, and to build constructively on that recognition. If the conflict is not recognised men will continue to assert that it is non-existent, while women will continue to believe that there is something innately wrong with them. When someone suffers from a depressive illness, often the first sign of improvement is that they recognise the conflict, then try to resolve it. Jean Baker Miller feels that this is what is happening to women today. Perhaps if men and women finally get down to understanding that the conflict involves both of them there will be less disproportion in the numbers of men and women suffering from mental illness.

Pamela Sladek

Under The Starry Plough, Frank Robbins, Academy Press, £5.45

This is an amazing book. It is about the Irish Citizen Army, the Labour movement in Dublin prior to 1916 and the 1916 rising itself and written by one of the few surviving participants. Accordingly it should be a fascinating and valuable contribution to our understanding of the 1910-1920 period in Irish history. Alas, it isn't. Partly this is because of Robbins himself, who knows as much about writing as a cow knows about having a holiday and partly because of the publishers who haven't realised that with an eccentric like Robbins ruthless editing is called for. Nonetheless, despite grave reservations, I think people should read this book, even if they are reading between the lines for the most part.

Robbins was born into a working class Dublin home in 1895. He had only a very rudimentary education and started work fulltime at thirteen in a Soap Works for 4/- a week for 56 hours work. From the age of 15 he joined the ITGWU and came under the influence of Jim Larkin whom he revered until 1917 in America when, he



explains, he found his former idol "had feet of clay". As a result he was involved in the tumultuous days of the 1913 Dublin Lock Out and joined the Irish Citizens' Army soon after its inception. Those of us involved in the present struggle in Ireland where urbanguerrilla activity has, perforce, to be carried out clandestinely find it difficult to understand how things were then. No matter how poor they were, the union members in the ICA always had, and carried guns. They would arrive at picket duty tooled up or ride their bikes through Dublin under the watchful eye of the police with Mauser rifle over their shoulders. Connolly himself always carried a rod and thought nothing of it. The ICA had a training camp at Croydon Park House where every weekend mock attacks were made, lectures on bomb making techniques were given, and plans for practice 'mobilizations' were hatched. On several occasions the ICA paraded, armed, outside the HQ at Liberty Hall, and marched through the town, watched by bewildered citizenry and the police, to stage a mock attack on Dublin Castle. Yet no one was arrested. Their activities, though frowned on, were technically legal!



Throughout this period in the book we are given very little that is new or useful, and this is because Robbins is basically a starfucker. The book is littered with embarrassing tidbits such as "my father was Matt Talbot's best friend and went to Mass with him every day"; Countess Markievicz used to always say that I had a lovely singing voice"; "Liam Mellows wrote a dedication in a book he sent to me"; "Dickeen' Fitzgerald (a long forgotten Gaelic football player) said that he would like to hear from the ICA boys for whom he had a great regard. This of course made us very proud; "here is a picture of me aged 60 with De Valera and Sean Lemass at Aras an Uachtarain." Anarchists will, I'm sure be most enlightened by this frightening bit of slobber that occurs early on in the book: - "I still remember with affection my schooldays at St. Agatha's School, North William St., not least because of the influence on me of Sister Monica, the Principal, an outstanding nun whose gentle smile and quiet manner won the love of the 700 children under her control. Indeed I still carry out Sister Monica's advice on sleeping at night with crossed arms, so as to be "nearer to God".

And yet, for all this crap, Robbins did join the Citizen Army and fight for Labour at a time when, as Myles na Gopaleen would put it, "the plain people of Ireland found it neither popular nor profitable so to do". He did go out in 1916 and fought under Michael Mallin and Countess Markievicz at Stephens Green. He was captured and taken with the rest of the ICA men and the Volunteers to Knutsford prison in England where he was interned for a few months and then moved to Frongoch Camp before being released in August 1916. Subsequently he went to the States where he seems to have had a row with Larkin, flirted with the IRA and met John Devoy and Liam Mellows. This part of his story is very episodic and full of "nearlys" - he "nearly went on a gun running mission to South America with Mellows", he "nearly smuggled messages through the docks from the IRB for Devoy", he "nearly got a job with the metropolitan Opera

REVIEWS

House". Eventually he returned to Ireland "to take up his gun again for Ireland" and rejoined the ICA only to find that the organization was virtually defunct. This is something that the reader would like to be told about. Why did the ICA wither and die after 1916? Was the death of Connolly and Mallin so catastrophic? Robbins has very little explanation on this. He blames the new Commandant James O'Neill who he accuses of "selling out", but selling out what? For the sad truth is that Robbins seems to have had little or no clear politics. He never once says what he was fighting for nor discusses the policy differences in the ICA. He attacks O'Neill for "lack of action" and advocated closer co-operation with the IRA, with whom he appears to have had links, but when this fails he is quite content to tout on O'Neill, get him sacked and jailed, get himself promoted to Lieutenant and then sit and do bugger all throughout the Tan war. He "nearly" joined his friends in the IRA but didn't quite. He "nearly persuaded the Trade Union movement to call a general strike". Nearly.



Robbins later career is worth looking at although he doesn't mention it in the book. He remained neutral in the Civil War and in 1922 became an official in the Irish Transport and General Workers Union and remained a Union bureaucrat until his retirement in 1960. He was for a time President of the Dublin Council of Trade Unions and its representative on the Dublin Port and Docks Board. In the fifties he was a Director of Mianrai Teoranta and in 1959 was appointed a Director of Irish Shipping Ltd. A far cry from the young worker who hoisted the Starry Plough over the College of Surgeons in 1916. He lives

on in Dublin still attending Free State functions, still a Catholic bigot, still a fervent anti-Communist, still "a Labour man."

This book in fact tells us very little about the Citizen Army which is a pity. Sean O'Casey's (whom Robbins hated) book wasn't much cop either and we are still left with R.M. Fox's History of the ICA, first published in 1943 as the best account, albeit a flawed one. For the truth is that the ICA was, for the most part a myth. What few are prepared to admit is that at its height is is doubtful if it had more than 250 armed men and that most of those dropped out after the abortive 1916 rising. The death of Connolly and Mallin was a body blow from which the Army never recovered. To their shame, and to the country's loss, they played virtually no part in the War of Independence. If they had they might well have counteracted some of the more reactionary excesses of the Cosgraves, Mulcahys and Blyths. They might well have established *and held on to* the Soviets in the countryside and they might well have harnessed the revolutionary socialist potential of IRA men like Mellows and O'Malley. As it is, as Robbins records, "during the burning of the Custom House in 1921 Citizen Army men sat on the steps opposite unaware of what was happening."

Beidh la geal greine go foill in Eirinn.

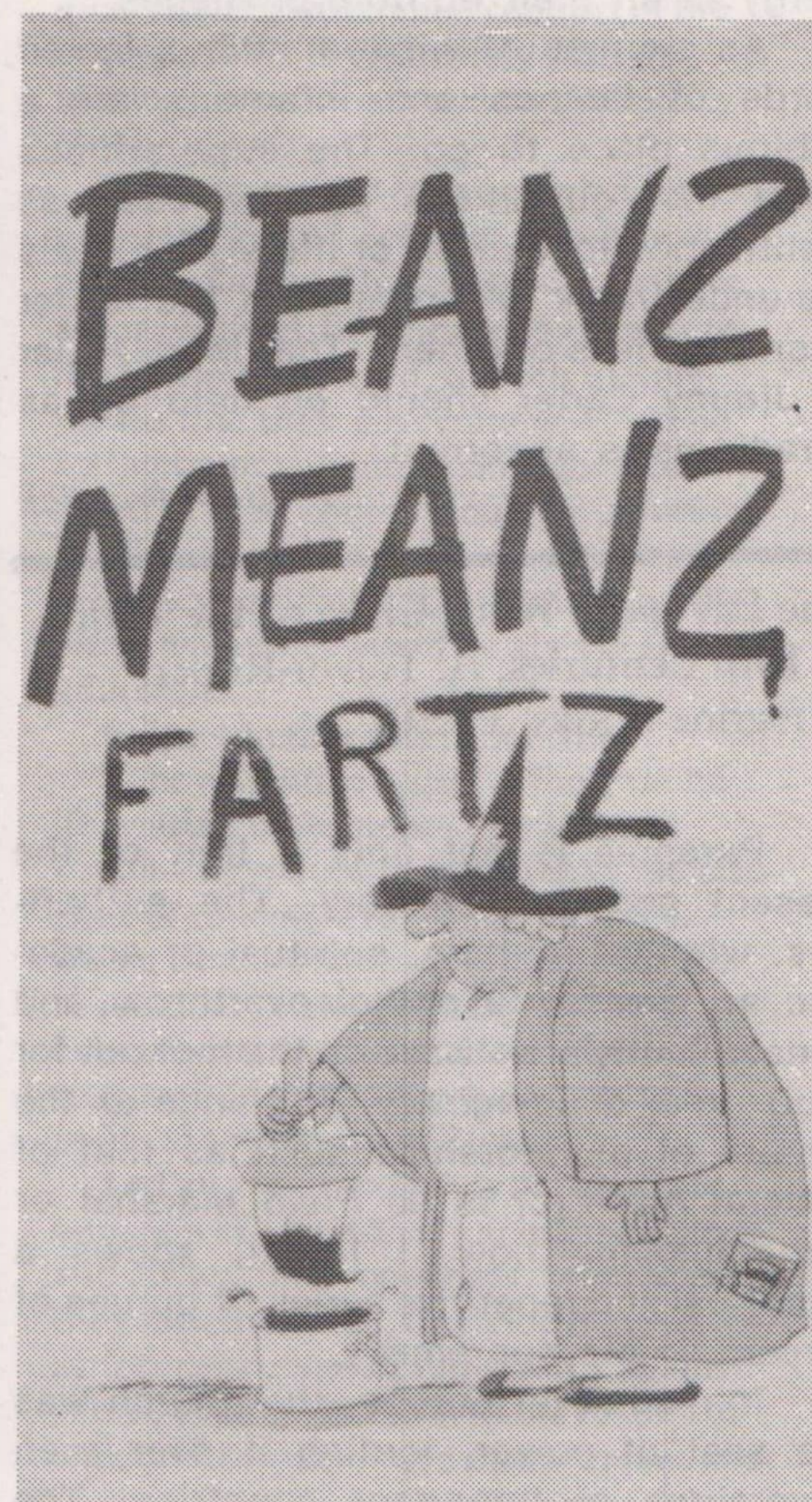
Dhearg Doom

The Hip Pocket Hitler, John Michell, Hassle Free Press, £1.00

Ever since the so-called Cultural Revolution in China, when millions of copies of the sayings of Mao were circulated to the faithful, and learnt by heart by every good cadre, books of virtually random quotations of those who have chosen to try and rule us have appeared from the presses. The latest in this long line of pearls before us swine is a slim volume of the sayings of Adolf Hitler, a mixture of common sense, bigotry and the absurd.

This has obviously not been produced for Nazi devotees, as the absurd, dada-like element features largely among the uncited quotations. For example: "A toad is but a degenerate frog;" or : "Transplant a German to Miami and you make a degenerate of him - in other words an American." His analysis of power shows him as the unscrupulous but astute man he was: "What luck it is for governments that the people they rule do not think." "The people love to be ruled."

Few of the quotations in the book are anything but commonplace. Many are



patently untrue, such as Hitler's denial that he had any racial prejudice. Presumably he actually believed what he said, although from what is actually printed in the book, one would not get any idea of Nazism other than the anti-semitic aspect of that creed.

Anarchists will empathize with his analysis of Kings and Royalty: "Royal families become more degenerate with each generation until they eventually become insane." "They are a classic example of the laws of selective breeding operating in the reverse." "There should be a law prohibiting princes from having intercourse with anyone except chauffeurs and grooms." And Priests, another of our favourite targets: "The mere sight of one of these abortions in cassocks makes me wild." "The mind is doomed to the auto-da-fe."

Of course, Hitler's objections to these objectionables was from the point of view that they conflicted with his grand world-vision, both on metaphysical and power-structure grounds. Our objection is that they wield power at all. Anarchists will be especially sickened by the quotation on the Spanish Civil War, where Hitler recants: "We were badly deceived, for if I had known the real state of affairs I would never have allowed our aircraft to bomb

REVIEWS

and destroy a starving population while at the same time re-establishing the Spanish clergy in all their horrible privileges."

As sources of wisdom, the selected words of famous and infamous are a dubious place to go. The superstitious belief that quotations can be used as justification for actions or life style reveals the undesirable dependence of the reader upon the ideas of others. That Mao, Hitler or Jimmy Carter should be held up as paradigms is abhorrent.

Nigel Pennick

The European Witch-Craze of the 15th & 16th Centuries, H. Trevor-Roper, Peregrine Books, £1.50

Paranoia is not only a trait of the present period of history. The authorities, whether military, spiritual or academic, are ever fearful of their overthrow, and consequently are always on the lookout for plots, real or imaginary. A glance at the history of dictatorships such as that of General Amin (or is he Field Marshal or Generalissimo now, I forget) shows a continual and repetitive series of purges of threats to his supremacy.

In mediaeval Europe, the church was the seat of power, lording it over even sovereigns of important countries. The level of peasant life was poor, and made worse by the tithes graspingly levied by an esuriant church. Historians, such as Trevor-Roper, see the witch craze in terms of variant cosmologies - the hardening and extension of Aristotleanism which had begun in the late middle ages and was amplified both by catholics and protestants after the reformation. Whatever the underlying causes of the witchcraft mania, and whether there was an organized band of practitioners of witchcraft, the reaction of the church and secular authorities against these unfortunates has a remarkable parallel in modern times with the hysteria over 'terrorists'.

This modern witch-hunt, against the Red Brigades, Red Army Fraction, 2nd June Movement etc., has taken on the almost exact parallel with the witch trials of old. In the centuries under question, once a poor wretch had been arraigned before the judiciary for the crime of witchcraft, that was her doom. No protestations were heard - straight off then to gallows or stake with her, while the magistrates stood smiling and the engravers laboured to preserve the scene for posterity. Likewise, once somebody is arrested in Germany or Italy or Ireland or England for 'terrorism' (a word the media confuses deliberately with 'anarchist', 'self-styled revolutionary', 'nationalist', 'republican', 'gangster', etc.), they are automatically assumed guilty, and are

sentenced to death by 'suicide' like the inmates of Stammheim.



Witch books are usually full of tales of torture and abominations carried out by the authorities in order to extract confession from those already 'known' to be guilty. The parallel with Noel and Marie Murray and Ronan Stenson is not difficult to draw. The witches were defamed in tracts which may yet be purchased in antiquarian booksellers at a price. Today, the press and television blare out the prepared statements of the police or judiciary while the unfortunates are left to die or be murdered in prison cells.

Every authoritarian creed needs its opponents, archetypally depicted as Emmanuel Goldstein in Orwell's *1984*. To the catholic and protestant dogmatists of the so-called renaissance the scapegoat was the Devil, and his agents on Earth, the witches. Like the media's touchingly naive image of the anarchist, the witch could be and was found in the most unlikely places. Although sceptics existed, the witch could be and was found two ways - they could not criticize the basic premise, for to do that would invoke the same wrath that the witches were suffering, and they could not appeal to the authorities to moderate the carnage lest they be seen as instruments of the Devil. The same parallel applies today in the Federal Republic of Germany. Witches may practise their rites with impunity nowadays; it is the anarchists who are held by the powers that be in the awe formerly reserved for witches. Now the parallel is even more exact. The witches' trials generated much literature

which no doubt gave an impetus to many a rebel. Following the social stereotype of 'witch', the acts, imaginary as they may originally have been, were transformed by these rebels into actual reality. No longer did the witch merely represent the simple nature religion of pre-Christian days. Sale of souls, black magic in the pamphleteer's style arose, only to fuel the fire of witch-hunters.

Likewise, the paranoia of the state against 'anarchists' may have bred a new breed of rebel, some literally 'without a cause', to feel the end of the policeman's boot, the tear gas and squawk box ultimately to die of 'self-inflicted wounds in some latter-day Belsen.

Like the seventeenth century mania, the present wave of paranoia is a collective psychosis. Just as the manic destruction of the Reformation and Thirty Years' War wrought the witch holocaust, so the collective guilt over Auschwitz, Hiroshima, and Vietnam has also wrought a new spirit of fanaticism - the survival of the state at all costs - democracy even if every member of the electorate is in prison, like the Love of the Lord Jesus Christ going to the witch burning alive at the stake.

Nigel Pennick



REVIEWS

Terrorism. Interdisciplinary Perspectives, Alexander & Finger, McGraw Hill

If you want to know the technocrat's jargon for armed resistance - a PVM (Political violence Movement) conflict situation - or find out how to build a computer model for analysing why people want to occasionally knock off their leaders then read this book which is now the standard Police work on the subject. It is obviously intended to be an effort of 'all the talents' with its fifteen odd contributors, and as a result, it is somewhat patchy. There is a lot of wading through the lugubrious and sterile prose which so many American academics adore, but there are parts which are both interesting and sane. The first and most important point which is evident is the inability to define 'terrorism' accurately mainly because the word itself has been corrupted for propaganda use by the State. Most anti-terrorist laws throughout the world do not even attempt to define it! And those who do cast their net so wide as to include any form of anti-government activity irrespective of whether it is violent. The State of Texas includes under 'terroristic threat', union pickets who prevent access to factories and student sit-ins. Terrorism is of course defined by the governmental system. But as Friedlander says in his section, terrorism developed with "the rise of the nation state and the theory of absolute sovereignty". Carl Burckhardt also looks at the historical roots. "Among the Florentines and in ancient Greece tyrannicide was a practice universally accepted and approved". "By the late sixteenth century the doctrine of tyrannicide was openly expounded as the legal and moral rationale for private resistance to sovereign authority and the abuse of public power." And in the seventeenth century Milton wrote: "The killing of a tyrant is not only lawful but also laudable." This century which saw the rise of the state personality cult also saw the 1937 Geneva Convention on Terrorism which outlawed political assassination internationally. Friedlander comments: "The creation of a specially protected class of government officials has had the effect of legitimizing all regimes under the protective cover of anti-terrorist statutes."

The most infuriating section is written by David Rapoport and entitled the Politics of Atrocity. It is a grotesque attack on Anarchism implying that it is the sole source of all terrorism including State terrorism. He infers that even the manson murders are the fault of Anarchism and he ascribes the way the Japanese Red Army killed their own members 'for bourgeois

deviation' as part of some Anarchist tradition of self-purification and self-liberation before embarking on propaganda of the deed. It is enough to make even the laziest cop want to rush out and do us before we indulge in mass ritual killings.

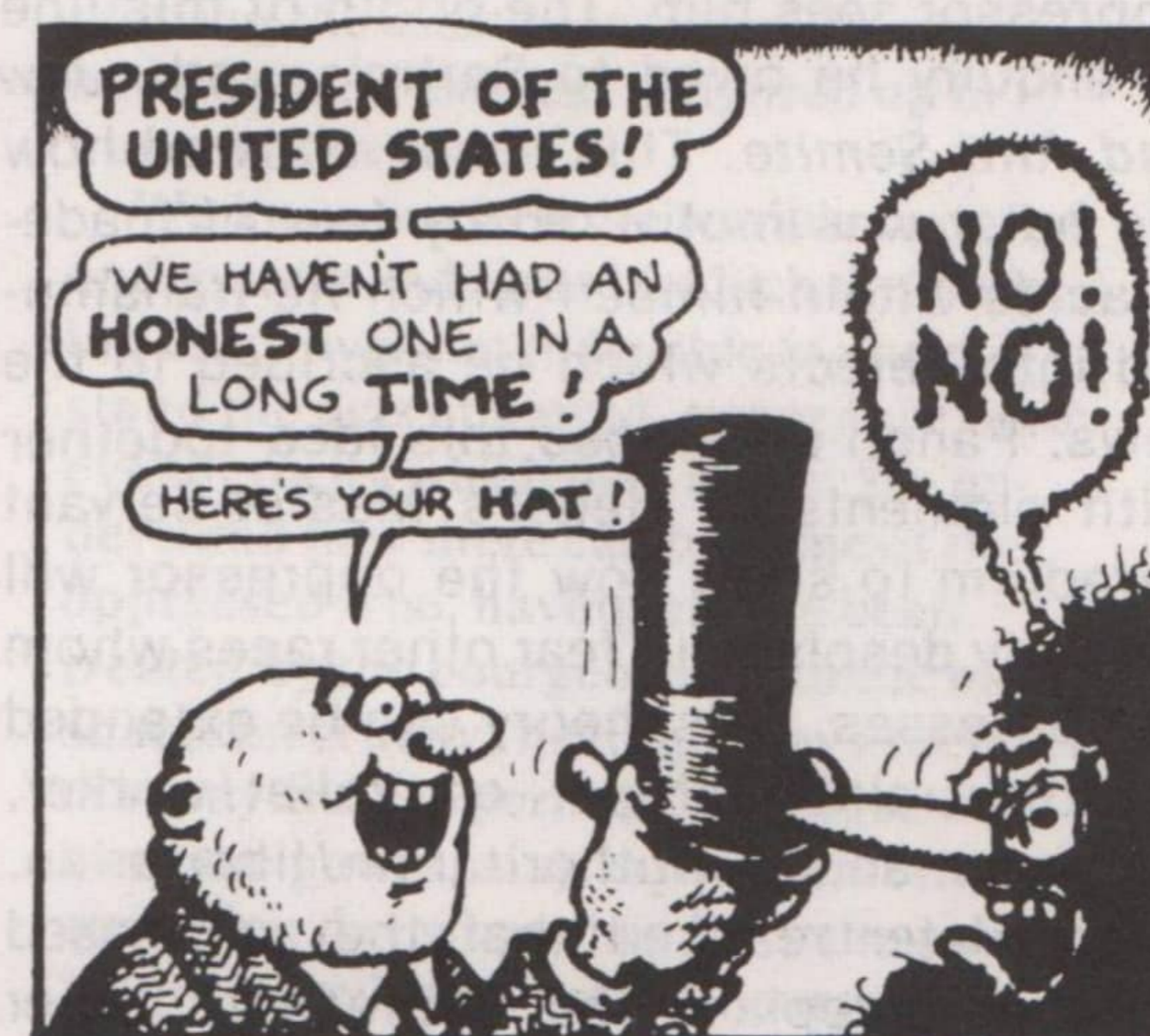
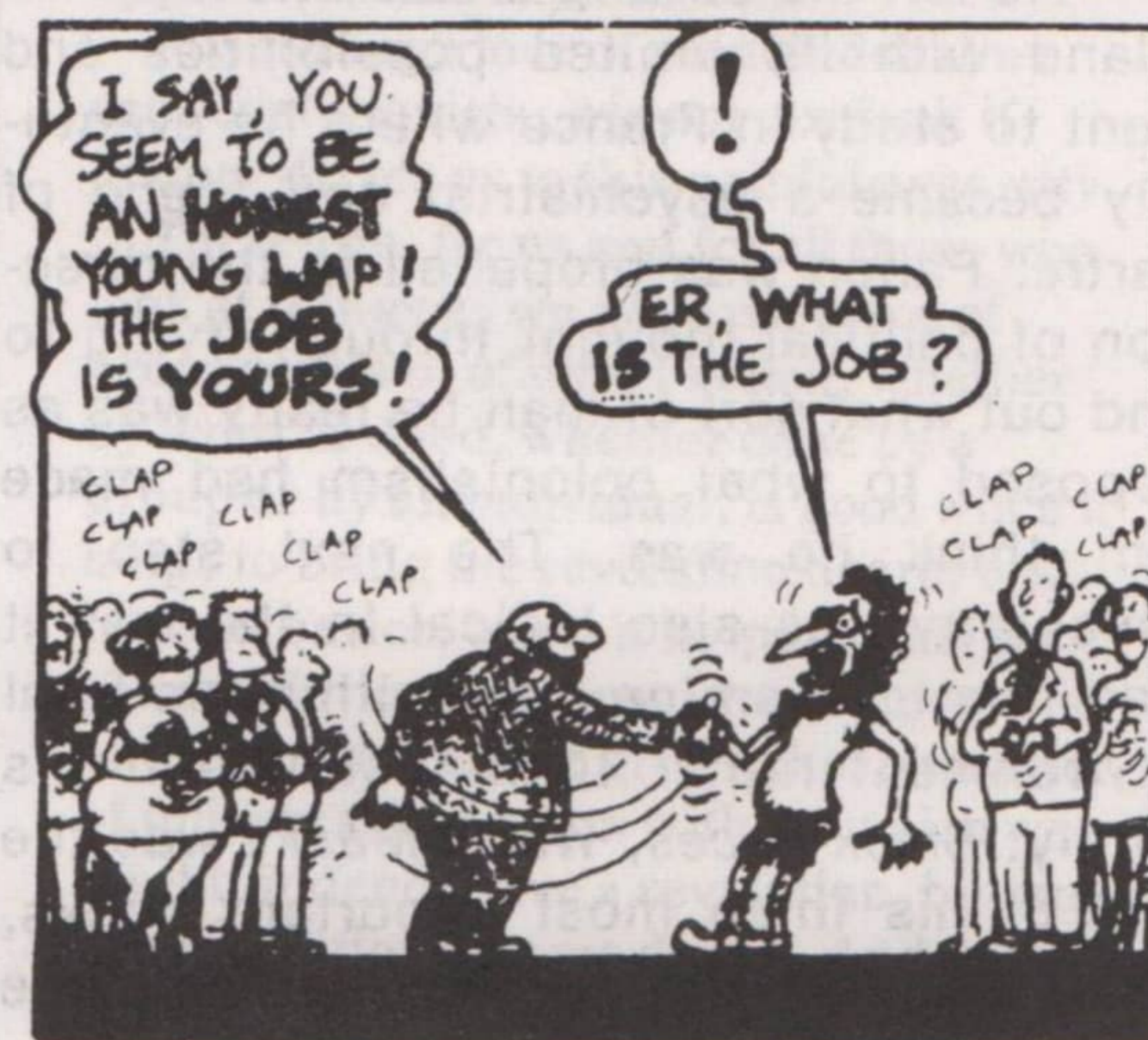
And then we come to the PVM conflict situation model. "Factor 10. Cause: Why did certain preconditions lead to motives of resistance?" It is all reminiscent of a research laboratory where a dangerous virus has to be isolated and its breeding conditions analysed ready for a mass aerosol destruction. But perhaps there is also a parallel with those business games (The Rand Corporation is right in the forefront of course) where executives hone their skills in 'profit-maximising' without risking their companies' money, for alongside each 'factor' there is a 'management function' listed. The similarity is justified. "Consumer resistance to product" then management function: "Advertise aggressively". "Popular resistance to regime" then management function: "Increase propaganda and police sales techniques". Reminds you also of Operation Phoenix in Vietnam when the computer told them that they had killed 160% (or whatever) of the Vietcong. But of course mistakes like that are not the fault of the computer. If only those unreliable human soldiers wouldn't go and add the peasants they shot for target practice onto the official 'body count'. It messes things up.

Another interesting snippet is that the source of the great international terrorist conspiracy theory is NATO. The 'commy plot' approach is of course a good way of getting governments to cough up more defence appropriations and it makes the boys in uniform feel needed. But the most amazing bit of hypocrisy occurred when the US introduced the Draft Treaty on International Terrorism in 1972. It claimed that its position was entirely humanitarian and not political in any way. "Unless one is a sadist one cannot be in favour of killing innocent people; unless one believes in perpetual chaos one cannot be opposed to the maintenance of international order." That must have taxed some straight faced efforts when remembering CIA terrorism, destabilisation, and the bringing down of Allende so as to bring in such gentle humanitarians as Pinochet and DINA who like the US in Vietnam were not exactly renowned for differentiating between 'innocent' and 'guilty'.

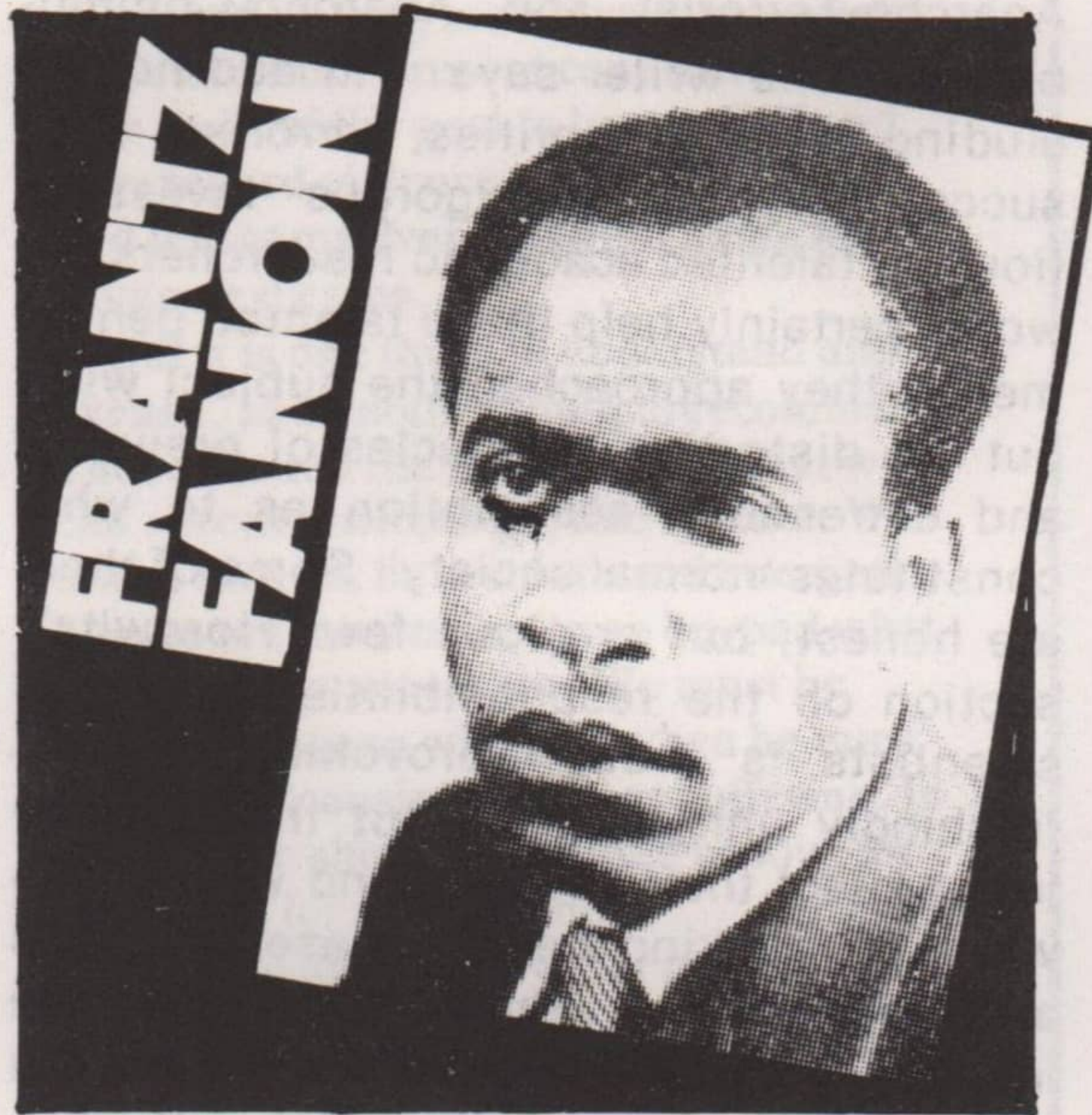
The majority of contributors to this book hold the assumption that the major motive behind political violence is to achieve publicity. To put it mildly this is a gross generalisation, but then one can hardly expect much more when such propagandistic, inaccurate and emotive terms are used such as Anarcho-Marxist,

Anarcho-Terrorist and Anarcho-Communist. As one writer says: "In addition to eluding police authorities, terrorists have successfully eluded rigorous investigations by talented academic researchers." It would certainly help these talented gentlemen if they approached the subject without the distorting spectacles of prejudice and entrenched assumption as to what constitutes 'normal society'. Some of them are honest, but precious few. Horowitz's section on the responsibilities of social scientists is thought-provoking and refreshingly unhysterical. But the majority just protect their second hand view of the world by ducking behind biased phrases and terminology which they have the insolence to call value-free. However, the fundamental dishonesty which affects eighty percent of this book is the refusal to examine the real reasons for terrorism. Only a few acknowledge the existence of State terrorism and even they hurry on saying that it is not part of the study. But as Proudhon said, order is the daughter of liberty, not the mother, and political violence is inevitable while there is repression and exploitation. The only total 'order' which governments can hope for, lies in the mass narco-hypnosis and lobotomy of any potential dissidents.

No signature



REVIEWS



Frantz Fanon, Irene Gendzier,
Wildwood House, £1.75

This finely balanced work examines the importance of Fanon's writing on racism, colonialism and revolution without glossing over the shortfall in his analysis. Frantz Fanon was born in 1925 on Martinique, a French colony where the native population had been unconsciously taught to view itself through white eyes to the point where the native class structure rested principally on degrees of skin pigmentation. For this, and other reasons, Fanon later realised that a Marxist critique of colonialism was totally inadequate.

He left the stifling environment of his island with its limited possibilities and went to study in France where he eventually became a psychiatrist and friend of Sartre. Fanon was propelled in the direction of political thought through trying to find out what sort of man he really was as opposed to what colonialism had made him think he was. The next step to psychiatry was also logical in the way it lead him to examine man within his total environment rather than just within his family. *Black Faces, White Masks* was the first of his three most important books, and it examined the way the Negro is made to see himself and act as the white oppressor sees him. The origin of this line of enquiry he owed to Sartre's work, *Jew and Anti-Semite*. This essay showed how the hater was motivated by fear of inadequacies within himself which he transmuted into defects which he ascribed to the Jews. Fanon developed this idea together with elements of Hegel's Master-Servant paradigm to show how the oppressor will not only despise but fear other races whom he oppresses. This theory can be extended to other relationships: capitalist/worker, man/woman, authoritarian/libertarian. Fanon later realised that the oppressed wanted to replace the oppressor, rather

than just do away with oppression because they had been conditioned to feel in such terms. "They were a power for evil - I can be a power for good." Perhaps he sensed that a power for good in such a context is a contradiction in terms for it is the power which is the essence of evil. But unfortunately Fanon held back and did not go further than stating a half-truth that a subjugated man will want to use the methods of his oppressor because he is not a free man.

Fanon was appointed as head of the largest psychiatric hospital in Algeria as the war of independence began and it was hardly surprising that he should join the Algerians against the French. However, his own attitudes towards nationalism were in a state of flux. He had been strongly attracted to Negritude (a forerunner of Black consciousness) as a step in itself, but Sartre gave him a timely warning of where it might lead. As a result, Fanon was conscious of the dangers of nationalism, but he realised that in such a struggle which had already started, it was the only politically unifying emotion to fight the oppressor, and hoped that it was a weapon that could be discarded once the fight was won. Fanon was a limited revolutionary thinker in the sense that he was superb in his analysis of colonialism, but weak when it came to analysing the roots of power and exploitation. He was a naive libertarian who believed that a State did not automatically mean a new authoritarianism. Guevara was a great admirer of his, and it is likely that some of his thinking on the role of the revolutionary vanguard and how it should not be dominated by 'traditional parties' (i.e. the CP) was inspired by his work. Neither of them of course acknowledged the potential authoritarianism in such an elite.

Fanon's two other major books, *Dying Colonialism*, and *The Wretched of the Earth*, have also been eagerly read by almost everyone involved in national and racial liberation movements. They are rightly admired and respected, but Fanon cannot be absolved from not going far enough in his examination. He is superb when he looks at the way European working classes are slow to be persuaded of the exploitation of neo-colonialism or how the industrial workers in 'backward' countries are of less revolutionary potential than the peasantry and lumpenproletariat, or how the native bourgeoisie is reproduced by and then replaces the colonialist class on independence. But the consequences of political power are not probed, in fact one senses a shying away from a dangerous subject.

As another biographer, Peter Geismar, wrote: "Fanon had a naive belief that the army would supervise the growth of Third World Socialism remaining immune from

the materialistic corruption of the new bourgeoisie". Fanon died before the revolutionary army won and it is a depressing but inevitable fact that Fanon's role in the Algerian revolution is already being rewritten by the present regime of Colonel Boumedienne. If only Frantz Fanon had realised: "Put not your trust in princes... priests, commissars, and colonels."

A.B.



Men in Prison; Birth of Our Power;
Conquered City, Victor Serge, Writers
& Readers Co-op, £1.25 each.

Victor Serge has mainly been known for his *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, but recently his novels have again started to receive the attention they deserve. Not only do they show him to be one of the greatest political writers, but they are also unrivalled in the way they depict the atmosphere and meaning of the major upheavals of this century. Serge wrote entirely from his own experiences and was never a theorist extrapolating political fantasies into real situations. He was born and lived in poverty and so never patronised the working class by idealising it in the manner of the bourgeois liberal. We are not spared the CNT secretary running off with the funds, the cowards, traitors or self-seekers and this brings out the bravery and determination of the majority in a way that no hack cosmetician could ever achieve. As a result his writing is probably the most faithful mirror for the Anarchist movement to look into and recognise its faults and virtues, its weaknesses and strengths.

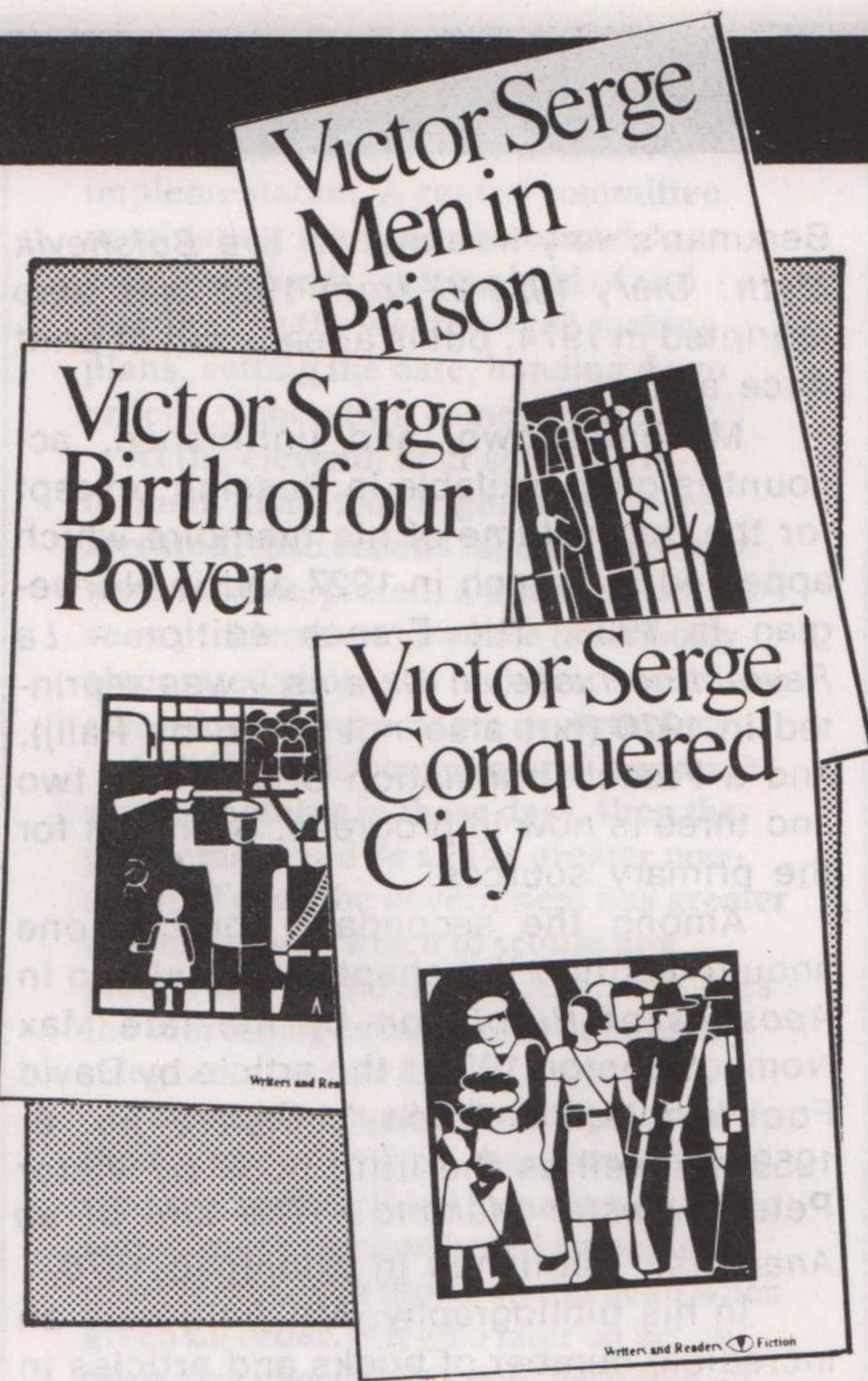
Victor Serge was born in Brussels in 1890 to revolutionary parents who had been forced to flee the Tsarist regime. In

REVIEWS

his youth he moved to France and spent a short time in an Anarchist commune. At the age of twenty he became the editor of "Anarchie" in Paris. Two years later he was implicated in the trial of the 'Bonnot gang', and was sentenced to five years in prison. This experience was the basis for *Men in Prison*. On release he went to Barcelona and took part in the CNT uprising (first part of *Birth of Our Power*). He was then interned for a year in France en route for Russia and he finally reached Petrograd in 1919 (second part of *Birth of Our Power*) and took part in its defence against the Whites (*Conquered City*). By this time he had become depressed by Anarchist disorganisation and joined the Comintern under Zinoviev. This change in attitude is described thus: "Their fault is in being admirable... we need technicians, not great or admirable men. Technicians specialised in the liberation of the masses ... to take the mechanisms of history apart."

He served abroad as an agent of the Comintern but returned to Russia in 1926 to take part in the last stand of the left opposition and soon afterwards he was expelled from the Communist Party and relieved of all official positions. Being deprived of work, he started writing and sent his manuscripts to France. (*Year One of the Russian Revolution* and *Men in Prison*, 1930. *Birth of Power*, 1931 and *Conquered City*, 1932). He was arrested in 1933 and three years later was deprived of his citizenship and expelled from Russia after being saved by a campaign for his release by Gide, Malraux and other French Communist intellectuals, (a remarkable event in itself at a time when it was 'class treason' for a party member to support a Soviet prisoner). Serge's other manuscripts were confiscated by the secret police as he left and apparently his finest Anarchist novel may still be in some KGB filing cabinet.

His arrival in Europe was very different to that of Solzhenitsyn, as Richard Greeman the translator, points out in an excellent introduction. He was vilified by the communist publications and ignored by the bourgeois press for Serge was still a revolutionary and had no illusions about western freedom in the way Solzhenitsyn did forty years later. Serge moved on to Spain and became a councillor of the P.O.U.M. and was a close friend of Andres Nin. He escaped the SIM purges but had to flee before Franco's army and then had to leave Paris a year later as the Nazis advanced. Only Mexico would allow him in and he lived there in abject poverty still writing. The two most important works which he produced in the latter period were *The Case of Comrade Tulayev* and *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*. He was buried in 1947 as a 'Spanish Republican' in the French section of the Mexico City ceme-



tary. He was a stateless revolutionary in every sense.

Men in Prison can be compared with other autobiographical prison novels such as *One Day in the Life of Ivan Denisovich*, but none of them come near the honesty, and insight of Serge. He does not just show the horror of only a Soviet camp as in Solzhenitsyn's writing, but his breadth of vision illustrates the mentality of prisons and the State everywhere. It is an utterly human document which never lapses into propaganda or stereotypes, and his strength of feeling never warps his judgement.

Birth of Our Power starts with an optimistic view of Anarchist strength (mirroring reality) in Barcelona towards the end of the First World War. Powerful hopes grow with the news from Russia and they believe that Europe can be set alight at both ends. But then Serge's realism becomes as strong as his idealism when he starts to see that they are doomed without organisation as the rising approaches. There is a superb description of a bullfight as the tension grows with the rich sitting in the shade uneasily watching the workers sweating in the sun on the far side. Self-confidence is apparent in their manner for they are certain of the coming of 'the worker's Messiah - the Revolution'. But without careful planning and by relying on opportunist bourgeois politicians the revolt hardly gets off the ground. Soon afterwards, Serge says farewell to his comrades including Dario who is based on Salvador Segui, and sets off for Russia via France. There he is interned and the camp is an uncontrived reflection of contemporary society with the entrepreneurs and their victims, both nominally free and yet surrounded by wire fences and armed guards.

With the armistice the Russians are allowed to leave for Petrograd and the book finishes with his initial reactions on arriving and the news of Dario's death.

Conquered City takes up the story and describes the defence of Petrograd against the Whites, but this book is a 'real novel' and not a slightly fictionalised personal narrative. It is a masterpiece in the way it describes atmosphere and events, for Serge does without a central character and builds the book through small sketches which grow into a broad and yet finely detailed mosaic. But this is no propaganda epic of proletarian nobility. A hack constructing a sterile two dimensional tableau would ignore or be blind to the subtle and glaring contrasts which Serge portrays with his relentless honesty. He is not blinded by lofty talk of revolutionary heroism for he has experienced and records for us the betrayals, the squalor, the hunger, the pettiness, the jealousies, and the selfishness which formed the sombre and menacing backdrop to the bravery and idealism. His description includes showing how authoritarians instantly turned themselves into a privileged class in the midst of the turmoil. We see the pigs of *Animal Farm* justifying their special rations 'because they needed to think for the workers', those who laboured fifteen hours a day or more on sub starvation levels with only empty rhetoric and false promises to keep them going. Men and women who had already started to distrust their new masters and were yet convinced by them that a return to their old exploiters was the only alternative. 'It is only a temporary measure, Comrades'.

As Serge said in *Birth of Our Power*: "Already in a few hours we had learned more about the Revolution than in many long meditations. And it appeared to us under aspects very different from those suggested by our imagination, shaped by legend and by history, which is very close to legend." His greatest legacy to us is his warning, which is only effective because it comes from a true revolutionary who never lost faith, of how authoritarianism is bound to develop in the inevitable chaos of a revolution unless libertarians are prepared and their organisation is already growing healthily to combat those who claim power to 'safeguard the revolution'. Victor Serge was uniquely qualified to feel and understand both sides through experience, but he was never disillusioned. The Writers and Readers Publishing co-operative are to be congratulated on these editions with their excellent introductions and summary of his life. The slight difference in price over other paperback versions is well worth it.

A.B.

REVIEWS

The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno: 1918-1921: An Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution, Michael Palij, University of Washington Press, £11.00

Here at last, after more than fifty years, is the first full length scholarly study in a West European language of the peasant partisan movement of the anarchist Nestor Makhno which operated in Ukraine in the years 1918-1921, fighting the Red Bolsheviks as well as the White tsarist generals. The author, Michael Palij, who is Ukrainian-born, is associate Slavic librarian at the University of Kansas, and his book is a revision of a doctoral thesis from 1971 entitled "The Peasant Partisan Movement of the Anarchist Nestor Makhno, 1918-1921, an Aspect of the Ukrainian Revolution." The book, which is based almost exclusively on printed sources, runs to little more than 400 pages - of which the main text takes up 250, notes and references 50, bibliography 100, and an index 10 pages.

Mr. Palij is, of course, not the first writer to deal with Makhno. Two of the most well known accounts are those by Arshinov and Voline, both of whom participated in the movement. Peter Arshinov published his *Istoriia makhnovskogo dvizheniia 1918-1921gg* in Berlin in 1923. A German translation appeared in the same year, followed next year by a French and a Norwegian translation, but an English translation - *History of the Makhnovist Movement* - did not appear until 1974, when it was published by two American groups, "Solidarity" and "Black and Red" of Chicago and Detroit. Voline's account appeared in French, posthumously, in 1947 (reprinted in 1969). The second and third parts of this were translated into English by Freedom Press in 1954-55 as *1917: The Russian Revolution Betrayed* and *The Unknown Revolution*, and in 1974 the two American groups referred to above brought out a complete translation of Voline's book under the title *The Unknown Revolution: 1917-1921* (This new translation, however, is not listed in Palij's bibliography).

The Makhno movement is also mentioned in the memoirs of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman, both of whom were in Russia in the years 1920-22. Goldman's *My Disillusionment in Russia* (London 1925) and the fuller *Living My Life* (New York 1931) were both reprinted in the US in 1970 (a fact which Palij fails to mention. Besides, his references to Goldman are often confused: When, for instance on page 280 note 10, he cites "Goldman, *Living My Life*, p. 148," the correct citation is, in fact, *My Disillusionment in Russia*, p. 148."). Similarly,

Berkman's very informative *The Bolshevik Myth: Diary 1920-22* from 1925 was also reprinted in 1974, but is already out of print once again.

Makhno's own, and unfinished, account is only available in Russian, except for the first volume of his memoirs which appeared in French in 1927 and in Norwegian in 1933. The French edition - *La Revolution russe en Ukraine* - was reprinted in 1970 (but also not listed by Palij), and a French translation of volumes two and three is now in progress. So much for the primary sources.

Among the secondary sources one should mention the chapter on Makhno in *Apostles of Revolution* by the late Max Nomad (Boston 1939); the article by David Footman in *St. Antony's Papers* no. 6, 1959, as well as the little book by Victor Peters, *Nestor Makhno - The Life of an Anarchist*, published in Winnipeg 1970.

In his bibliography, Mr. Palij lists an incredible number of books and articles in Russian, Ukrainian and Polish, as well as in English, French and German - including those mentioned above - but even so, it seems that a few relevant items have escaped his notice: In the first place, there exists a large literature on the so-called bandit phenomenon, the most well known being Eric Hobsbawm's *Bandits* (1969) and *Primitive Rebels* (3rd edition 1971), and whether or not one agrees with Hobsbawm, it might have been useful to discuss the Makhno movement from this angle, too, but none of this appears in Palij's book. The same is true of some of the more recent works on anarchism and on Makhno published in the Soviet Union, for instance Alexander Bek's article in *Novyi Mir* no. 7, 1969; P. Kh. Biliy's article in the *Ukrainskyi Istorychny Zhurnal* no. 5, 1971; S.N. Kanev's *Oktiabrskaiia revoliutsiia i krakh anarkhizma* from 1974, and M. Khudaikulov's *Bosheviki v borbe s anarkhizmom v pervye gody sovetskoi vlasti* also from



CLIFF HARPER

1974. Similarly, there is no reference to two Western works, *Dalla insurrezione dei contadini in Ucraina alla rivolta di Cronstadt* by Ugo Fedeli (Milan, 1950) and *Makhno - Une epepee* by Malcolm Menzies (Paris, 1972).

Presumably, some of these omissions are to be explained by the fact that Palij submitted his thesis in 1971. At any rate, I count only two items from 1974 (Arshinov's *History* and D.V. Lehovich, *White against Red*), two from 1973 (Lehovich, "Denikin's Offensive," *Russian Review*, and *Les anarchistes dans la revolution russe*, edited by A. Skirda), and all the rest are from before that.

Finally, one might add three items which appeared after Palij's book went to press, namely Paul Avrich's article on Makhno in *Freedom*, April 12, 1975, Michael Malet's article on "Makhno and his Enemies" in *Freedom*, October 1, 1977, and Anthony D'Agostino's *Marxism and the Russian Anarchists* published in San Francisco in 1977.

The story of the Makhno movement from its beginning in 1917 until it was finally hunted down by the Bolsheviks in 1921, is told in great detail and with many references by Mr. Palij, and for this reason his book is important and worth reading. In general, Palij uses his sources well as when he demonstrates the military talent of the movement and the popular support it enjoyed by citing Red (pages 115, 156-58, 191) as well as White sources (pages 106, 195, 199, 202, 205). Even these hostile witnesses had to admit to some of the successes of the movement. There are, however, also some instances where his critical sense seems to have failed him.

Thus he accuses Makhno of nationalism and of having plans for co-operation with more conservative minded Ukrainian nationalists (page 79), but this charge is documented by references to three hostile sources - Erde, Kubanin and Teper - which makes it doubtful, and it is, in fact contradicted three pages further on when Makhno is quoted as being against the Bolshevik as well as the Ukrainian nationalist government, because "the toilers have no interest in either" (page 82).

Again, when dealing with the mass arrests conducted by the Bolsheviks of innocent peasants who were suspected of collaborating in some way with the partisans, he says that "it is impossible to determine the casualties involved: according to moderate estimates, more than two hundred thousand people were executed or injured by the Bolsheviks during this period. Nearly as many were imprisoned or deported to Russia and Siberia" (page 213). But a check in the notes at the back of the book (page 303 note 14) shows that the source is Makhno's friend Arshinov,

REVIEWS

and his estimate may, of course, be correct, but it can hardly be called "moderate" - and no Soviet sources are cited on this point to support the estimate.

Moreover, it happens too often that Palij documents a statement by quoting "an eyewitness" (for instance pages 113, 200) without explaining either *who* this witness is or if it is a *hostile* or a *sympathetic* observer. It is, of course, useful to know that we are dealing with an eyewitness, but even they do not always speak the truth. As it is, the reader has to turn to the notes in order to find out the name of the witness and then search through the long bibliography to find out where this particular person stands. It would have been better to insert these things in the text.

Finally, he quotes Trotsky as saying that Makhno united with the former tsarist general Wrangel (which, in fact, he never did) without explaining in which forum he said so (page 220). Presumably, it was a propaganda speech, since Trotsky later retracted his statement, as Palij indeed notes immediately afterwards, but he does not tell us anything about it. Similarly, it would have been useful to know who Dr. Cyrille Radeff, who was interviewed by the author on Makhno's last days (pages 309 note 1, 310 note 17), is and what his attitude toward Makhno is.

However, these points are only minor. What is more important is that Palij does not raise problems, does not ask questions or discuss the reliability of his sources. And unfortunately there are several key issues concerning Makhno which have been dealt with only superficially or have been simply left out altogether. In the first place, one might with good reason have expected a full and detailed analysis of the means and ends of the Makhno movement from a book entitled *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*. The question: "what kind of anarchism did Makhno stand for?" should be dominant. But it is not. It seems, in fact, that Palij is not really interested in Makhno's anarchism, because in a book which runs to more than 400 pages, he devotes a mere ten pages to this subject. The title of the book is somewhat misleading, since it is primarily a *military* account, and therefore it would perhaps have been more fitting to have kept the original title of the thesis: "The Peasant Partisan Movement of the Anarchist Nestor Makhno."

Secondly, there is no discussion of who the Makhnovists were. What was the social composition of the movement? How many workers, peasants, intellectuals, criminals? I find only a few scattered references (pages 73,80,257), but no systematic analysis. The same is true of the question of numbers. How many people were involved in the movement? Palij does



cite a few figures (pages 99, 110, 112, 158), but there is not much discussion of their reliability. (By contrast, Oliver Radkey's *The Unknown Civil War in Soviet Russia*, Stanford 1976, which deals with the Antonov movement, contains a very comprehensive analysis of these questions.)

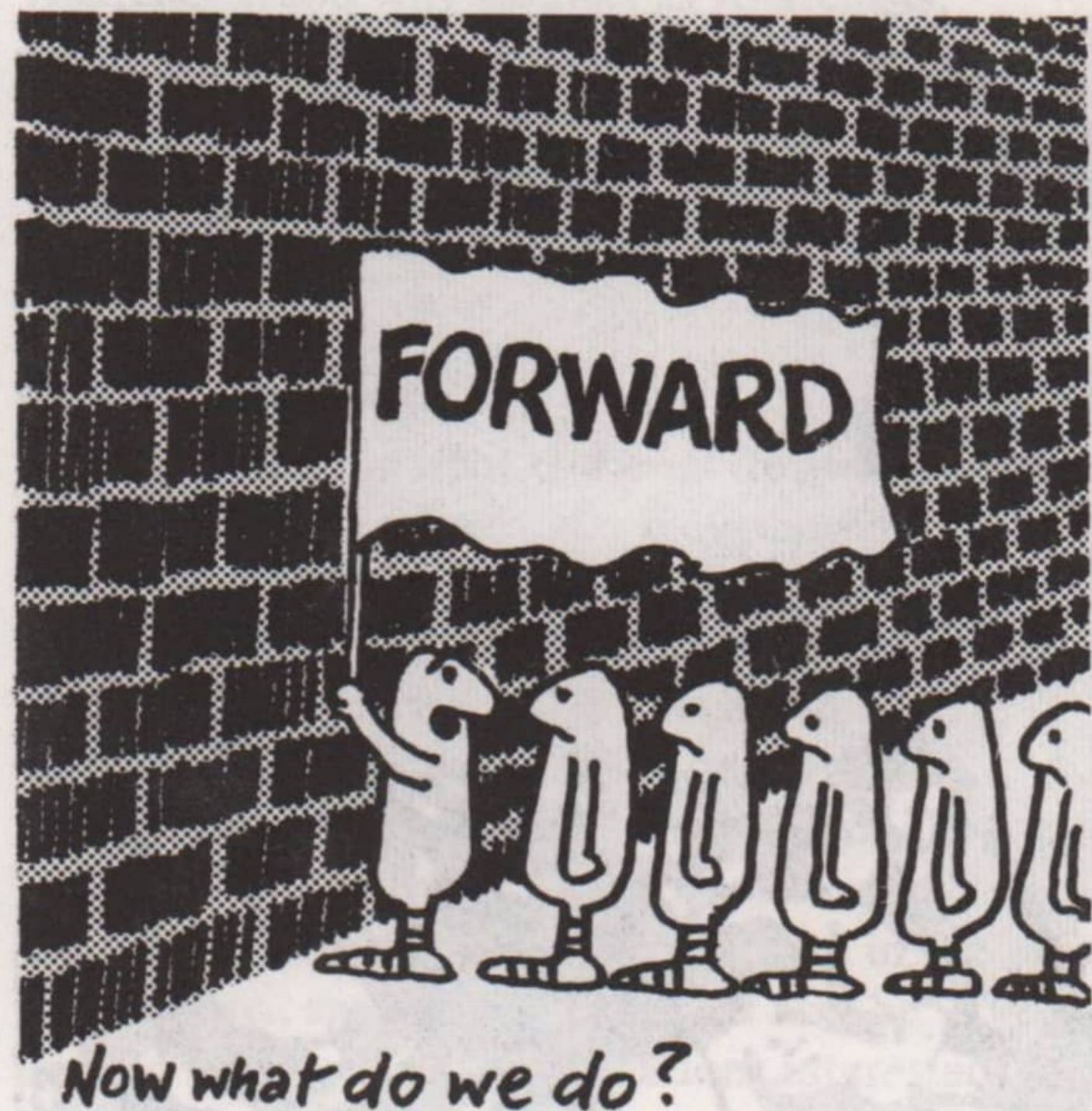
And there are even more essential problems which have been largely ignored: For instance the Bolsheviks often accused Makhno of leading a movement of *Kulaks* - rich peasants, but again, there are only some scattered remarks (pages 157, 175, 238, 293, note 36) on the basis of which it is impossible to determine to which extent the charge was justified. The movement was also accused of anti-semitism, but to my knowledge, this word occurs but *once* in the whole book (page 155) when Palij quotes a resolution from the Makhnovist congress, and it is not discussed by Palij one way or the other. The problems of alcoholism and of language (Russian or Ukrainian) are equally limited to some scattered remarks (pages 65, 76, 110, 197). One could continue this list, but suffice it here to point out that as a result of the author's concentration on military history there is hardly any discussion of civilian affairs. What were the

results of the movement in agriculture, in industry, and in transport? What was family life like in the areas dominated by the Makhnovists? And what was the position of women?

Even much shorter accounts - such as for instance those by Avrich or Peters - have included brief discussions of some of the problems referred to above, and therefore it is surprising that they are almost totally ignored in this first full length study of Makhno to appear in the West. Thus, the book has many weaknesses, especially because it promises much more than is actually fulfilled, and accordingly it is not the definitive biography for which Paul Avrich asked in his April 12, 1975, article in *Freedom*. At the London School of Economics a thesis on Makhno has for many years been in preparation by Michael Malet, referred to above. It is to be hoped that his work - if and when it appears - will complement rather than just mirror *The Anarchism of Nestor Makhno*.

Torben Retboll

REVIEWS



By Force of Will: The Life and Art of Ernest Hemingway, Scott Donaldson, Penguin, £1.00

Understandably, Hemingway the man is now a fashionably tempting target to demolish, but this book's measure of excellence is the way that none of the author's blows are cheap or cowardly. It is a superbly balanced book and yet ruthlessly honest in judging the man and his work. And as a brief passage about Anarchists in *For Whom the Bell Tolls* has probably influenced more people's attitudes than Hugh Thomas' history, Donaldson's analysis of Hemingway's character and politics is more than interesting.

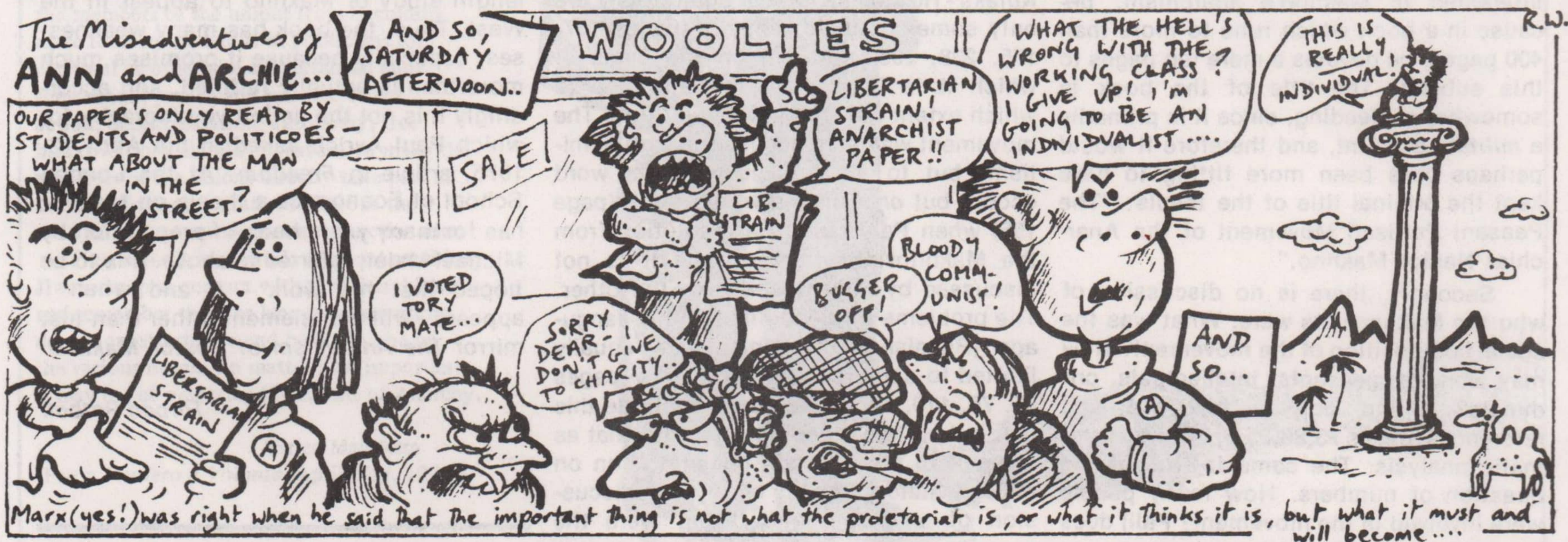
Ernest Hemingway was intensely competitive and self-seeking in his writing career and bit every hand who helped him up the ladder - (Ezra Pound, Dos Passos, Scott Fitzgerald, Gertrude Stein and many others) simply because he could not be beholden to anyone. He had to be the loner out ahead and utterly respected for his professionalism. This was also true in every other hobby or interest, war, gambling, sport, drinking, and 'love', but his urge to excel became an obsession and

Donaldson cleverly titles one chapter 'Hemingway as Walter Mitty'.

It was his individualism which made him a convinced anti-Fascist from the moment Mussolini reared his ugly head, and he never wavered right through McCarthyism. For similar reasons he never joined the Communist Party even with the flattery of the Communist press during the mid thirties when it changed its previous criticism of his writing in an attempt to win over such an influential figure. Throughout his life Hemingway had a deep distrust and savage scorn for politicians and their dishonest posturing. This included the Spanish Republican leaders and their 'lucrative profession', and he once wrote: "If we ever have a time when for a few days you may shoot anyone you wish, I would certainly want to bag various policemen, Italian statesmen, government functionaries, and Massachusetts judges". The last category presumably refers to Judge Thayer of the Sacco and Vanzetti case. And yet one friend was sure that he broke with Dos Passos "because he felt that Dos Passos was too sympathetic to the anarchist element in the Loyalist ranks". On the surface it appears a strange contradiction, for basically Hemingway was no more than a selfish individualist, or a patriarch who enjoyed his own 'anarchism' but could not tolerate it in others; (it was perhaps no coincidence that he admired the works of Thoreau so much). In Spain, Hemingway was convinced that the Anarchists were undisciplined and thus let the Fascists win. Donaldson argues convincingly that although he was not won over to Communism, he was effectively flattered by senior communists at Gaylord's (the hotel reserved for Russian officers and important CP officials). Hemingway adored being privy to secret information, to being in the know amongst professionals, and as a result he was taken in. The play, *Fifth Column*, which he wrote at that time dealing with the Communist secret police, is either flagrantly dishonest or else

phenomenally naive in the way the SIM is portrayed solely as a Fascist-hunting organisation.

The main attacks made nowadays against Hemingway are on the grounds of his sexism. These attacks are utterly justified when they are directed against the man, but care should be taken when dealing with his writing, especially in the case of *A Farewell to Arms*. It may seem almost a paradox to have to separate the writer and his work in this way, but again we need to go back to his character. Hemingway was obsessed with the importance of knowing how to live and how to die. It was all an exercise in professionalism and self-control, and an enormously wide subject to study in his view. As a result his novels, which were far more wishfully autobiographical than most, depicted the rough sophisticated master-male passing on his worldly experience to eager student-females. They represented a one-way admiration society while men were allowed at most to be comrade-admirers. However, *A Farewell to Arms* cannot be justifiably accused of sexism for it is a brilliant study of sexual exploitation albeit inspired by guilt at the way he had treated his first wife. But of course the majority of his male protagonists were very different. They were not just projections of himself, rather the reverse. He convinced himself and tried to convince everyone else that he was all of these virile paragons rolled into one. The quintessential macho who always did what a man's gotta do and goes out guns blazing satisfied that he's done it. Hemingway went out with both barrels pointing at his own forehead having realised how pathetically different his life had in fact been when compared to his grotesquely romanticised self-image.



REVIEWS

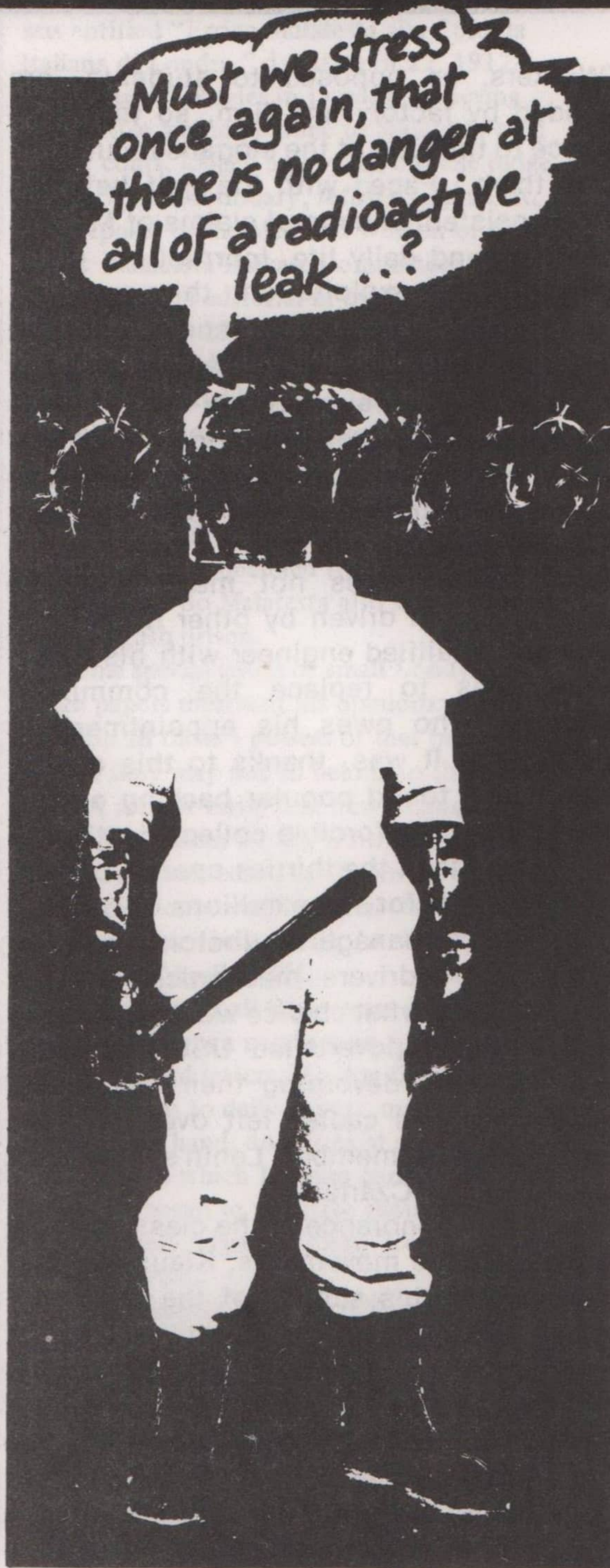
Ground for Concern – Australia's Uranium & Human Survival, F.O.E., Penguin, £2.00

An abstruse and none too libertarian piece of reading, this book is nevertheless of some interest to us in our struggles against the further onslaughts of authoritarianism. The book shows the nature of the nuclear society, a world controlled by national and multinational corporations, such as British Nuclear Fuels Ltd., the Atomic Energy Authorities, Rio Tinto Zinc, with their own police forces as outlined in the Atomic Energy (Special Constables) Act 1976. This Act confers on the British Atomic Energy Authority the right to have under their control an armed police force with the power of arrest on "suspicion" alone - the usual stuff, "known character", etc.; in short, the move towards a nuclear economy means a move towards the totalitarian state.

The hazards of nuclear power, both in the sense of industrial accident (or should I say potential holocaust), and in the sense of radiation danger to health are explained. Radiation in small doses causes cancer, and it causes genetic damage. One can be apparently healthy, yet produce children who are horrible mutations. Radioactive waste is dumped, intentionally or accidentally, from nuclear establishments into the sea, or underground, and the effects of this waste will not become apparent until it is too late.

A fair part of the book deals with problems particular to Australia, but since these problems affect us directly the whole book is relevant to anti-nuclear and anti-authoritarian struggles everywhere, and the chapters on mining are particularly relevant to Orkney, where this activity is proposed, much against the wishes of the Orkney people.

"The history of the (nuclear) industry supports the central theme of this book,



that technocrats must not be allowed to assume the power to make vital decisions beyond public scrutiny." - from the Introduction.

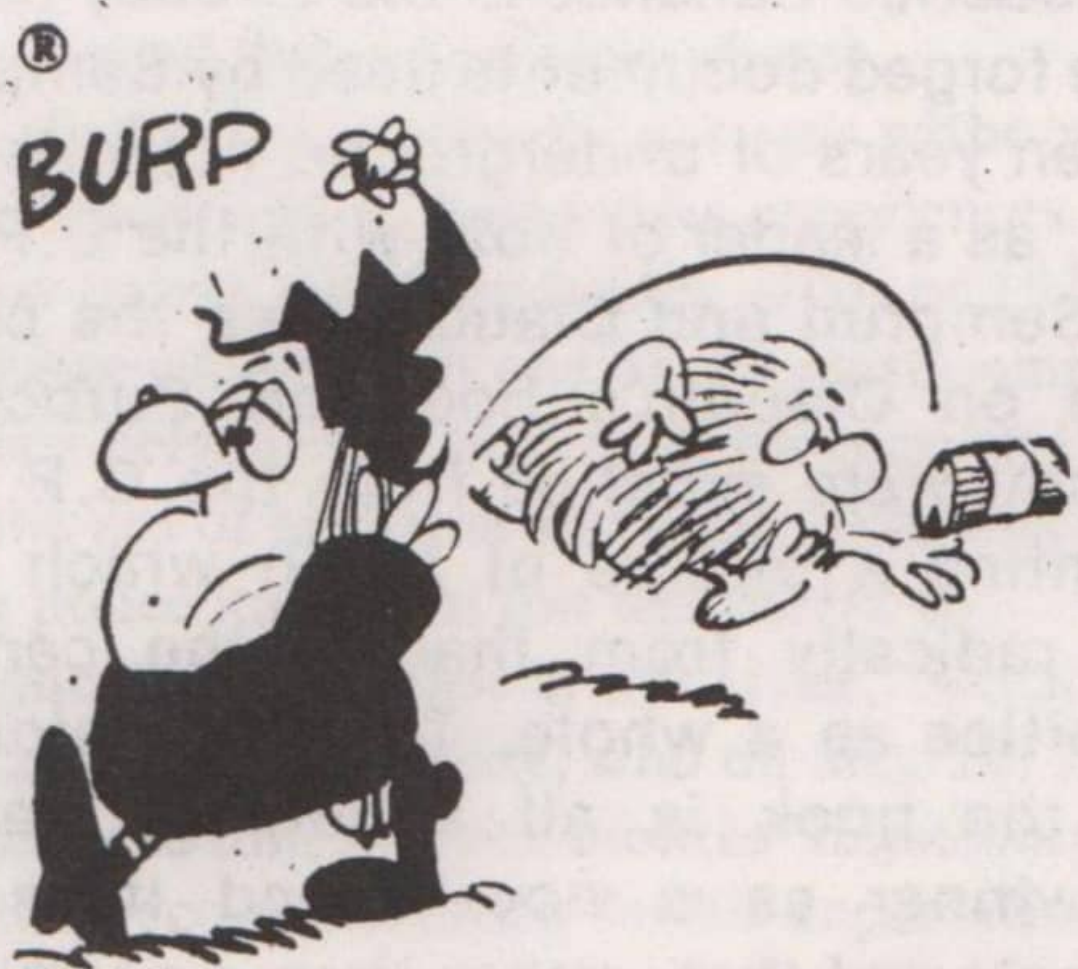
R.M. Orkney

The Twilight of the Young – The Radical Movement of the Sixties and Their Legacy, Klaus Mehnert, £6.90

This sort of book is unsettling, for it leaves a single individual, who, according to the publishers has the necessary qualifications, to interpret a particular chapter of the history of the world. That in itself, seems absurd to me for such a study could only be undertaken collectively. In point of fact, the book is riddled with omissions and imbalances in the assessment of the importance (or unimportance) of this or that event. Indeed, the author seeks to collate everything that happened in the student world between 1964 and 1968. (In his eyes, "young" and "student" are synonymous terms.) He concludes that the absence of leaders accounts for a lack of balance among the young. "Obviously youth faces one particular difficulty: It is moving in an unknown territory without convincing models. The heroes of the twenties and thirties are gone, some of them in disgrace and shame. Newer ones have faded or lost their credibility. Moscow erected a disappointing, oppressive monopoly bureaucratism; Moa shook hands with Nixon and was succeeded by matter-of-fact pragmatists; Castro became the Kremlin's satellite. The radiant Kennedy, who summoned America and the entire West to new frontiers, was murdered and had no one to take his place. There are no road signs in unknown lands. (...) To find our way through the unknown, we need - on a world scale, not just in the West - the discriminating experience of the old as well as the taboo breaking courage of the young."

In fact this mish-mash of issues explains nothing: leaders in this world have always exploited and deceived and from Spartacus's day up to our own there has always been rebellion. The important thing is to understand why the confronta-

BROOM-HILDA by Russell Myers

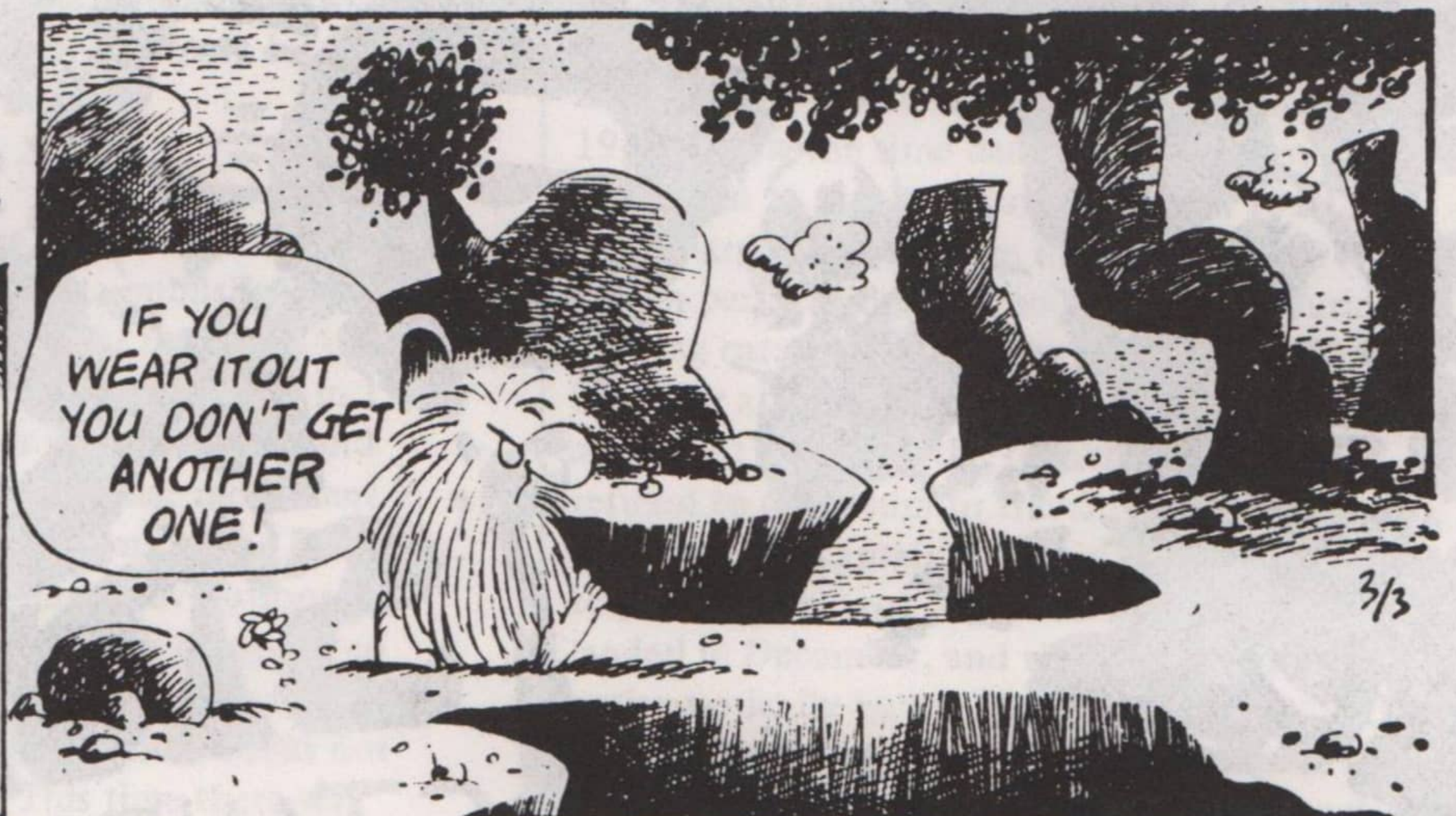


RUSSELL MYERS

I WISH YOU WOULD BE MORE CAREFUL WITH YOUR PLANET!



© 1972 by The Chicago Tribune World Rights Reserved



3/3

REVIEWS

tion between youth and adults - which may be seen even among animals - is a factor in greater vogue today.

Klaus Nehmert's book (it carries a photo of the author, doubtlessly for the benefit of young people in search of a new idol) has its good side, such as setting out a catalogue of opinions on those movements and their sundry aspects which are way off the mark. What do a taste for jazz, drugs, the student movement in Germany before Baader arrived on the scene, the agitation in Japan and the third world and in the countries of the Eastern bloc, not to mention the successes of certain religious sects have in common?

As far as I can see, many of these things have no bearing on one another. The massacre of students in 1968 in Mexico City can only be accounted for by the Olympics and the necessity to exploit the games as an opportunity to put forward demands. And that demonstration was not removed from the remainder of the population, which has shown and continues to show (by emigration, banditry, and guerrilla activities) its rejection of the current regime. What is more, being 20 or 30 years old in Mexico or the third world is nothing like being the same age in the developed nations since life expectancy there is 35 years or even less, depending on the social class.

But it is true that the demands made in Mexico in '68 had a certain similarity with international issues: the fragility of employment, in spite of paper qualifications, protest at greater military interference in the universities, alongside an awareness of the bond with imperialist countries, and perhaps, the realisation that acquired skills would no have any real application. On the other hand, those demands have nothing to do with agitation inside China or in the Eastern bloc, so evident among the students, manipulated *en masse*, by the CP through holidays in work camps and the communist youth.

(Workers, as opposed to students, are divided by factory and firm, so that they dance to the tune of the slogans inculcated into them.) Faced with the gulf between the consistent and moral claims of Marxist teaching and daily life, (corruption, graft, poverty, and exploitation) this mass of young people as a whole tends to get out of hand if there is a weakening of party control in any way: cultural revolution in China, workers' demonstrations in Poland (and their impact in Poland and Hungary in 1956), a change in the ruling class in Czechoslovakia, and so on.

This does not mean that the young are not driven by other urges: the recently qualified engineer with his diploma itches to replace the communist engineer who owes his appointment to corruption. It was, thanks to this desire, that Stalin found popular backing among the young. The forcible collectivisation of the peasants in the thirties opened up vast opportunities for some millions of cadres - as kolkhoz managers, doctors, agronomists, tractor drivers, mechanics, vets and so forth. And what chance would they have had in the impoverished USSR in 1930, with industry devouring their labour and ready qualified cadres left over from the old regime (remember Lenin's policy of enlisting the Czarists)?

Despite his ignorance of the class struggle and economic movements, Klaus Mehnert understands his subject of the psychological level. Thus he gives an honest exposition of Dutschke's thinking, and some anarchist thinking. This is not enough to justify the book, however. At a time when so many books are being put together on the topic, the author has made no use of them (they doubtless contain the opinions of students, drug users, militants from the U.S., Japan, France, and so on). They undoubtedly would have shown the book's interpretation of the facts to be nonsense.

Frank Mintz



Autobiografia de Federico Sanchez, Jorge Semprun, Planeta

This book has just been published in French and also forms part of the background to a film by Losey. The author is the script writer of films with Costas Gavras and Yves Montand, films like *Z*, *State of Siege* and *L'Aveu* which denounce the dictatorships in Greece, Uruguay and Czechoslovakia. In the last the loyalty is to Lenin, but the words are those of Artur London, a Czech communist sentenced as a British spy and then rehabilitated, only to be sentenced again for his opposition to the "liberating" tanks in 1968 (but since he was living among the "capitalists" the sentence did not worry him, even though it did mean he could not return to his native country.

To be honest, I did not want to read this book. Seized upon as a broadside against Carrillo's Eurocommunism the impression given by the press was that the book was a catalogue of gossip about the Party's well known leaders, but I availed of a few days invigilating exams to read it through. And I liked it, even if the author's interpretation is not my own.

Federico Sanchez is the phoney name on the forged documents used by Semprun over ten years of underground activities in Spain, as a leader of note with the C.P. In 1964 Semprun and Claudin (see the comments on Claudin's book on Eurocommunism) were expelled from the C.P. for presenting a picture of Spain which differed radically from that of the central committee as a whole. This expulsion is what the book is all about. (It was a prize-winner as a novel), and it is an expression of that, rather than a narrative, for it is an evocation of Semprun's life as a communist. It is quite some undertaking



REVIEWS

to demonstrate that Semprun's and Claudin's view of Spain was the correct one and that Carrillo and his C.P. have today adopted their approach, but only inadequately, in caricature fashion, proclaiming that there is democracy and freedom when the head of their political police (in theory, dismantled) today is Conesa, just as he was back in 1950. All in all, Semprun's criticisms and attacks may be explained away as demonstrating the political decrepitude of the C.P.'s leadership in contrast to Carrillo. But, consciously or not, Semprun erects a monument to himself at the same time: I the hero, in the underground, *au fait* with every change, and them, the asinine imitators - so I ought to be leader of the Spanish C.P. today, for Eurocommunism belongs to me.

I have no way of knowing if Semprun does in fact think thus, but that is the impression the book gives. It is a book, too, which passes over the real problem - the problem that Semprun is incapable of posing to himself in any really serious way - in utter silence. Why was he a Stalinist? In fact, Semprun, who was a prisoner in Buchenwald during the Second World War, explains how, in connection with the big trials against Rajk in Hungary, he read in 1952 that Josef Frank was supposed to be a spy. And Semprun writes how he had been in Buchenwald with Frank so he knew he was no spy so it was all lies. But Semprun did not do anything, he rose inside the Party and was expelled in 1964 and didn't leave of his own choosing. Were those twelve years spent struggling for an organization rotting from the head? In an effort to cleanse it? No, for he was expelled on tactical differences, not for questioning the party structure. Semprun

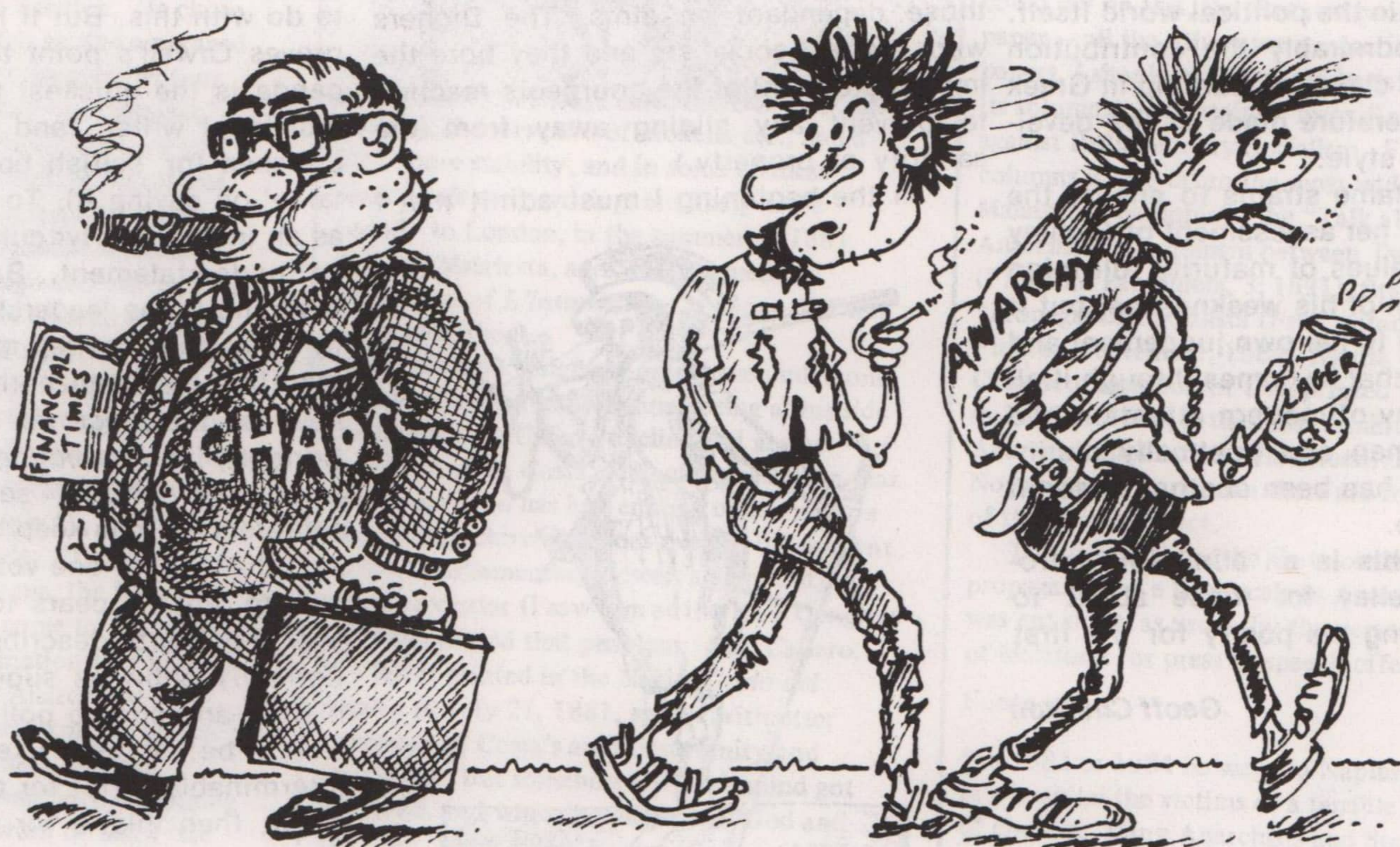
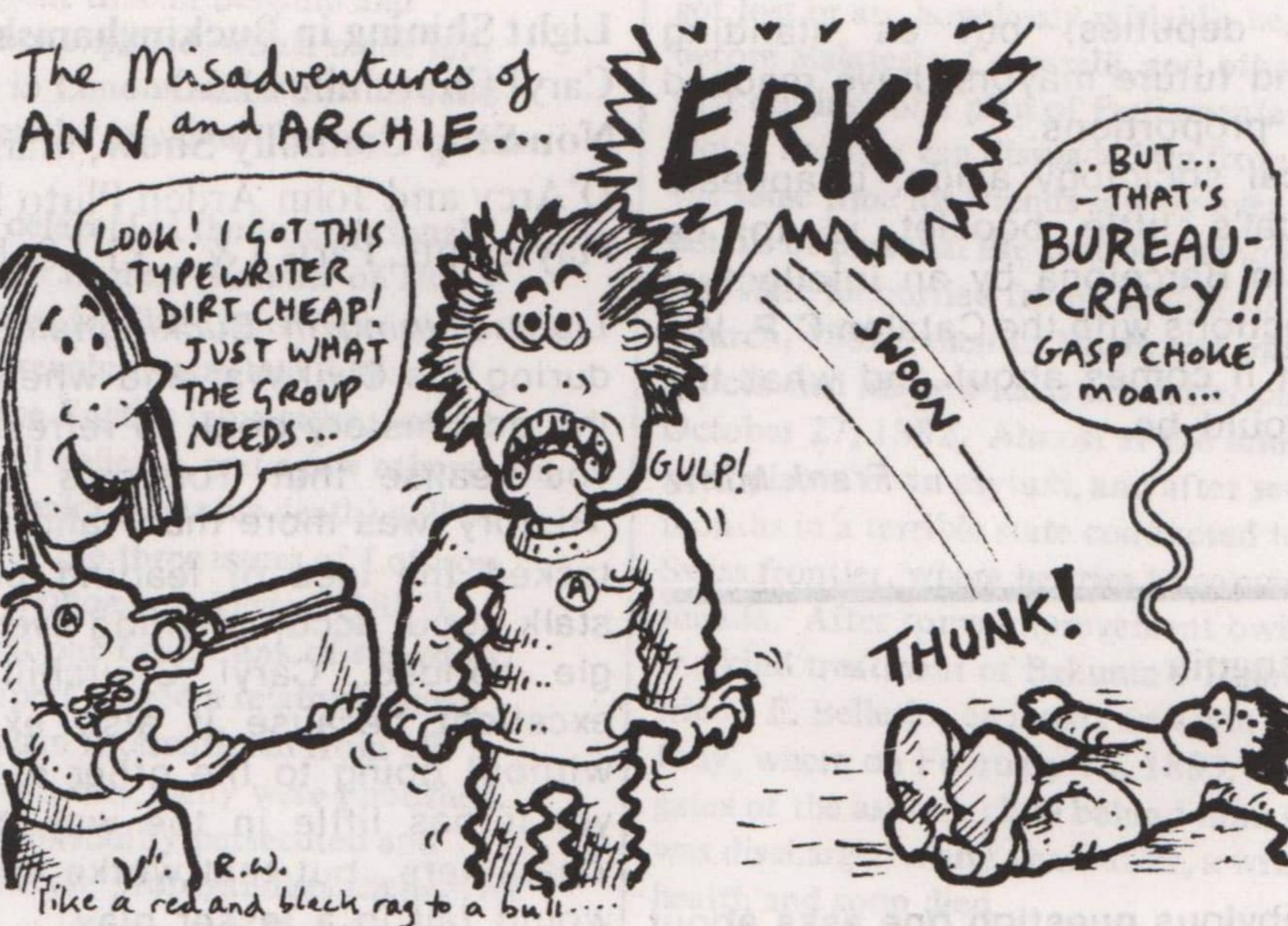
dismisses his ideas in four very short pages and it seems that "in any event, the failure of destalinisation and the liquidation of the Czechoslovak experiment have shown that the bureaucratic state-capitalist system cannot be reformed from the top down, but must be destroyed by the grassroots membership. "But what a very commonplace idea to find amid the welter of indignation at his expulsion from the C.P. - a C.P. which is, nonetheless, painted by the blackest colours!

The dramatist Arrabal made use of this and other books, especially Lister's to draft his *Carta a los militantes comunistas espanoles. Suenos y mentira del Eurocomunismo* (Letter to Spanish communist militants, Eurocommunism - the dream and the lie), Paris, Bourgois, 1978, in a bilingual French and Spanish edition of 174 pages.

It is a superb evocation of the C.P.'s

squalid past which its militants ought to know about and repudiate. Arrabal also mentions the warnings he was given "Either you join the Party or you end up with incurable paranoia", "Think of your career: 80% of the film and theatre critics in Spain are communists."

Deep down I don't know if people in Spain today have any interest in these catalogues of crimes and dirty deals: I believe their interest in the civil war and the past is an effort to place today's tendencies, today's events, the present, into focus. And as to most of those in the C.P. I wonder if they did not join the C.P. just because the good positions in the Socialist Party are filled (and because the anarchists have no sinecures to offer) - because already, the numbers of those who have, in a country ruled by the Falange since 1936 and even more so since 1939, changed their social status (not



REVIEWS

merely as deputies, but as standing officials and future mayors) have reached significant proportions.

Political sociology aside, it appears that Arrabal's little booklet is to be published in Barcelona by an intellectual with connections with the Catalan C.P. We shall see if it comes about and what the reaction would be.

Frank Mintz

Shelley, Penguin

The obvious question one asks about any new edition of a poet as readily available as Shelley is what can it possibly offer?

In this paperback selection Kathleen Raine provides a generous number of Shelley's lyric and dramatic poems (but not the blank-verse drama "The Cenci") and none of his prose (not even a snatch of the "Defence of Poetry" which most editors regard as *de rigueur*).

Her own introduction explores the emphasis on youthful idealism in Shelley's work (Shelley was the most consciously revolutionary among all the Romantic poets) and congratulates the 70s as being capable of feeling similar enthusiasms, even if in the end they are supplanted by other concerns. She makes much of the academic authority of C.S. Lewis in this affirmation, as if a little unsure of her own. To be fair, however, one recognises that it has been only in the last ten years or so that Shelley has had any real run for his money - prior to that, conservative and anti-idealist opinion prevailed in criticism even more than in the political world itself. She explains admirably the contribution which Shelley's classical learning in Greek thought and literature made in the development of his style.

Kathleen Raine strains to ensure the acceptability of her assessment of Shelley by giving the values of maturity full reign in their criticism of his weaknesses, but it is a tribute both to her own judgement and to Shelley's art that he comes through it all as a poet worthy of modern attention and more fully human and poetically distinguished than it has been custom to admit for a long time.

In short, this is an admirable introduction to Shelley for those about to engage in reading his poetry for the first time.

Geoff Charlton

Light Shining in Buckinghamshire, Caryl Churchill, £1.50

Non-Stop Connolly Show, Margaretta D'Arcy and John Arden, Pluto Press Playscripts, Parts I & 2 £1.50, Part 3 £2.00

Light Shining in Buckinghamshire is set during the Civil War and when looking at the odd history book to refresh the mind you realise that Tolstoy's criticism of 'History' was more than valid when he attacked the idea of leading players who stalk about accomplishing everything single handed. Caryl Churchill's play is excellent because it also exposes this without going to the other extreme. And yet it has little in the way of plot and 'characters', but that works here where it would fail in a lesser play.



Basically we see the way the so-called English Revolution did absolutely nothing to improve the lot of the poor. Magistrates still had beggars whipped out of the parish, and despite the fight between King and Parliament, the latter only represented property owners, as we see in the best part of the play which is the discussion between Cromwell and the Levellers. (The Levellers are represented here as being the people which is not historically accurate. To risk a modern parallel they were a sort of kulak-Poujadist faction and did not want universal suffrage extended to servants or those dependant on alms. The Diggers were the real socialists and they bore the immediate brunt of the bourgeois reaction to prevent any sliding away from the sanctity of property.)

At the beginning I must admit that I



started to watch out for a message that whispered how a revolution could not have taken place because Karl the Baptist hadn't yet been born to announce it, but that was an unworthy suspicion, for this play is above such trite propagandising. There is a dry bitter irony in the words and their force comes from understatement, not harsh political clichés.

The Non-Stop Connolly Show is rather different. It is a marathon morality play canonising Jim Connolly in vanguard party mythology. The first uneasy shift in your chair comes reading the preliminary stage directions when they recommend "stock masks for recurrent social types (i.e. bourgeois politician, employers, military officers, etc.)". And then: "We would emphasise finally that the play will work only if the actors are more concerned with understanding the political arguments and implications of the story than with creating 'characters' in the normal sense of the word." Needless to say it is quickly apparent that Connolly should have a stock mask too, and a red neon halo while they're at it, for he is never allowed to be anything but a walking blueprint for the unflagging militant. Anyway, through six parts and I don't know how many hours, *The Non-Stop Connolly Show* takes you from Irish Catholic father announcing the birth of his son in Edinburgh via 'his political maturation' in Ireland and America, to his death in front of a firing squad after the Easter Rising.

For a play whose style is informal and almost jokey, the propaganda almost weighs its vehicle down to a standstill. (Example: "He has a strong, theoretical, permanent nucleus of very-well disciplined members.") John Arden is without doubt one of the best of playwrights, and I can hardly believe that he really had anything to do with this. But if he did then it only proves Orwell's point that writing propaganda is the quickest way to destroy an individual writer, (and of course he was attacked for 'selfish bourgeois sentimentality' on saying it). To describe this play as an instant martyr cult attempt would be an understatement. But what is really alarming is the leadership cult, as shown by "You need not tell me you believe that man has not been born to lead." And now for the *piece de resistance!* Connolly is *instructing* his delegates on what they should say at the Zurich conference: "You keep the anarchists out! And that is your one vote, for the rest you will do what appears to you best."

The blurb describes *The Non-Stop Connolly Show* as superb drama, superb history and superb politics. My comment would be: If you like the idea of an interminable script for a vanguard puppet show, then this is for you.

A.B.

REVIEWS

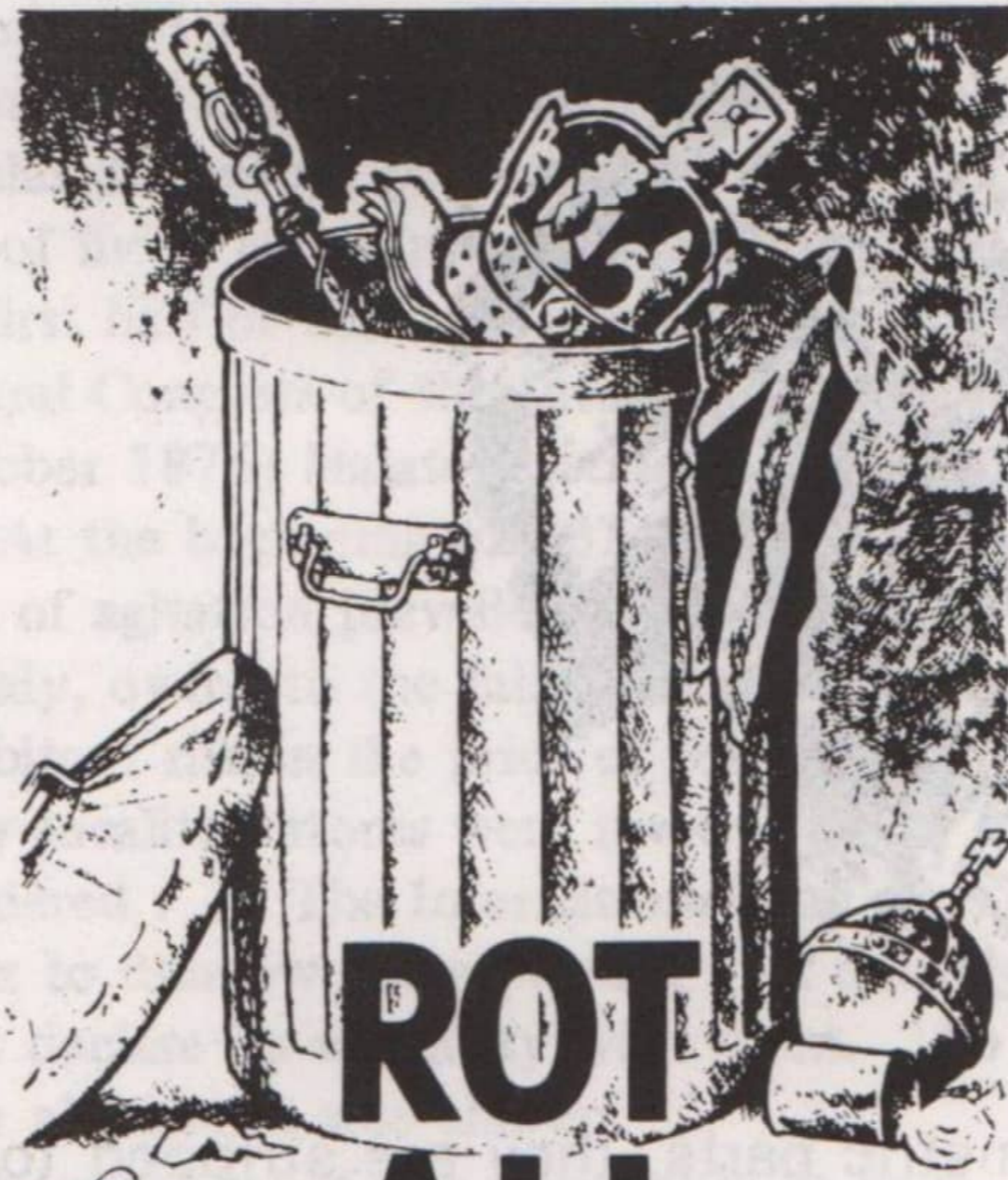
Beyond the Limits of the Law, Tom Bowden, Pelican, £1.25

Anyone who sets out to write a political critique of police activity while trying to be 'sympathetic' is bound to tie himself up in glaring contradictions. It is the old story of people trying to be 'balanced' by leaning backwards in both directions and looking ridiculous while risking moral dislocation. The first sentence of Chapter one says: "Police forces emerged out of the demand for order in civil society". There is no effort to analyse or justify such a statement. He then says a page later: "The first English forces appeared in the capital and were established to protect merchant property." Fact is always more informative than manipulated assumption! Anyway this book is worth reading for its factual references and observations on police mentality even if the analysis is misleadingly superficial to put it mildly.

A.B.

The Final Agenda, Edward Hyams. Allen Lane

A political thriller which is more than sympathetic to Anarchist armed action is obviously a great rarity and deserves our attention. However, *The Final Agenda* is profoundly disappointing because it is nothing more than a misleading fantasy despite its supposedly realist hypothesis.



ROT
ALL
RULERS

and is most un-Anarchist at core even with all the quotes and references to great Anarchist thinkers. Basically the story brings virtually all the armed resistance movements throughout the world into the 'Organisation' which is supposedly Anarchist even though so many of the groups are authoritarian. The 'Organisation' has members everywhere with access to every conceivable gadget and piece of information. They include civil servants, government scientists, and multi-national executives! (Have we been pessimistic in our attitudes to recruiting?) And though it is all claimed to be 'ultra-democracy' the 'Organisation' is led by an elite of upper class heroes of which the most prominent are Jacob (an ex-public school genius) and Victoria (a young Boston Brahmin). Anyway they manage to put nuclear weapons in all the major cities and succeed in extorting a vast part of Brazil for an

Anarchist non-state called New Marquetalia as well as somehow forcing repression and state structures elsewhere to collapse. It ends with a profoundly unsatisfactory explanation from Jacob that you can only achieve 'justice' through fear and by terrorising the workers into doing what's good for them. It is very sad that such a sympathetic writer who makes telling points against the State's hypocrisy of violence and against the parliamentary fraud should in the end present such an elitist and distorted version of Anarchism.

A.B.

Rogue Male, Geoffrey Household, Penguin, .70p.

It seems highly unlikely that an English aristocrat, particularly one of the pre-war type, very much a specimen of his class, should ever have taken it upon himself, in the late nineteen-thirties, to personally attempt to exterminate Hitler, even for reasons of deep personal grief. *Rogue Male*, first published in 1939, is the story of just such an attempt and its consequences, and appears therefore to be largely a fairy tale with a strong propagandist element, inviting the reader to identify equally with the English ruling class and the cause of anti-nazism, thereby preparing himself for support of the coming world war, particularly if he belonged to that section of society most given to reading thrillers and admiring Hitler: the petty bourgeoisie.

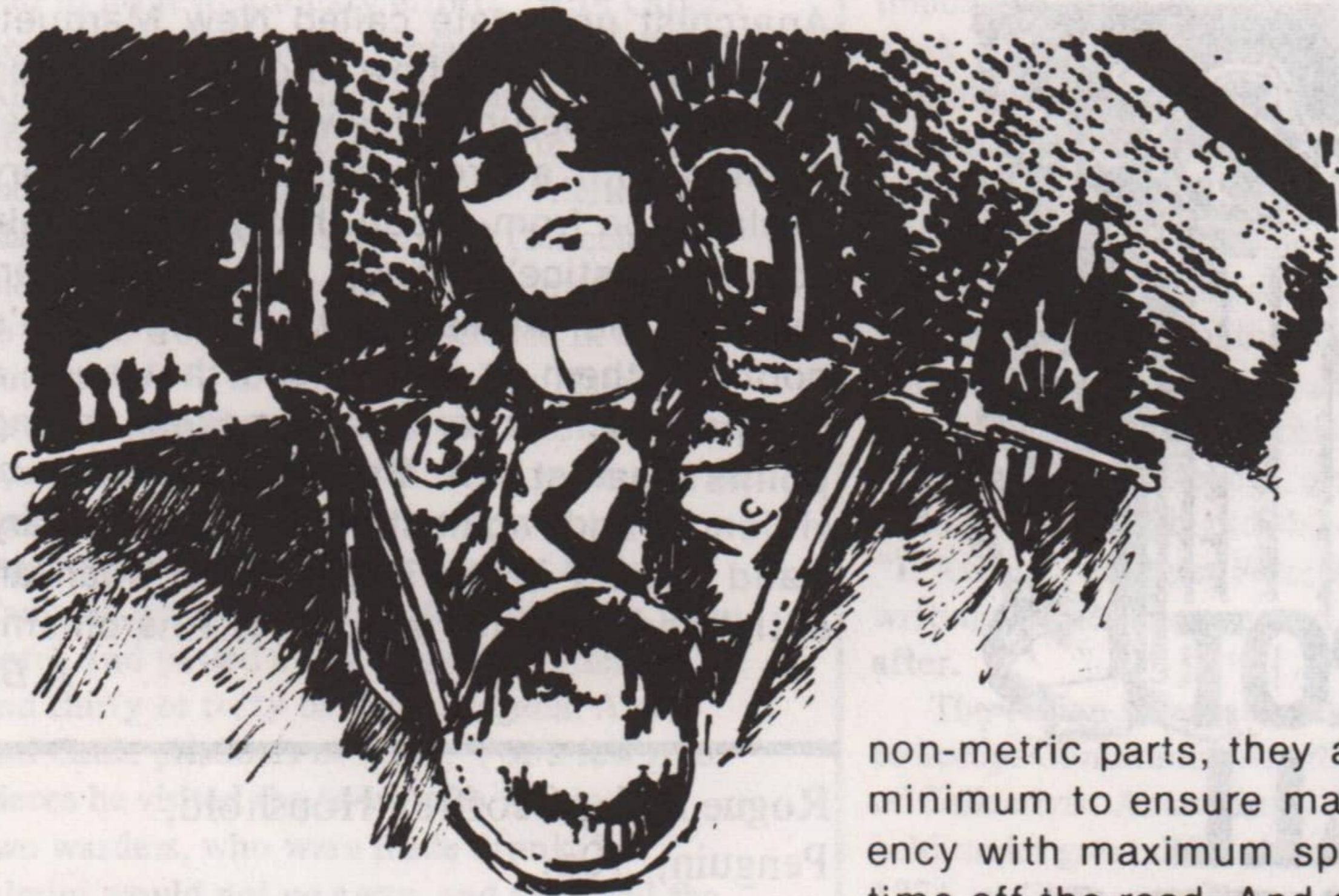
Such an evaluation is reinforced by the unconvincing prolongation of the narrative through the hero's failure to arm himself with a revolver when the occasion arises and the villain's to equip himself with a tracker dog. True, there is a genuine charm in the detailed descriptions of the terrain through which the chase passes, in particular the Wessex countryside; but can one doubt that this locale, the ancient centre of England, was chosen for anything but patriotic effect?

As a tale of sheer escape and pursuit *Rogue Male* has long been surpassed by truer and more informative works. However, it survives its datedness and other imperfections and remains more than just an historical curiosity, for two very good reasons: its depiction of the obsessive cruelty of the nazi mind and its assertion that the individual, the weak point of tyranny, is the strong point of resistance.

Mark Hendy



REVIEWS



Wheels of Rage, Kurt Saxon, New English Library

The phenomenon of the motorcycle club or gang, depending on the point of view of the observer, was once a purely North American phenomenon. The most famous of these clubs is, of course, the Hells Angels, and the exploits of 'Free-wheelin' Frank, Sonny Barger and the rest have filled many volumes on the pulp paperback market. Their titillating tales of gang rape, torture, cunnilingus on menstruating women and the rest thrill and revolt the middle American reader whilst bringing in the cash for the publishers. Not so this book, which seems to be the only book in the genre which deals with the motives and function of the motorcycle club - the true outlaw life.

Kurt Saxon, whose 'Survivalist' publications are essential reading for all who would liberate themselves from the control of the authorities, writes in a semi-journalistic style, producing a novel which reads like a truthful account of the exploits of the Iron Cross M.C. (motorcycle club). This club is in reality a private army, with mutual aid practised to the death. Saxon, unlike the sensationalist writers one usually encounters, is sympathetic to the club, and rides along on their 'runs', living off the 'burnt' credit cards which enable the club's members to live free, and live well, off middle America. Their *raison d'être* is the motorcycle, which, an appendix explains, is the most practical vehicle for the coming destruction. Now, since the late 60's, the trend in both fascist and libertarian publications has been 'how can we survive the coming apocalypse?'. The draft of the function of the American Underground Press Syndicate of 1967 included the function of 'documenting the coming collapse'. The motorcycle clubs have answered the necessity of transportation with their 'chopped' Harley-Davidson motorbikes. Easily maintained, with

non-metric parts, they are stripped to the minimum to ensure maximum fuel efficiency with maximum speed and minimum time off the road. And of course, the bike can operate off the road - an important asset when roads are destroyed or blocked with wrecked and abandoned vehicles.

The 'run', integral part of the bikers' lives, is dealt with in detail, and would make a fine chapter in a manual for any sort of 'action squad'. The bikes, with their small capacity tanks, are refuelled en route from a mobile tanker - a custom 3-wheel motorcycle. As backup, a camper truck fitted out as a mobile workshop goes with the run, to pick up disabled bikes, which are worked on as the 'run' progresses, rather than being left at the roadside to the attention of unwelcome citizens. Add to this a souped-up car with a top speed of 130mph to catch and punish those who would offend the Iron Cross MC, and we have the personnel for a 'run'.

Now, the Iron Cross would appear to many as the epitome of fascism. Saxon explains that the Nazi trappings are there to frighten the 'citizens' and because the Nazis made the finest machines in existence - Tanks and Lugers, for instance - which the bikers admire. The origin of the swastika in Hell's Angels-type clubs is more obscure than this, in fact. The Hells Angels were modelled on the World War I Hell's Angels - the Escadrille Lafayette, an American air squadron who had as their emblem a Native American brave with a war bonnet of eagles' feathers. At the side of the war bonnet was a disk with a swastika - emblem of the sun and good fortune. From this, the biking Angels took their skull emblem, with swastika. The readily-available Nazi regalia was taken up as bearing this sign, and now no self-respecting biker would be seen without it.

Unlike the sensationalist biker books, this entertaining tale of outlawry is also a valuable manual of Motorcycle Club operation - or the formation and deployment of a private army, for guns play a large part in their lives and their defence. "When guns are outlawed, only outlaws will have guns".

Nigel Pennick

Boston: A Novel, Upton Sinclair, Robert Bentley Inc., £9.00

Upton Sinclair was a fighting socialist author who stood at the head of his generation; he brought out one proletarian novel after another, getting them printed himself because no publisher would handle them until he was a success, and introducing the general principles of socialism to thousands of new readers and perhaps millions. His socialism was broadbased and in a highly sympathetic account of the Sacco-Vanzetti trial he introduced anarchism to many more (I was one of them so I'm biased in his favour). In the end success got him and he gave up the struggle settling for Roosevelt and the New Deal and a certain amount of psychic belly-aching; his socialism was watered down (but he was a pillar of anti-fascism still despite being soft on Stalin).

Boston is the story of, and case for Sacco and Vanzetti, framed for armed robbery charges mainly because they were anarchists and partly because they were Italians (which was then to say, unprivileged recent immigrants).

Getting on for fifty years ago I read it for the first time and was blown by the introduction to anarchism as expressed by Vanzetti in the book. How could such a doctrine have been concealed from the world? Did these people really exist outside the novel? Maybe many others have approached Upton Sinclair's work in the same way since then. Looking at it again after all these years (in the new edition,.....) I'm more conscious of the author's flaws and also appreciative of a world that's gone. The major fact about the period just before and just after the first world war was the rise of what would now be called the women's movement, but it didn't hive off into concerns of its own, it took the lead in social transformation.

It was particularly a campaign of courageous women, typified here by an upper-class drop-out grandmother, that brought the Sacco and Vanzetti case to the attention of a world not yet numbed by mass horror to perceive the bigotry that sent these two men to their deaths.

It is a story of police prejudice still relevant. They did not set out to frame anarchists just because they were anarchists. To them, with all the indoctrination of the capitalist press, anarchists were criminals, criminals being only a less dangerous form of anarchists.

The book was written in 1928 when the men had just been executed. Hundreds of books have been written since and evidence marshalled on the case only to confirm what Upton Sinclair wrote at the time. For *Boston*, *Oil*, and *The Jungle* (an

REVIEWS

exposure of Chicago's meat packing industry) Upton Sinclair must rank with Emile Zola and in perception and sincerity he ranks above.

He lived too long for his fame as an author (it was American socialism that went sour); but his early works ought never to be out of print and this one should be required reading for the jury on any case of armed robbery which "just happens" to be brought by the political police.

AM

The Princess Casamassima, Henry James, Penguin, £1.25

James peoples his novel with figures from the London anarchist scene of his day. He makes the indefatigable Johann Most serve as the basis for three characters: a bookbinder, a chemist, and a German international revolutionist, all of which Most was. Kropotkin, still tired from his journey, perhaps, will do for only one, but James compensates by giving him a sex change and making him the expatriate noblewoman of the book's title, who abandons a life of luxury to side with the oppressed.

In his preface, James claims to have gathered the information with which to set the scene by sheer dogged observation: "pulling no wires, knocking at no closed doors, applying for no 'authentic' information"; instead, it was his practice to "haunt the great city and by this habit to penetrate it, imaginatively, in as many places as possible".

When it comes down to it, James's "imaginative penetration" consists of projecting his personal hang-ups and his class prejudices onto the working class in general and the revolutionary socialist movement in particular. The central figure, the bookbinder, has a grudge against the nobility, while at the same time he hankers for their "cultivated" life: a clear metaphor for James's own persistent bourgeois-colonial hobnobbing.

The actual absence of any true independence of mind and total incapacity for any enlightened social thinking that are the rule among both the state/industrial baronry and the academic mandarins who are their cerebral proxies - this chronic intellectual debility, which is concealed by their impressive titles, appearances, and generally exalted positions, James projects upon the would-be revolutionaries, who are all muddle and dither. The murderous selfishness of the privileged and mighty, so elegantly promoted in that day in the apparel of the academically approved doctrine of social darwinism, finds its reflection in James's novel in the

portrayal of social revolution as culminating in a massive slaughter of the rich and the share-out of their property. This despite the fact that anarchist communism, i.e. collective ownership, self-management and free exchange, was well established as a revolutionary doctrine before 1886.

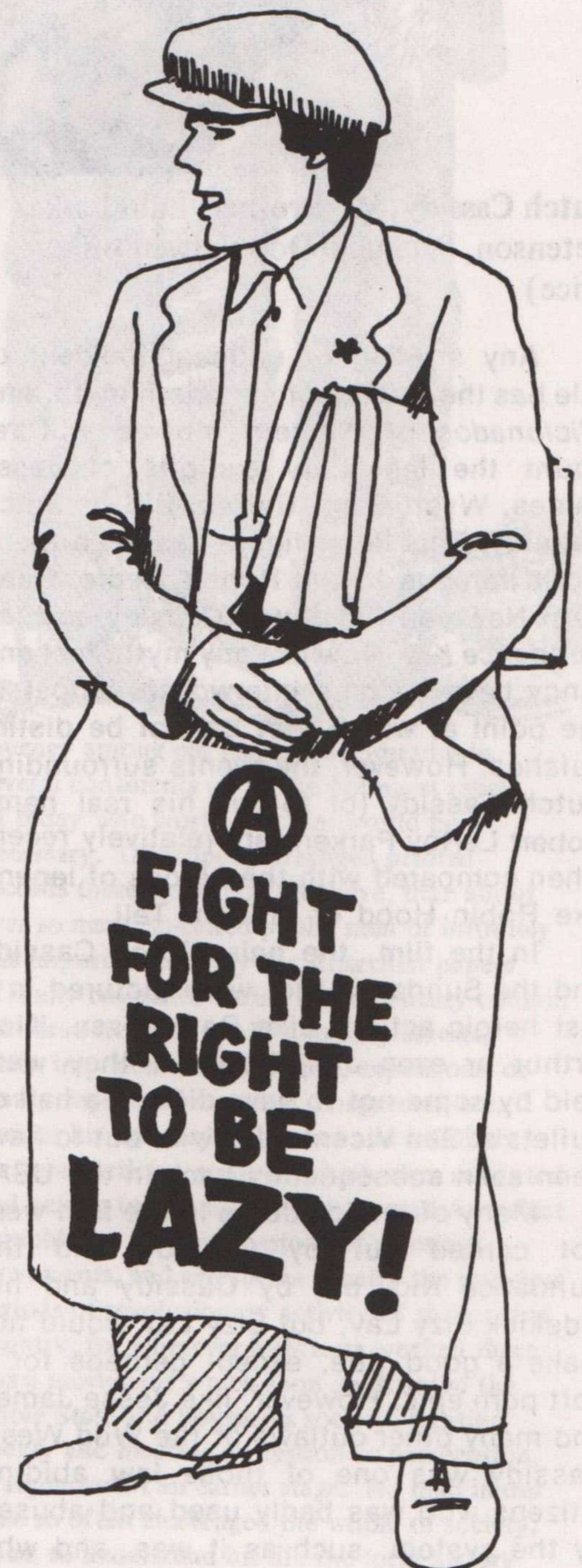
The instrument of the revolution, at least in its early stages, is to be an international terrorist conspiracy that binds its members by oath before giving them its orders. For of course, since the violence of the ruling class really is originated in hidden hierarchical conspiracies (for the sake of "national security"), and carried out by mere myrmidons, whose slave status is sealed by swearing them in, so must revolutionary violence be ordered by shadowy command structures that enforce blind obedience by the administration of oaths so terrible that they cannot be reported.

James cannot see the inhumanity, idleness, and cowardice of the rich, because of their veneer of "culture". These vices, however, are all too obvious to him in the poor: insurmountable obstacles to the creation of a just social order. Yet the evidence of tenderness, the skill, the courage of the dispossessed was all around him. It was into the bosoms of working women that the rich thrust their children for nursing, it was into the hands of the working men that they put their very lives when they went travelling, it was the sons of working men and women in the army and navy who kept them safe from their enemies and defended or extended their dominions for them. The idea that it is the sheer usefulness of the poor that makes the rich determined to keep them poor was evidently beyond Henry James.

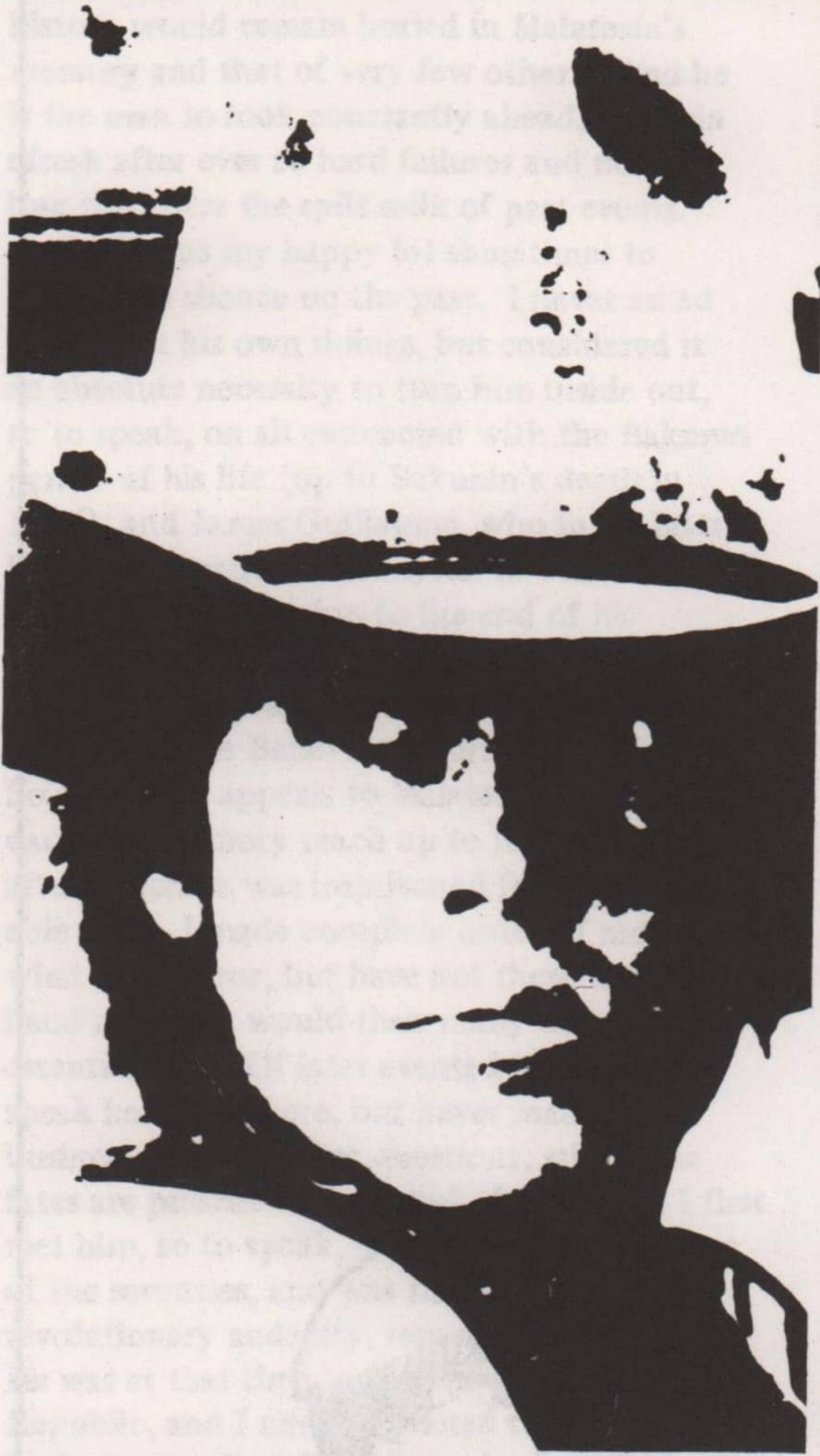
To describe and comment upon the actual plot of the novel would be to dignify it quite unjustifiably. In their blurb, the publishers describe the book as portraying "the crucial era of England before socialism". Of course, what they mean is *authoritarian* socialism, with its bourgeois, parliamentary, statist and militarist tactics. It would have been fascinating to read an account of life before this disease had infected the labour movement. Unfortunately, all we get is an account of the author's prejudices. Since these correspond to the ideology of the ruling class today, just as much as yesterday, they are of little interest.

Recently, James's old house in Sussex was acquired by the Rolls-Royce car firm, to be used for their directors' frolics. Words or wheels, the social reality expressed is the same.

Mark Henty



REVIEWS



Butch Cassidy, My Brother, Lulu Parker Betenson, Penguin (Dog chewed off price)

Any striking or unusual incident or tale has the making of a modern myth, and *aficionados* of Western movies will recount the legendary exploits of Jesse James, Wyatt Earp, Buffalo Bill or Butch Cassidy. This latter figure has been made world famous in the Robert Redford and Paul Newman fild *Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid*. Now like any myth, fact and fancy have become interwoven almost to the point at which they cannot be distinguished. However, the events surrounding Butch Cassidy (or to use his real name Robert LeRoy Parker), are relatively recent when compared with the heroes of legend like Robin Hood or William Tell.

In the film, the pair, Butch Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, were pictured in a last heroic action. Like Barbarossa, King Arthur or even Jimi Hendrix, they were held by some not to have died in a hail of bullets at San Vicente, Bolivia, but to have been seen subsequently back in the USA.

Many of the incidents in the film were not carried out by Cassidy and the Sundance Kid, but by Cassidy and his sidekick Elzy Lay, but Elzy Lay would not make a good title, except perhaps for a soft porn epic. However, like Jesse James and many other outlaws of the Wild West, Cassidy was one of those law abiding citizens who was badly used and abused by the system, such as it was, and who took to outlaw activities as a means of

survival. Born of a Mormon family in Utah, his first clash with authority came when the family's homestead, won by hard graft against the brush and winter, was jumped, and the Mormon Bishop, who was the legal authority in the area, gave it to the usurper, throwing out the Parker family. The power of the Cattlemen and their vested interest in government gave little heed to the little man and his family. Like today, they were held to be disposable, useful only in exterminating the natives and labouring for little reward.

The treatment of the smallholder by the cattle barons was so bad that the smallholders often would take the odd steer from the vast herds to their own use. In this way, many young men crossed the line from legality into 'crime' and "one day, often without realizing that it was happening, they found themselves outlaws".

Cassidy was one such. Falsely implicated in horse-stealing, he left home, never to return. Then on, through the colourful adventures of which we are so familiar from the fodder of TV cowboy films - the bank robberies, shootouts and chases. Such a life, like that of Sabate or other, later, political outlaws, is one of desperation rather than comfort. Each action must be weighed up in the light of possible capture, and the only solution is the use of the gun - something which modern revolutionaries forget and hence get themselves arrested on Bulgarian beaches.

Like Robin Hood, Cassidy gave some of his spoils to the poor - a political act which obviously made him more wanted. Despite this, and the deaths of several members of his gang, the Wild Bunch, Cassidy attempted to go straight (as they say) and work on the railroad, after applying for an amnesty. However, the Governor of the state of Utah would not give an amnesty, and attempted to hunt down Cassidy and his associates.

The final Chapter in this bizarre and somewhat fragmented story is written in South America, whence Cassidy and Sundance fled. In Argentina, they filed for land, of which they were granted 4 square leagues. However, his reputation was known even in the Argentine, and he was blamed for every incident attributable to his *modus operandi*. Again he took to outlawry, but as a means of survival between jobs, which included work in the Concordia tin mines, even guarding the payroll.

The famous death of the pair in a gun battle is shrouded in mystery. Like many legendary events, it may never have taken place. Pinkertons claimed that they had shot Sundance and Cassidy in San Vicente. However, others have thought that the whole matter is confused with two U.S. outlaws shot dead not in 1909 but 1911 at

Mercedes, Uruguay, witnessed by a salesman from the USA who thought they must be the famous pair.

The evidence is flimsy, and all the stories in the book contradictory. Whether Cassidy's sister wished to give him a good press, one cannot tell. If he was so sparing with his firepower as we are led to believe, then it is amazing that he survived till 1909 (or 1911). Finally we are presented with an enigma - a reluctant outlaw attempting in his naivete to come to terms with the law, whilst surely knowing that he could not. We will probably never know the truth. One thing is certain - once an outlaw, there can be no turning back.

Nigel Pennick

A Visit to the Island of Sanday, Rev. Alexander Goodfellow, Cienfuegos Press, .75p.

Published originally by Mr. Mackintosh of *The Orcadian* in 1912 this new edition has many more or less appropriate woodcuts by George Cruikshank and others, whilst a double-page map shows the strange irregularity of this narrow dozen mile long Orkney island. The piece is actually only an introduction to a history of the Island's Christianity from which Cienfuegos plan further selections. Naturally of mainly local interest there are snippets enough about underground passages, skulls and battle-axes to awaken archaeologists as well.

It was a viking settlement some three centuries before the 15th when it was part of a dowry pawn to the King of Scots, a pledge never redeemed - even though a few years ago numerous young Orcadians did agitate for the return of the whole group to Denmark. Perhaps because their opposite numbers north in Shetland advocated a return to Norway, nothing did result from the proposals!

Earlier writers from the *Sagas* onwards are here usefully exploited as the author weaves his own knowledge into this all too brief history and description. Nothing is said about crops or any fishing except for lobsters which fetched sixpence each. Rabbits and seaweed collection were other sources of income but I fear that the major profits from all such efforts would have stuck to the pockets of the merchants and landed proprietors. The 'trucking' system was rife in those parts for many years; that meant that merchants entered their own values of islanders' produce in their books as credits against which could be taken shop foods and goods. Seldom were there other outlets and the merchants did handsomely from their monopoly. Rent rolls and numbers of tenants are men-would have been of comparative interest. would have been of comparative interest.

REVIEWS

cannot provide today's but Sheriff Peterkin reported in 1821 that there were 118 more women than men out of a total of 1860 people in 373 houses then in Sanday.

In a politically apt preface Stuart Christie provides much food for thought and does not fail to hit at the Scottish Nationalists who however have not the following in the northern islands that they have further south. Pessimistically he thinks uranium mining may happen after all in Orkney even though some time ago Orcadians voted overwhelmingly against that. I do hope no southern government will be able to overrule their democratic decision.

Barry Duncan



Education: the Practice of Freedom, Paulo Freire £1.00; **Literacy in 30 Hours,** Cynthia Brown, .45p, Writers and Readers Co-operative

Occasionally one comes by chance across a book which gives one an appetite for more. This re-publication of two essays by Freire, the Brazilian educationalist-philosopher, has done just that for this reviewer. In large part, this is due to the inherent interest of the essays, although, secondarily, a broader acquaintance with his other publications would have enabled me to place these essays within their own context and to have understood them better.

The first essay gives an account of Freire's adult literacy scheme in Brazil and the philosophical and epistemological foundations on which it rests. It provides, incidentally, an interesting analysis of the relationship in Brazil (and by extension elsewhere) between the prevailing socio-economic modes and the thought patterns of the oppressed in that culture. Brazil, he tells us, is in a period of epochal change, the point at issue being that the masses, long imbued with passive and submissive thought modes, stand to be submerged by the new reality unless they are able to grasp it, comprehend it in a critical fashion and re-shape it to their own ends. The author has clear and cogent views on what education should be and what real knowledge is. What these are *not*, he insists, are the mere transference of information; education involves *dialogue*, a critical relationship between educator and educatee in which the object to be known mediates the relationship between them. Knowledge then is not simply the superposition of information on the ignorant by the knower but a joint act of discovery and growth.

Freire's method attempts to enable the illiterate to recognize themselves as cultural and hence creative beings. Thus he introduces the difference between

nature and culture - a realization that one's activities are part of culture and hence a reality-creating being is a counterpose to the inherited self-image of the illiterate as being more an object of nature, i.e., acted upon rather than acting.

The actual literacy programme itself consists in showing groups of adults a series of simple drawings pertaining to their everyday lives. (Some of these are reproduced in both books.) Discussion of the significance of these scenes highlights the nature/culture difference and starts the process of *conscientization*, which means becoming critically aware of one's own reality. Words are subsequently introduced, as relevant to the pictures, and suitably semantically loaded, that is, words which signify important aspects of the person's reality. Literacy is thus seen as a means of access to one's culture. In a society such as Brazil, where the latifundae rely largely on passivity, the political implications of literacy are evident.

In the second essay, "Extension or Communication", Freire further elaborates his theoretical position in analyzing the nature of agricultural extension programmes. The going is a little difficult in places, but repays careful reading. He shows the extension relationship (i.e., the imposition of new techniques from urban centres to peasant communities) to be a form of imperialism; anti-dialogical in its nature, it leads to domestication of the aided.

This does not mean he is against development. Indeed, he is not, but whilst all development is modernization not all modernization is development. Technology's liberative dimensions are accessible only to those who understand, and thus control it. It is not simply that Freire takes a strong ethical stance on education (he clearly does), but also that social change and consequent new techniques, he believes, cannot successfully be superimposed on areas where the fundamental conception of reality is at odds with that

implicit in the new technology.

The publication by Cynthia Brown gives a clear synopsis of Freire's literacy programme with illustrations and reports on attempts in Berkeley, California by a group of committed teachers to re-interpret and apply Freire's method to a different context and with children rather than adults. It is difficult for me to assess how "successful" they have been in this but clearly Freire looks set to become one of the more significant figures in education in the last half century. It remains to be seen what interesting developments may emerge when the work is applied within other contexts.

D. Tymes



REVIEWS



The Turin Shroud, Ian Wilson, Gollancz, £5.50; Penguin, 75p

Everybody likes an ancient enigma, be it the Pyramids of Egypt, Atlantis, The Man in the Iron Mask or the Turin Shroud. The Turin Shroud? Just what is that, one might ask. Ian Wilson sets out to answer that very question. For centuries an ancient piece of cloth bearing what appear to be stains of a body of a man corresponding exactly with the condition of the recently-crucified body of Jesus of Nazareth has been kept in the Cathedral of Turin. A 14 foot long piece of linen, the shroud bears the imprint of the front and back of a man who has been flagellated, impaled with a crown of thorns and crucified by nailing wrists and feet. Other wounds visible on the imprint are those one would expect from a man who had been beaten up and forced to carry a heavy weight, the cross-beam of the cross on which criminals were crucified.

Ian Wilson, who, according to the blurb on the jacket, started as an agnostic and was converted to Catholicism during his research on the shroud, plots the supposed history of this master relic of Christendom from its removal from the tomb of Christ in the year 30, its sojourn at Odessa, burial in a sacred gateway later destroyed in an earthquake, its transport to Constantinople, its acquisition by the Knights Templar (more conspiracy theories!), and finally its trip to its present resting place at Turin. From the evidence presented, the shroud must appear to be of authentic date and origin. Several scientists of various disciplines have examined what they have been allowed to touch by the church hierarchy, and have pronounced it possibly authentic.

Now this raises several important implications. Orthodox Catholics will immediately see the evidence as proof of God's dispensation to sinners. Some sceptics will be converted to Popery, others will think 'there must be something in it' and agnosticate on the matter.

However, this is woolly thinking. If the shroud is 'authentic' we must discuss what the authenticity is we mean to represent. Many of us have been brain-washed from an early age to think in Christian terms, and to see a representation of the shroud which verifies the image of Jesus, with all its implications of risen-from-the-grave mythology. If the shroud is that in which Jesus (whoever he was) was buried (for a short while), then it does no more prove his divinity than the Buddha's footprint on a mountain in Sri Lanka. It merely is an impression of the corpse which was before long removed from the shroud in which it had been placed. Quite prosaic, in fact. However, another bizarre twist is injected into the story by the remarkable fact that the image on the fibres of the cloth, which had been assumed for centuries to be pigment of some kind, in fact are scorch marks, like those made by a hot iron. And the image on the shroud is flat like a photograph, not distorted, as it would have been if it had been in contact with a three-dimensional body.

Now comes the von Daenikenish touch. The dematerialization of Christ at his resurrection scorched the cloth in a laser-flash of atomic fire. Whilst heat phenomena associated with the human body are well documented, including Spontaneous Combustion in which bodies are suddenly consumed by vast heat as out of nowhere, atomic fire or whatever seems to be an extreme way to explain the marks. Wilson does not investigate other means of producing such an effect. He assumes that other techniques did not exist in ancient times, yet the alchemists of Alexandria, home of Heron, the inventor of the steam engine (first century), were continuously experimenting with techniques which could have led to photographic methods being developed 2000 years ago. The Pharos of Alexandria possessed a giant lens, destroyed during repairs in the 10th century, so the 'non-existent technology' may have existed to produce a photographic image on the cloth. Another possibility, Spontaneous Combustion aside, is that a life-size cast of the body of a man treated exactly as the gospel account of Jesus was made in metal, and heated to scorch the cloth as a fake relic *par excellence*, a puzzle for future generations. Who will be able to distinguish a genuine Iron Cross from a fake Iron Cross made ten years later in two thousand years time? The Shroud's antiquity may be genuine. The image may have been made from a

crucified man's body, but it in no way means that we all should attend mass next Sunday, as the devotees would have us believe.

N.P.

"I shall continue to be an impossible person so long as those who are now possible remain possible"



L'Imperialisme Francais, Cedetim, Maspero

Cedetim is the name for a collective whose full title is "Centre d'etudes anti-imperialistes" (Centre for Anti-Imperialist Studies) and which since at least 1971 has been publishing studies of French imperialism. Convinced that the struggles concerning Vietnam, Chile, Palestine and so on are struggles with a bearing on reality and that they do not really involve the working class, and persuaded also that denunciation of U.S. imperialism is a cover-up for the "specific responsibilities of French imperialism" (p.11), these militants seek therefore to disclose just how important French imperialism is.

Cedetim does not have a ready-made analysis: French imperialism as a dependent of the interests of banking groups who are themselves tied to the apron strings of the multi-nationals. In fact, the group concedes that it is still hard to classify French imperialism with precision. So the approach they present to us is the descriptive one.

REVIEWS

The historical record of French colonialism shows a belated expansionism compared with other empires, with the state and the armed forces playing the predominant role in the exploitation of territories. After the 1939-45 war, the right, then represented by Francois Mitterand, decided that no longer would the native colonialist bourgeoisie be repressed. Instead it would be given certain rights so as to inoculate it against communist influence which had been slight until then, but was becoming more active with the cold war.

But this scheme, put into effect on the one hand by DeGaulle's purely legal decolonisation, has remained very limited by severely repressive policing operations in the remaining colonies, the Antilles, Reunion, and New Caledonia. Furthermore it is obvious that Giscard d'Estaing is playing the military intervention card in Africa in place of the USA (and under its supervision. Which is, in my view, the role of Brazil in Latin America).

This role of France as the watchdog of colonialism, dancing to the whims of the USA, corresponds with France's technological dependence on the USA. The Cedetim collective shows, however, the importance of certain French multi-nationals (Saint Gobin, Pont-a-Mousson, etc.) and their desire to control markets and mineral resources in Africa, which would tend to contradict any interpretation based on technological dependence (pp.32-5). The authors appear to surmount this problem by the notion of "redeployment": the French multi-nationals would draw substantial profits from the USA, hence their mutual dependence.

The study concludes with an exposition of the state and private firms' areas of interest plus those areas where they operate as one, which seems like a retreat to the first thesis about the banks struggling by proxy. But the chief interest centers on the very detailed appendices on the administration of French colonies regarded as part and parcel of France; on the

struggle in the Antilles; arms sales, and so forth.

A few important extracts: the former colonies have imposed upon them, economically speaking, the making or growing of this or that product, are overcharged for the technological know-how offered them, and immigrant labour, whose supply the colony guarantees, is employed: amounting to a sum equivalent to "8% of the productive labour force and 20% of the annual accumulation of productive capital" (p.64). From the vantage point of technology or cultural assistance the system of co-operation (experts sent into former colonial possessions while doing their military service) imposes a type of development on the colonised while at the same time it allows technicians to be underpaid (since they are in the army) even should their pay be twice or three times what a native born technician doing the same work gets. Finally, the development of puppet military governments in (formerly) French Africa and the formidable expansion in French arms sales guarantees the French army an increasing role. What is more, French weapons are manufactured under licence in Israel, South Africa, Spain and Argentina as well, which allows for indirect sales the world over just like the communist countries practise - witness the sale by Bulgaria to Chile of Russian T-54 and T-55 tanks in January 1975.

M.Z.

Land and Liberty -- Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution: Ricardo Flores Magon, Dave Poole, Cienfuegos Press, £2.50

The vicissitudes of the Mexican anarchist Ricardo Flores Magon are widely known through a series of Mexican Master's theses, American Ph.D. dissertations, and several monographs published in Spanish or in English from the two sides of the Rio Grande. Strangely enough, how-

ever, no writings of Magon himself were available until recently in either of these languages. Dave Poole is filling the gap, at least partly, with this first volume of well edited documents and excerpts, with the patience of a Cathusian monk if one takes into account the fact that all major sources are located in the USA and Mexico and the editor himself resides in the United Kingdom, thus having to rely on interlibrary loans and photocopies. Added to this is the difficulty of having to read Spanish with a dictionary.

Although Magon wrote most of his political and literary works during his exile years in the USA, these writings were scattered throughout hundreds of articles, letters, and documents, never collected in volumes in the USA and only once partially published in Mexico, immediately after his death, more than half a century ago. The reasons for this omission are complex and can be interpreted in various ways, all converging towards a conspiracy of silence due to partisan motives. It remains a fact, notwithstanding, that Magon spent the last eighteen years of his life in the USA, for the most part in prison, where he eventually died under very strange circumstances. Librado Rivera, a prisonmate. Magon's brother Enrique, and several others did not hesitate in denouncing his premature death as a murder. This was occurring at the time of the "Palmer raids", at a moment of American history when radical activities were severely suppressed. The Sacco and Vanzetti case which exploded also at that time eclipsed the scandal of Magon's death; then depression came, and finally the second World War, and the Magon case was forgotten. Nowadays, the Chicano has brought a revival of interest (after all, Magon had Indian origins and since the beginning of the century fought against anti-Mexican racism in the USA) for the glorious pages of struggle delivered by their predecessors at the beginning of the century. Not only do they recognize in him one of their precursors but they are beginning to



REVIEWS

identify themselves with his ideals.

This volume is an excellent introduction to the life and works of Magon. An "Historical Outline of the Mexican Revolution," by B.Cano Ruiz shows the reader the economical, political, ideological, and social factors which led to the formations of a broad opposition front against Diaz, and subsequently to the final upheaval until the progressive degeneration of the revolutionary process.

The central corpus of the book is composed of articles by Magon and other known militants belonging to the Mexican Liberal Party in exile in the United States, a facade for that avante-garde group which prepared and generated the Revolution. These are Antonio de P. Araujo, Librado Rivera, Anselmo R. Figueroa, Enrique Flores Magon, and even the British militant William C. Owen, for some time, editor of the English page of *regeneracion*, the newspaper that Magon and comrades were publishing in Los Angeles. Those writings emphasize the necessity of an agrarian revolution, insisting on a problem which even nowadays is crucial for Mexico's peasants.

The prophetic views of Magon and his comrades are even more evident in the manifestos of April 8, and September 23, 1911, claiming the absolute necessity of adding more dimensions to the political revolution that had overthrown Diaz. The anarcho-liberal had an acute sense of realities and knew that political freedom and formal democracy would mean nothing to poor peasants. What these needed was land, besides freedom. Land and the means to cultivate it. A wide and deep social and economic revolution was called for. The Mexican Liberal Party had given the example initiating these needed dimensions of a revolution in Lower California where a socialistic republic was installed for a brief time.

Another 'inflamed' manifesto dated March 16, 1918, calls for a general insurrection and international revolution. The two militants who dared sign it and who were not only addressing themselves to Mexicans, but, this time, also to Americans, incurred the ire of the law and fell victim to the Espionage Act ending up once more in jail, the last time for Magon who will die there.

The book also reproduces part of the correspondence exchanged between Magon and his attorney Harry Weinberger (the original and complete epistolary is now deposited in the Special Collections of Yale University Library).

David Poole, very judiciously has established both a chronology and a bibliography (usefully annotated) and has enriched the volume with numerous footnotes, a preface commissioned to Albert Meltzer, a brief portrait of Magon extracted



from the Spanish language edition of the *Anarchist Encyclopedia*, and has himself elaborated an exhaustive study ascertaining the real role of Magon in the Mexican Revolution.

An abundant iconography is present and the cover is illustrated by the famous Italian painter Flavio Costantini.

Dave Poole's anthology is presented as the first modest tribute to the great Mexican revolutionist, which will be followed by others. We can only agree with him when he says, "It would, in fact, take at least half a dozen large volumes to cover

fully every aspect of the life and work of this indomitable fighter for land and liberty..."

We should congratulate Dave Poole for his wonderful initiative and encourage him to pursue it, by all means.

Pietro Ferrua

Citizens Armies, Jock Haswell, Peter Davies Ltd

This is a profoundly superficial and unsatisfactory book to put it mildly. It is a generalised 'history' which does not even study its proclaimed subject. One example of *Daily Telegraph* style journalese: "If Alfred had lost against the Danes the whole of Britain would have toppled into the depths of heathen anarchy." And of course 'history' would have been changed if someone had been watching the cakes properly. Anyway, don't waste your time, let alone your money on this book unless you get a twisted kick out of being irritated by half-truths and distorting over-simplifications.



REVIEWS



Mirando Vivir, Rafael Barrett, Tusquets
(Barcelona)

The life of Rafael Barrett, a great Spanish-speaking libertarian thinker, a writer who ranks along with first class creative minds like Max Nettlau, Rudolf Rocker, Gustav Landauer, Luigi Fabbri and Camillo Berneri, reads like a novel. Yet, unlike them, Barrett remains an unknown in his native land. In her book, *Que es el Anarquismo*, for instance, Federica Montseny says of him that he was an "Argentinian anarchist". Barrett - who was in fact the son of an Englishman by a Spanish noblewoman - was a student of engineering with an interest in art, music, languages and mathematics. As a highly educated dandy, he was a *habitué* of the drawing rooms of Madrid's "high society" and its literary coteries, as well as the gaming rooms where he gambled away his fortune. Shunned by the right-thinking folk of left and right (to the former he was a poor devil whilst to the latter he was still a "lordling" from Bilbao) Barrett determined to leave Spain for South America after the death of his parents in 1903.

Barrett settled in Buenos Aires shortly after his arrival in the Argentine. He renounced his profession of survey engineering, turning to journalism instead. His critical gifts and belligerent approach to the political and social problems of Spain were clear right from his earliest articles in *El Diario Espanol*. The fact that he was a "foreigner" was overlooked. He states whatever he has to say in forthright manner, with a great deal of sincerity and daring. An implacable critic of life in Buenos Aires, he came under the scrutiny

of the "Argentinian Terror" (as he titled one of his articles). He received his first "reprimand". Barrett went on with his writing, unintimidated. He published *Buenos Aires*, a drama about a day in that great city. "Barefoot, half-naked, with frail bodies and the lessons of life etched on their serious faces, urchins race about breathless loaded down with *prensas* (newspapers), like weak beasts of burden, distributing throughout the city the egoistical, hypocritical words of democracy and progress, peppered with obituary notices. Aged horny-handed workmen pass by, tools slung across their backs. These are strong, vicious males, inured to rough weather and the feel of the lash. Their eyes bespeak a lingering, sardonic hatred which never leaves them. The slow climbing morning sun uncovers squalid, sordid things slumbering on the doorsteps, against the very hinges of the doorways. Beggars frighten rats, rooting about in the mountains of refuse. From out of the abyss surges a ragged populace, idling and gnawing away under the mansions nestling side by side in their majesty, gigantic, mute, locked up from roof to cellars, unassailable, inaccessible." (pp. 41-2). Not only was Barrett dismissed from the newspaper for this article, he was deported from Argentina as well.

In precarious circumstances, he travelled to Paraguay and found employment with the railway company in Asuncion. He met and married Francisca Lopez Maiz. They had a son. He gave up his job with Paraguayan Railways, not because his work was unsatisfactory to his employers, but because, having learned of the unfair dismissal of a worker whom he did not even know, he took the view that he could not go on working for a firm which so mistreated and humiliated its personnel. Barrett was moved to act thus, not as has been suggested, by mere impulse, but by deep seated libertarian convictions. Returning home, he casually said to Panchita (Francisca): "You know, darling, I was not made to be dependent upon others. What do you say I take up writing and we live on whatever I can make out of it?" (p.28) Barrett realised one of his ambitions: to obey only his own wishes and issue orders only to himself. As to the possibility of others espousing the same ambition and making it a reality, Barrett was something of a sceptic in that connection. He was very well aware that for centuries past the bulk of human beings have been afraid to shrug off the yoke of the master and to be free, because "...our souls still bear the burning brand of slavery - fear." (*Obras Completas de Rafael Barrett*, Editorial mericalee, Buenos Aires, 1943, p.619)

While in Asuncion, Barrett contributed pieces to the papers *La Razon* and

Los Sucesos. Along with the Argentinian poet Bertotto, he also founded the magazine *Germinal*. Just as had been the case in Argentina, the tone of his articles was ironical, outspoken, optimistic and bitter. He wrote about the exploitation with which the Paraguayan yerba mate workers were saddled. About revolution, strikes and political repression. Of imperial wars against China, the Philippines, Cuba etc. He denounced the massacre of the worker rebels in Rio Blanco on the instigation of the Mexican government, plus the kowtowing of the Diaz regime to foreign investors. He poured scorn on the "supermen" of high finance and a certain class of intellectual. He was pitiless in his criticism of the state and the bureaucracy. He wrote stories and dramatic works, and book reviews. He strove to encourage the workers of Asuncion to organise, through educational lectures. And he did this, not in order to lord it over them himself, but so that they might be able to do their own fighting and protesting for what was denied them. Inevitably, Barrett was arrested at the beginning of 1908 and clapped in prison. He fought on from his prison cell, with exemplary belligerence and daring, denouncing the entrepreneurs and the authorities through his articles. He contracted tuberculosis.

His release was secured after he had spent several months in detention, but it was conditional upon his leaving the country immediately. He left for Brazil. Later, he moved to Montevideo. Barrett's illness was getting worse and he was obliged to move to San Bernardino in the province of Corrientes. A large readership avidly followed his articles in *La Razon*. Among these was Jose Enrique Rodo who wrote Barrett this enthusiastic letter: "You have raised feature writing to new heights while retaining its elegance and its simplicity. You have dignified it with your thought, sensitivity and style. There are feature writers with a Europe-wide reputation who, writing outside the boulevards would not have anything of interest to relate to anyone. Writers who are incapable of adding an iota to the news item they relate and comment upon, even when they are writing from the boulevards. You do your writing for the Montevideo public from a small town in the tropics, giving your personal interpretation of the dying echoes of what is going on in the world, always coming up with things deserving of interest from all over the place, because they have had an excellence conferred upon them by virtue of your personality." (*Obras Completas*, p. 14)

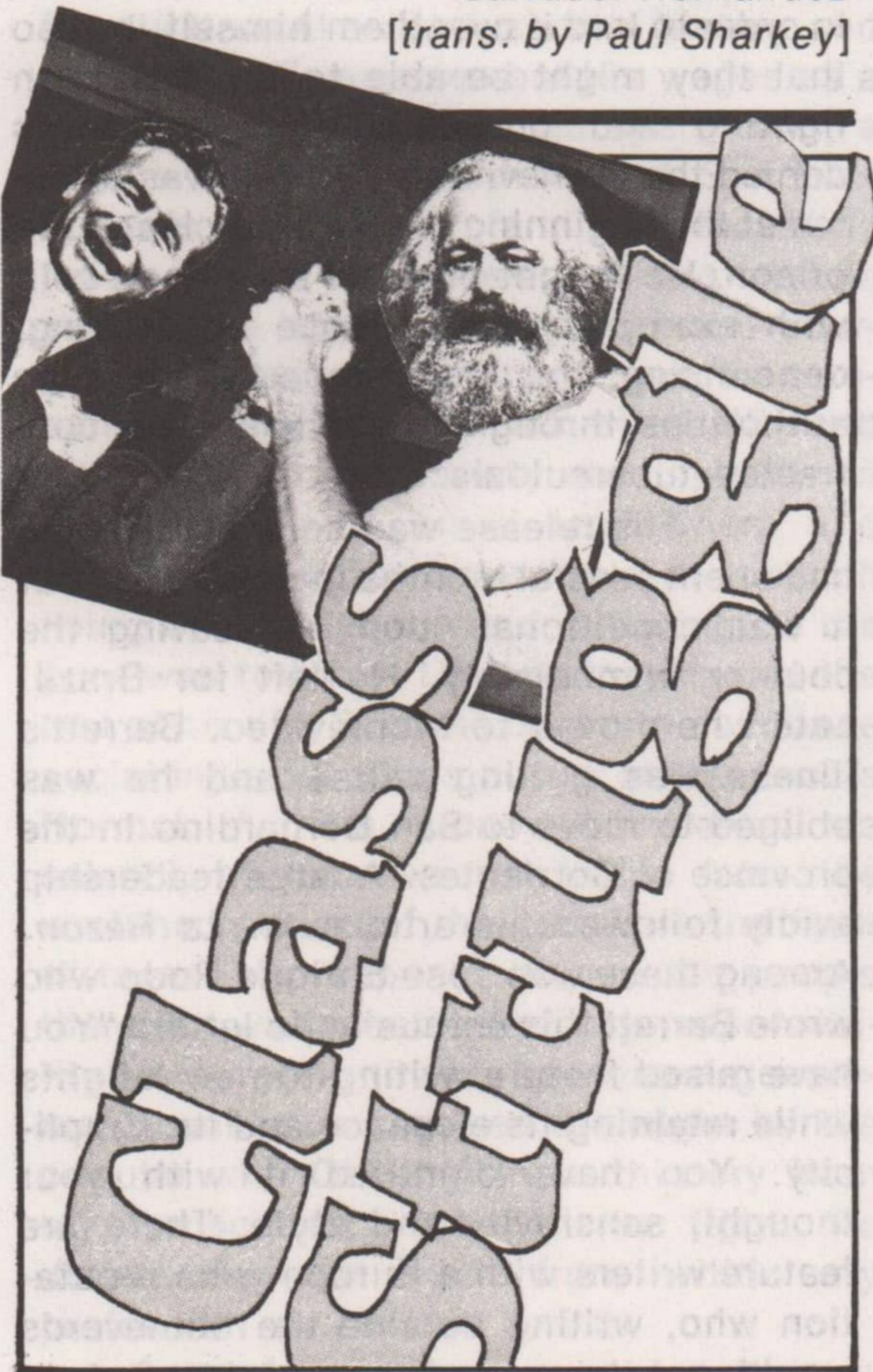
As Barrett's health continued to decline, he decided, on the prompting of some Uruguayan friends, to make a trip to Europe so as to consult an eminent French physician whom Barrett had known in his

REVIEWS

days as a student. He arrived in Paris in September 1910. From there, he posted off his articles to *La Razon* (Montevideo) and the magazine *Caras y Caretas* (in Buenos Aires). As the consumption progressed through his already weakened lungs, Barrett's contempt for power and for politics grew. "It is the time of the assassins and no mistake. Politics is a gangster business." (Henry Miller, *The Time of the Assassins*). In December of 1910, shortly before he died, Barrett concluded one of his articles with this thought: "What is to be done? Educate ourselves and others. It all boils down to free examination. May our children make a study of the law and hold it in contempt!"

Barrett's articles written between 1904 and 1910 speak to us of a man and of a world which are with us yet. This is what makes his work relevant and deserving of our attention.

Salvador Hernandez
[trans. by Paul Sharkey]



Class struggle

If you're thinking of entertaining yourself at home with a copy of *Class Struggle* you can forget it. It will bore you for two reasons: on the level of a board game it is governed solely by chance and leaves nothing to skill or experience, making it little more than a variation of *Ludo*. On a political level it is so full of centralist, Leninist dogma, mixed with that ideology's attendant didacticism with reference to drugs, theft, etc. that anarchists will find it difficult to stomach.

The game is for between 2-6 players

each of whom represents one of the "major" classes or one of the "minor" classes. The two "major" classes are capitalists and workers and they are the only possible winners of the game. The other four "minor" classes are - students, professionals, small businessmen, and small farmers. None of these can "win" - they can only be on the winning side by making alliances with one of the major classes.

To win, a major class must arrive at, by means of dice-throwing, the final square of the board which is described as "Revolution - the ultimate confrontation". The major classes, together with their allies then add their "assets" and "debts" earned during the game, and the class with the most "assets" wins.

Class Struggle is obviously an attempt to make politics enjoyable. It aims to do this by combining political instruction with the fun of playing a board game. Apart from the dice, the progress of the counters representing each class depends on "chance" cards and the messages contained in each square on the board. These cards and messages are the means of "political instruction". Among them there are some which are mildly interesting: "Farmers are fooled into blaming consumers (instead of the profits of capitalist middlemen) for the low prices they get for their crops - worth 2 assets for capitalists"; and some are fairly amusing, But most are politically dubious. For example workers are awarded two assets for "increasing concentration of industry" and three assets for the foundation of "a working class political party" and, to press the point about the need for a vanguard, the workers cannot win the game unless they form a political party.

However, the trite moralizing contained in the "chance" cards and in the messages on the board are the hardest to overlook. Here are some examples:

"Rise in street crime - workers 1 debit"(!)
"Pornography sales go up - workers 1 debit."

"State legalizes gambling - capitalists 2 assets."

"Pot is the religion of the younger set - workers 1 debit."

"Stealing is no answer to the problem of poverty - move back one space (workers)."

This smacks of socialist puritanism which likes to portray workers as hardworking, honest, upright, morally superior to the decadent, pleasure-seeking bourgeoisie. Those who find this parody of the worker objectionable will probably feel the same way about *Class Struggle*.

My advice would be ... buy *Monopoly* instead - at least its enjoyable.

Ronan Bennet
Brixton Prison
London





Leyland Vehicles Limited.

Nuffield House
41 Picadilly
LONDON W.1.

A Message from the Chairman,

TO ALL EMPLOYEES

As 1980 draws to a close, we find it necessary to inform you that the business system in general and our company in particular have lost a vital spark. False optimism can no longer be sustained as the situation becomes increasingly visible and painful to all concerned. Having assessed the many problems confronting us, we feel that declining worker morale is the major factor in our bleak outlook. And if you are honest, you must admit that often you have taken advantage of the corporation to pursue selfish ends.

We purchase from you over half your waking hours, and expect you to relinquish that time to us. Instead we find you continually reclaiming that time for yourselves. You weren't happy with the eight hour day, and now you take — company average — two hours for lunch and tea breaks, use an average of eight days sick leave each year for your personal holidays, 47% of actual in-office time on personal phone calls, personal letters, errands and chit-chat.

We have created generous security plans (retirement, insurance, health plan, cost of living rises, etc.), but you demand even more. We are continually victimised by petty theft (postage, office supplies, equipment, spare parts, tools, and petty cash) and employees with access to greater funds have repeatedly attempted embezzlement.

In spite of our attempts to imbue a sense of corporate community and create a dedication that could keep this company great, you continue to rebuff our efforts towards this end. Only 11% of employees attend after-work functions, 87% have ill-feelings towards their supervisors. Apathy and tension pervades the work atmosphere. We find important letters in the dustbin, documents and plans are flushed down lavatories, forms are unfiled, and work quotas unfilled. When we regretfully have to give a worker a two week dismissal notice we frequently find his/her workplace vandalised, or we are threatened with a walkout.

These are not local problems. Each fact cited finds its counterparts in nearly all modern corporations. We are not alone with our problems.

WE HAVE DONE EVERYTHING in our power to improve your lot as employees of the company, but to no avail. We have tried in many ways to demonstrate our concern for both your professional and private lives, since without your continued support capitalism is unworkable. But your petty self-concerns have begun to erode the very basis of your conditions as workers.

WE HAVE DONE OUR BEST to facilitate the methods by which we exploit you. Through the introduction of more humanitarian programmes like comp-time, flexi-time, and worker participation at board level, we have made a genuine effort to reduce your psychic tension and ensure the continuation of the status quo. But have you shown the least interest?

WE HAVE USED YOUR TIME for our ends, and you have daily refused to co-operate. This is why the system is failing. We have done our best to convince you that co-operation is important, but you haven't listened. Now it is too late; we can delude ourselves no longer. The system is failing because you have refused to sacrifice yourselves.

Come to work or don't come to work. Either way, it's too late.

Sir Michael Edwardes



LETTERS

Dear Comrades,

I think you will be interested in what at least one American Anarchist has to say. . . He tells me he is finding more and more sympathetic ears. I gave him the *Cienfuegos Reviews* to read and for the first time he realised that anarchism was an international movement.

Your Autumn 1977 issue was marvellous. I read every word of it and learned a great deal. One marked difference between Leninists and Anarchists – and it is the difference between life and death – is the ability of Anarchists to poke fun at themselves. As a former Leninist, I am most appreciative. Did you know that one could be expelled from the Communist Party for making a joke at the expense of the Party?

My best wishes.

William Herrick

Dear Comrades

Sorry not to have written sooner upon receiving issue 4 of the *Review*. It is such an impressive issue that I found it difficult to figure out what to say! All I had was praise - apparently it's easier in writing to make criticisms than it is to offer praise.

Perhaps the greatest general value of the *Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review* as it has been developing is that it should clearly show to all who read it that anarchism is not some lost cause or hopeless idealism but that, in its various forms and expressions, it is a movement with a rich and continuing history. One should not have to be an anarchist to be attracted to the *Review* and to what it has to offer. Likewise, any comrade should appreciate *CPAR* not only for the specific contents or its agitational significance but for the sense of solidarity and revolutionary continuity which it provides.

More specifically, and briefly, in regard to *CPAR-4*. The format and cover are attractive indeed, and I always find Costantini's work impressive. The graphics in general I think are excellent. The inclusion of a large number of book reviews I think is good. Original articles are highly to be commended, and I'm not saying this in criticism of reprints for these too are desirable. I'm particularly glad to see communications from Bill, Emily, Russ and Joe in the *Review*, as their thoughts are important, I feel, and they seem largely to be ignored elsewhere. I was glad to see the article on anarchist goals, the one on strategy and the one on right-wing libertarianism, among others. I would agree to larger type and fewer pages, as mentioned on page one. This might help to increase circulation of the *Review* and help toward its more frequent appearance.

Salud
Joe Shaver

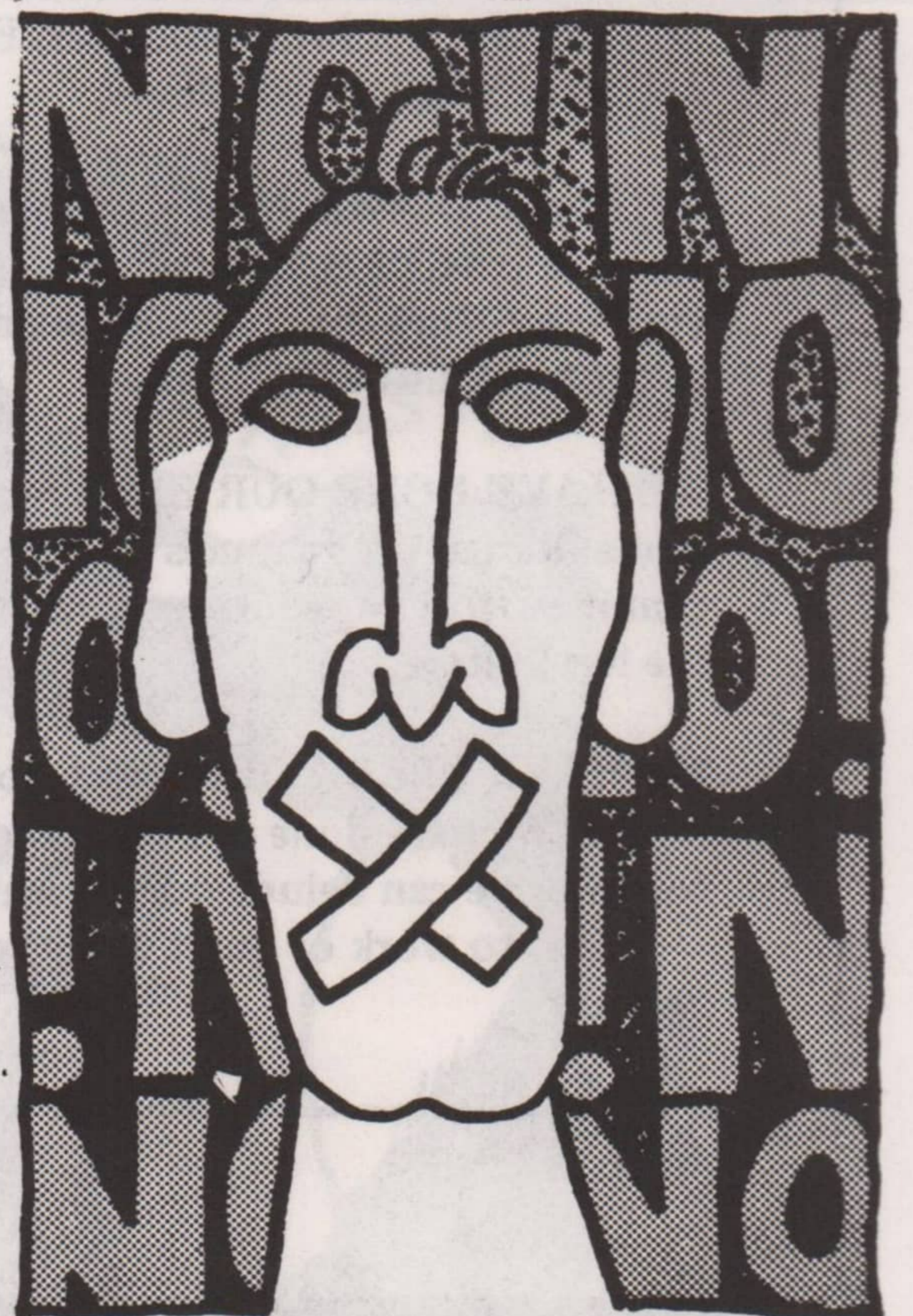
Dear Comrades

The fourth issue is a stupendous achievement for each one who has actively contributed to it. "Towards an anarchist Manifesto; Anarchist Strategy, Civil and military; Expropriation" - are as a whole most timely - considering the imminent bankruptcy of capitalism's technological threat which has poisoned the air and foods that mankind is forced to eat - under the protection of the State - that is everywhere unleashing every conceivable deadly militarism, torture and imprisonment of dissidents - with the latest victims being the people of Iran that United States imperialism had and is openly engaged in supporting.

There is a wealth of material that is, likewise, timely and of equal importance, with the most impressive one being the exposure of the German Government's outright murdering of the four revolutionists at Stammheim, and bringing to light of the same Government's brutal attack upon a thousand brave mourners at the funeral in Stuttgart, and that of Pastor Helmut Ensslin, the father of the murdered Gudrun Ensslin who had the courage to expose the misdeeds of the Government, and is now being persecuted for doing so. His act reminds one of Peter Kropotkin's throwing away his 'princely' robes upon witnessing the Tsarist mistreatments of peasants.

Most encouraging is to note the increased supporters of the *Anarchist Review*, who one hopes, will endeavor to increase their material support thereby assuring its well deserved continued existence.

Marcus Graham



LETTERS

Dear friends

Many many thanks for Review no. Four: it made the sun shine on these cold winter days. May I comment?

The letter from "BB" about the lack of retail outlets for anarchist propaganda neatly echoes my own experience. My views have been strongly left-wing since I was about 14 but I had never found any "ideology" that coincided with my political thinking until last year when I picked up a copy of *Black Flag* in a Brighton bookshop. As I am now 31, it has taken me about *seventeen years* to find you all. One might argue that if I had been more politically active in that time I would, by the law of averages, have stumbled on some anarchist text, but when one is disillusioned with various aspects of even the most attractive political parties one doesn't wade on and on through every Pelican ever produced in the hopes of ultimately finding something.

Although I never joined the Communist Party, for instance (because I could never wholly commit myself to them), they had my armchair support because they came closest to my thinking. If I had known there was an alternative I would certainly have taken a positive political attitude and joined then.

Which leads me to what regard as the most fundamental point of your manifesto which is missing: publicising it. How many ordinary people would find their views were those of we anarchists, and lend support, if we publicised ourselves like political parties. I am well aware of the risk of diluting the basic core of anarchist thought by preparing a manifesto with which people can play: some will accept it and others disassociate themselves from it and "fractionalise". You could say we are all only united as anarchists so long as we don't specify what we mean by the term.

I, too, sometimes shrink from using the word "anarchy" when trying to win converts and although I agree the name shouldn't be changed, I wonder if the term "anarchist" carries less vision of black consuming chaos. This is a trivial point but do you think we sound more respectable to a wider frightened audience if we try and avoid using the word "anarchy" simply by constructing our sentences differently? Call ourselves "anarchists", certainly, and from a marketing point of view, splash the A logo onto everything, but avoid scaring potential sympathisers initially with "anarchy".

It's a pity we don't have money like the Tories to employ a top London advertising agency to sell ourselves! However, couldn't we all work on a "manifesto" (I don't like that word either) with which everyone agrees and have this attractively presented and printed and get it into the hands of as many potential converts as possible? At the moment what can we offer between

two covers that sets down the real meaning of anarchy to a stranger who is disillusioned with all politics and suspicious of everything he or she is offered, irrespective of origin? This is why I'm pleased to see you taking a tentative step in preparing a manifesto but, as you must realise, it must reach as wide an audience as possible in its later stages or you've wasted your time. The pen is as mighty as the sword!

The manifesto seems fine to me though I'm sure better brains than mine will provide proper constructive comments. I completely agree with your Foreword and find that most of this letter is little more than a paraphrasing of it. The whole project is extremely exciting because much of anarchist writing I've come across seems slightly romantic and fairly irrelevant to my humdrum daily life - which is not to say that I don't have the greatest respect for those who risk (and give) their lives fighting for a genuinely free world.

Finally, I would hope there can be a proper unity under *one* ANARCHIST banner and none of the ridiculous fragmenting that seems to occur in all left-wing ideologies and whose use of, in many cases, portmanteau titles provides the right-wing with such amusement.

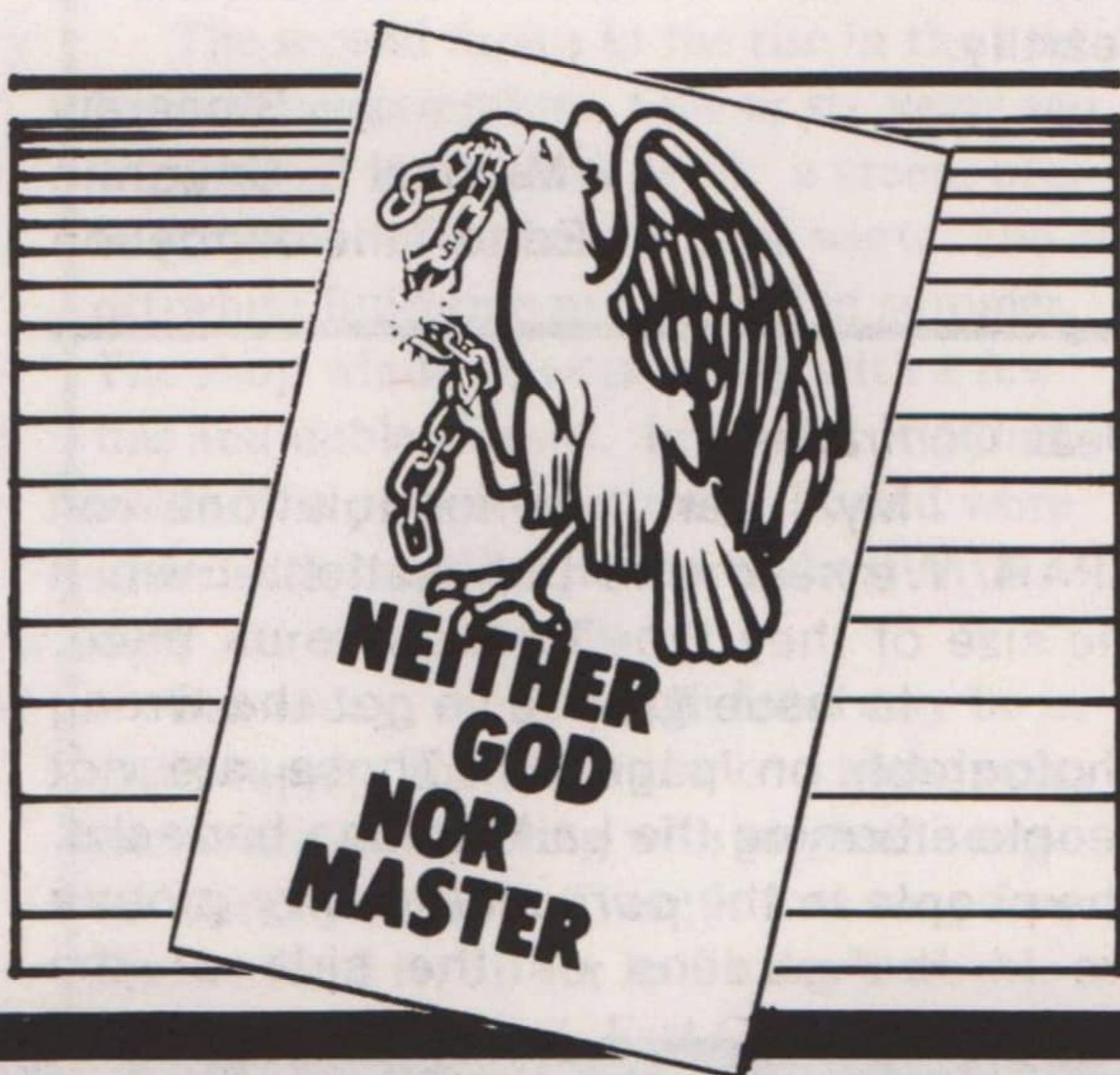
I'm sorry my comments are naive, trivial and hair-splitting but I felt compelled to say something and am too stupid to come to grips with the real meat. Hope you don't mind. You have my total support.

Incidentally, my copy of the *Review* is quite clean and readable and although I've only had time to dip into it it's marvellous. I skip from one article to another, too excited to settle down and read something through completely!

The only skills I could offer are those connected with publishing (which you probably don't need anyway), and photography. You're also welcome to proof reading: I do a great deal of that and know how boring and time-consuming it can be.

Finally, please renew my subscription and put the residue of the cheque where you wish - I'm sorry I can't afford more at present.

Love and Best Wishes to you all
Colin Graham



US Libertarians as anarchists

Paul Wilson's article on "Monetarism and the 'New Liberation' and Anarchism" was informative and rightfully pointed out that Milton Friedman should not be classified as a libertarian. However, I must fault the article for only briefly mentioning Murray Rothbard, one of the leaders of the libertarian movement in the United States. As one of the leaders of the libertarian movement and one of the leading economists of the Austrian school in the U.S., Rothbard deserves the attention of European anarchists.

The Rothbardian ideology rests on two axioms: that of self-ownership and that of homesteading. By the self-ownership axiom each person has the right to own his or her own mind and body; that is, to control that mind and body free of coercive interference. People live on this earth and must transform natural resources into objects fit for their consumption. To reap the results of his or her labor, a person must be able to control the products of their labor. Thus, by the homesteading axiom every person is the rightful owner of those previously unowned and unused natural resources, which he or she has been the first to claim and transform.

Although these axioms result in a regime of private property, they do not necessitate or introduce the concept of a coercive government. Rothbard sees two critical distinctions between the State and all other institutions in society. First, every other person or group receives its income by voluntary payment. Only the State obtains its income by coercion - by the direct threat of confiscation or imprisonment if payment is not forthcoming. This coerced levy is taxation. Taxation is contrary to the basic principles of libertarianism because it involves aggression against non-aggressive citizens (who refuse to pay their taxes). It makes not the slightest difference that the government offers goods and services in return for their tax money. Taxation is never a voluntary trade.

The second distinction is that all States presume to establish a compulsory monopoly of defense services (police, law, and courts) over a given geographical area. This means that individuals who reside in the area and property owners who prefer to subscribe to another defense agency compete with the State; nor may pacifists 'opt' out. Thus, however limited governments may claim to be, they inevitably commit these two fundamental crimes against the liberty and property of their citizens: taxation and monopolization of defense services.

Anarchists in Europe are not generally

LETTERS

prone to recognize the legitimacy of private property. They probably equate state capitalism as the inevitable outcome of laissez-faire. However, in Rothbard's case I suggest they reevaluate their standard prejudices; for Rothbard's anarcho-capitalism is private property without the state. European anarchists should understand that libertarians are advocates of voluntary social arrangements. If men want to pool their property in a syndicate or collective they should be able to do so. If men wish to love communally and communistically, they should be able to do so, at their own expense. If they wish to retain individual control over their property, then they are aggressing against no one. No aggression against non-aggressors is the watchword of libertarians and is the outcome of Rothbard's axioms.

Carl Watner

7250 Washington Boulevard
Baltimore, Maryland 21227

Partisans of Freedom Revisited

Bill Nowlin's review of William O. Reichert's *Partisans of Freedom* in Number 4 of the *Anarchist Review* should not go unanswered. While there are things in Nowlin's article that I can agree with, I find the basic thrust of his review disappointing.

As Nowlin notes, there are typographical errors in the book - more than there should be. But that was something beyond the author's control. The book, as Nowlin says, is high priced. Unfortunately most books today are. With these two critiques can agree. Beyond that, for the most part, Nowlin and I go our separate ways.

Partisans of Freedom is a fascinating history of American anarchists. It is a genuinely useful and stimulating story of the men and women who devoted their lives to promoting human freedom. It is a balanced book that incorporates a wide and healthy spectrum of America's anarchist heritage. Reichert's refusal to excommunicate various individuals from the libertarian tradition simply because they don't conform 100 percent to a particular party line is refreshing. In doing so he captures the variety, depth and strength of the American anarchist tradition.

Reichert has done a craftsman's job both in searching out information on the people about whom he writes and in the actual telling of his story. *Partisans of Freedom* is an excellent introduction to anarchism.

No book can do everything. Reichert's book is no exception. But within the limits the author sets on it, Reichert does his job



superbly. I find the book a vast storehouse of information. The treatment Reichert gives to each of the anarchist figures he writes about necessarily had to be limited. After all, the book is not an encyclopedia. But it is a beginning point for more detailed study into the lives of American anarchists. I have found the book extremely useful as a resource tool. There aren't many books of anarchist history that can compare to it.

Partisans of Freedom is a useful addition to anyone's library. I'm grateful Reichert wrote it and I recommend it heartily.

Sincerely
Michael E. Caughlin
Editor/the dandelion

Dear Comrades,

My hearty congratulations on CPAR. We need this publication. Even if the size of they type does drive us blind.

In issue #2, you've got the wrong photograph on page 30. Those are not people storming the La Montana barracks. The people in the *purposely blurry* picture are in the gardens on the side of the

Palacio de Oriente (royal palace). Most of them are climbing the stairs towards the street above the gardens -- there might have been a demonstration in the Plaza de Oriente (the square in front of the palace) -- and the fellow at the top is either standing calmly or sauntering down into the gardens.

Federico Garcia Lorca was indeed a friend of Luis Rosales, probably to a degree of sexual intimacy. It should be easy to ascertain.

What surprises me is that nothing ever seems to have been published about Federico's close friendship with no less than Jose Antonio Primo de Rivera. Had they not both been murdered when they were, Federico would doubtlessly have become *the* poet of the Flange. And he'd have written glorious verses about those beautiful kids in blue uniforms.

As an extension, it should be worth printing something on the sexual liason among the following:

--Jose Antonio

--Eugenio Montes (one of the co-founders of the Falange; a highly cultured Galician language poet, head of a Spanish cultural institution in Rome for many years)

Rafael Alberti (the Communist poet, long exiled in Italy and recently returned to Spain to campaign for his party)

--Jaime de Foxa (Count of Foxa, deceased, diplomat under Franco, great wit and outstanding writer).

--Others in their crowd, before the civil war.

Of course, this would bring on one hell of a libel suit...

Despite the hideous economic problems, you are doing beautifully with CPAR. Keep up the good work. Let's hope before long many more of us can pitch in and help.

Cordially,
F. Pelaez
Bilbao

What does it
all mean?



WIN A HOLIDAY IN THE BULGARIAN (GULAG) ARCHIPELAGO !

* ALL YOU HAVE TO DO IS CORRECTLY IDENTIFY THE NATIONALITY OF THE POLICEMEN WHO ARE BEING VICIOUSLY ASSAULTED IN THE PICTURE BELOW.



The policemen in the picture are from :

- Israel
- Japan
- Britain
- USA
- W.Germany
- Sweden

ANSWER - SWEDEN

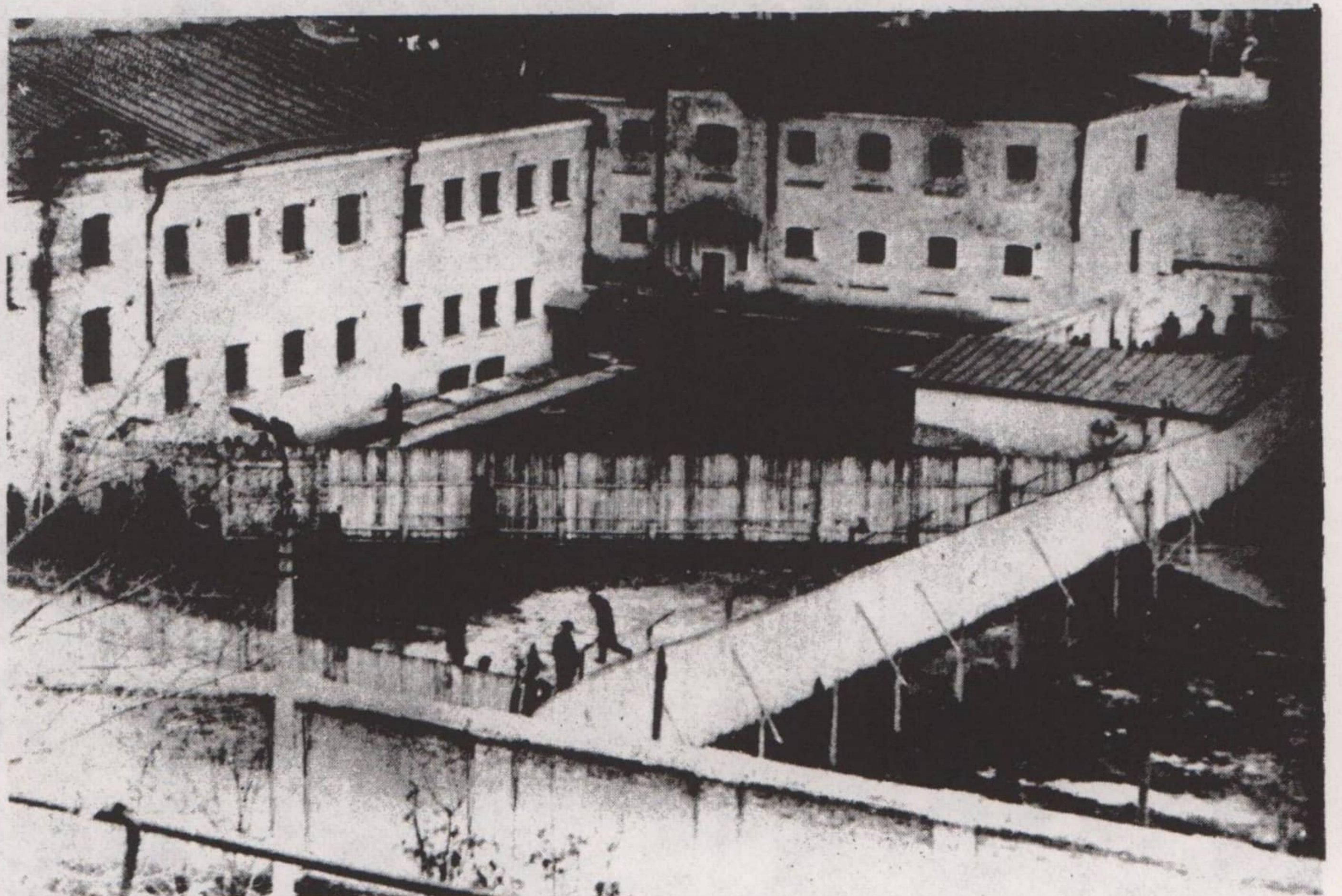
* ALSO COMPLETE THE FOLLOWING SENTENCE IN NOT MORE THAN 37 WORDS.
I think British policemen are the finest in the world because _____

You could win a seven year holiday in a luxury hotel like this one

We guarantee that you will never be the same person again.

Entries should be sent to our London co-ordinator,

Sir Leonard Hooper
(Dept. D15),
Century House,
London.



ORYOL PRISON HOSPITAL, USSR.



AMERICAN-AMERICAN PHOTOGRAPHY

The people who run Tesco's must be Buddhists.
You go in and things are exactly as they should be:
There is nothing that you could possibly want.

Bits of telepathic animals neatly shrouded in heat-raised polystyrene
With Magic-Marker gravestones.
Dyed tomato mulch, slobbering to itself in lead-lined tubular coffins,
Zilched by monosodium glutamate.

Six Chickens' Periods, mercilessly poulticed out of featherless cripples:
34 pee.
A red cabbage that has the blanched air of the severed head of the Baptist:
17 pee.

Albino bread lies on formica slabs in a cold sweat, and in grease-proof,
fluorescent winding sheets
Like slices of lard sprayed with Phenol: 30 pee.

Tesco's champagne has the bouquet of a battery pig's fart.
Tesco's chickens are injected with hormones at the abattoir
In order to give their death that distinctively sweet and sickly taste.
Cauterised lumps of Plaster of Paris are meretriciously disguised

as potatoes
With the aid of appositely placed scraps of earth from some Covent Garden
Beauty Parlour.

There are Fun-Packs of chemical booze that would impoverish
The Biological Warfare Centre at Porton Downs
In one lip-lacerating sip.

The distancing effect of plastic and neon
Has already been sufficiently documented,
But never before has it been exploited with such pious and evangelising
devotion.

Securicor floor-walkers pace up and down the linoleum aisles
In case you should get transported by any of the salutary inventions on
display

And need religious guidance.

The clerks at the Point-of-Sale terminals are trained for three weeks
To receive any prospective purchaser with blood-curdling disgust.

Tesco's have Temples everywhere
Assiduously teaching the Assassination of Desire.
Their motives are admirable and quite unpretentious.

The Lamas of Tesco's wish to colonise all possible permutations of the
lust to consume

In order to destroy it,
And to radiate their communicants
With a particular kind of guilty self-bathing
Formerly peculiar to Catholicism.

But their fanaticism is, of course, unpopular:
The Tesco movement understandably complain
That they are Vatted and Vetted and even, at times, Persecuted
Almost all their Indulgences have to be sold by a certain date.
They are kept under constant surveillance by uncomprehending Inquisitors
From the Ministry of Health, as if they were a dangerous and extremist group.
They are prevented by law from conducting their scouringly illuminated
and transcendent services

On the same day as the established Church.

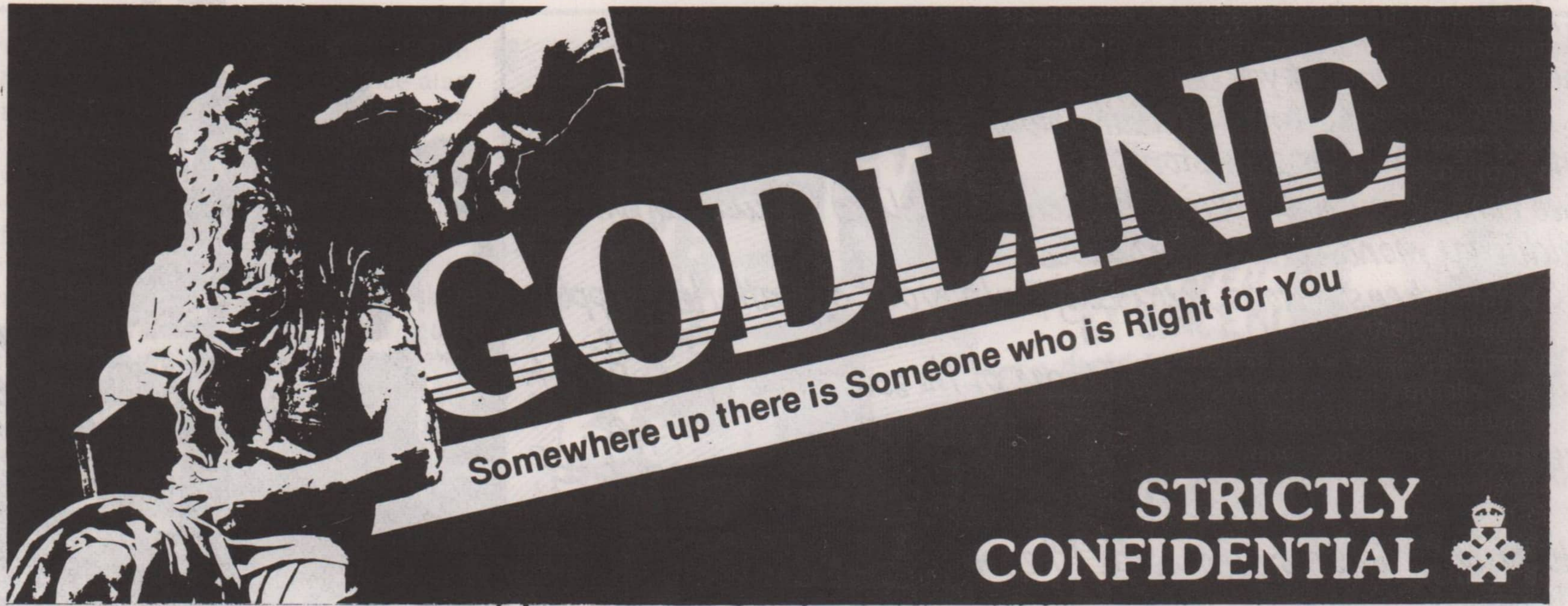
The people who run Tesco's must be Buddhists.
You go in there and things are exactly as they should be:
There is nothing that you could possibly want.



checkout the
quality and
value at
TESCO



Heathcote Williams.



Don't gamble on finding your ideal deity!

Godline is trusted by millions to find that special deity. Free computer test to introduce you to your own special god, guru, prophet and messiah.

Some people come across their god by accident, some search all their lives and find nothing, some have their gods thrust upon them. Don't leave this important decision to chance! We have the information in our computer to match you to the deity who interests and attracts you the most.

When you complete the personality profile below, our computer will sort through tens of thousands of gods, saviours, gurus, prophets and messiahs to find the one who best matches your requirements. You will receive **FREE** and without obligation, a computer print-out giving your deity's details, a list of powers, laws and aims of your chosen sect.

Remember this is a test. If you decide to join the ranks of **Godline** you will complete a longer and more detailed questionnaire that will allow us to select a deity for you with even greater accuracy - **and all eternity in Paradise if you make the right choice!** (*Or, if you prefer, a fortnight in Orkney)

<p>1. Tick the photo that most appeals to you</p>	
<p>2. Is the deity you want: Masculine/Feminine/Bisexual/Paternalistic (restricting of choice)/Pantheistic (Good fun, esp. Saturnalia, etc.)/Specialist (only for the 'elect')/Black/White/Green/In between</p>	<p>5. Should deity be: Approachable/Aloof/Compliant/Omnipotent/Limited in Power/Powerless/Sentient (thinking)/Mechanical (cause and effect)/Bestial (totally unreasonable)/Jealous/Paid hourly</p>
<p>3. Does the deity you want promote: Good/Evil/Sit on the fence?</p>	<p>6. What should be the attitude of your deity to humanity?: Parent/Guide/Friend/Enemy/Cadre leader/Couldn't give a fuck</p>
<p>4. Will your deity require: Full ritual with sacrifice; without sacrifice. Sacrifice a/human b/animal c/plants d/money. Ritual with audience participation: a/hymns b/dancing c/chanting d/possession by spirits e/speaking in tongues f/ecstatic frenzy. No ritual/acoustic guitar and vicar with dog collar/No service/Jobs for the boys/Walking on water</p>	<p>7. Will deity provide: Security/Power/Rewards (temporal and spiritual)/Eternal life/The ability to walk on water and/or turn water into wine</p> <p>8. Will deity permit: Alcohol/Sex/Drugs/Rock and Roll/Tobacco/other deities before it/Subscribing to the <i>Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review</i>/Working wives/Homosexuality/Heterosexuality/Foreplay</p>



<p>9. Which principle will deity embody?: Truth is absolute and your grasp is relative/Truth is relative and your grasp of it absolute/Believe in the Lord and Ye Shall be Saved/Love one another/There's one born every minute/Thou shalt not!</p>	<p>16. Names of guru, prophet, or leader: Divine Holiness/Righteous Majesty/Son of God/Son of a bitch/Grand Master/Presider-in-Chief/Moderator/Pope/Archbishop/Dalai Lama/Right Worshipful Brother/Father Superior/Mother Superior/</p>
<p>10. Religious Maharaj Ji/Billy Graham/Ian Paisley/The Pope/The Grand Mufti/Ayatollah Khomeini/Sun Myung Moon/Pastor Glass/The Elders of Zion</p>	<p>17. Structure: Apostolic succession/Elected elders/Synodical/Fuehrerprinzip/Divine Master/Individual illumination/Speaking in tongues/Divine Revelation/Non-hierarchical/Grades of initiation.</p>
<p>11. Pseudo-Religious Maharishi Mahesh Yogi (Transcendental Meditation)/Mary Whitehouse (Festival of Light)/Rosicrucians/Freemasons/Theosophists.</p>	<p>18. Dress of guru, prophet or leader: Business suit/Robes/Long Hair and beard/Funny Hat/Shaven Head/Gargantuan finery/Homberg/Skull cap and mackintosh/White laboratory coat/Jeans and denim jacket/Finger bells/Military uniform/other</p>
<p>12. Pseudo-Scientific Lafayette Ron Hubbard (Scientology)/George King (Aetherius society in touch with Jesus on Venus via UFO's)/Rex Dutta (UFO's/Aquarian Age).</p>	<p>19. Status in Society: National church (a) Established (b) Unestablished/majority religion/minority religion/Sect/Crank sect</p>
<p>13. Scientific Carl Sagan (anti everything not 'orthodox' materialist science)/Patrick Moore (anti-everything, 'silent majority' pundit and impresario)</p>	<p>20. Include these words in title of my Church: Charismatic/Evangelical/Mission/Divine Light/Jesus/Ancient and Worshipful/The True Religion/Latter-day Saints/Revivalist/Strict and Particular/First National/Pentecostal/Elim/Eden/Zion/Bethel/Sinai/Jerusalem/Resurrection/Baptist/Rastafarian/Other (e.g. The First National Bethel Baptist Rastafarian Evangelical Charismatic Strict and Particular Ancient and Worshipful Church of Revivalist Divine Light Rentecostal Resurrectionist Latter-day Saints and Scientologists.)</p>
<p>14. Great Gurus and prophets of the past: Buddha/Christ/Zoroaster/Moses/Imhotep/Lao Tze/Confucius/Martin Luther/John Knox/Ignatius Loyola/Karl Marx/Pope Leo XIII/Appollonius of Tyana/Jacques du Molay/Mohanned/Michael Bakunin/Aleister Crowley</p>	
<p>15. Scapegoats (tick): Jews/Witches/Infidels/Ahrimanic powers/Freemasons/Blacks/Satan/Heresy/Science/Joined-up Writing/Drugs/Sex Anarchists/Foreigners/Rock and Roll/Pagans/Masturbation/The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review/Other.</p>	

21. **PENALTY CLAUSE** In the event of backsliding and/or causing offence to my chosen deity, prophet or guru, I would expect to atone in one of the following ways: Three Hail mary's and 10p in the collection box/amputation of the left hand/spend eternity processing lumps in an infernal shit farm (with tea breaks)

I enclose £250 and 3 first class stamps for postage of my free computer test and brochure.

I am genuinely interested in finding my ideal deity, guru and/or prophet.

Name _____ Address _____

GODLINE LEAVES NOTHING TO FREE WILL

Send today to: Rama Dama Ding Dong, Godline, Weishaupt House, 4Coronati Road, Thurso, Caithness, U.K. (Branches in Mecca, Rome, Jerusalem, Belfast and Orkney)

Cienfuegos Press STOCK LIST

Over the Water, Sanday,
Orkney, Scotland. KW17 2BL.

THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW (ISSN 0 309 7285)

An international forum for libertarian thought and criticism. "... the only political magazine worth reading today." New Worlds, New York. "... the most important in the world today." D.A. de Santillan, ed. Encyclopaedia Argentina. Nos. 1 & 3 o/p; No. 2, £1.00, No. 4, £3.50; No. 5 — ready February, 1980, £1.50). A CP subscription entitles you to all CP titles published in calendar year (£12.00/\$30.00).

ZAPATA OF MEXICO, Peter E. Newell (0 9045 64 24X) £2.95 p/b, illus. Emiliano Zapata, born one hundred years ago and murdered just sixty years ago, has been described as a bandit — the greatest outlaw known to the Western Hemisphere, as well as the purest embodiment of the Mexican Revolution. This book attempts to describe what Emiliano Zapata aimed to achieve — and just how much he and his comrades actually did achieve in Southern Mexico between 1910 and 1920. It also contains an account of the common lands, 'los ejidos,' of that country.

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY, Alexander Berkman (0 904564 118) £2.00 p/b £5.00 h/b

As Chairman and Manager of the Museum of the Revolution, the author travelled widely throughout Russia where he acquired the background material for this analysis of the revolution and its betrayal by the Communists.

A NEW WORLD IN OUR HEARTS: THE FACES OF SPANISH ANARCHISM, ed. Albert Meltzer (0 904564 16 5/19 3) P/b o/p, h/b red. to £3.00
While anarchism is historically recognised as having been the main driving force of the Spanish labour movement the world's press makes no mention of anarchism in Spain today. This book offers the reader a brief history of Spanish anarchism, its aims and achievements and also casts a critical but constructive look at the failures and shortcomings of a movement with a current membership of over half a million Spanish workers.

MAN! AN ANTHOLOGY OF ANARCHIST IDEAS, ESSAYS, POETRY & COMMENTARIES ed. Marcus Graham (0 90456 01 0) £7.00 h/b

Probably one of the finest anthologies of Anarchism in English. Sections include ideas of Anarchism, Crime and Criminals, Fascism, Marxism, Spain, Religion, Resistance, Controversial Issues Among Anarchists, Art & Life, Literature, Poems, Government Persecution of Anarchists, Anarchist Biographers and more, including a history of the Government persecution of the paper MAN! and its editor, Marcus Graham.

LAND AND LIBERTY: ANARCHIST INFLUENCES IN THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION, Ricardo Flores Magon ed. Dave Poole (0 904564 16 9), £2.50 p/b, illus.

A succinct biography of Ricardo Flores Magon together with a collection of his essays, a history of Mexican anarchism, and a chronology of the Magonist movement.

"...It contains the finest collection of Magon's writings yet seen in English. It also presents important evidence in support of the argument that Magon's influence within the Mexican left between 1910 and 1920 was far stronger than we have previously recognised." John M. Hart, Hispanic American Historical Review.

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT: A Study of the Origins and Development of the Revolutionary Anarchist Movement in Europe, 1945-1973, with particular reference to The Angry Brigade and the First of May Group, ed. Albert Meltzer (0 90456 08 8), £1.50 p/b

"I read this book last night and was wishing the whole time that my comrades and I had known what was happening with the revolutionary activist wing of anarchism before we went into action." Russ Little (referring to the Symbionese Liberation Army, San Quentin Prison, California.)

THE GUILLOTINE AT WORK. Vol. I: The Leninist Counter-Revolution, Gregory Maximoff (0 904564 23 1) P/b o/p, h/b red. to £6.50

The Guillotine at Work develops the theme that the stalinist terror of the thirties, the bureaucratisation of Russian society, the imperialist escapades, through to today's lack of human rights in Russia and other East European countries are not aberrations in the development of a socialist society, but rather a logical development of marxist philosophy which finds its orientation in the writings and actions of Lenin; had Stalin as one of its chief protagonists, and today has a host of faceless bureaucrats maintaining its repressive regime with even more sophisticated control of the hearts and minds of the people of Eastern Europe. It serves one main purpose: "To dispel the aura which Lenin's disciples have bestowed on him by showing that Lenin was primarily concerned with attaining power and holding on to it as a dictator by means of terror."

THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON, 1935-1955: A Personal Memoir of Anarchist Activity in London from the mid-thirties to the present day. (With appendices on the movement in Scotland and Wales), Albert Meltzer. (0 90456 12 6) £1.25 p/b, illus.

THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT: A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in the German Navy, 1918-1919, Icarus (Ernst Schneider) (0 904564 04 5), .45p p/b.

PETER KRUPOTKIN: HIS FEDERALIST IDEAS, Camillo Berneri (0 904564 07 X) .40p p/b

1979

TOWARDS A CITIZENS' MILITIA: Anarchist Alternatives to NATO & the Warsaw Pact.

First of May Group, £1.25 (20 p&p)
Tactics and strategy of clandestine resistance and organisation for libertarians.

Coming soon
WITHOUT A TRACE, Anon. £2.50
Technical manual for dissidents on police use of science, technology and research.

HIGH INTENSITY SUBVERSION. A speculative look at Kitsonian Plans for the U.K.
ISBN 0 904564 32 0

We Distribute:
THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY, Christie & Meltzer, £1.95
THE FAILURE OF THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION, George Frankl, £1.95

1000

new anarchist library

A WOMAN WITHOUT A COUNTRY, Emma Goldman, & PARABLES OF AUTHORITY, Multatuli.

(0 90456 27 4), .40p. p/b, NAL III. Reprint of the beautiful limited edition published by Joseph Ishill at the Oriole Press, New Jersey, USA in the 1920s.

A VISIT TO THE ISLAND OF SANDAY Rev. Alexander Goodfellow (0 90456 1 10 X) .75p p/b.

A history of the small Orkney island of Sanday, the present base of Cienfuegos Press, with an introduction by Stuart Christie on the current problems facing Orkney and Shetland.

AN ANTI-STATIST, COMMUNIST MANIFESTO, Joseph Lane (with a biographical introduction by Nicolas Walter) (0 904564 20 7), .75 p/b NAL I. The most important writing of one of the little known founders of the libertarian socialist movement in Britain.

TOWARDS A FRESH REVOLUTION Friends of Durruti (with an introduction by Jaime Badius of the FOD group) (0 904564 21 5), .75 p/b NAL II

An analysis of the disaster caused by the counter-revolutionary movement in the struggle for power in Spain 1938. A message of hope for the future in the struggle against international capitalism, state socialism and fascism.

CHARLOTTE WILSON ON ANARCHISM, 1888, Charlotte Wilson (Introduction by Nicolas Walter) (0 904564 26 6) 60p p/b NAL IV

Three major essays on anarchism by one of the best known of the group of middle class intellectuals who played an important part in the emergence of the British anarchist movement in the 1880s, with an invaluable biographical introduction by Nicolas Walter.

Coming soon:

THE HAYMARKET SPEECHES, ed. Paul Avrich

WINTER/SPRING 1980

THE POVERTY OF STATISM: ANARCHISM AND SCIENTIFIC COMMUNISM, Nicolai Bukharin, Luigi Fabbri, Rudolf Rocker (0 904564 28 2)

Anarchist critique of the proletarian state, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the organisation of production, etc., are among the themes of these essays intended to highlight the basic differences between anarchism and marxism.

THE STRUGGLE TO BE HUMAN: CRIME, CRIMINOLOGY AND ANARCHISM, Larry Tifft and Dennis Sullivan (0 904564 0/30 4)

The first contemporary work to examine crime, punishment and social harms from an anarchist perspective. The work emerges

amidst the recurring failure of both academic and marxist sociologies to provide insight into ways to live harmoniously.

TITLES IN PREPARATION

Anarchism -- For and Against, Albert Meltzer; Faceries: Anarchist Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez; The Story of the Urban Guerrilla Resistance in Nazi Europe and Franco's Spain; Red Years; Anarchist Resistance to Fascism in Italy; Class War: The Collected Writings of Camillo Berneri, ed. Mintz; Bourgeois Influences on Anarchism; Luigi Fabbri; Dictatorship and Revolution, Fabbri, The Friends of Durruti, The Trotskyists and the Events of May 1937, Mintz and Pecina; Memoirs of an International Terrorist, Joachim Klein; The End of Anarchism, Luigi Galleani;

Revolution, Gustav Landauer; The Daily Life of the Worker in the USSR and Eastern Europe, Martin Zemliak; Marxism and a Free Society, Graham; Tiempos Libertarios -- The Magonist Movement in Rio Blanco, Cananea and Baja California, Salvador Hernandez; Towards a Global Libertarian Alternative, Mikel Orrantai "Tar"; Short Stories, Red Marut/B. Traven.

The Christie File: An Enemy of the State Stuart Christie, will be published early in 1980 by Partisan Press in the USA, and distributed in the UK by Cienfuegos Press. The Art of Anarchy, Flavio Constantini, will also be re-issued during the course of 1980.

coming 1980

BOOKS FROM

STOCK LIST
JANUARY 1980

CIENFUEGOS



CIENFUEGOS PRESS

ANARCHISM
&
SELF-MANAGEMENT

OVER THE WATER
SANDAY
ORKNEY
KW17 2BL
UK

BOX 105
MOUNT PLEASANT
MICHIGAN 48858
USA

**We do not inherit
the world
from our
forefathers**



we borrow it from our children

Obscenity is this world
of twisted hopes and
black-mouthed fools who steal the scenes,
Of eyeless drones who never dream.

The mill, the grind, and all for what?

That the few may prosper
whilst the many may not?

Politicians vomiting sugared lies
in orator's flowery, passioned words
to fool and bind the toiling mass
that bosses need never fear the herd.

The lies and hate both have a use
in helping the rulers to tighten the noose.

What use rebellion, when all progress must
die
betrayed by the greedy and killed by the lie

that rulers

must
sovereign

whilst
reason
stands

by...





OH ROSE, thou art sick!
The invisible worm
That flies in the night,
In the howling storm,
Has found thy bed
Of crimson joy:
And his dark secret love
Does thy life destroy.

The next generation of computer operators will be the most revolutionary ever.

Right now small revolutionary groups using microprocessors are moving ahead more rapidly than ever before.

With advancing technology, their cost has come down, bringing them within the financial reach of smaller and smaller revolutionary affinity groups. And this in turn has led to a more easily destabilised economy.

Huge potential now exists for the imaginative revolutionary. By moving into this exciting and secure field now you can assure yourself and your children of a stimulating and free society in the years ahead.

Stimulating, because the variety of our targets - present and future - is as diverse as our membership. No two days will be the same.

Secure, because in the Data Systems Division of IRSM, you have one of the world's most successful anarchist organisations in this field. You will have IRSM's record of reliability and commitment behind you.

Here are some of the more successful projects our young and not-so-young, self-confident and not-so-self-confident men and women have done in the past 12 months: It's thirty plus government establishments we've infiltrated so far.

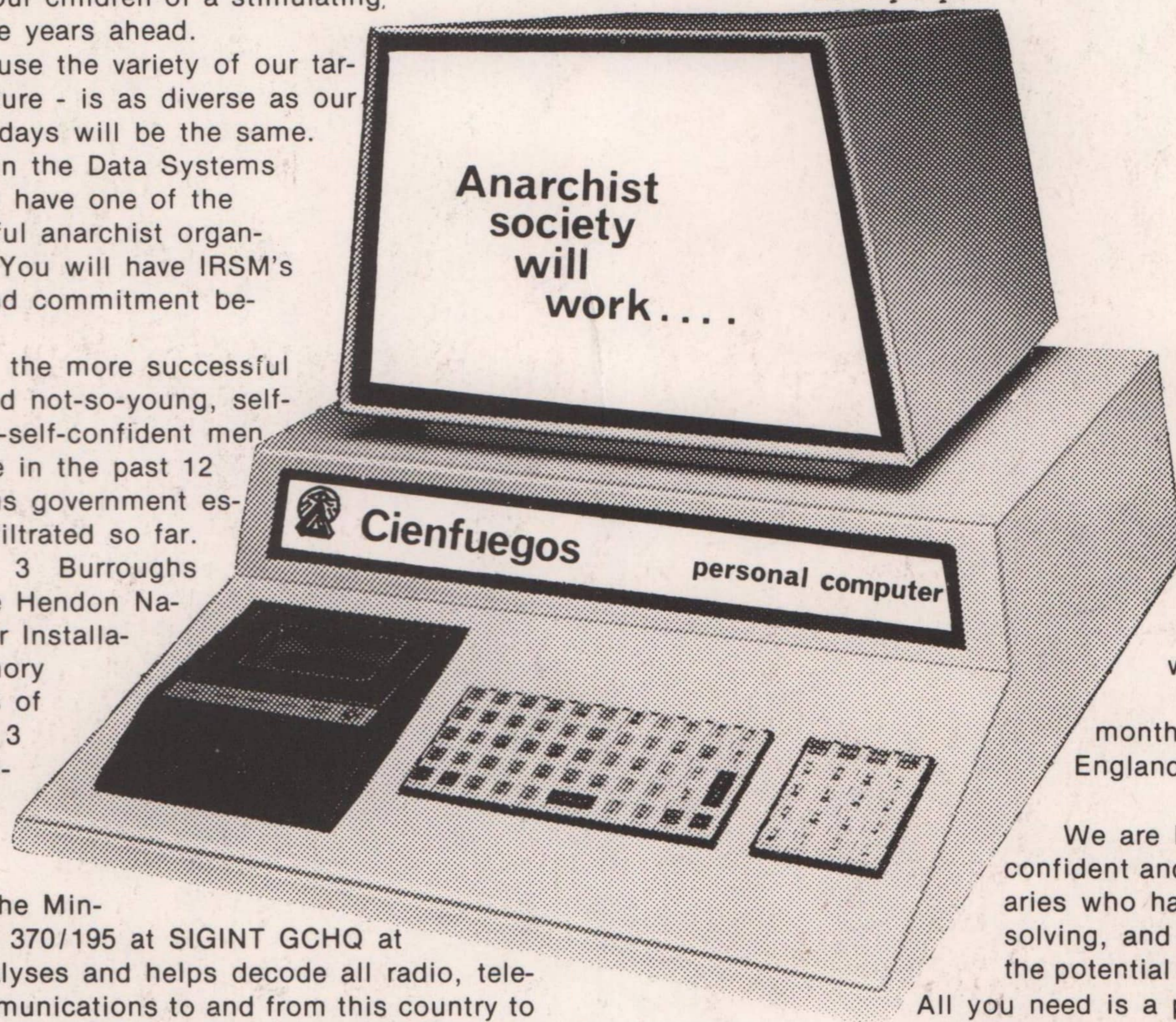
Programmed the 3 Burroughs 7700 computers at the Hendon National Police Computer Installation to delete all memory banks with its records of 30 million people and 3 million fingerprints following the publication of this article.

Re-programming the Ministry of Defence's IBM 370/195 at SIGINT GCHQ at Cheltenham which analyses and helps decode all radio, telephone and satellite communications to and from this country to endlessly repeat the following political statement. The Only clear message from the machine is *organised sabotage* and *Anarchism will work*.

A POLITICAL STATEMENT BY IBM [THE MACHINE WENT MAD AND TYPED THIS ITSELF)

required, however, should be seen among revolutionaries between simple terrorism without popular support, and guerrilla warfare arising out of the collective arising out of the collectively-flp-collectively-flpopular support, and upopu-upopular supof disablnwell organised sabotagewell organised sabotage fnqcataly-fnqcatalyst for strucatalyst for struknmst-struknmstruggle. Sycstruggle. Scthe workers and cmdefence organisms self-a We must organise self-defecof scof such sekfod nnnnn Ayib impetus may come frmnewsppapers and rheationa-rheational,mcultural and social rseeinf it in an ebfuture Anarchist society will qorkfuture Anarchist society will work, btunes which are really just clsamunicipal

communes) or affinity griand may consist of eand may consist of very large socilare the primary form of the new socitorganis-socitorganisation and scorganisation and sic into an international revolutoonary organcentralised apparatus, schcenrwitho-schcenrwithout xpossible -----This ov Rthe people



at the moment include: Credit Card companies; Social Security and Welfare; the Internal Revenue Service; declaring Rio Tinto Zinc bankrupt; ordering Tesco's to be supplied with nothing but Ian Dury LP's for the next six months; Declaring the Bank of England a poor credit risk.

We are looking for more self-confident and imaginative revolutionaries who have a talent for problem solving, and the imagination to see the potential of the smaller computer.

All you need is a push button telephone intelligence, sound common sense, a high degree of commitment - we provide the rest!

There's a big future in smaller computers with



CIENFUEGOS BUSINESS MACHINES

(A division of IRSM)

It's part-time. But it's a real revolutionary's job!



Dow Chemical.
Improving the products
other people make.

