

UN-DEWAR'S PROFILES

(PRONOUNCED UN-DOERS "WHITE LABEL")



Hector Z. McTurk

HOME: Everywhere. Moves freely in the world, recognising no state boundaries.

PROFESSION: McTurk has no "profession" refuses to sell his skills and resists definition by any of the categories of capitalist achievement. "If you must call me something," he says "call me an Urban and Sociological Modality Re-designer - Explosives Division."

HOBBIES: Bank expropriations, fire bombings, assassinations, kidnapping of government officials and the building of a new world through the complete destruction of the present.

AFFILIATIONS: Temporary Grand An-architect of the Orcadian Illuminati & subscriber to Cienfuegos Press.

LAST BOOKS READ: "The Anarchist Cookbook", Kurt Saxon's "The Poor Man's James Bond", U.S. Army Manual "Unconventional Warfare Devices and Techniques", "The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book," and the "Floorplan of Century House", H.Q. of British Intelligence in Lambeth.

LAST ACCOMPLISHMENT: Wrote up the flight plan for Spanish Fascist politician Carrero Blanco's departure from Spain. (A short flight in a heavy limousine over the top of a church, Poor landing).

QUOTE: "Some people say we need leaders of higher calibre for people to be free. I say we need to use a higher calibre (at least .357) on all leaders for people to be free . . . there exists no better target for destruction than the symbol of ghastly urban giantism erected as a monument to the defence of capital - the Century House building. All such buildings foul the space that could be used for human purposes rather than those of commerce and repression. It'll all burn!"

PROFILE: He has the unique ability to strike where the forces of authority least expect - a bank robbery in Peking, a fire-bombing in Detroit, smashing up an Army Recruiting Office in Tunbridge Wells, or the assassination of a police torturer in Buenos Aires. He is only one of many men and women who have no intention of quietly submitting to the indignities of daily life.

WHAT DOES HE THROW?: Why, Dewar's White Label, of course. "It's got more punch per ounce and the flat bottom helps it keep a nice trajectory. Dewar's is tops in my book."

FAVOURITE MIX: Dewar's Molotov-80% Petrol, 10% Paraffin wax, 10% Dewar's for a clean burn.



(adapted from Fifth Estate, Detroit)

THE cienfuegos press

ANARCHIST REVIEW

A TARGET FOR DISGUST

A TARGET FOR DISGUST

(Dedicated to Sacco & Vanzetti, murdered by the State of Massachusetts).

I curse you Boston

City of Hypocrisy

City of Flatulence

(with your constipated laws)

Unclean City

(with your atlantic monthlies

and your approaching

change of life)

I curse you

in the name of Aknaton I curse you

in the name of Rimbaud I curse you

in the name of Van Gogh I curse you

your belly is a nest of worms

your breasts tubercular

you have a falling of the womb

you are an ulcer on the

face of the earth

leprous

hogs vomit when they approach you

City of Stink-Stones

City of Dead Semen

with your Longfellows and your Lowells

there is no Aphrodisiac can revive you

it is too late

there is no Phallus can stir

you to madness,

it is too late

too late for you to cleanse

yourself with the Sun

Aphelion

City of Tea Rooms

whose beverage is

the water of the Dead Sea

whose food is Salt Peter

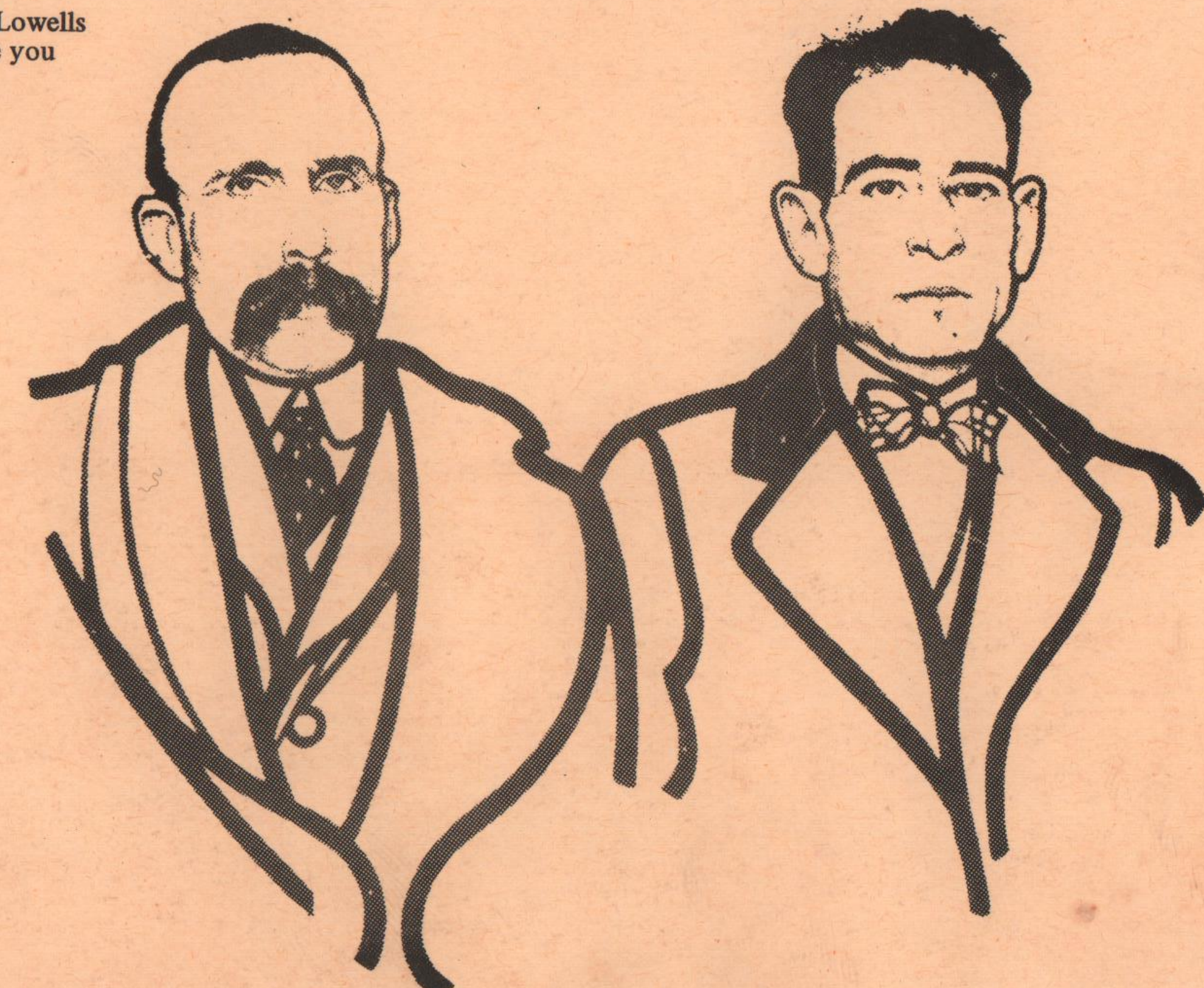
and the juices of cod

City of Invalids

City of Fetid Breath

Walled in by shadow

Sunless



Bartolomeo Vanzetti and Nicola Sacco

your libraries are clogged
with Pamphlets and Tracts
but of Ulysses

you have none

but of Gertrude Steins

you have none

but of Maldorors

you have none

your Churches are crowded

with Sabbatarians

but of Prophets

you have none

but of Fanatics

you have none

but of Sun-Gods

you have none

you are an Abomination

Unphallic City of Pulp

and I would rather defile a

dead body than uncover

your nakedness

and I would rather spill out

my seed upon the ground

than come near to you

and I would rather dwell

in the volcanoes of hell

than dwell in your midst

City of Swan-Boats

City of Frog-Ponds

you are an Abomination

a perpetual sore

a target for disgust

and in the name of

the Sun

and the Moon

and the Stars

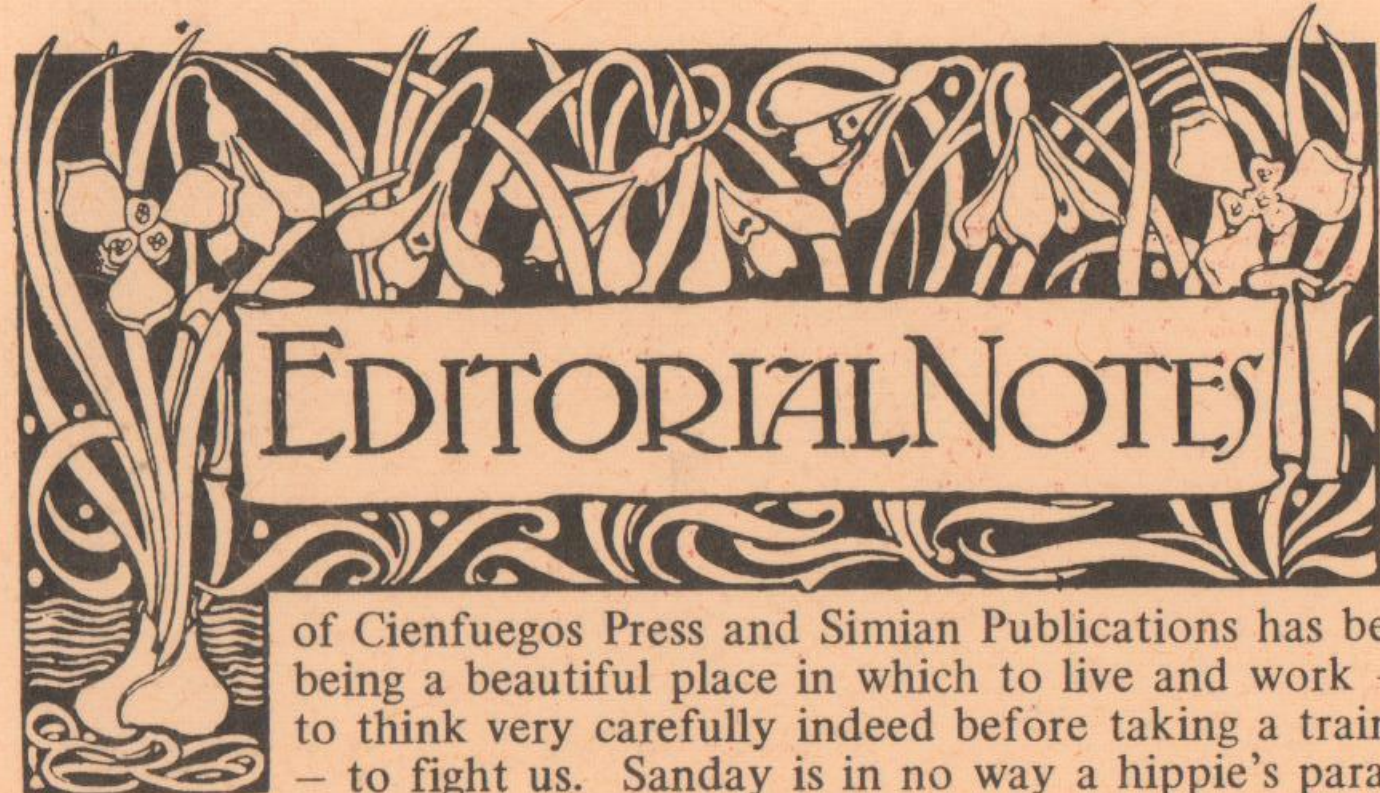
and in the name of the Mad Queen

I curse you

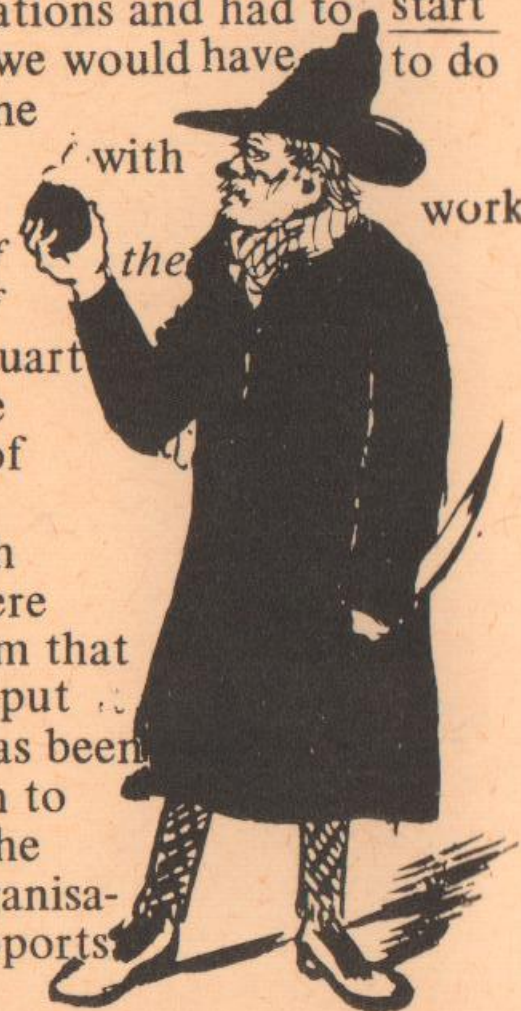
Boston City of Hypocrisy.

Harry Crosby.

FINANCE A BOOK FOR ANARCHISM! Are any of our readers willing to help finance the publication "Land and Liberty" (one of our most interesting titles to date)? The book is typeset and ready to go - all we need now is a donation (or an interest free loan) of £900.00 (\$1500.00) towards the cost of printing and binding. The names of all contributors to this title will appear in the book when published.



of Cienfuegos Press and Simian Publications has been one of steady improvement. The move surprised not a few people, but - apart from being a beautiful place in which to live and work - it was motivated mainly by financial pressures and the fact that debt collectors would have to think very carefully indeed before taking a train to the end of the earth (well, Scotland, anyway) and then two boats - if they are lucky! - to fight us. Sanday is in no way a hippie's paradise, but it is one of the few places where if you hear a knock in the morning it would still be the milkman, if there was one, (or someone with a carry out!), unless of course they decide to fly the Special Air Services in by helicopter! Having paid off *part* of an enormous printer's bill which eased the pressure on us for a short time we are now back to our normal financial position of constant juggling with very limited funds to pay off old debts and incurring new ones with fresh "spine-tingling" anarchist titles. With this issue of the *Review* our immediate debts amount to £2,750 as well as £130.00 which we have to find every month to cover the payments on our type-setting machine, ribbons and re-payment of money already borrowed. We have been aided enormously in our work by the contributions received from the friends and supporters listed opposite who have taken out sustaining subscriptions (bargain at twice the price) and some who have given a great deal more than we asked for. If you work in a school, university or library you can also help by ordering your books through C.P. Bookservice. A sad note here is that a most consistent friend and supporter, Aaron Rogat, died last December at the age of 86. It was Aaron and Marcus Graham who originally helped Cienfuegos Press to get off the ground, both financially and morally. We have been informed by Aaron's widow that he has left a considerable sum of money in his will to be spread around the international anarchist movement of which C.P. is to receive \$1500. We would like to take this opportunity to send our condolences to his wife, family and others who loved him and to say that Aaron Rogat will be sadly missed by all who knew him. But on the bright side, we hear from *Publications Distribution Cooperative* who now handle our distribution to bookshops throughout England that our titles are among their best-sellers. It seems that the bright and striking jacket illustrations of our comrade and collaborator, Flavio Costantini, and the interesting subject matter of our titles are helping us break out of the incestuous limitations that anarchist publications have suffered hitherto. Our titles are now coming to the attention of people who otherwise would have no interest or knowledge of the ideas of anarchism. One of our first titles, *The Art of Anarchy*, by Flavio Costantini (now out of print and no money with which to re-print it!) was selected by the British National Book League among the top ten best designed book covers in the U.K. last year! Please remember that with your help and your help alone we will be able to consolidate and build up a solid and specifically anarchist presence in the world of English language publishing. In Glasgow, but now and again moving back to London, there was the Bakunin Press run on a shoestring by the late Guy Aldred, publishing anarchist and anti-parliamentarian communist literature, particularly original pamphlets by Aldred himself who was a prolific and controversial writer. Other than that, and principally, was the Freedom Press in London. 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More so, indeed, when one bears in mind that it inherited all the assets of the movement in the form of old F.P. stocks, posters, correspondence, addresses, subs, sales, a marvellous selection of rare books and, *most important of all*, the continuity of good will which allowed generation after generation to expend all its energies on it with the recurring theme "... it's the best paper we've got" or, a variation, "it's been going since 1886." The complicated affairs of Freedom Press which give rise to this mess have long been the subject of much comment in anarchist circles - including accusations of bureaucracy, but it is neither that nor a "leadership" (in fact it is hard to say *what* it is). On the one hand it is apparently run by a group claiming to be the same one which set up shop in 1886, and on the other no decision can be made without the consent of someone who is never available and takes no direct interest in the place. 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We had no support established over past generations and had to start from scratch. At first our pamphlets were regarded severely by Freedom Press supporters - one wrote they were poorly produced and we would have to do "very much better" - another, who has since seen the light (a bit) thought them "eccentric." Now, at last, we can say that we have done better. It was clear, however, that pamphlets no matter how well-produced, would not fill the gap (though we did build a good bridge Bakunin's *Criticism of State Socialism*, Tolstoy's *Power & Liberty*, Meltzer's *Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China*, an original which has since been published in ten editions and translated into several different languages including Chinese. We reprinted *Origins of Anarchist Movement in Spain* which ran to several editions; 1649 a story of the Diggers and Levellers; *The Bonnot Gang*; *The Origins of Workers Councils in Germany* plus a few others. 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Our publications programme has been built up from that small beginning, but with our titles for this year and increasing collaboration by our readers we shall have more or less equalled the output of anarchist publishing in this country in the last thirty years, a fact which we are justly proud of, particularly bearing in mind that it has been possible to kill the national myth of London as the only possible place where books can be published in Britain. With your help we aim to make next year better than ever. Black Flag, Simian and Cienfuegos Press are all equally committed to supporting the campaign of the Anarchist Black Cross for organising material and moral support for those libertarian and other political prisoners ignored by liberal organisations such as Amnesty International and left to be tortured, murdered or to spend the rest of their days behind bars. 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Now read on, and please let us hear from you with your comments in time for the next issue.



*HERE, AT LONG LAST, is issue no. 2 of *The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review*. In spite of the fact that the price has jumped from 30p to £1.00 we are offering just as much (more in fact) value for more money (e.g. *History of the Anarchist Movement in Poland* is at present being sold as a pamphlet by an academic publisher, in French, for £3.35p!!) and we hope you will be as satisfied with this issue as you seem to have been with the first, which is now almost completely sold out. So successful, in fact, was the last issue of the *Review* that we are now seriously thinking of expanding it to become a quarterly with articles, commentaries, and reviews covering as wide a spectrum of interests as possible - in short, to make it the sort of anarchist forum (Encyclopedia?) which, for reasons of space, we cannot do very successfully in the monthly publication "Black Flag." This expansion of course, depends entirely upon our ability to keep our financial head above water, but since moving to Orkney last year the overall position of Cienfuegos Press and Simian Publications has been one of steady improvement. The move surprised not a few people, but - apart from being a beautiful place in which to live and work - it was motivated mainly by financial pressures and the fact that debt collectors would have to think very carefully indeed before taking a train to the end of the earth (well, Scotland, anyway) and then two boats - if they are lucky! - to fight us. Sanday is in no way a hippie's paradise, but it is one of the few places where if you hear a knock in the morning it would still be the milkman, if there was one, (or someone with a carry out!), unless of course they decide to fly the Special Air Services in by helicopter! 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"There is one thing more wicked in the world than the desire to command, and that is the will to obey".

- William Kingdon Clifford

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS

No 2 1977

Anarchist Review 1977

The Cienfuegos Press Review will be sent free to all prisoners who request a copy

£1.00: \$2.00: F.Fr.13: D.M.5

(+20p p+p)



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- 13 U.K.: The Anarchists in London 1935-55; Albert Meltzer: The Man & His Work; The Balham Group; The Auden Generation; John Maclean; Invergordon '31; British Syndicalism 1900-1914; The Political Police in Britain.
- 18 Blueprint For a Police State.
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- What They Said About Us Last Time
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The problem is - as we have often reported - lack of capital (at least that is what our Bank Manager keeps telling us). In addition to our publications side we are trying to supplement our turnover by providing a general book service and this is slowly catching on (see back page), but the problem remains the same - no money with which to build up a good stock. This means we are having to develop the bookservice a bit slower than we intended, but please don't let that stop you ordering all your books from us. The more orders we receive from you the quicker we build up our selection of titles and increase our efficiency in dealing with your orders.

We don't know any friendly Merchant Bankers, rich anarchists (are there any?), so the only way left to us to raise sufficient money to develop our many publishing projects (apart from sales, contributions from regular supporters who believe in what we are doing, bank robberies, fraud and extortion) is to offer you a yearly £6.00 (\$12.00) Sustaining Subscription to Cienfuegos Press and Simian Publications (Life Subscription £25.00, \$50.00) for which you will receive the following: a) a copy of every book published by Cienfuegos Press in 1977; b) a copy of every pamphlet published by Simian in the same period; c) the Cienfuegos Press Review of Anarchist Literature; d) a 10% discount on all books carried by or ordered through the Cienfuegos Press Bookservice.

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Erich Muehsam: A Portrait and Bibliography; The Face of Spanish Anarchism; Land and Liberty!, Ricardo Flores Magon; An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry, Marcus Graham; The Guillotine at Work, Maximof; Vol.1 The Anarchist Encyclopedia: A Bibliography (This title will be available in paperback only to C.P. subscribers - the main edition being in h/back); Anarchism in Japan, Victor Garcia; Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution, Frank Mintz; Spanish Anarchism and Revolutionary Action, Alberola & Gransac; The End of Anarchism, Luigi Galleani; The Battle of Calthorpe Street, J.M. Alexander.

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Stuart Christie

Stuart Christie

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ANARCHISM

ANARCHISM (from the Gr. *an-*, and *archē*, contrary to authority, is the name given to a principle or theory of life and conduct under which society is conceived without government — harmony in such a society being obtained, not by submission to law, or by obedience to any authority, but by free agreements concluded between the various groups, territorial and professional, freely constituted for the sake of production and consumption, as also for the satisfaction of the infinite variety of needs and aspirations of a civilised being.

In a society developed on these lines, the voluntary associations which already now begin to cover all the fields of human activity would take a still greater extension so as to substitute themselves for the State in all its functions. They would represent an interwoven network, composed of an infinite variety of groups and federations of all sizes and degrees, local, regional, national, and international — temporary or more or less permanent — for all possible purposes: production, consumption and exchange, communications, sanitary arrangements, education, mutual protection, defence of the territory, and so on; and, on the other side, for the satisfaction of an ever-increasing number of scientific, artistic, literary, and sociable needs.

Moreover, such a society would represent nothing immutable. On the contrary — as is seen in organic life at large — harmony would (it is contended) result from an ever-changing adjustment and re-adjustment of equilibrium between the multitudes of forces and influences, and this adjustment would be the easier to obtain as none of the forces would enjoy a special protection from the State.

If, it is contended, society were organised on these principles, man would not be limited in the free exercise of his powers in productive work by a capitalist monopoly, maintained by the State; nor would he be limited in the exercise of his will by a fear of punishment, or by obedience towards individuals or metaphysical entities, which both lead to depression of initiative and servility of mind. He would be guided in his actions by his own understanding, which necessarily would bear the impression of a free action and reaction between his own self and the ethical conceptions of his surroundings. Man would thus be enabled to obtain the full development of all his faculties, intellectual, artistic, and moral, without being hampered by overwork for the monopolists, or by the servility and inertia of mind of the great number. He would thus be able to reach full individualisation, which is not possible either under the present system of individualism, or under any system of State socialism in the so-called Volksstaat (popular State).

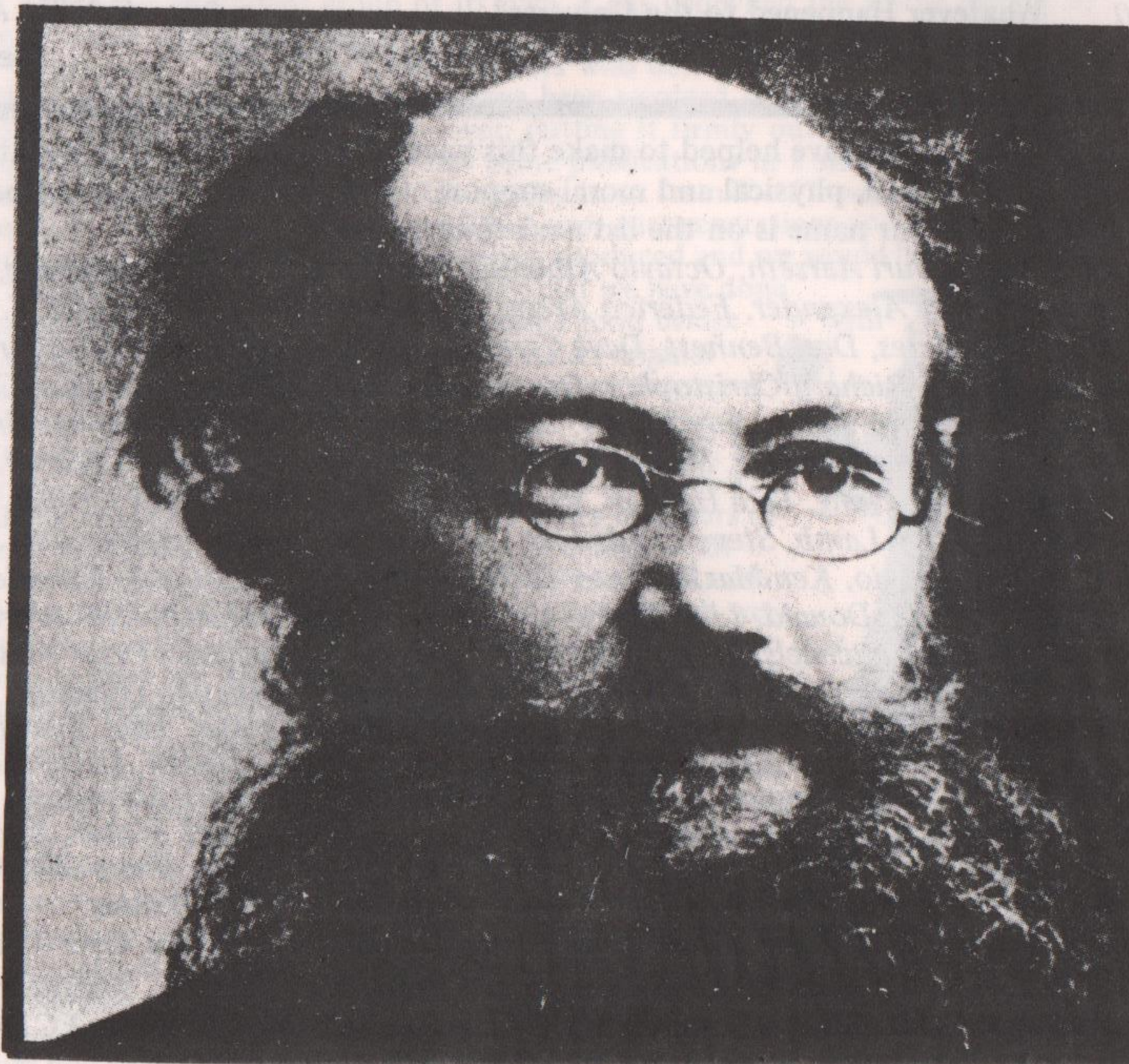
The anarchist writers consider, moreover, that their conception is not a Utopia, constructed on the *a priori* method, after a few desiderata have been taken as postulates. It is derived, they maintain, from an analysis of tendencies that are at work already, even though state socialism may find a temporary favour with the reformers. The progress of modern techniques, which wonderfully simplifies the production of all the necessities of life; the growing spirit of independence, and the rapid spread of free initiative and free understanding in all branches of activity — including those which formerly were considered as the proper attribution of Church and State — are steadily re-inforcing the no-government tendency.

As to their economical conceptions, the anarchists, in common with all socialists, of whom they constitute the left wing, maintain that the now prevailing system of private ownership

in land, and our capitalist production for the sake of profits, represents a monopoly which runs against both the principles of justice and the dictates of utility. They are the main obstacle which prevents the successes of modern techniques from being brought into the service of all, so as to produce general well-being. The anarchists consider the wage-system and capitalist production altogether as an obstacle to progress. But they point out also that the State was, and continues to be, the chief instrument for permitting the few to monopolise the land, and the capitalists to appropriate for themselves a quite disproportionate share of the yearly accumulated surplus of production. Consequently, while combating the present monopolisation of land, and capitalism altogether, the anarchists combat with the same energy the State as the main support of that system. Not this or that special form, but the State altogether, whether it be a monarchy or even a republic governed by means of the referendum.

The State organisation, having always been, both in ancient and modern history (Macedonian empire, Roman empire, modern European states grown up on the ruins of the autonomous cities), the instrument for establishing monopolies in favour of the ruling minorities, cannot be made to work for the destruction of these monopolies. The anarchists consider, therefore, that to hand over to the State all the main sources of economic life — the land, the mines, the railways, banking, insurance, and so on — as also the management of all the main branches of industry, in addition to all the functions already accumulated in its hands (education, State-supported religions, defence of the territory, etc.), would mean to create a new instrument of tyranny. State capitalism would only increase the powers of bureaucracy and capitalism. True progress lies in the direction of decentralisation, both territorial and functional, in the development of the spirit of

PETER KROPOTKIN (1842-1921) is generally acknowledged to be the most interesting and readable of the anarchist writers. Born in Moscow, a descendant of the princes of Kiev, he worked as an explorer, geologist, and geographer. He refused the secretaryship of the Russian Geographic Society in order to undertake revolutionary activity to which he was committed until his death.



local and personal initiative, and of free federation from the simple to the compound, in lieu of the present hierarchy from the centre to the periphery.

In common with most socialists, the anarchists recognise that, like all evolution in nature, the slow evolution of society is followed from time to time by periods of accelerated evolution which are called revolutions; and they think that the era of revolutions is not yet closed. Periods of rapid change will follow the periods of slow evolution, and these periods must be taken advantage of — not for increasing and widening the powers of the State, but for reducing them, through the organisation in every township or commune of the local groups of producers and consumers, as also the regional, and eventually the international, federations of these groups.

In virtue of the above principles the anarchists refuse to be party to the present-State organisation and to support it by infusing fresh blood into it. They do not seek to constitute, and invite the workingmen not to constitute, political parties in the parliaments. Accordingly, since the foundation of the International Working Men's Association in 1864-1866, they have endeavoured to promote their ideas directly amongst the labour organisations and to induce those unions to a direct struggle against capital, without placing their faith in parliamentary legislation.

THE HISTORICAL DEVELOPMENT OF ANARCHISM

The conception of society just sketched, and the tendency which is its dynamic expression, have always existed in mankind, in opposition to the governing hierarchic conception and tendency — now the one and now the other taking the upper hand at different periods of history. To the former tendency we owe the evolution, by the masses themselves, of those institutions — the clan, the village community, the guild, the free medieval city — by means of which the masses resisted the encroachments of the conquerors and the power seeking minorities. The same tendency asserted itself with great energy in the great religious movements of medieval times, especially in the early movements of the reform and its forerunners. At the same time it evidently found its expression in the writings of some thinkers, since the times of Lao Tze, although, owing to its non-scholastic and popular origin, it obviously found less sympathy among the scholars than the opposed

tendency.

As has been pointed out by Prof. Adler in his *Geschichte des Sozialismus und Kommunismus*, Aristippus (430 B.C.), one of the founders of the Cyrenaic school, already taught that the wise must not give up their liberty to the State, and in reply to a question by Socrates he said that he did not desire to belong either to the governing or the governed class. Such an attitude, however, seems to have been dictated merely by an Epicurean attitude towards the life of the masses.

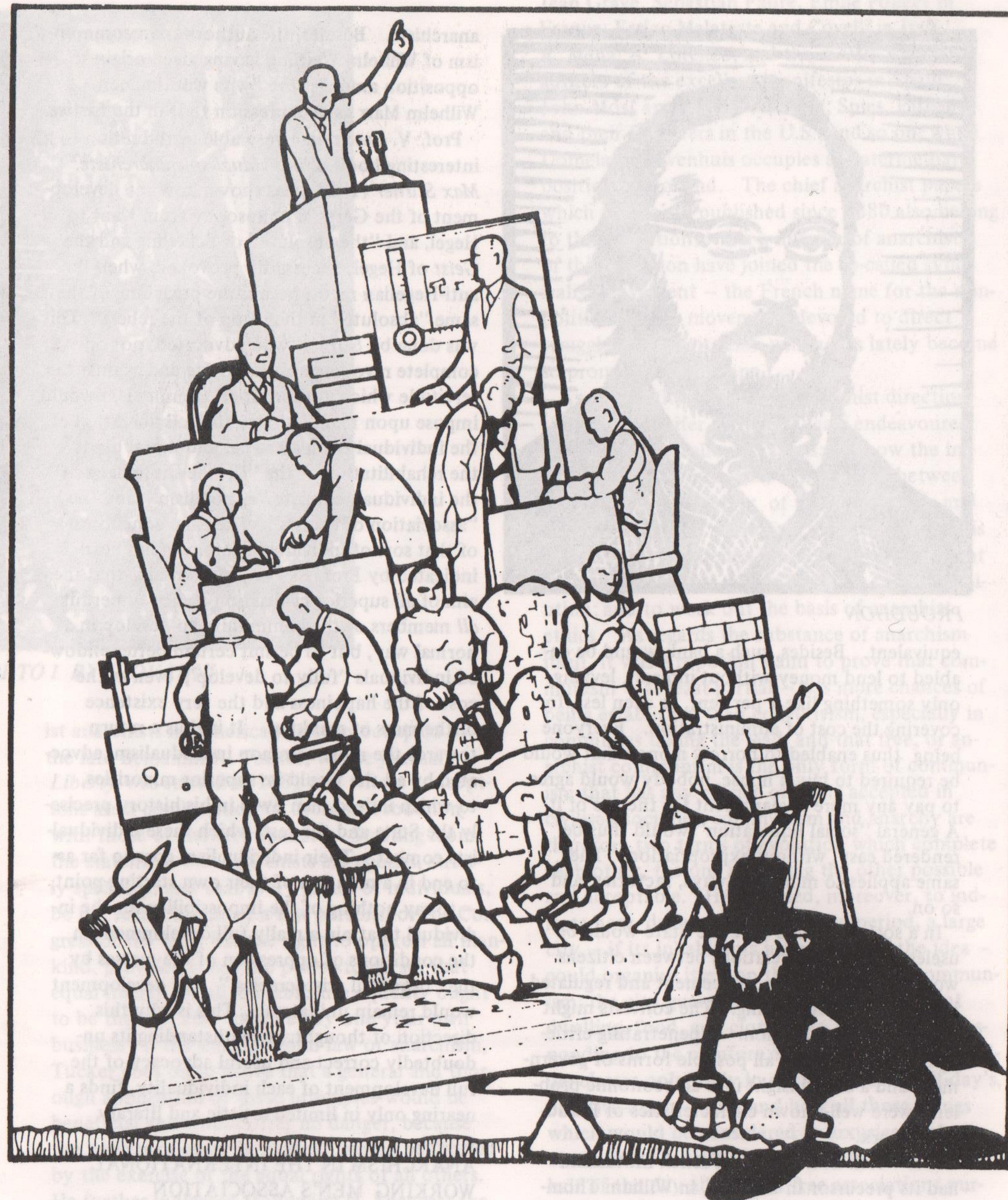
The best exponent of anarchist philosophy in ancient Greece was Zeno (342-267 or 270 B.C.), from Crete, the founder of the Stoic philosophy, who distinctly opposed his conception of a free community without government to the State-Utopia of Plato. He repudiated the omnipotence of the State, its intervention and regimentation, and proclaimed the sovereignty of the moral law of the individual — remarking already that, while the necessary instinct of self-preservation leads man to egoism, nature, nature has supplied a corrective to it by providing man with another instinct — that of sociability. When men are reasonable enough to follow their natural instincts they will unite across the frontiers and constitute the Cosmos. They will have no need of law-courts or police, will have no temples and no public worship, and use no money — free gifts taking the place of the exchanges. Unfortunately, the writings of Zeno have not reached us and are only known through fragmentary quotations. However, the fact that his very wording is similar to the wording now in use, shows how deeply is laid the tendency of human nature of which he was the mouth-piece.

In medieval times we find the same views on the State expressed by the illustrious bishop of Alba, Marco Girolamo Vida, in his first dialogue *De dignitate reipublicae* (Ferd. Cavalli, in *Mem. dell' Istituto Vaento*, xiii.; Dr. E. Nys, *Researches in the History of Economics*). But it is specially in several early Christian movements, beginning with the ninth century in Armenia, and in the preachings of the early Hussites, particularly Chojceki, and the early Anabaptists, especially Hans Denck (cf. Keller, *Ein Apostel der Wiedertauffer*), that one finds the same ideas forcibly expressed — special stress being laid of course on their moral aspects.

Rabelais and Fenelon, in their Utopias, have also expressed similar ideas, and they were also current in the eighteenth century amongst the French Encyclopaedists, as may be concluded from separate expressions occasionally met with in the writings of Rousseau, from Diderot's Preface to the *Voyage* of Bougainville, and so on. However, in all probability such ideas could not be developed then, owing to the rigorous censorship of the Roman Catholic Church.

These ideas found their expression later during the great French Revolution. While the Jacobins did all in their power to centralise everything in the hands of the government, it appears now, from recently published documents, that the masses of the people, in their municipalities and "sections," accomplished a considerable constructive work. They appropriated for themselves the election of the judges, the organisation of supplies and equipment for the army, as also for the large cities, work for the unemployed, the management of charities, and so on. They even tried to establish a direct correspondence between the 36,000 communes of France through the intermediary of a special board, outside the National Assembly (cf. Sigismund Lacroix, *Acts de la commune de Paris*).

It was Godwin, in his *Enquiry concerning Political Justice*, who was the first to formulate the political and economic conceptions of anarchism,



even though he did not give that name to the ideas developed in his remarkable work. Laws, he wrote, are not a product of the wisdom of our ancestors; they are the product of their passions, their timidity, their jealousies and their ambition. The remedy they offer is worse than the evils they pretend to cure. If and only if all laws and courts were abolished, and the decisions in the arising contests were left to reasonable men chosen for that purpose, real justice would gradually be evolved. As to the State, Godwin frankly claimed its abolition. A society, he wrote, can perfectly well exist without any government, only the communities should be small and perfectly autonomous. Speaking of property, he stated that the rights of everyone "to every substance capable of contributing to the benefit of a human being" must be regulated by justice alone, the substance must go "to him who most wants it." His conclusion was communism. Godwin, however, had not the courage to maintain his opinions. He entirely rewrote later on his chapter on property and mitigated his communist views in the second edition of *Political Justice* (8 vols., 1776).

Proudhon was the first to use, in 1840 (*Qu'est-ce que la propriété?* first memoir), the name of anarchy with application to the no-government state of society. The name of "anarchists" had been freely applied during the French Revolution by the Girondists to those revolutionaries who did not consider that the task of the Revolution was accomplished with the overthrow of Louis XVI, and insisted upon a series of economical measures being taken (the abolition of feudal

rights without redemption, the return to the village communities of the communal lands enclosed since 1669, the limitation of landed property to 120 acres, progressive income tax, the national organisation of exchanges on a just value basis, which already received a beginning of practical realisation, and so on).

Now Proudhon advocated a society without government, and used the word anarchy to describe it. Proudhon repudiated, as is known, all schemes of communism, according to which mankind would be driven into communistic monasteries or barracks, as also all the schemes of State or state-aided socialism which were advocated by Louis Blanc and the collectivists. When he proclaimed in his first memoir on property that "Property is theft," he meant only property in its present, Roman-law, sense of "right of use and abuse;" in property rights, on the other hand, understood in the limited sense of possession, he saw the best protection against the encroachments of the State. At the same time he did not want violently to dispossess the present owners of land, dwelling-houses, mines, factories, and so on. He preferred to attain the same end by rendering capital incapable of earning interest; and this he proposed to obtain by means of a national bank, based on the mutual confidence of all those who are engaged in production, who would agree to exchange among themselves their produces at cost-value, by means of labour checks representing the hours of labour required to produce every given commodity. Under such a system, which Proudhon described as "Mutuellisme," all the exchanges of services would be strictly



PROUDHON

equivalent. Besides, such a bank would be enabled to lend money without interest, levying only something like 1 per cent, or even less, for covering the cost of administration. Everyone being thus enabled to borrow money that would be required to buy a house, nobody would agree to pay any more a yearly rent for the use of it. A general "social liquidation" would thus be rendered easy, without expropriation. The same applies to mines, railways, factories, and so on.

In a society of this type the State would be useless. The chief relations between citizens would be based on free agreement and regulated by mere account keeping. The contests might be settled by arbitration. A penetrating criticism of the State and all possible forms of government and a deep insight into all economic problems were well-known characteristics of Proudhon's work.

It is worth noticing that French mutualism had its precursor in England, in William Thompson, who began by mutualism before he became a communist, and in his followers John Gray (*A Lecture on Human Happiness*, 1825; *The Social System*, 1831) and J.F. Bray (cf W. Bailie, *Josiah Warren, the First American Anarchist*, Boston 1900), and belonged to Owen's "New Harmony", considered that the failure of this enterprise was chiefly due to the suppression of individuality and the lack of initiative and responsibility. These defects, he taught, were inherent in every scheme based upon authority and the community of goods. He advocated, therefore, complete individual liberty. In 1827 he opened in Cincinnati a little country store which was the first "Equity Store," and which the people called "Time Store," because it was based on labour being exchanged hour for hour in all sorts of produce. "Cost — the limit of price," and consequently "no interest," was the motto of his store, and later on of his "Equity Village," near New York, which was still in existence in 1865. Mr. Keith's "House of Equity" at Boston, founded in 1855, is also worthy of notice.

While the economic, and especially the mutual-banking, ideas of Proudhon found supporters and even a practical application in the US, his political conception of anarchy found but little echo in France, where the Christian-socialism of Lamennais and the Fourierists, and the state socialism of Louis Blanc and the followers of Saint-Simon, were dominating. These ideas found, however, some temporary support among the left-wing Hegelians in Germany, Moses Hess in 1843, and Karl Grün in 1845, who advocated

anarchism. Besides, the authoritarian communism of Wilhelm Weitling having given origin to opposition amongst the Swiss workingmen, Wilhelm Marr gave expression to it in the forties.

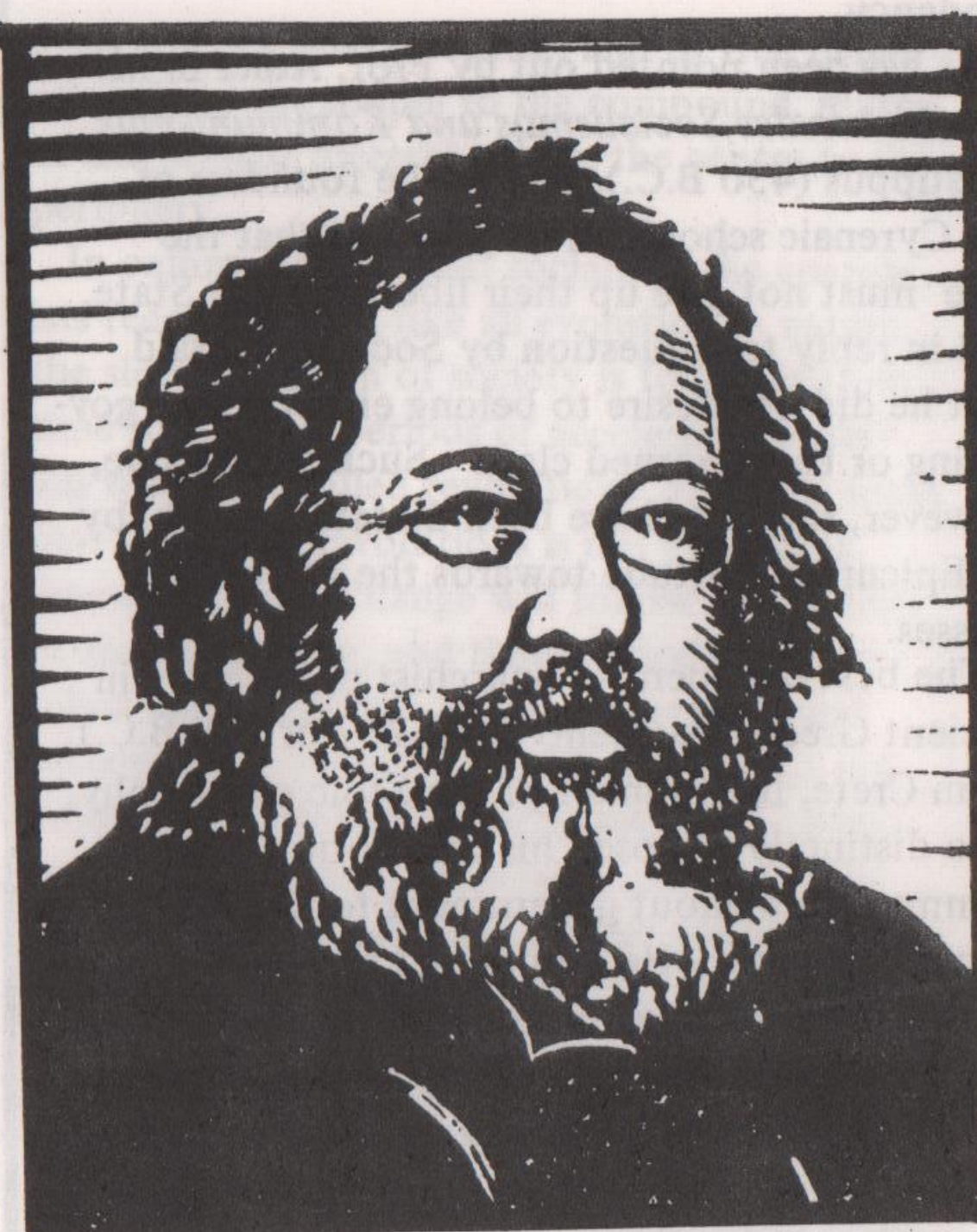
Prof. V. Basch, in a very able introduction to his interesting book, *L'individualisme anarchiste: Max Stirner* (1904), has shown how the development of the German philosophy from Kant to Hegel, and "the absolute" of Schelling and the *Geist* of Hegel, necessarily provoked, when the anti-Hegelian revolt began, the preaching of the same "absolute" in the camp of the rebels. This was done by Stirner, who advocated, not only a complete revolt against the State and against the servitude which authoritarian communism would impose upon men, but also the full liberation of the individual from all social and moral binds — the rehabilitation of the "I," the supremacy of the individual, complete "a-moralism," and the "association of egoists". The final conclusion of that sort of individual anarchism has been indicated by Prof. Basch. It maintains that the aim of all superior civilisation is, not to permit all members of the community to develop in a normal way, but to permit certain better endowed individuals "fully to develop," even at the cost of the happiness and the very existence of the mass of mankind. It is thus a return towards the most common individualism, advocated by all the would-be superior minorities, to which indeed man owes in his history precisely the State and the rest, which these individualists combat. Their individualism goes so far as to end in a negation of their own starting-point, — to say nothing of the impossibility for the individual to attain a really full development in the conditions of oppression of the masses by the "beautiful aristocracies." His development would remain uni-lateral. This is why this direction of thought, notwithstanding its undoubtedly correct and useful advocacy of the full development of each individuality, finds a nearing only in limited artistic and literary circles.

ANARCHISM IN THE INTERNATIONAL WORKING MEN'S ASSOCIATION

A general depression in the propaganda of all fractions of socialism followed, as is known, after the defeat of the uprising of the Paris workmen in June 1848 and the fall of the Republic. All the socialist press was gagged during the reaction period, which lasted fully twenty years. Nevertheless, even anarchist thought began to make some progress, namely in the writings of Bellegarique (*Coeurderoy*), and especially Joseph Dejacque (*Les Lazareenes*, *L'Humanisphere*, an anarchist-communist Utopia, lately discovered and reprinted). The socialist movement revived only after 1864, when some French workingmen,



The first Paris offices of the First International in the Rue Graviillieres.



BAKUNIN

all "mutualists," meeting in London during the Universal Exhibition with English followers of Robert Owen, founded the International Working Men's Association. This association developed very rapidly and adopted a policy of direct economic struggle against capitalism, without interfering in the political parliamentary agitation, and this policy was followed until 1871. However, after the Franco-German War, when the International Association was prohibited in France after the uprising of the Commune, the German workingmen, who had received manhood suffrage for elections to the newly constituted imperial parliament, insisted upon modifying the tactics of the International, and began to build up a social-democratic political party. This soon led to a division in the Working Men's Association, and the Latin federations, Spanish, Italian, Belgian, and Jurassic (France could not be represented), constituted among themselves a federal union which broke entirely with the Marxist general council of the International. Within these federations developed now what may be described as *modern anarchism*. After the names of "federalists" and "anti-authoritarians" had been used for some time by these federations the name of "anarchists," which their adversaries insisted upon applying to them, prevailed, and finally it was revindicated.

Bakunin soon became the leading spirit among these Latin federations for the development of the principles of anarchism, which he did in a number of writings, pamphlets, and letters. He demanded the complete abolition of the State, which — he wrote — is a product of religion, belongs to a lower state of civilisation, represents the negation of liberty, and spoils even that which it undertakes to do for the sake of general well-being. The State was an historically necessary evil, but its complete extinction will be, sooner or later, equally necessary. Repudiating all legislation, even when issuing from universal suffrage, Bakunin claimed for each nation, each region and each commune, full autonomy, so long as it is not a menace to its neighbours, and full independence for the individual, adding that one becomes really free when, and in proportion as, all others are free. Free federations of the communes would constitute free nations.

As to his economic conceptions, Bakunin described himself, in common with his federalist comrades of the International, a "collectivist anarchist," — not in the sense of Vidal and Pecqueur in the forties, or of their modern social democratic followers, but to express a state of things in which all necessities for production are owned in common by the labour groups and



THE ATTEMPTED ASSASSINATION OF UMBERTO I BY GIOVANNI PASSANANTE, Flavio Costantini.

the free communes, while the ways of retribution of labour, communist or otherwise, would be settled by each group for itself. Social revolution, the near approach of which was foretold at that time by all socialists, would be the means of bringing into life the new conditions.

The Jurassic, the Spanish, and the Italian federations and sections of the International Working Men's Association, as also the French, the German, and the American anarchist groups, were for the next years the chief centres of anarchist thought and propaganda. They refrained from any participation in parliamentary politics, and always kept in close contact with the labour organisations. However, in the second half of the eighties and the early nineties of the nineteenth century, when the influence of the anarchists began to be felt in strikes, in the first of May demonstrations, where they promoted the idea of a general strike for an eight hours' day, and in the anti-militarist propaganda in the army, violent prosecutions were directed against them, especially in the Latin countries (including physical torture in the Barcelona Castle) and in the U.S. (the execution of five Chicago anarchists in 1887). Against these prosecutions the anarchists retaliated by acts of violence which in their turn were followed by more executions from above, and new acts of revenge from below. This created in the general public the impression that violence is the substance of anarchism, a view repudiated by its supporters, who hold that in reality violence is resorted to by all parties in proportion as their open action is obstructed by repression, and exceptional laws render them out-laws.

Anarchism continued to develop, partly in the direction of Proudhonian "Mutuellisme," but chiefly as communist-anarchism, to which a third direction, Christian-anarchism, was added by Leo Tolstoy, and a fourth, which might be described as literary-anarchism, began amongst some prominent modern writers.

The ideas of Proudhon, especially as regards mutual banking, corresponding with those of Josiah Warren, found a considerable following in the U.S., creating quite a school, of which the main writers are Stephen Pearl Andrews, William Greene, Lysander Spooner (who began to write in 1850, and whose unfinished work, *Natural Law*, was full of promise), and several others, whose names will be found in Dr. Nettlau's *Bibliographie de l'anarchie*. A prominent position among the individual-

ist anarchists in America has been occupied by the late Benjamin R. Tucker, whose journal *Liberty* was started in 1881 and whose conceptions are a combination of those of Proudhon with those of Herbert Spencer. Starting from the statement that anarchists are egoists, strictly speaking, and that every group of individuals, be it a secret league of a few persons, or the Congress of the U.S., has the right to oppress all mankind, provided it has the power to do so, that equal liberty for all and absolute equality ought to be the law, and "mind every one your own business" is the unique moral law of anarchism, Tucker goes on to prove that a general and thorough application of these principles would be beneficial and would offer no danger, because the powers of every individual would be limited by the exercise of the equal rights of all others. He further indicated (following H. Spencer) the difference which exists between domination and defence: the former being equally condemnable, whether it be encroachment of a criminal upon an individual, or the encroachment of one upon all others, or of all others upon one; while resistance to encroachment is defensible and necessary. For their self-defence, both the citizen and the group have the right to any violence, including capital punishment. Violence is also justified for enforcing the duty of keeping an agreement. Tucker thus follows Spencer, and, like him, opens (in the present writers opinion) the way for reconstituting under the heading of "defence" all the functions of the State. His criticism of the present State is very searching, and his defence of the rights of the individual very powerful. As regards his economic views B.R. Tucker follows Proudhon.

The individualist anarchism of the American Proudhonians finds, however, but little sympathy amongst the working masses. Those who profess it — they are chiefly "intellectuals" — soon realise that the *individualisation* they so highly praise is not attainable by individual efforts, and either abandon the ranks of the anarchists, and are driven into the liberal individualism of the classical economists, or they retire into a sort of Epicurean a-moralism, or super-man theory, similar to that of Stirner and Nietzsche. The great bulk of the anarchist workingmen prefer the anarchist communist ideas which have gradually evolved out of the anarchist collectivism of the International Working Men's Association. To this direction belong — to name only the better known exponents of anarchism — Elisee Reclus,

Jean Grave, Sebastian Faure, Emile Pouget in France; Errico Malatesta and Covelli in Italy; R. Mella, A. Lorenzo, and the mostly unknown authors of the excellent manifestos in Spain; John Most among the Germans; Spies, Parsons, and their followers in the U.S., and so on; while Domela Nieuwenhuis occupies an intermediate position in Holland. The chief anarchist papers which have been published since 1880 also belong to that direction; while a number of anarchists of this direction have joined the so-called syndicalist movement — the French name for the non-political labour movement, devoted to direct struggle with capitalism, which has lately become so prominent in Europe.

As one of the anarchist-communist direction, the present writer for many years endeavoured to develop the following ideas: to show the intimate, logical connection which exists between the modern philosophy of natural sciences and anarchism; to put anarchism on a scientific basis by the study of the tendencies that are apparent now in society and may indicate its further evolution; and to work out the basis of anarchist ethics. As regards the substance of anarchism itself, it was Kropotkin's aim to prove that communism — at least partial — has more chances of being established than collectivism, especially in communes taking the lead, and that free, or anarchist communism is the only form of communism that has any chance of being accepted in civilised societies; communism and anarchy are therefore two terms of evolution which complete each other, the one rendering the other possible and acceptable. He has tried, moreover, to indicate how, during a revolutionary period, a large city — if its inhabitants have accepted the idea — could organise itself on the lines of free communism; the city guaranteeing to every inhabitant dwelling, food, and clothing to an extent corresponding to the comfort now available to the middle classes only, only in exchange for a half-day's, or a five-hours' work; and how all those things which would be considered as luxuries might be obtained by everyone if he joins for the other half of the day all sorts of free associations pursuing all possible aims — educational, literary, scientific, artistic, sports, and so on. In order to prove the first of these assertions he has analysed the possibilities of agriculture and industrial work, both being combined with brain work. And in order to elucidate the main factors of human evolution, he has analysed the part played in history by the popular constructive agencies of mutual aid and the historical role of the State.

Without naming himself an anarchist, Leo Tolstoy, like his predecessors in the popular religious movements of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Chojeci, Denk, and many others, took the anarchist position as regards the State and property rights, deducing his conclusions from the general spirit of the teachings of the Christ and from the necessary dictates of reason. With all the might of his talent he made (especially in *The Kingdom of God in Yourself*) a powerful criticism of the church, the State, and law altogether, and especially of the present property laws. He describes the State as the domination of the wicked ones, supported by brutal force. Robbers, he says, are far less dangerous than a well-organised government. He makes a searching criticism of the prejudices which are current now concerning the benefits conferred upon men by the church, the State, and the existing distribution of property, and from the teachings of Christ he deduces the rule of non-resistance and the absolute condemnation of all wars. His religious arguments are, however, so well combined with arguments borrowed from a dispassionate observation of the present evils, that the an-

PETER KROPOTKIN: His Federalist Ideas, Camillo Berneri, Simian, 30p (+10p post).



Camillo Berneri

THIS REPRINT of Berneri's study of the development of Kropotkin's federalist ideas which, along with *Mutual Aid*, constitutes his principal and lasting contribution to anarchist thought, is today more relevant than ever.

Today people are demonstrating their loss of faith in governments by abstaining from the ballot in ever-increasing numbers. In its place we find communal co-operatives providing food, housing, and other necessities of life springing up throughout the world in amazing numbers.

Berneri's study is all the more interesting with the inclusion of a biographical study explaining exactly how Kropotkin came to develop his ideas (just as he does not fail to point out his grave error in supporting World War I – a decision which alienated him from the majority of the

THE ENCYCLOPAEDIA BRITANNICA was unique among encyclopaedias dealing with anarchism objectively and without the intrusion of hostile propaganda. In the 1911 edition this was written by an acknowledged expert Peter Kropotkin; subsequently it was brought up to date with accuracy and impartiality. But one wonders about the additions made to the latest edition.

In its last paragraphs, reference is made to the *Delphic Review*. This was a small literary review published some time ago, but it is only just recently that we heard of it, in spite of our close connection with most anarchist groups. The *University Libertarian* was a small ephemeral journal which lasted only a very short time, and the *Libertarian* of Sydney, Australia was a duplicated sheet of short duration with no connection with the general anarchist movement. Yet, along with *Freedom*, these are given as the main organs of the present day Anarchist movement.

Anarchism cont.

archist portions of his works appeal to the religious and non-religious reader alike.

It would be impossible to represent here, in a short sketch, the penetration, on the one hand, of anarchist ideas into modern literature, and the influence, on the other hand, which the libertarian ideas of the best contemporary writers have exercised upon the development of anarchism. One ought to consult the ten big volumes of the *Supplement litteraire* to the paper *La Revolt* and later the *Temps Nouveaux*, which contain reproductions from the works of hundreds of modern authors expressing anarchist ideas, in order to realise how closely anarchism is connected with all the intellectual movement of our own times. J.S. Mill's *Liberty*, Spencer's *Individual versus The State*, Marc Guyau's *Morality without*

anarchist movement).

One is rather baffled, however, to find Berneri referring to Kropotkin as "the anarchist prince" – something which he thoroughly resented, and it is doubtful that Berneri, if he were alive today, would express the pessimistic view that Kropotkin attached great importance, sometimes even excessive importance, to associations in view of the numerous communal undertakings referred to previously.

Berneri repeats his pessimistic view when stating that Kropotkin's "observations on the Russian *Mir*, and of associations among primitive peoples makes him err into a popular naivete as in *The Conquest of Bread* (p8).

An even more puzzling, and at the same time contradictory, paragraph of Berneri's reads:

"The collective spirit is a generic term which, in *The Conquest of Bread*, became "the people", "the commune", "society", etc., which administers justice, organises everything and resolves the most complex problems. It is a kind of divinity which Severino Merlino described with just irony as playing the part of the chorus in Greek tragedy, and which the most profound anarchist theoreticians are far from adoring. But if Kropotkin's federalism lacks precision and puts excessive faith in the political capacities of the people, it is nevertheless remarkable for its breadth of view. No federation can be consistent if it is not integral. And it can only be such if it is socialist and revolutionary".

The only one whom Berneri names as ridiculing Kropotkin's faith in the people is the revisionist Merlino. Evidently Berneri holds the same opinion, a strange one indeed for an anarchist who, as he says, believes in revolution.

Apart from this regrettable position – belaboured by Berneri – the pamphlet is even more relevant today than when it was first written. M. Graham

The reader might well want to know the significance of anarchism(say) in the Spanish Resistance today, in such groups as the Angry Brigade in Britain, or the difference between anarchist revolutionary groups on the continent and Marxist-Leninist groups such as the Red Brigade of Milan (something which confuses even journalists of *The Times*), but no help is given by this last paragraph in the encyclopaedia which ignores the continuation of anarchism as a revolutionary force to deal with minor academic publications, if indeed they exist.

It is, of course, a feature of some academic writers to deal with anarchism as an historical movement in its revolutionary context, but only to refer to it in the present day as it may affect the academic. This, though they may deny it, is a sectarian approach. It is not an approach which should be found in the Encyclopaedia Britannica.

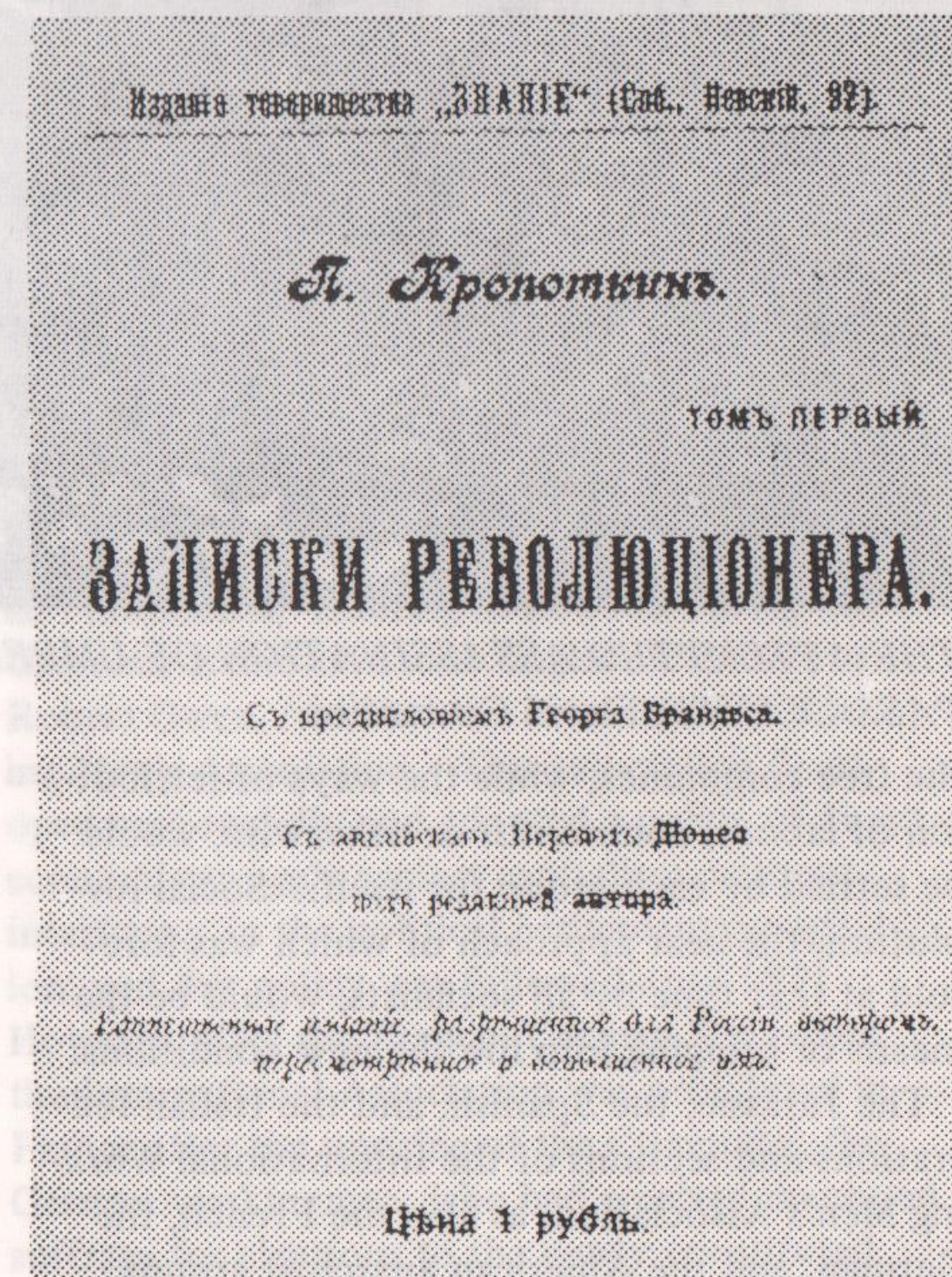
Obligation or Sanction, and Fouillee's *La morale, l'art et la religion*, the works of Multatuli (E. Douwes Dekker), Richard Wagner's *Art and Revolution*, the works of Nietzsche, Emerson, W. Lloyd Garrison, Thoreau, Alexander Herzen, Edward Carpenter, and so on; and in the domain of fiction, the dramas of Ibsen, the poetry of Walt Whitman, Tolstoy's *War and Peace*, Zola's *Paris* and *Le Travail*, the latest works of Merezkovsky, and an infinity of works of less known authors, – are full of ideas which show how closely anarchism is interwoven with the work that is going on in modern thought in the same direction of enfranchisement of man from the bonds of the State as well as from those of capitalism.

Peter Kropotkin

(From the 11th edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*)

THE ESSENTIAL KROPOTKIN, Capouya & Tompkins, Macmillan, £2.95.

THE WRITINGS OF KROPOTKIN suffered, even during his lifetime, from cheap abridgements (since he was always writing for the people, and had to cut down "the size of a Penny Pamphlet"). Publishers in the main have produced his works in ill-prepared editions. This selection from his writings is well-chosen, and serves to highlight the many inadequacies of publications of his works in the past since one finds passages here in anthology which one often does not find in editions of the (alleged) whole.



Title page of the first Russian edition of "Memoirs of a Revolutionary".

Though the passages are well-chosen, one wonders why two scholars were necessary to choose them. Presumably not much more is involved than the typing, and it is doubtful if they did it, while the introduction has some curious passages which suggest they have not read Kropotkin, or indeed anarchism, as widely as they might. They might also have explained how some terms – "collectivist" for instance, above all, "communist", have altered their meanings so drastically as to make nonsense of what the writer is saying if taken in their present meaning.

But at his best Kropotkin is so clear and concise as to make it possible to take out from his writings any passage, at random, and find him lucid and imaginative. But especially on law and authority – when it can be seen how far we have gone on the authoritarian road and how clearly Kropotkin warned against it. He deserves to be read – and published – in extenso.

(Black Flag)



THE ORIGINS OF MODERN LEFTISM, Richard Gombin, Pelican, 60p.

WHEN THE PARIS REVOLT exploded in May '68 political scientists received a sharp jolt. How was it that the revolution which they had all been writing off for the past fifty years with scholarly obituaries seemed, suddenly, to be leaping from the grave into their laps? From the graffiti still remaining on the walls of Nanterre and the Sorbonne after the noise had all died down they deduced a new phenomenon. Behold the birth of *Leftism*!



Beginning by describing the process of bureaucratisation the Soviet dictatorship had evolved through, and examining the various brands of philosophical "revisionism" within the communist movement (worldwide) as Marxist intellectuals were forced to explain and apologise their way out of Stalin's shadow, Gombin gradually arrives at what he calls "modern leftism" – "an attempt to renew the theory and practise of revolution..." A view of life based on the class-struggle in its most developed form "...it has become a question of getting rid of all masters and shackles that impede our liberty." Based more than any single factor on the autonomy of the working-class to decide its own fate and create its own organisations free of any form of political control or "leadership" from Leninist vanguards.

In evidence, Gombin gives us useful (and interesting) outlines of the Situationist, Spontaneists, Councilists, and other assorted fractions which make up his "new left." Together with a run-down on the "orthodox left" (Marxist-Leninists, Trots., and Anarchists) and very convincing it all sounds too! But what he falls down on is not raising his head far enough above his thesis to notice that the basis for division between the Marxist-Leninists and the "modern-left" is the same ground on which the socialist movement split during the First International into Marxists and Anarchists. The classical division and Gombin's are the same: Statism or Anarchism (authority versus freedom).

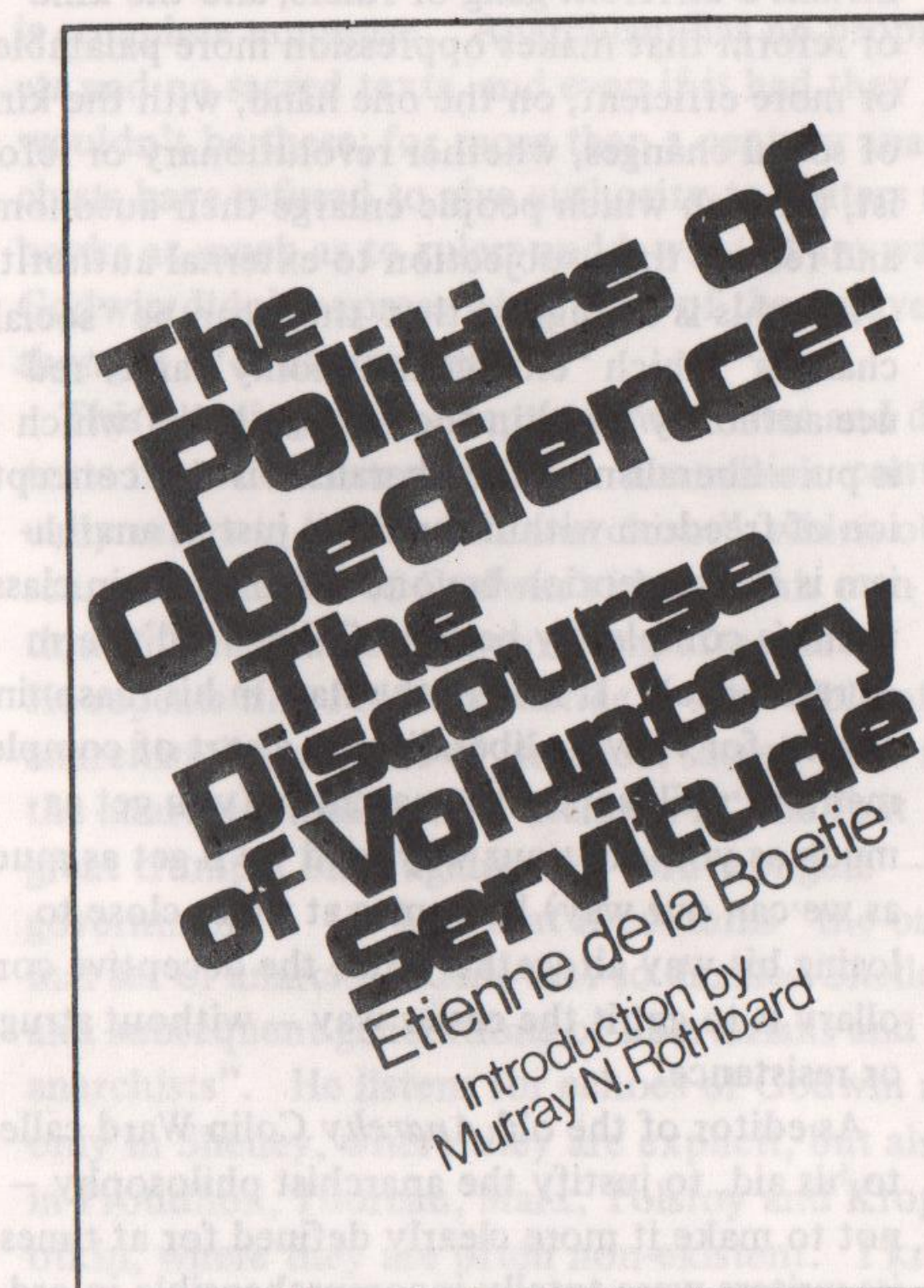
What the new "leftist" movements represent is really an unconscious reversion to anarchism (libertarian socialism). Their attempts to find a libertarian revolutionary praxis – devoid of leaderships or bureaucracy, with workers' councils as the basic organism of society, and the aim of which is an everyday life free from all alienation and authority – is indistinguishable from anarchism in all its essential elements. Their refusal to call themselves "anarchists" is really a hang-over from their "orthodox" Marxist up-bringing, mixed with the more natural mistake of outsiders-coming-in, of confusing the bureaucratic rump of a former "anarchist movement" with Anarchism itself.

When the new libertarians finally get around to seeing what anarchism is really all about perhaps they won't be so coy. Richard Gombin's book won't exactly make the horse drink, but at least it shows it the water.

Phil Ruff

The State may originate in coercion – theft and expropriation – as Oppenheimer has said, but it is not perpetuated by coercion alone; it always has willing victims. Hand in hand with authority goes obedience to authority; one cannot exist without the other.

Why do people obey authority? Why do people consent to their own enslavement? And the crucial corollary: why do people resist? These are questions of pressing importance to the libertarian cause. An analysis is needed not just of the coercive structure of government by also of the psychological phenomena which support the structure and make it possible.



THE POLITICS OF OBEDIENCE: THE DISCOURSE OF VOLUNTARY SERVITUDE, Etienne de la Boetie, Black Rose/Free Life, £1.50

ONE OF THE MOST profoundly radical inquiries into the question of why people obey authority is *The Discourse of Voluntary Servitude* by the 16th century philosopher and friend of Montaigne, Etienne de la Boetie. His essay, which is as fresh and relevant today as then, has recently been issued under two different new titles by two libertarian publishers: *The Will to Bondage* from Ralph Myers Publisher and *The Politics of Obedience* from Black Rose/Free Life.

La Boetie does not believe that mass submission to tyranny is based simply on fear. The fundamental insight and pivotal point of his essay is that every government is necessarily based on popular acceptance. Tyranny has no power but what we give it. To be free does not require the violent overthrow of government but merely mass withdrawal of consent.

"Resolve to serve no more and you are at once freed". In this radical insight by la Boetie are the seeds of power that will destroy the State. But if that seed is to grow and flower, it is going to take more than a handful of libertarians withdrawing their sanction from the State. In order to cultivate the conditions that foster civil obedience. La Boetie's analysis cuts to the heart of this question.

If people live in a state of freedom, they will choose to stay free. La Boetie believes, consequently, Rule must initially be instituted by coercion. But once Rule has been imposed, the insidious force of habit or custom becomes dominant. This, according to la Boetie, is the single most important cause of obedience.

La Boetie goes on to analyse additional reasons for obedience. He discusses the various devices

rulers use to engineer consent – bread and circuses, symbols and trappings that mystify and sanctify their rule, and manipulation of ideology to convince the masses that their rule is wise and benevolent and that it is "right" to obey. The relevance of this analysis is all too obvious – authority has not changed much.

But beyond just an understanding of the forces that lead to obedience, there is an important strategic lesson to be drawn from la Boetie's analysis. As Murray Rothbard points out in the introduction to the Black Rose/Free Life edition, libertarians must realise that the "primary task of opponents of modern tyranny 'is an educational one: to awaken the public to this process [of propaganda by the rulers], to demystify and de-sanctify the State apparatus". Furthermore, says Rothbard, libertarians must go beyond merely pointing out the "errors" of government. The task is not just one of offering abstract insights on government but "debamboozling the public on the entire nature and procedures of the despotic state".

The two different editions of la Boetie's essay have a number of differences. *The Will to Bondage* is based on the 1735 translation which is printed here line by line with the original French text on the opposing page. A new scholarly introduction with extensive annotations, bibliography and chronology by William Flygare and a pungent, typically acerbic preface by James J. Martin are included. *The Politics of Obedience* uses the modern English translation by Harry Kurz. The translation is based on what is believed to be a more complete text of the original than the 1735 translation. The introduction is by Murray Rothbard. The annotations and other features of *The Will to Bondage* make it an excellent choice for scholars, especially historians and those who read French, but I found the modern translation easier to read. I also found Rothbard's introduction to *The Politics of Obedience* particularly impressive. It provides not only a nicely drawn historical portrait of la Boetie but an excellent summation of his ideas and the relevance of these ideas to modern libertarian strategy.

Dr. Stanley Milgram, author of *Obedience to Authority* has this to say about La Boetie: "His analysis of tyranny and his insight into its psychological foundations ought to be one of the central documents in the library of anyone concerned with human liberty". I very much agree. Sharon Presley (*Laissez Faire Review*)

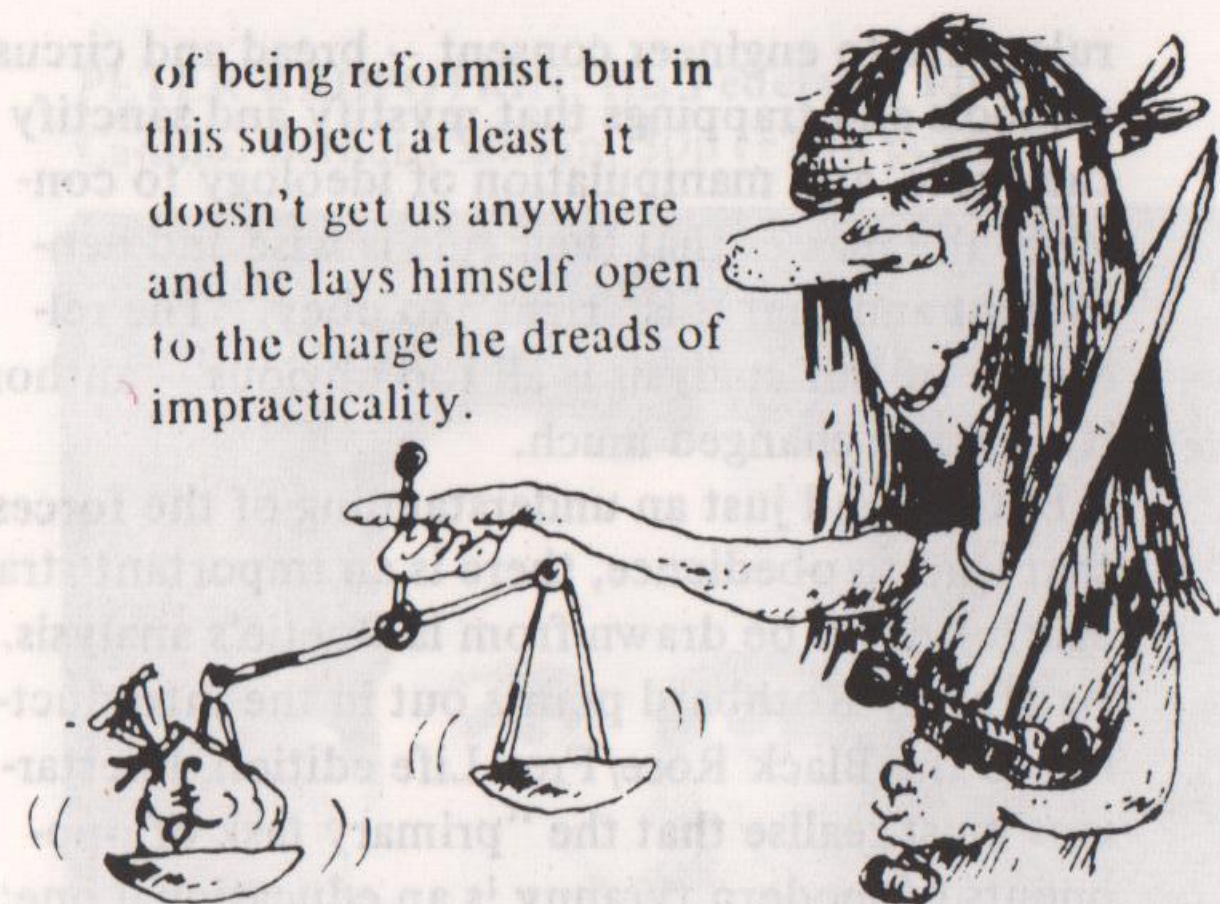
HOUSING: An Anarchist Approach, Colin Ward, Freedom Press, £1.25.

LUCK AND MONEY play such a vital part in determining where and how we spend our lives, and "housing" represents so large a part of the shaping of our destinies, that an anarchist approach to the whole question would be welcome.

High rise flats and miles of council estates represent an authoritarian nightmare while the owner-occupied neat little houses an individualistic dream. But both exist and it has never been studied sufficiently how a revolutionary change would affect housing. It is difficult to believe that people in workers' councils taking over industry would simply return to their rabbit warrens at night while those who had done well under the old system continued to live undisturbed in their Hampstead Heath dream homes; yet levelling down would mean unbearable harshness in thousands of homes, such as only a dictatorship could inflict, and levelling up presumably would be such a long drawn out business which would create more problems than it solved.

Unfortunately, Colin Ward hasn't written an anarchist approach to housing at all. He likes to take a level-headed approach, even if accused

of being reformist. but in this subject at least it doesn't get us anywhere and he lays himself open to the charge he dreads of impracticality.



Squatting, which he correctly regards as a symptom of direct action, is, after all, an emergency remedy to a desperate situation and nobody is going to put up forever with second-hand situations like that. The struggles of the thirties were to get out of slum housing and to find work; though a large part of the struggles of the New Left seem to be to get into slum housing and never to work again.

He looks approvingly at suggestions for building-it-yourself and tenant controlled estates, which are bright ideas for progressive councils, no doubt, but one expects something more when he proclaims his bright ideas to be "an anarchist approach". Instead of delving through his press-cuttings, Colin Ward should have given the whole matter some original thought — his ability to do so is tantalisingly shown in his thoughts on the polynuclear city.

S.C.

ANARCHY IN ACTION, Colin Ward, Allen & Unwin, £1.75.

"HOW WOULD YOU FEEL", asks Colin Ward opening his important new book *Anarchy in Action*, "if you discovered that the society in which you would really like to live was already here, apart from a few little local difficulties like exploitation, war, dictatorship and starvation?"

Surprised!

The argument is saved from being palpable nonsense by Colin Ward's belief that anarchism is always there, something rooted in everyday life, notwithstanding war capitalism and war (which he seems to treat as unrelated phenomena). What he is really saying is that anarchism is not something that comes out of the skies like a divine revelation given on high at Sinai; it is the application of certain principles such as solidarity, freedom, mutual aid and so on. But it can hardly be supposed that the belief in, or application of, such principles are exclusive to those who call themselves anarchists, or that people have only to call themselves anarchists to appropriate such beliefs. Indeed, the purpose of the sectarian labelling of oneself an anarchist is surely to lift such principles from idealism and transform them into a positive achievable programme. If one does not do that the label is meaningless.

Just as St. Teresa de Avila said she walked into the kitchen "and there among the plates is God" so one could walk into the concentration camps and there, among the gas chambers is anarchism, or rather attempts at solidarity and resistance before the last flicker of life was beaten out. But having said this, one has merely uttered some words of consolation — which is all ideals ever amount

to in the finish — for one could hardly tolerate concentration camps on the grounds that they could not entirely extinguish the basic forces of humankind.

Colin Ward would certainly not do this — he takes the "moslems" or "zombies" of the concentration camps as an instance of how this last flicker of life can be beaten out, but he undoubtedly feels that it is not necessary to go to the extreme of destroying capitalism and the State in order to realise an anarchist programme. For him, reform and revolution are "false antitheses". He says, not altogether incorrectly, that one must distinguish between the kind of revolution which installs a different gang of rulers, and the kind of reform that makes oppression more palatable or more efficient, on the one hand, with the kind of social changes, whether revolutionary or reformist, through which people enlarge their autonomy and reduce their subjection to external authority.

But this is to suggest that there can be "social changes" which "enlarge autonomy" and "reduce authority" within the State, a belief which is pure liberalism — for liberalism is the conception of freedom within the State just as anarchism is its conception beyond it (to put it in class terms is completely beyond Colin Ward's term of reference). It is here the flaw in his reasoning comes, for viewing liberalism as a sort of complementary philosophy to anarchism (you get as much as you can your way, and we'll get as much as we can our way) he comes at times close to losing his way altogether since the deceptive corollary is to get it the easier way — without struggle or resistance.

As editor of the old *Anarchy* Colin Ward called to his aid, to justify the anarchist philosophy — not to make it more clearly defined for at times its writers were totally incomprehensible in order the better to display their intellectuality — but to make it more respectable — the militant liberals of the nuclear disarmament movement who dashed off their learned articles in the common-rooms of the universities. What has happened to them all now? It was a movement that has gone with the wind. What remained of it went, with the wind up, with the sniff of anarchism in the air. Like Kropotkin in *Appeal to the Young* (and his outlook is very Kropotkinian) Ward asked them to explain anarchist ideas in terms of cybernetics and sociology and all the trendy subjects — even criminology — and the liberal pundits went to it with a will...to halt with blank amazement when an anarchist inadvertently found his way into the columns and said pointblank, for instance, that prisons should be abolished. Forthwith. But how? "He gives no indication of how this should be done" they cried.

One feels (even if it could have got past the spike!) a formula for the destruction of prison buildings would have upset their non-violent souls even more. But basically their concern was how could one abolish an institution with no concern for the — well, the State, but they wouldn't put it that way.

An extreme of this liberal "anarchism" is given in Giovanni Baldelli's unintentionally hilarious *Social Anarchism* (published by Penguin) when he suggested maybe we ("we"? The State? Capitalists?) could try dropping a law at a time and seeing if "we" could do with-

out it....if "we" could, and "we" managed OK, maybe "we" could try dropping another... Thus, wait for it folks, you've heard this before: revolution would be outmoded.

Colin Ward himself would never drop to this level of social liberalism; and in *Anarchy in Action* he is very careful to prune away the

(Cont. on p59)



ENQUIRY CONCERNING POLITICAL JUSTICE AND ITS INFLUENCE ON MORALS AND HAPPINESS, William Godwin (ed. by Isaac Krammick), Penguin, £2.25p

POLITICAL JUSTICE is one of the few classics of libertarian thought written in English, and one of the first. It was produced by the Whig journalist William Godwin between 1791 and 1793, and published in 1793: a revised edition appeared in 1796, and a definitive edition in 1798. It was immediately and intensely successful. Pirated editions appeared in Ireland in 1793 and 1796, and in the U.S. in 1796. Soon after 1800 both the book and the author fell into obscurity.

Political Justice was revived during the growth of secularism and socialism in mid-nineteenth century England. In 1842 the 1798 edition was reprinted by James Watson, the leading freethought publisher of the time, and this version was widely circulated during the next twenty years, but in the 1860's it fell back into obscurity. It was again revived during the re-growth of socialism in the late nineteenth century in England, but on a much smaller scale. In 1890 the section on property from the 1793 edition was reprinted by Henry S. Salt.

Political Justice has never been popular during the 20th century, but it has occasionally reappeared on both sides of the Atlantic. In 1926 an abridged version of the 1793 edition was produced in the U.S. by R.A. Preston. In 1945 an abridged version of the chapter on law was printed by the Freedom Press. In 1946 a complete version of the 1798 edition was produced in Canada by F.E.L. Priestley, together with a companion volume of commentary and notes, including all the variants from the 1793 and 1796 editions. In 1971 an abridged version of the 1798 edition was produced in both Britain and the U.S. by K. Codell Carter.

Now Isaac Krammick has produced a re-print of the 1798 edition — the first complete edition to appear anywhere since 1946, the first to appear here since 1842, and the first to appear at a relatively low price since the original editions escaped prosecution because they were so expensive. In the 1790's it cost 3 guineas, about the same as the average monthly wage; in the 1840's it cost five shillings, about a third of the average weekly wage; a century later it cost 5 guineas, still about a third of the average weekly wage. Today it costs £2.25, about a third of the average daily wage.

The one good thing about this edition is that it at last puts *Political Justice* within the reach of everyone who wants it. Most libertarians — and most students of political thought — have heard of the book, but hardly any have read it, if for no other reason than because it has been so difficult to get hold of. It is now more easily accessible than it ever has been, and once again the Pelican Classics series has rescued a masterpiece from oblivion. The original two volumes have been packed into a fat paperback containing 800 pages which should be read by every anarchist who takes anarchism seriously. Yet it should be remembered that, although Godwin was a libertarian and although *Political Justice* is an exposition of philosophical anarchism, he was not an anarchist in our sense, and it is not a straightforward anarchist text. The failure to realise this destroys the value of the other 50 pages of the book.

To begin with, there are some minor things wrong with this edition. The publishers have got the title wrong; although the original title page is reproduced in the book (p59), the new title-page inexplicably refers to "Modern Morals". The publishers have also illustrated the front cover with an irrelevant cartoon against universal suffrage by Cruickshank and got his

name wrong.

But the major thing wrong with this edition is that the editor has got the book wrong, right from the first sentence of his introduction. "Every political philosophy has its prophet and sacred text" says Krammick. Even if this is possibly true in the general sense — he lists liberalism (Locke's *Civil Government*), democracy (Rousseau's *Social Contract*), conservatism (Burke's *Reflections on the Revolution in France*), and socialism (Marx's *Communist Manifesto*) — it is certainly untrue in this particular case. "Anarchism is no exception", adds Krammick. "Its prophet is William Godwin and its first sacred text his *Enquiry Concerning Political Justice*". This is complete nonsense. Anarchism has no prophets and no sacred texts, and even if it had they wouldn't be these; for more than a century anarchists have refused to give authority to writers and books as much as to rulers and laws, and anyway Godwin didn't express what most of them have thought of as anarchism.

This opening misconception dominates and distorts the whole introduction. Krammick continually refers to "Godwin's anarchism", which obscures the nature of Godwin's ideas in his own time and the nature of anarchism afterwards. He repeats that *Political Justice* is the "bible of anarchism" and "one of the most sacred texts in the anarchist tradition". He calls it "the first great trumpet blast against the 'brute engine' — government". He says that it contains "the original set of anarchist ideas that so dazzled Shelley and subsequent generations of libertarians and anarchists". He listens for echoes of Godwin not only in Shelley, where they are explicit, but also in Proudhon, Thoreau, Marx, Tolstoy and Kropotkin, where they are often non-existent. I know no evidence that Godwin was ever read by Proudhon, Thoreau or Tolstoy. Marx, who was familiar with the work of the early English writers in the socialist tradition, seems to have ignored Godwin completely. Kropotkin didn't read Godwin until he was in his fifties, long after he had developed his version of anarchism.

Krammick occasionally realises how thin his thesis is. "Some nineteenth and twentieth century anarchists have read Godwin's *Political Justice*," he says; "some have not". But there is no doubt that virtually all have not. He understands anarchism itself as little as he understands Godwin's relationship with it. "The romanticism of the 'dinamitero' and the 'petroleuse' is the anarchism of Bakunin and Nechaev, not Godwin", he explains. But Nechaev was not an anarchist, and Bakunin was not a terrorist.

The facts, as opposed to the fantasies, are as follows. *Political Justice* had a considerable libertarian influence during the 1790's, but it was entirely unknown to the founders of the actual anarchist ideology during the mid and late nineteenth century, and it was scarcely known even in this country during the emergence of the anarchist movement in the 1870's and 1880's. It was discovered by some anarchists during the 1890's, when they began to examine their historical and intellectual roots. Thus Max Nettlau, the first and still the finest writer on anarchism, called *Political Justice* "the first strictly anarchist book" (*Bibliographie de l'anarchie*, 1897); and Peter Kropotkin, the best-known anarchist inside or outside the movement, called Godwin "the first to formulate the political and economic conceptions of anarchism" (see his article in this issue from the Encyclopedia Britannica). After that Godwin was often included among the main exponents of anarchism by writers on the subject, from Paul Eltzbacher at the beginning of the twentieth century to George Woodcock in our own day. But no serious student of the subject has ever supposed that Godwin was more than a

philosophical anarchist or a precursor of anarchism.

A similar case is that of Gerard Winstanley, the leader of the Diggers during the English Revolution in the mid-seventeenth century. Much of what was said in the anarchist classics of the nineteenth century could easily be traced back to Winstanley — except for the difficulty that his writings were completely forgotten for more than two centuries, being re-discovered by socialist historians only in the 1890's (at about the same time as Godwin).

In his determination to trace the imaginary influence of Godwin, Krammick misses his real influence. I doubt whether he had any real influence at all outside the English-speaking world, except for short periods in Germany and France. A German translation of *Political Justice* appeared in 1803. The French writer who was influenced by him was not Proudhon but Benjamin Constant, the liberal thinker who was Godwin's contemporary and who made a French translation of *Political Justice* by 1800; but this wasn't published at the time, and finally appeared in Canada in 1972. There was renewed interest in both France and Germany in the 1900's, but only for a time.

In the U.S., Godwin's influence was not so much on Thoreau as on Thoreau's friends, William Ebbury Channing and Amos Bronson Alcott, and on such earlier writers as Elihu Palmer and Nathaniel Rogers; and his ideas had been the subject of discussion during his own lifetime, in the controversy just before and just after 1800 between the centralising Hamiltonian Federalists and the decentralising Jeffersonian Republicans.

Krammick gives a decent if derivative account of Godwin's influence in contemporary Britain, up to his relationship with Shelley in the 1810's; but then he loses touch. He doesn't mention the Godwinian influence on such early socialist writers as William Thompson and Thomas Hodgskin or in the later Owenite and Chartist movements, or the Godwinian elements in the thought of Stuart Mill and Herbert Spencer, William Morris and Oscar Wilde.

Coming down to the 1960's and 1970's, Krammick sees the influence of Godwin in the "counter-culture", which Godwin would have despised as he did that of his own time, and among the "libertarian" academics either of the right (Chamberlain, Hayek, Friedman) or of the left (Marcuse, Wolff), who would despise him. Indeed a more recent "libertarian" academic, Robert Nozick, explicitly does so in his argument for a "minimal state", (*Anarchy, State and Utopia*, 1974), dismissing with a single, simple sneer "Godwin, if you like that sort of thing".

Krammick even tries to see Godwin's influence in the contemporary anarchist movement, finding echoes of him in Paul Goodman, Colin Ward and myself. Whatever such people may have said which might remind someone of something by Godwin, the direct influence is minimal. Paul Goodman did approach a semi-Godwinian position towards the end of his life, but I doubt whether he ever read *Political Justice*. Colin Ward and I have certainly read the book, but all we have done is to name Godwin as the first person who made a systematic exposition of anarchist ideas, and to discuss a few of them, our interest in libertarian organisation and libertarian action taking us, like the anarchist movement in general, far beyond his philosophical position. If modern Godwinians are seriously sought, they are much more likely to be found among such figures as Herbert Read and George Woodcock; the former wasn't in fact much interested in Godwin, although he resembled him even as far as accepting honours from the State, but the latter was and still is, and wrote the only post-war biography



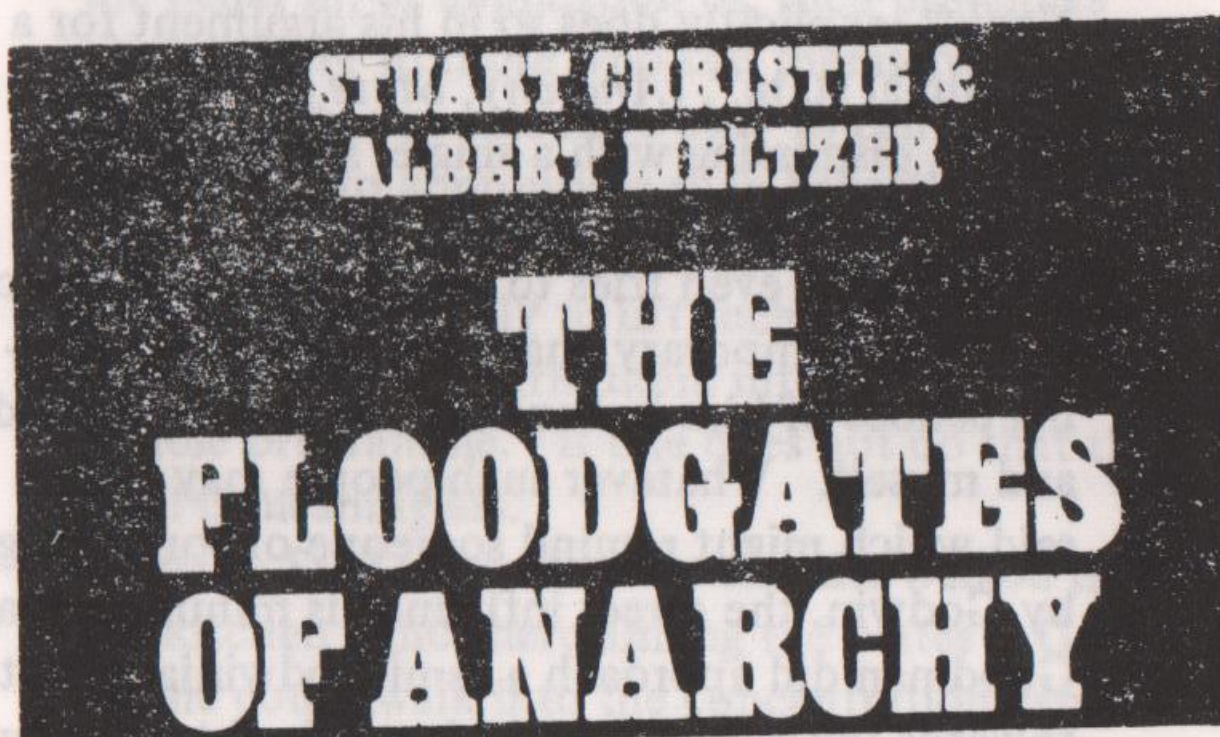
of him — William Godwin (1946).

Krammick's failure to understand the nature of Godwin's influence on other writers is matched by his failure to understand the nature of other writers' influence on Godwin. He mentions the obvious sources among the French "philosophes" of the eighteenth century Enlightenment and among the English radical Whigs and Tories, but he misses what Priestley has described as "undoubtedly his chief source" — Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* (1756). This was a satire against the tendency of radical criticism of revealed religion to turn into that of "natural society" — i.e. anarchy. But it was so skilfully written that it could just as well be taken as an argument for rather than against anarchy, and this was how Godwin took it. *Political Justice* was not "the first great trumpet blast" against government, but rather the first attempt to orchestrate such blasts.

The point is that during the period of the French Revolution, like so many other revolutions, anarchy was in the air. Godwin was the man who caught it on paper, not for the first time or for the last. Winstanley did it 150 years earlier, and Proudhon 50 years later. Winstanley and Godwin were followed by a few people for a short time, so their influence was historically negligible; Proudhon was followed by many people for a long time, so his influence was historically crucial in the anarchist movement. Krammick's mistake is that of so many academics — he is, ironically, a Professor of Government! — in assuming that anything written is influenced by what was written before it and influences what is written after it. In politics, as in literature, things are not so simple. People who study anarchist theory in universities may trace it back through a series of books to one particular book, but people who join anarchist practice in the real world work in a very different way.

Godwin's *Political Justice* is a classic of English libertarian thought — like Winstanley's pamphlets (which have also appeared in the Pelican Classics) and Burke's *Vindication of Natural Society* (which has not) — but it is not a sacred book or even a source book of anarchism. The best thing would be to ignore the introduction (and the incomplete and inaccurate notes and bibliography) and to read the book itself. At least this is now easy to do, and for this alone the new edition is welcome.

N.W. (*Freedom*)



THE FLOODGATES OF ANARCHY, Albert Meltzer & Stuart Christie, Sphere ed. 50p (inc. p+p), Kahn & Averill, £1.35p (h/b).

THERE ARE A GREAT MANY books on socialism and anarchism which are totally unreadable; many authors conceal their meaning as if they were writing in code to avoid persecution by the authorities, and maybe in a sense they are. When they write on Marxism they claim to be giving a programme for the working-class, written in language that no worker could understand — and which he would reject if he did. In a sense such authors aim at a dictatorship by the educated and some claim that because the worker

could not read or write in the language of the economists he cannot by himself obtain his liberation.

When it comes to anarchism the tendency is to write in grand oratorical phrases (certainly among Spanish writers) which can be understood well enough, but have the merit of meaning precisely nothing.

The "classical" anarchist writers wrote simply enough about the problems of socialism, but there is very little one can think of written in the language of today about the problems of today to explain anarchism, its relevance and how it can be achieved.

This is done in *Floodgates of Anarchy* by Stuart Christie and Albert Meltzer (also appearing in Spanish with the title *Anarquismo y Lucha de Clases* — Anarchism and Class Struggle) which not only lucidly explains anarchism, but casts a clear light on other political views.

Many of the problems of revolution can be evaded by speaking in the language of economics or of idealism. By writing in the language of everyday life they have produced a book eminently readable and one that carries a punch. The chapter on "Violence and Terrorism" should sweep away a lot of cobwebs — how many times do we hear violence denounced when it is clear that what is denounced is only "the violence the State deplores" and not the violence the State practises!

In the book Christie and Meltzer are sometimes witty, sometimes bitter, sometimes sarcastic, but they are always honest with their readers, hiding nothing behind obscure language, but ruthlessly analysing class society and giving an uncompromising anarchist answer. I have worked with both comrades in the Anarchist Black Cross since my release from prison (and knew Christie even before then) and I may be prejudiced... but I also know the forceful impact this book has had on many who have read nothing else except Marxist mystification or libertarian flights of oratory, and been repelled by the former and not well satisfied by the latter. They answer too what one should ask of a writer: that he does not shrink in life from the views he puts on paper.

Miguel Garcia (*Anarchy*, 2nd series)

ANARCHISM, Daniel Guerin, Monthly Review Press, £1.95p

THIS BOOK IS well worth reading, probably the best of the books titled *Anarchy* or *Anarchism*. As the author claims in the preface "the reader will be presented in turn with the main constructive themes of anarchism and not with personalities". In fact the book is really in two main parts, the first a study of the constructive themes, the theory and basis of anarchism. He quotes directly from Proudhon, Bakunin, Stirner, Malatesta, Voline and Santillan. The second after the practice: the Russian Revolution 1917, Italy after 1918, the Spanish Revolution 1936.

The book starts with the statement that all anarchists are socialists, but all socialists are not anarchists. Guerin himself obviously prefers the term libertarian socialist to anarchist as it is far



more self-explanatory. He keeps the issues clear and unconfused. By concentrating on the main themes and not getting sidetracked by the personalities thus the message comes across clearly. One is always aware the basic choice is Libertarian or Authoritarian. One the status-quo, the other the alternative.

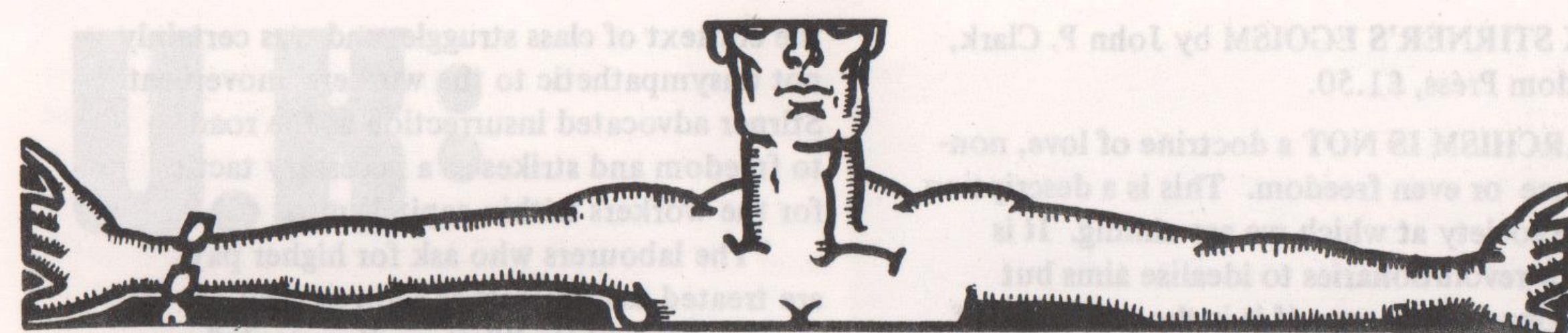
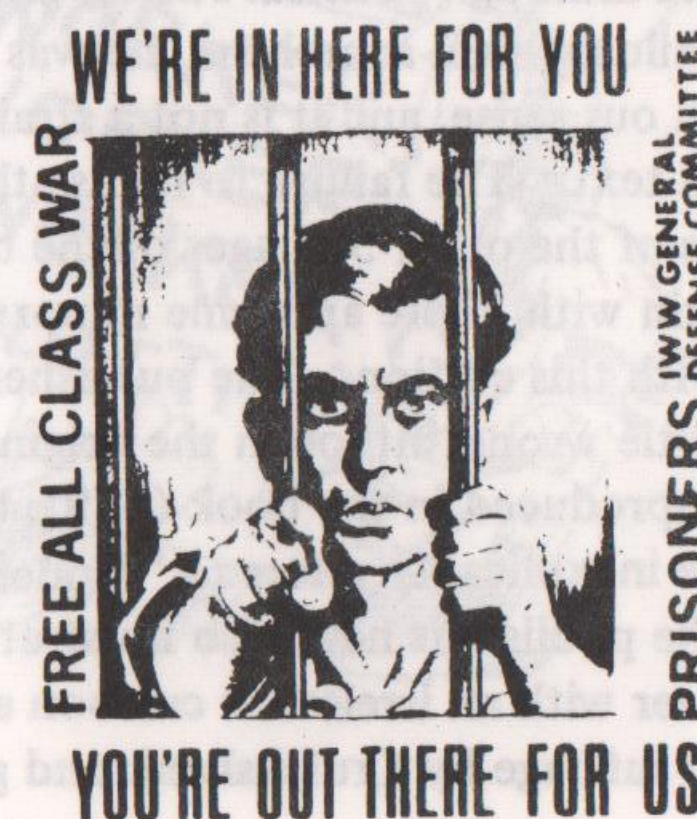
Anarchism makes many points that are important in today's struggle, but above all the one that comes over clearer than the others is the importance of remembering the socialist part of anarchism. The necessity of being active within the class-struggle, within the area now covered by the trade unions and the C.P. In a very powerfully argued section of the book, Guerin points out that when first divorced from the working-class, anarchism splits into cliques and even accused Bakunin of having been "too coloured by Marxism". He shows clearly that when anarchism has been involved with the mass working-class movements, its words and theory have been accepted and always led into a mass upsurge of revolutionary spirit. However, today the fact that all trade unions represent authoritarian organisation; the factory worker of today is faced by authoritarian organisation at every turn, the firm, the union, the C.P., etc. No alternative is in sight. The book is involved throughout with workers' control (management/councils).

There is no doubt that today workers' participation is a popular issue. The Labour Party, the Liberal Party, etc., all give it lip service, but without a libertarian structure the authoritarian will corrupt even workers' control until it is no more revolutionary than the annual wage demand and strike.

In case I have given a too one-sided look at Guerin's book, it is worth saying he has a constructive look at Stirner, putting him in context. Stirner does not go uncriticised for his excesses, but he shows Stirner to be the great thinker he undoubtedly was, and sums Stirner up by saying "his entire work was a search for a synthesis, or rather an 'equilibrium' between concern for the individual and the interests of society, between individual power and collective power".

His ending on workers' control in Algeria and Yugoslavia was, I thought, optimistic and unconvincing.

As an introduction to anarchism, there is in my opinion no better book; as a guide or a book to remind you of the basics it is well worth the effort of reading. (*Anarchy*, 2nd series)



MAN! AN ANTHOLOGY OF ANARCHIST IDEAS, ESSAYS, POETRY AND COMMENTARIES, edited by Marcus Graham, Cienfuegos Press, £3.25 p/b, £7.00 h/b.

The English language papers of the American anarchist movement are little known in Britain, which seems curious when one considers that many of them have been relatively good and also relatively easy to get hold of. Between the wars there were several such papers which have now disappeared from sight and almost from memory. Four of them were rescued a few years ago when the Greenwood Press included them in the enormous project of reprinting more than a hundred 'Radical Periodicals in the United States 1890-1960' — Hippolyte Havel's *Road to Freedom*, Sam Weiner's *Vanguard*, Abe Coleman's *Challenge* and Marcus Graham's *Man!*

These reprints were given ignorant introductions by academic 'experts' and that for the eight volumes of *Man!* (priced \$125!) contained some splendid nonsense, beginning with the statement by Allen Guttmann, a professor at Amherst College, that 'it's editor, Marcus Graham (born Robert Parsons) was Canadian...' The Greenwood Press didn't bother to ask Marcus Graham whether he would permit the reprint of *Man!* or would like to write an introduction for it, and Professor Guttmann didn't bother to find out who he really was or indeed whether he was still alive. As it happens, he was very much alive, and at the age of 80 he has now edited *Man! An Anthology of Anarchist Ideas, Essays, Poetry and Commentaries* which has been produced by the voluntary labour of several anarchists in this country.

Man! used to run a series of biographical articles on anarchist figures, and one of the most interesting things in this book is Marcus Graham's own 14-page autobiographical note. He was not born in Canada as Robert Parsons, but in Rumania with a name which he still conceals because he is still living semi-clandestinely in the United States. When he was 14 he went with his family in the great Jewish migration from Eastern Europe to the promised land of America. He describes how he worked as a garment cutter and learned English, how he became a socialist and then an anarchist, how he began to contribute to — and quarrel with — various anarchist papers on both sides of the Atlantic.

During the First World War he was active in the anti-militarist movement, working for a time in Canada as 'Robert Parsons' — thus beginning his prolonged mystification of the American authorities, and eventually of American academics as well. He produced several papers and pamphlets and in 1927 an anthology of revolutionary poetry. In January 1933 he began the monthly *Man!*, as the organ of the International Group of San Francisco, managing to survive continuous

harassment by the authorities until he was imprisoned and it was suppressed in April 1940. (*taken from Wildcat*)

Marcus Graham edited the monthly journal *MAN!* in the United States for seven and a half years prior to the Second World War. The government suppressed it in 1940. This book is a collection of material from this paper. And very good it is.

I am one who has lived most of his adult life in bedsitters, and I appreciate compact books. There is a library edition at £7, but the one I have here is a robust and handsome paperback. It is very plump but can be slipped into a fair-sized pocket, and will serve the reader well. If one had no other anarchist book in one's possession one could get along with this. The festival when we celebrate the birth of the Unconquered Sun is past, yet if one wanted to give a present to someone, particularly someone new to anarchism, this would be the book to give them.

If I have any criticism it would be that there is a certain air of sadness pervading a good deal of this book. Probably this is unavoidable. It reflects reality. It is curious that in those countries which owe their present way of life to revolution, the United States, France and the U.S.S.R., anarchists have suffered perhaps worse than anywhere else. Though they have had a rough ride pretty well everywhere, except in England, Holland and Scandinavia. The precariousness of the anarchist's position in the U.S. is reflected in these pages, though plenty of martyrs are to be found in Italy, Argentina, Spain, Bulgaria, Japan and many other countries.

There is a great deal of material in 638 pages, and all one can do is to single out those pieces that appeal to one personally. The editor was sceptical about the supposed advantages of technological society, which is unusual among anarchists, most of whom follow Kropotkin in this matter. He published articles such as "Cabbages and Kings" by Jo Anne Wheeler, who attacks Bertrand Russell.

In his book "The Scientific Outlook" Russell says, "The new ethics which is rapidly growing in connection with scientific technique will have its eyes upon society rather than upon the individual. It will have little use for the superstition of guilt and punishment, but will be prepared to make individuals suffer for the public good without inventing reasons to properly show that they deserve to suffer... the change will have to come about naturally through the habit of viewing society as a whole rather than as a collection of individuals. The man who thinks of society as a whole will sacrifice a member of society for the good of the whole without much consideration for that individual's welfare."

And there you have it. This was the ideology of the 1940's and 1950's. It produced Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the nihilistic hippy revolt. It produced dams and myxomatosis and C.P. Snow's 'new men.' It has used up the world's stocks of oil so fast that it now looks as if 'progress', thought unstoppable, will grind to a halt for lack of fuel.

Says Jo Anne Wheeler, "So lightly do we toss to the breeze the fruits of hard-won victories! Since time began how many lives have been sacrificed, how many hearts eaten out in prison or exile that Man might gain the right to call his body or soul his own? Why are we now so complacently willing to surrender our few dearly bought liberties?"

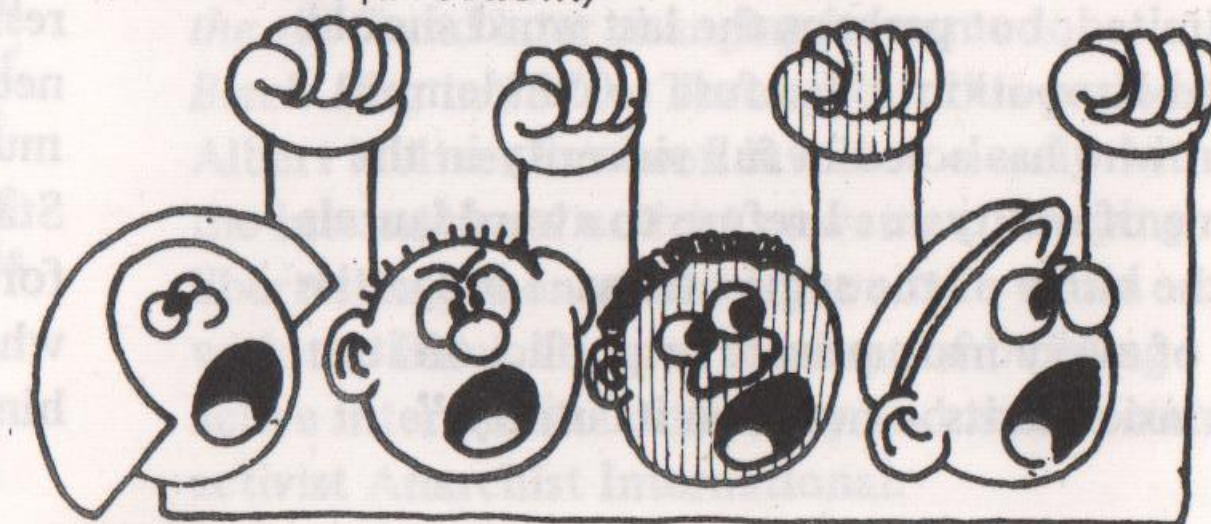
"We Must Weather the Typhoon" is a piece by Peter Kropotkin, written in 1920, less than three months before he died. The author seems to have foreseen Stalinism and Fascism, for he claims that following the destructive chaos of the Russian Revolution a 'deep trough' of reaction is on its way. Kropotkin was a shrewd prophet, but he had his limitations. He foresaw the First World War (of course he was not the only one), but when it came he supported it. In this article he says that the individual cannot do much in the present crisis. It is an explosion of the forces of nature. He compares it to a typhoon. We must weather it and try to resist or mitigate the coming period of reaction which will follow the revolution, but it all seems rather hopeless. Some of the individualists, whose writings are included in this book, would have had a word to say about that.

There are pieces by Armand, Albert Libertad, Han Ryner, Emerson and Wagner (yes, the composer). There is a discussion by Hippolyte Havel of the ideas of the Russian novelist Artzibashev and his novel "Sanin." Artzibashev was a disciple of Stirner. His book was a study of a man on his own, disillusioned with political parties, even revolutionary ones. Its circulation among students, however, led to what Havel quaintly calls a "wild sexual intoxication." This was in the period following the failed revolution of 1905, which is perhaps the explanation, (the manuscript was already in existence in 1903).

Also included are excerpts from books, which are intended to summarise the author's ideas, Proudhon, Stirner, Bakunin, and Kropotkin are presented in this way. Excerpts from "The Ocean, Atmosphere and Life" by Elisee Reclus look forward to Jacques Ellul's "The Technological Society" (1954), and Rachel Carson's "Silent Spring". Things were not so bad in Reclus' day, but the writing was on the wall.

This anthology does not date, however. Racial persecution still goes merrily on. Argentinian politics are still as confused as they were in the 1930s. You still risk life and limb by being an anarchist in the U.S.A. Students are still in revolt. The British monarchy still drains enormous sums from the community. Torture is still in vogue. Big business continues to batten on society. The voice of protest is still heard; resistance has not died. I believe there is a change going on in fact, though it is rather subtle and not immediately obvious. Our civilisation has lost some of the confidence it still had in the 1930s and even in the 1950s and 1960s. I cannot make up my mind whether this means a better chance for our ideas in the future or not. Anyway this is a superb book.

John Brent (*Freedom*)



KROPOTKIN Martin A. Miller, University of Chicago Press, £11.25.

CURIOSLY KROPOTKIN HAS attracted few English language biographies, so any new attempt to write up the life of one of the most prolific theorists of anarchism is always welcome, even if (as is the case with this book) the approach is an academic one, and still betrays its origins as a university thesis.

Martin Miller is clearly sympathetic to Kropotkin and his ideas, and has carried out his research carefully, although there are some periods in Kropotkin's life that are not given the attention they deserve, this is perhaps a matter of emphasis. Unhappily the author's academic background has trained him not to make statements without supporting proof, and consequently there are often four or five notes to each page and as these notes – all forty-three pages of them – are gathered at the rear of the book, any reader is either forced to ignore them, or stop reading to ensure nothing important is included in a note.

Miller's prose is not so lively and vivid as Kropotkin's own, and while *Memoirs of a Revolutionist* is the most readable of the two, Prof. Miller's volume does have some advantages. The English and Russian versions of Kropotkin's *Memoirs* both contain parts which do not appear in the other, and there are revised chapters and some smaller sections of the Russian manuscript which have not previously been published, and the topics covered in these have been incorporated in *Kropotkin*. Martin Miller has also access to police files (which included confiscated writings by Kropotkin) and to the many letters which still survive in archives and libraries, and which have not been available to researchers before.

This book has an eighteen-page bibliography which includes descriptions of archival material in Russia, Britain, France, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, Sweden and the USA as well as a reasonable listing of Kropotkin's printed works and on the background of anarchism. For all its positive points the book suffers from a complete lack of illustrations and photos (not even a frontispiece in an £11 book). None of the carefully composed pictures from Kropotkin's early life, and none of the powerful and moving photographs of his funeral, the occasion of the last mass demonstration by anarchists in Russia. There are two pages of previously unpublished notes by Kropotkin, which are tantalisingly brief, but the text is enlivened by the extensive quotes from his writings.

Altogether Martin Miller (an associate professor of history at Duke University) has provided a servicable biography which challenges some widely held assumptions about Kropotkin, from Wilde's white bearded Christ from the East to the benign gnome theory espoused in recent years, demonstrating that Kropotkin was a militant revolutionary (in spite of his pro-war stand). This book does provide an insight into the psychological and historical influences on Kropotkin's life, as it traces the emergence of his revolutionary consciousness, but the overall perspective is limited, but perhaps the last word should go to Kropotkin: "I refuse to condemn a man who has acted in full sincerity in the name of utility . . . I refuse to award laurels in the name of the same utility. I judge the act of every man, private or public, on its intrinsic merits – never on its utility."

MAX STIRNER'S EGOISM by John P. Clark, Freedom Press, £1.50.

ANARCHISM IS NOT a doctrine of love, non-violence or even freedom. This is a description of the society at which we are aiming. It is not for revolutionaries to idealise aims but resist oppression, even if it is the resistance of one person alone. But the parcelling up of anarchism by academics into "schools of thought" has both hindered such resistance and confused anarchist aims.

Amongst the early pioneers of anarchism have been both activists – like Bakunin, to whom participation in the struggle rarely allowed time to finish any of his voluminous works – and non-activists, such as Max Stirner, the reserved teacher and family man who nevertheless gave one of the most important and most abused contributions to the development of libertarian ideas *The Ego & His Own* – and has suffered greatly at the hands of the academics.

As an early critic of state socialism he provoked the anger of authoritarian contemporaries like Marx and Engels, and in stating his position boldly and with determination drew either hostility or too uncritical acceptance from within the ranks of the anarchists. This polarised and over simplified for-or-against response has sadly persisted until today, resulting in Stirner being too little read and too much maligned on the one hand and too uncritically acclaimed and distorted on the other.

Stirner's real strength lies in probing the motivations behind human action, explaining why people act as they do. This is not to say that he believed people would always do things in the same way (as claimed for him by his critics), only that whichever way they act they do so for the same reason: self-interest, that of promoting their own welfare.

"If I seclude myself, I do so because I no longer find enjoyment in society, if I remain with people, I do so because they still have something to offer me. To remain is no less egoistic than to seclude myself." (p.41).

He cautioned strongly against mistaking freedom as an abstract end in itself. For him freedom was only the means to an end; the real end being control over one's own actions within an atmosphere of personal autonomy. Not being physically punished for holding a particular opinion is not real freedom, for by holding an opinion the individual may be enslaved by that opinion itself.

Freedom is only desirable if it is in one's own interest to be free, but acting from self-determination, self-awareness and free will (real freedom) best serves the individual's interest ("egoism"). And to be so, those things which stand in the way of that must be removed (by a free choice, consciously); the greatest obstacle being (for Stirner) the State in all its forms:

"The State's behaviour is violence, and it calls its violence 'law'; that of the individual 'crime'." (p.75).

The fact of the State's legalising its restriction of the individual's freedom through institutionalised violence does not make it acceptable, but only calls attention to our resistance against being just as valid and more necessary. Stirner believed the individual must overcome the power exerted by the State and should not hesitate to do so by force; to "overcome the State's violence when he thinks that the State is not above him, but he is above the State." (p.75).

This viewpoint was not abstracted from

the context of class struggle, and was certainly not unsympathetic to the workers' movement. Stirner advocated insurrection as the road to freedom and strikes as a necessary tactic for the workers within capitalism:

"The labourers who ask for higher pay are treated as criminals as soon as they want to compel it. What are they to do? Without compulsion they don't get it, and in compulsion the State sees a self-help, a determination of price by the ego, a genuine, free realisation of value from his property, which it cannot admit of." (p.83).

In opposition to Statism (both capitalist and communist) as a means of social organisation, Stirner proposed the "Union of Egoists" – which is fundamental to anarchist federalism as a truly libertarian way of re-constituting society around individual freedom. The union, as John P. Clark describes it,

" . . . arises out of truly voluntary action and from a genuine choice of those participating in it. It is not a group into which one is born or socialised, like society, but an association into which one enters out of one's own power. Since society lacks this element of free commitment and creative action, it is in essence static and lifeless, while the union is always dynamic and living, depending for its existence on continuing renewal through individual decisions. It is an "incessant self-uniting," while "society is crystallised," "come to a standstill, degenerated into a fixity" – in short "dead." (p.78/9).

There are still (in Glasgow) a few survivors from a generation of syndicalists which interpreted Stirner's union of egoists literally as a workers' union, a way of organising freely within industry. Nothing in Stirner exists to prove them wrong. He believed, whatever social context the union was put in, that people should enter into it only if " . . . they are of themselves led to the point that they care best for their welfare if they unite with others . . ." Their coming together would not constitute a state or a nation, simply the recognition (which is fundamental to all anarchist thought) that the individual co-operates freely with others because it is in his (and therefore the others) interest to do so. "I shall find enough . . . who unite with me without swearing allegiance to my flag."

The Egoism of Max Stirner is a skillfully written appraisal of "egoism" managing somehow to both illuminate and annoy at the same time, that sadly lacks something in the telling. John P. Clark adds little to any constructive understanding of Stirner's ideas, and confuses much. In the absence of a better introduction it is worth reading. But better still is Stirner's own writing, which has stood the test of time well and certainly rewards the effort of reading.

Individualist.

THE FAILURE OF THE SEXUAL REVOLUTION, George Frankl, Kahn & Averill, £2.50

"...He has something illuminating to say on almost every aspect of the subject; on the sexologists such as Masters & Johnson, who can't distinguish between quantity and quality in sexual experience; on the boredom of unisex; and on the way in which in Women's Lib., the struggle of women for self-respect and equality has acquired an aggressiveness that is directed against men in general, until in the end femininity itself is condemned and we are back where we started among the worst manities of our Spartan grandmothers." S.T. (We'll review this title in greater detail in our next issue which will have a section on revolutionary women).

U.K:

THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON

THE ANARCHISTS IN LONDON 1935-1955

(With a postscript on the next twenty years), Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos Press, £1.00.

THE FALSE PICTURE presented by the press (which deliberately confuses anarchism, Marxism and nationalism) together with the distorted chronicles from university professors who, never having come into contact with the anarchist movement, know only the great names amongst successive generations of political exiles from Russia, Italy and Spain, which they pass off as the only anarchist presence in Britain. They have all combined to create an impression that anarchism has never played a native role in the history of the British working class movement. They assume that the working class here has always been submerged in parliamentarianism and statism. To dig deeper would upset their pet theories, so the real story goes untold. Add to this a generation of anarchists too young to remember the tradition of class-struggle anarchism that existed before the First World War (and to a lesser degree persisted in the inter-war years), and who rarely have come into contact with its survivors, and it is small wonder that most anarchists today probably know more about organised anarchism in Russia or Spain than in Britain.

This is particularly ironic when Britain has been one of the few countries in the world where an anarchist movement has retained a legal existence permitting open propaganda work throughout its history. The foreign exiles who have sought refuge in England over the years undoubtedly came from countries where anarchism attained a greater social relevance. Ill-fated revolutions, wars, and massive State repression forced most of them at one time or another into carrying on in the only way possible within the terms of clandestinity – armed struggle and resistance!

The Anarchists in London records a period in which anarchism exerted some influence within the British working-class movement, which helped pioneer the housing struggle through rent strikes, set up a principled opposition to the war, won support for revolutionary ideas within the British Army, and continuously propagated the ideas of direct action, anti-statism and workers' control through its journals and public meetings. Yet throughout Albert Meltzer's probing and often witty account there is no instance until the end of the 1960's when the actions of the Angry Brigade first began, of armed resistance to the

State. Critics of such tactics never fail to point out that in their view such actions put in jeopardy the possibilities of legal agitation amongst the working-class and call forth repression, thus damning revolutionary activism as 'adventurist' and self-defeating'. Yet what of this long and uninterrupted run of anarchist propaganda stretching out nearly a century before the Angry Brigade? That armed resistance alone will bring about the revolution is obviously absurd, but to oppose its use in any circumstances on the grounds that it will restrict legal activity, which in Britain has proven by its inability to produce the desired revolutionary turn of events and resulted in an anarchist movement today that is even smaller and less socially relevant, is equally unrealistic. Armed struggle or not, the degree of repression is related to social conditions not to the degree of resistance. Perhaps it is because the anarchist movement has *not* posed a sufficiently real threat to the State that it has retained greater opportunities of agitation than elsewhere in Europe; it certainly has not profited from them.

Reading this memoir of activity is an informative and illuminating experience that should not be missed. For the casual reader it will certainly prove entertaining; but for anyone seriously committed to revolutionary anarchism it should also provoke a careful reflection upon the issues it raises. For if anarchism is to play a role in shaping the future in Britain we need not only to know but to learn from the past.

Taken together with Albert Meltzer's already published work *The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group* (actually written ten years after the volume under review), *The Anarchists in London* provides a useful corrective to the misinformed accounts previously available, rescuing half a century of anarchist activity from obscurity and providing the first inside story of its victories, defeats and unknown heroes. That its author, after more than forty years of struggle, is still cheerfully in the front line of struggle, is, like the book itself, an inspiration. *The Anarchists in London* will surely become the standard source book on the contemporary history of British anarchism, it is up to us to shape the future.

PAR (*Black Flag*)



ALBERT MELTZER

THE MAN AND HIS WORK

Albert Meltzer has been described variously, in books ranging from a biography of the actor Sir Laurence Olivier to one of Buenaventura Durruti as a "trade union official", "boxer," "professor," and "auto-destructive artist." Could anyone believe all to be the same man? And as a matter of fact they aren't. Born in London in 1920, Albert Meltzer has been a committed anarchist since the age of fifteen. Soon after his becoming involved with the anarchist movement – though perhaps not directly because of it! – Civil War and revolution broke out in Spain, plunging him into building support in Britain for the fighters of the CNT-FAI. In 1937 he produced *The Struggle*, first of the many anarchist journals he was later to help produce or edit. During this period he was also engaged in rent strikes and the movement for workers' councils. With the outbreak of the 2nd World War he worked with Vernon Richards, Marie-Louise Berneri, Tom Brown, etc., on the paper *War Commentary* which later changed its name to *Freedom*.

Throughout the war years he helped edit both *War Commentary* and *Workers in Uniform*, and was secretary to the 2nd Anarchist Federation. As a soldier in Egypt at the close of the war he took part in the creation of soldiers' councils in Cairo – a revolutionary episode the full story of which still remains to be told.

Albert Meltzer helped to organise the re-constituted London Anarchist Group in the immediate post-war years and formed the Union of Anarchist Groups, became editor of *The Syndicalist* (1953) and, together with Albert Grace and Philip Sansom, formed the Anarcho-Syndicalist Committee, later working with the group publishing *Cuddon's Cosmopolitan Review* and later became *The Black Flag Group*. The return to Britain in September 1967 of Stuart Christie, after serving three and a half years of a 20 year prison sentence in Spain for involvement in an attempt against the life of Franco, led to the formation of the Anarchist Black Cross. The ABC and Black Flag Group combined forces soon after, publishing the monthly *Bulletin of the ABC* and later changing its name to *Black Flag* in 1970. Throughout this period Albert Meltzer has been involved closely with the international activist movement, helping libertarian prisoners throughout the world with the Black Cross as a means of building active international solidarity and an effective activist Anarchist International.

The Balham Group: How British Trotskyism Began



THE BALHAM GROUP: How British Trotskyism Began. Reg Groves, Pluto Press, 75p (p/b)

THIS IS THE PERSONAL reminiscence of an old-time Trot setting out the origins of the Trotskyist faction within the British Communist Party. It is important to note that the Groves version omits to point out that Trotsky (realising how divorced his faction was from the working class, though flattered to be idolised) directed that militants from the “redundant” Trotskyism of South Africa be sent here, who are the real originators of the hard-core Trotskyist factions at present existing (except I.S. and I.M.G., which have much more exotic origins).

Reg Groves, alas, is as selective an historian as the Stalinists. Re-writing Russian history they forget to mention Trotsky's role in the Bolshevik Party for one thing, and the Jewish origins of some of its veterans is shelved. Mr. Groves shelves the Christian origins of British Trotskyism. He does not deny the leading role of its pioneer, the Rev. Stewart Purkis. There are fourteen references to Father Purkis in the index. Search as you will, you will not find his title nor the fact that he was an Anglo-Catholic priest. It is suggested he was a railway clerk.

The C.P. in the twenties made great play of another Anglo-Catholic, Father John Groser. Plain ‘John Groser’ is described here, like Stewart Purkis and Billy Williams, as “active in the Clearing House Branch of the Railway Clerks Association”. The young reader may be forgiven for not knowing that Father Groser was made famous throughout the East End for his tireless activity for the High Church and its involvement in poverty action, carrying a huge crucifix on Stalinist parades or the dodge of joining a union to which one approximated, but did not belong, common among some socialists in the twenties (before it was possible to join the Labour Party as an individual member). This was mimicked in the famous action by Winston Churchill, of applying to join (and being accepted by) the bricklayers as a fellow-unionist because he laid some of the bricks on his country estate, though known and hated as the author of all anti-union activities. Perhaps it was thought Railway Clerks was the nearest, to “Sky Pilots”.

The middle-class origins of the Balham Group (with a few exceptions like Henry Sara, who came from the anti-parliamentary communist - council communist - movement) were equalled in America. Trotskyism proper originated there with Max Eastman who invented the whole cult: later Trotsky was able to deflect the cult by stepping down from his godhead and directing the movement himself.

To this day, however, Trotskyists will argue that theirs is a working-class theory and “therefore” they are necessarily working-class. A Trot debutante journalist will insist that an anarchist — despite

his or her social origins or occupation — cannot be working class “Because anarchism is petty bourgeois” For them, the working class is a theoretical abstraction attained by embracing Trotsky's views. As long as this definition is accepted and the term does not relate to the working class as we know it, Reg Groves' story of the division in the Communist Party over rival gangsters in the Kremlin, and in the High Church as to what they owed the Establishment, may be thought of as part of working class history.

Partridge (*Black Flag*)

THE AUDEN GENERATION: Literature and Politics in England in the 1930's, Samuel Hynes, Bodley Head, £6.50.

THE ROUGH OUTLINE of the thirties myth is that during the thirties the “intellectuals” rallied round to Left-Wing causes. What “intellectuals”?

Looking through Professor Hynes' carefully researched account one finds no major writers. Isherwood, Auden, MacNeice, Spender — who reads them? Graham Greene and George Orwell are brought in, but they were peripheral to the group and only subsequently became widely read (in Orwell's case, posthumously).

The “literary generation” of which the book speaks does not consist of best-selling writers — some of whom were also highly politically conscious, one of the best-known being Ethel Mannin who does not even get a mention. Perhaps the clique were good poets, but during their period poetry became so esoteric that it vanished from the public ken for want of standards. The only evaluation of their work is by fellow-members of their circle; critical acclaim passed round the Old Boy network. To proclaim them as typical of a generation, as the generation itself, was a piece of Communist Party propaganda. They were used to create a myth. Some of them lived to become ashamed of it, and so they created another myth.

The Russian situation under the Tsar had produced an “intelligentsia” which was clearly defined — namely, the products of the university at a time of Westernisation, struggling against the Asiatic

barbarism of Russia (as it was put) so that, roughly speaking, to be educated meant to be progressive and “patriotic”, in the old sense of the word, to be for the modernisation of the country (at least) and for reforms, captured by the need to enter the civil service and succumb to the prevailing lethargy. The “professional revolutionaries” which were Lenin's ideal could “intervene” in the workers' struggle, since the workers were “in themselves incapable of more than a trade-union ideology” and lead them to power. They would come from the “intelligentsia” (typical of what came was John Strachey, “the English Lenin” who finished up as Atlee's Minister for Food).

This policy, like so much more, was blindly applied out of all remote context to every country, including England, where the workers were far in advance ideologically of the university and the Party.

It is no coincidence that the “intelligentsia” which meant the small minority grouping that was to take the place of the Russian “intelligentsia”, were homosexual or bi-sexual, and already belonged to a tightly-knit network, a mutual admiration society. One by one they drew each other into the Communist Party network. Many, like Spender, protesting while they did so, others protesting that they were “bourgeois intellectuals” and so what? But in they went too.

Their literary value was exaggerated by the maso-nic-type network of reviewers who also wrote novels and poetry that nobody read; influenced by the reviewers the libraries bought them and put them on the shelves - unread. But in the end myth became reality - of sorts - for Victor Gollancz, super salesman and fellow-travelling Communist (until 1939 when he plumped for Judaism, Christianity and liberalism - not a mixture, but all three separately) built up the Left Book Club as a sort of commercial-political side to the Popular Front.

Its success lay in the corralling of vast numbers of middle-class people, with the Liberal Party in ruins, the ILP reduced to sectarianism and working-class sectarianism at that, and “Commonwealth not yet formed to pick the rump, to take poss-

ession of the working-class movement. The latter never recovered from the defeat of 1926; it was dormant, and the CP deliberately smashed what remained of it with a campaign designed to let it be superseded by, at last, a stooge working-class, an odd few here or there, no longer a mass, but representatives, led by a Russian type “intelligentsia”.

Prof. Hynes does not spell this out, but it can be seen quite easily from his account. What was only a literary periphery became of political importance not because of its challenge to fascism with which it was obsessed, but because of the way it helped the Communist Party “write the working-class out of history”.

Spain disillusioned most of them, though here the journalists of today perpetuate a new myth. For it was in Spain some of them saw the Communist Party in hard practice, under the pretence of the anti-fascist struggle, attack the working-class because it did not worship at their altars. Orwell, for instance, did not despair in the sense that he saw the struggle as pointless (as some now try to say). He saw the point of the struggle alright, what he rejected was the CP which appeared in the role of a fascist party, (yet the disillusion was very much that for a former love). Others, of course, retained their old illusions throughout... forty years on, turned a full circle politically so far as the CP is concerned, but still repeat the slanders of yesteryear, which they picked up in passing from their Stalinist days. Richard Bennett (reviewing books in the *Telegraph*) is a superb illustration, with a passing reference to the way the Anarchists, during the Civil War, gaily left the front for the week-ends “to live it up with their women” (revealing phrase), something patently impossible unless they “paired” with the fascists, like British MPs. The story was symptomatic of the post-Stalinist hangover that has affected the academics.

Professor Hynes has written painstakingly and entertainingly not about “the Auden generation” as he thinks, but about “the Auden conspiracy”.

The wheel has come full circle. The working-class is out of practical politics and the University dominates an imitation left. The survivors of the group huddle in the campuses — still an esoteric literary circle — still extolling each other's talents, still a cult of their own, but now deploring the excessive radicalism of the new left.

Albert Meltzer (*Black Flag*)

JOHN MACLEAN, Nan Milton, Pluto Press, £2.00.

RECENTLY, WHEN A MAOIST group wanted a name to convey traditionally their mixture of communism and nationalism they chose the name John Maclean Society. When arrested on bank robbery and urban guerrilla charges the Scottish press referred to their taking the name of a “well-known” Scottish anarchist. Such are the ironies of life. Maclean would have been shocked at the “adventurism” of the Maoists. He was nothing if not a puritan and as for “anarchism” he was nothing if not a Marxist. One of a small band of Marxists round the world who made their mark in an upsurge of working class militancy, (Rosa Luxemburg in Germany, James Connolly in Ireland, Eugene Debs in the U.S.), and, though for the most part now “adopted” by Marxist-Leninists, all (except Connolly who was executed too soon) explicitly rejecting Marxist-Leninist domination.

Maclean was for “wage-earners dictatorship” but he rejected bureaucratic control. He was not really a Scottish nationalist, but he was opposed to control from London and even more from Moscow. Though he denounced anarcho-



Glasgow, 1919.

syndicalism he was for a Scottish industrial workers' republic uniting the shop stewards councils. It was unfortunate that his Marxism split him from the Anarchists because it brought him, via the Marxist organisations, into a shifting relationship with the reformists and opportunists who were, for the time being, revolutionaries but worked their way into the establishment via the Labour Party and the Communist Party (once again, in the words of Burns — “Oh, what a parcel of rogues in a nation”).

Because of his single-minded devotion to the cause of the working-class — told with filial respect by his daughter Nan Milton in *John Maclean* — he became one of the most hated men in Glasgow so far as the ruling-class was concerned. When he went to prison, William Gallacher and other Communist Party officials and “comrades” spread the kindly lie that the capitalist class had driven him mad.

For years the story of Maclean's “madness” persisted: and it consisted solely of the fact that he refused to accept Moscow domination, even though Lenin had recognised in him an authentic expression of the “Red Clyde” of the time. One of the few who kept alive the image of the true Maclean was Guy Aldred; Mrs Milton would have done better, incidentally, to have relied more on him than on academics like Walter Kendall who played no part in the class-struggle, but merely tried to re-write its history.

The book is worth reading as a chapter in the history of the Scottish working-class. Maclean was never as great as his admirers thought him and sometimes he was on the periphery of the struggle; but he stood for something solid in the Scottish revolutionary struggle. It is curious to note now that he felt Lenin was “telling us to unite with elements who are Anarchists” and his reply was that the Bolsheviks “should unite with the Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries. We stand for the Marxian method applied to British conditions. The less Russians interfere in the internal affairs of other countries at this juncture the better for the cause of Revolution in those countries...A real Revolutionary Party can only be established here on Marx, not Bakunin, by fully avowed Marxians of long years standing.”

There is a mixture of all Maclean's contradict-

ions in this. It can be seen he was not, despite his Scottish Republicanism, a Scottish Nationalist (he refers to British, not Scottish conditions); there is something of his sectarianism since he is getting at some of the Clydeside socialists who deserted revolutionary syndicalism for the glamour value of the Russian Revolution (the Party has to be based on Marxians “of long years of standing”). It is not certain whether he is seriously telling Lenin to unite with the Mensheviks or Social Revolutionaries (to some extent Maclean did this himself, in British terms, and it was more often they rejected him than the reverse) or whether this is sarcastic. But finally, why did he reject unity with the Anarchists? Not because of his sectarianism so much as he knew what Lenin was getting at.

The dictator wanted the C.P. in Scotland, as elsewhere, to pose as revolutionary, to seize the spearhead into the working-class made by years of syndicalist and IWW agitation, and to utilise the anarchist working-class to establish over them a party based on Moscow control. Maclean worked for years with Anarchists. But he would not pretend to be an Anarchist, or use the Anarchist slogans, merely to impose a Marxian party; his idea of a Marxian party was something perhaps authoritarian in its own way, but indubitable more honest than Lenin's; it was this honesty that divided Luxemburg and Liebknecht from Moscow too.

This book gives a good insight into one of the last of the honest revolutionary Marxians before the shadow of Leninism. All that generation came into conflict with Moscow. Many were wiped out by victorious reaction, some were taken over by Moscow and settled down to becoming trained hacks — like Gallacher — or like most of the “Red Clydesider” MPs made a steady path to selling out. A few remained, increasingly more isolated as revolutionary socialism was phased out, scorned as “eccentric” or downrightly denounced as “mad” by the careerists, yet true to their principles but — like Maclean, Aldred and others in Glasgow and how many more elsewhere — doomed to poverty and obscurity. But they were, and remain, part of their class — despite differences, harbingers of the future, part of a common heritage of class-struggle.

(*Black Flag*)



George Orwell during the Spanish Civil War

INVERGORDON '31: HOW MEN OF THE RN STRUCK!—AND WON, Barry Duncan, £1.00.

THOUGH THERE HAVE been many class battles in the long history of the sea, nothing shakes the British Government more than to find, at times, that even the Royal Navy, the very bulwark of the State against foreign aggression, has bitten the hand that whips it. The British seaman was the last slave on British water; the press-gang brought men into a life with its floggings, arbitrary punishments and tortures, confinement, hardships and poverty which no free person would submit to even under the name of patriotism. After the horrors of naval life were mitigated quite late last century, though the Navy was treated to patriotic rhetoric, when it came to singing of the Wooden Walls of Old England, it received contempt when it came to do anything for the sailors. Anything was good enough for the matelots, and in 1931, when cuts in pay were being worked out, it was natural and in the order of things that the Navy should be treated the worst.

It was well known that by then most of those who had joined the Navy had done so to escape the privations of the Depression; why assume that they would object to pay cuts? In any case, discipline could always be maintained in the Royal Navy — it would be a poor look-out for Old England if this were not so

Barry Duncan gives a stirring account of how the Navy would not be treated in this cavalier fashion — “how it struck and won.” Who was “behind the strike?” It has ever since been suggested it was the Communist Party. Duncan shows the true role of the Communist Party. It was very much outside the struggle. The men who organised it were the “barrack room lawyers” — “sea lawyers” — the agitators who have served their class so well, “the village Hampdens” who have defied their tyrants . . . and for whom the Inns of Temple lawyers, the wig and gown fraternity, feel as implacable a hatred as can be felt against people who know their rights by people who are paid to know, and conceal, them. One or two of them, such as Len Wincott, subsequently joined the CP — seeing it make so large a noise outside and assuming that they were linking up with something “organised” instead of throwing away their grassroots contacts. Another was Fred Copeman. Copeman lived and died an ardent Stalinist, never disillusioned with the Party, and took part in its dirty work in Spain. Wincott went to Russia and the rebelliousness that took him into battle with the British State also brought him to a Russian concentration camp.

The strike itself was, within its terms of reference, a success. The men were militant, not revolutionary in their thought. But so in their deeds they succeeded in shaking the Government which had to reduce the cuts from 25 to 10 per cent. But more than that, never since has a Government felt itself free to take the Navy for granted. In time of war they were no longer scum, in time of peace they are treated as skilled workmen. As Duncan shows, in his modest but extremely informative book, this was not achieved by obedience but by struggle.

A.M. (Black Flag).

COMING ATTRACTION:

LAND & LIBERTY! a collection of the writings of Ricardo Flores Magon, a Magonist chronology, bibliography, and an historical assessment of the Mexican Revolution. (Estimated price £1.75, free to Cienfuegos Press subscribers). June pub.

BRITISH SYNDICALISM 1900-1914.

Bob Holton, Pluto Press £2.95 p/b; £6.00 h/b.

So far as most people are concerned the history of the working class movement is as shrouded in myth and mystery as any ancient civilisation. The histories of whole peoples were wiped out for precisely the same reason that the history of the working class movement in recent times is wiped out: it does not suit the conquerors for it to be known, because traditions keep alive the spirit of revolt. When the archaeologist comes along, his revelations are at first greeted with scepticism as apocryphal, legendary, “romantic.” Then after years of patient work — and when it is too late for the traditions to influence revolt — the jigsaw puzzle is added in.

Bob Holton is something of an archaeologist of social history whose research in the British working class movement has come up — not with the bowdlerised Marxist history which provides an academically recognisable alternative interpretation to orthodox economic history — but with the facts about the working class movement in the first fourteen years of the century, when it was clearly moving to syndicalism. This syndicalism (as Ramsey Macdonald recognised in his theoretical analysis from the point of view of social democracy) was a clear cut challenge to State socialism.

It was in fact a work of genius of the Communist Party to have diverted it, in a short period (1921 to 1931) to an acceptance of authoritarianism and dictatorship and political leadership. This was totally alien to the British working class (as to most others). They managed to evade the issue during the thirties, when the hatred of fascism and the real belief it was coming here helped the Communist Party to smash the libertarian ideas and aspirations of the working class. It did the fascist's job for them and they became redundant to the capitalist class.

I am no researcher, and in “The Anarchists in London 1935/55” I based myself on recollections and anecdotes: in the postscript I made a reference to the Scottish and Welsh comrades I knew, and gave a sketch of the pre-World War I and after movement in those countries — briefly, because I confined myself to facts I knew from old comrades. Bob Holton goes deeper into the matter from research. Those who think my account was exaggerated and a mere “hankering for the glorious past” will find themselves refuted in his account of British Syndicalism, in retrospect the golden age of the British working class movement, when it knew what it was fighting for, knew how to get it, and (but for the war) was on the high way to get it. It built a movement as great as any revolutionary

organisation in the world, and even the Great War (with its demagogy, and even the internal deportation of strikers on par with the deportation of Irishmen today) did not deter it. The shop steward's movement is a legacy of the days when the syndicalist movement tried to form a horizontal organisation on the forms of council communism and industrial unionism, because of the collapse of the vertical one which became a bureaucratic department of the State.

The anarcho-syndicalist beginnings and influence are traced by Bob Holton. The whole syndicalist movement was wider than the labour organisations created by the anarchists. The militant figures in the labour movement were not only those taking a revolutionary line and disagreeing entirely with State socialism. There was a more “ecumenical spirit” about; many “crossed the lines” (some, like Tom Mann, saw nothing incompatible with belonging to the trade union movement, the ILP, supporting the Labour Party — and later the CP — yet being a syndicalist). The wider syndicalist movement is the one described in this book. It included those recognising how the industrial free society would be won, and accepting the libertarian criticism of the State, but not necessarily belonging to the anarchist groups of the time which were narrower in their scope? They might call themselves anarchists, or anarcho-syndicalists, or, in some cases, have accepted both parliamentary action and direct action and not regarded socialism and anarchism as incompatible (as was possible, at least in theory, before State socialism conquered).

But it was a working class movement. When the Left politicians, and the middle class (it was originally the middle-aged middle class, before the era of “the student revolt”), took over, first of all the workers were divorced from anarchism — and then socialism itself became an alien creed as it was defined by the politicians. Anarchism was thought of wistfully by the older generation, and was unknown to the younger generation (which is now, of course, very much the older generation and has even in turn died out).

This book is one of the most exciting accounts of British syndicalism I have read. It is an indication of the broadening of the scope of Pluto Press that it should have published it. Pluto Press is looking into workers' history and coming up (for International Socialists, for whom it was once the publishers) with some fascinating titles which could have come from an anarchist publisher. Taking an unbiased look at Britain — no less than Italy and Spain — is bound to do this.

A. Meltzer.

THE POLITICAL POLICE IN BRITAIN, Tony Bunyan, Julian Friedmann, £4.95 (h/b), Quartet Books, £2.95 p/b.

IN SOME COUNTRIES the political police takes pride in its role and wears a uniform: a frank admission of the political role of the State expressed in one political party, or two or three effectively recognising their unity of interest. Britain pays lip-service to multilateral political democracy, hence the Special Branch hides in a special suite in Scotland Yard and goes on duty in trendy clothes like social workers, or sober suits like middle-aged bank managers, and occasionally in denims and frayed jackets like freaky student activists; but it is not say it does not play exactly the same role as the uniformed political police. What Watergate was about was not the “dirty tricks” employed by Nixon — there is nothing there that has not been done a thousand times in the US or Britain (bugging political opponents, break-ins, etc., are small change for most anarchists and others!) — but because he used them against the alternative recognised party, and even against members of his own party. When one considers what methods were used by the US police against the IWW and the anarchists one may, ingenuously, wonder what the fuss over Watergate was all about.

The British press delights in shock-horror revelations about the antics of the CIA, KGB, or BOSS, but rarely are we allowed a truthful look at the Special Branch, MI5 or DIS. Usually it comes in the form of an early-morning knock on the door that is not the milkman. We can thank Tony Bunyan for sharpening the focus a little in what his publishers claim as “...the first socialist account of the historical development and current practices of ...the police, the Special Branch, MI5 and the Military”.

Dossiers exist in all regimes and the fate of the Special Branch exists as a potential threat against the Establishment itself, just as the army does in some other countries. In France, the police handed over the dossiers of politicians to the Nazis, and also a couple of Prime Ministers. Whilst the anti-anarchist archives amassed by the Gestapo were shared out with the other spoils of war (see Germany article) between Russia and the Western allies to pave the way for the growth of international secret police collaboration which has marked more recent years. Yet the urge to go one better over their partners has occasionally backfired on the British Secret Service, as in the case of Ian Macleod shot dead by German police in Stuttgart in 1972 after infiltrating the Red Army Fraction in search of connections with activists here.

The classical method of police repression is not the same as that of the army viz mass slaughter. That is what the serving officer knows and appreciates (Spain is a typical modern example). Find the most disaffected elements and shoot them: if need be where there is a strike take out one in ten and place them in front of a firing squad. That is what Sultan Abdul Hamid II perfected he did not even trouble to find out the actual perpetrators of revolutionary action; enough that the example is made, the rest are terrorised.

This is worse than, but not necessarily more insidious or more effective than, nor does it “absolve” except by degree of comparison, the police method of repression which is to single out the perpetrators or if need be someone who is clearly guilty in their eyes but cannot be found guilty, therefore the evidence may be planted or the laws of conspiracy evoked. For example, Peter Hain did not commit a bank robbery, but was certainly guilty of political actions which, in South Africa would have rated in the crime-scale. While the police are still subject to “legal niceties” the Hain case had the end result it



The early morning knock isn't the milkman any more!

did, this because we still have lawyers in command. Under a police State, one would dispense with juries (Sir Robert Mark, the previous Police Commissioner for the London region) advocated this) and Hain would have got what he “deserved” for daring to challenge, however effectively, the State and its wisdom.

The Special Branch not only permeates but fashions politics, since raids and searches and occasional arrests create a climate of intimidation: for one who is affected, a dozen get the message. Roy Habershon, the police officer in charge of the Angry Brigade investigation, actually boasted during the raids on “suspects” that he did not raid the Communist Party and singled out for mass “fishing expeditions” those in sympathy with the political aims of the A.B. However, it is nonsense to say that every activity causes repression (as is so often said by leftists seeking an excuse for inactivity); if the repression was not there the activity would not cause it. It merely deflects upon itself the repression that already exists.

Army take-overs in other countries are such common-place news that we tend to assume that any move closer to totalitarianism here would necessarily put the military in command. This is certainly what officers of the Kitson ilk would relish. But any ex-soldier will tell you that the biggest crime that can be committed in the British Army is “talking politics” in the barracks. A more likely assumption of political power would be assumed from within the police. The strongest dictatorship is the one which is not seen.

Himmler's Gestapo (toppled only by military conquest from without) or Andropov's KGB are the hallmarks of the authoritarian State.

The growing influence of the political police in our daily lives already carries with it a likeness to Orwell's 1984. Tony Bunyan at least shows us a little of what is in store for us in the future, all the more effectively since he reveals the monster's weaknesses as well as its strengths. A timely warning to hit back while we still can. A.M. & PAR (Black Flag)



Corpse of a young Brazilian girl tortured and murdered by Brazilian “Death Squad”.

BLUEPRINT for a POLICE STATE

AT THE OUTBREAK of war in 1939 Britain was flooded with government posters informing us that "Your Freedom is in Peril." I recall observing that some wag had immediately altered at least one of these posters to read, "Your Peril is in Freedom." Perhaps a similar reversal of meaning could be applied to an amazing seminar that took place in Emmanuel College, Cambridge over the weekend of April 10 to 11. This remarkable exercise in publicity and public relations was convened by the Police Federation for the ostensible and laudable reason of combating lawlessness and crime. But was it only for that, or were other motives behind it?

This was, I repeat, an amazing gathering for a number of reasons. First, the fortunate timing, coinciding with and as a newsworthy alternative to, the peculiar (to say the least) Peter Hain prosecution, and the long-delayed bringing of corruption charges against ex-Commander Drury, former chief of the Flying Squad and eleven senior Scotland Yard detectives. Next, the emotional build-up engendered by the almost hysterical media treatment of stories of juvenile crime, black "muggers" lawless strikers and renewed demands for capital and corporal punishment. Most interesting of all was the motley crowd assembled and the speeches made on this most suspicious occasion.

The speeches at Cambridge indicated that the art of misdirection is not the prerogative of the stage magician. Some most significant remarks were made by that authority on clear thinking and sound judgment, Mr. Justice Melford Stevenson, who stated: "When you get an alliance between the crooks and the high minded it is a very sinister alliance indeed. That is why we must make sure that they do not go further than they must." This surely comes dangerously near incitement to the police officers present. Was he suggesting that the "alliance" with crime included his fellow-members of the Establishment, those judges in the Court of Appeal, who recently reversed three of his more outrageous sentences? He also waffled on about "starry-eyed idealists" whose "... activities and the pursuit of their work are tremendously appealing to the criminal classes." One classic of Melford Stevenson was: "The whole country is suffering from a most terrible breakdown of family life following from easy divorce which can be done by post now."

Enoch Powell, as always urbane, clever and patently sincere, certainly gave encouragement to those police who seem determined to sabotage belated efforts of Sir Robert Mark to recruit coloured policemen. His provocative statement on mugging was: "To use a crude but effective word - it is racial." Who then, one may ask, was responsible for far worse street violence so vividly described by Dickens,

Mayhew and the newspapers daily throughout the nineteenth century? But Powell will please those defenders of law and order who see "crime" whenever youths, black or white, gather in our streets, but are singularly unsuccessful in preventing daily armed raids on banks and security guards. This is all the more strange as the security companies employ many ex-detectives in senior posts, and it would be thought the identity of some of these gunmen would be known to them from their police days. There can be little doubt that the publicity value of people like Mr. Powell is being exploited for sinister purposes which can only be guessed at. Personally I do not consider him as potential dictator material despite the attempts at manipulating him for their own ends by assorted reactionaries and extremists of the Right.

Who Are The Real Criminals?

What conclusions can reasonably be arrived at regarding a police seminar entitled "The Challenge of Crime" that by the tone of one speaker virtually invited racial attacks, deplored a Government bill to end the practice of police investigating and judging their own crimes, indulged in cheap sneers at "do-gooders" yet had not one word of real criminal threat to our society. The same newspapers reporting this meeting, on the same days carried news of admission by Shell Oil of bribes paid to foreign politicians, similar allegations against BP, and the scathing official indictment of V and G Insurance directors. And now a Lieutenant-Colonel is charged with taking bribes over the purchase of military equipment. Nothing was said about widespread tax frauds and evasions indulged in regularly by companies and individuals at the upper ends of the social strata. Inland Revenue officials have stated that over the years criminal tax "fiddles" have caused losses to the state of hundreds of millions. Silence on the Road Fund Licence-dodging by well-off pillars of society.

Is not this the real mugging of society and equally destructive of law and order? Not one word regarding what I assert is a major cause of youthful lawlessness - the example shown them by hundreds of police convicted in the last few years of every conceivable crime. These range from murder to shop-lifting and burglary and include poncing and rape of young schoolgirls. I am well aware of the "one rotten apple" excuse. The evidence available and before me as I write this, in the form of newspaper reports from all over Britain, indicates that there is a whole police orchard full of rotten apples.

The Police and the Community
Leslie Male, the Police Federation chairman, stated that during the campaign on law and

order, its members will try to talk to the police about the challenge of crime and its "grave potential" for society. Will he answer these questions: How much has public confidence in the police been eroded and how much teenage crime caused through the many senior CID officers convicted of corruption in the last ten years after being commended and promoted for their police activities? How many of the several hundred resignations from the Metropolitan force since 1970 has resulted from the practice of allowing them to resign to prevent prosecution? Is the path to promotion in the CID still via the planting of evidence on innocent victims, as alleged by Detective-Sergeant Grant Smith after he "found God" and confessed to rigging evidence against a falsely convicted anti-apartheid demonstrator? These are just a few of the questions that must be answered if Mr. Male and the Federation are to be taken seriously.

Divide your opponents, cause dissension, create a political vacuum and proceed to power, is an ancient maxim. So too is the arranging of a smokescreen to distract attention from the real intent. Of course there is a serious crime situation - and it has been brought about to some extent by years of public complacency over police integrity. The belief that only the accused and his friends lie in the witness-box, never professional police witnesses who know every trick, dies hard. So does the concept that it is right for only police to enquire into their own crimes. But the crime situation is only a symptom of the ills within urban civilisation, not the cause.

Everybody's Freedom in Peril

No doubt some readers of this journal think there should be stricter penalties imposed on coloured lawbreakers, football hooligans, vandals, demonstrators and striking workers. That may be so, but always remember the laws introduced for one popularly supported purpose have a habit of being used to suppress something quite different. Consider how the Official Secrets Act is invoked to prevent legitimate exposure of grievances of even governmental malpractice. Or how the Criminal Justice Amendment Act, introduced to deal with prostitution, was used for many years to persecute and blackmail homosexuals.

Not does it stop with action against people you don't like personally - such as the immigrants, Jews, Reds or believers in civil liberty and the "permissive society." It is not only someone else's freedom in peril - it may well be yours next. We must never forget the lesson that Thomas Paine nearly learnt with his life; the path which starts with the exclusion of the Girondists becomes the broad highway leading inevitably to Thermidor! More than one Jewish industrialist



Geheimstaatspolizei - Class of '70
in Germany during the 1920s who secretly aided the new party that was going to discipline the unions and deal with the Left, very quickly learnt what it was really all about. Battles for civil liberty that we have considered won long ago may soon have to be fought over again. There is nothing sacred or god-ordained about our democratic system that ensures a built-in immunity from erosion. Indeed, by its very structure and historical development, it is extremely vulnerable to assault.

It is significant that warnings of the imminent collapse of democratic government together with undertones implying a threatened take-over by Communist-controlled unions and snide attacks on "Tribunites" also call for vigilantes, street patrols and strikebreakers. The appeal to the "silent majority" - whoever they are - to "stand up and be counted" is an emotive one, but has little meaning apart from usefulness as a rabble-raising appeal. The real danger to democracy, as I see it, could come from a highly-organised, centralised body that already exists almost as a State within a State. We are so used to reading of the army taking over in other countries that we automatically assume that a military dictatorship is the most probable alternative once a democracy is assailed - possibly even here. For historical reasons which are too complex to discuss in this article I do not think the British Army has political ambitions. Their very loyalty to the Crown prevents serving officers from

participation in the political scene. There has often been extreme reluctance even by some reactionary governments to use troops in industrial disputes here or against civilians generally. This has often been because of fears regarding their reliability in such circumstances.

An effective assumption of political power is more likely to come from elements within the police. We already have our political police in the shape of the Special Branch. This is no longer the comic-opera outfit it was in the days of Sir Basil Thomson of Hyde Park fame. The experiences of the General Strike changed all that. To all intent and purpose it is now a national body only nominally centred at Scotland Yard. Its exact strength is difficult to ascertain, because of continual interchange with, and seconding from other branches of the CID, but from their well-observed ubiquity, they could account for a large proportion of the supposed shortage of police - of the uniformed variety. So separated from their brethren on the beat that cases have frequently occurred at political rallies, pop festivals and demonstrations of long-haired hippies being manhandled by correctly attired police and even arrested - only to be found members of the SB.

Independent evidence however, suggests that the Branch has effectively increased almost tenfold during the last 25 years. In addition, there is a murky grey area of activity shared by the Special Branch and MI5. The line of demarcation between the two sometimes appears very indistinct indeed.

There is the classic case of a few years back when SB-MI5 officers were supposedly following two Russian diplomats. The Russians thought to be KGB men were carrying a transistor radio to pick up beamed transmissions from a secret Government short-wave station, disguised as a garage, in Barnard Road, Clapham Junction. The detectives were arrested by local police as suspected persons, and in the mix-up the Russians seem to have escaped.

A disturbing feature appears to be links between some members of the Special Branch and foreign secret police agents in Britain. These include the South African BOSS (there have been strong suspicions of a South African connection in the Hain case), Rhodesian, Turkish, Iranian, Spanish, various South American and the CIA. In some cases police photos of nationals of these countries taken at demonstrations have been "leaked". Of even more concern is the liaison which seems to exist between some officers and groups which include the National Front. At two recent public meetings, in Newham and Bristol, Home Secretary Roy Jenkins was pelted with bags of flour. These could easily have been bombs or bullets. But the point is, although both meetings were liberally attended by Special Branch officers, no attempt was made by them to deal with NF disturbers and flour throwers. Afterwards some were again seen drinking with NF members.

Could there be a connection between the "Red" smear on Humanists, renewed calls

HISTORY OF ANARCHIST MOVEMENT IN POLAND

FOR A LONG TIME PAST THE POLISH proletariat had been in the habit of concentrating its revolutionary effort in the field of direct action. The Polish worker, oppressed at the same time as a worker and as a revolutionary, rapidly realised that he could count on no-one but himself, and that his only option was to resort to a direct struggle in order to improve his position. In the important centres of the textile industry (Białystok, Warsaw, Łódź), and in the mines (Dąbrowa, Sosnowice), the worker did not hesitate to make use of the most drastic methods of defence: economic blackmail during strikes, armed demonstrations and revolts, sabotage and so on...Extremism in their methods of struggle is therefore a valued tradition acquired by the working-class under Tsarist domination. Besides that, the Polish workers movement suffered the disastrous influence of various State-socialist currents of thought. Some, the Socialist Party of Poland (PPS) for example, envisaged the realisation of their ideal in liberation from the Russian yoke and hoped for the creation of an independent Republic of Poland. Others, the Social-Democracy of Poland and Lithuania (S.D.K.P.i.L.), for example, actually communist, calling themselves internationalists, aspired to the creation of a pan-Russian democratic republic and, within it, the complete autonomy of Poland, which would have formed and independent federation. It was only after the realisation of these preliminary conditions that these two parties believed it possible to engage in the struggle to bring about socialism.

So, we can see that the tactics of the Polish proletariat were imbued with an extremely revolutionary spirit, often indeed anarchist. However, at the same time their theoretical spokesmen were always from more or less radical and nationalist State-socialist parties; but who were constantly doing their utmost to separate the proletariat from the active social and revolutionary struggle, and who strove to direct it towards political struggle with the aim of victory being either exclusively Polish State-socialist government, or Polish State-socialist government in participation with the Russian State-socialist government.

Until 1905, anarchism did not play a very important part in the Polish workers' movement. Although a small number of isolated groups had existed in various towns, their influence on the masses was virtually nil. In 1899 one of these groups published the first anarchist work to appear in Polish: *God and the State* by Bakunin. This book, and several others, like most Russian revolutionary publications, were published abroad because of the lack of freedom of the press in Russia and because of the persecution by the Russian police. The same year in Austrian Poland where the censorship was much less severe another book was published entitled *The Problems of Socialism* (Leopole 1899) signed Z.R. Walcrewski. The author was at that time a young student of philosophy at Warsaw University. He became in due course one of the most remarkable sociologists of Poland. His true name was Edward Abramowski. He was almost the sole anarchist theoretician in Poland. In 1904 the same author published another work under the name of N.A. Crajkowski, *Socialism and the State* (Leopole 1904). In accordance with his conclusions that "The politics of anti-authoritarian socialism are based on evolutionary tendencies diametrically opposed to those upon which the politics of State-socialism are based, that is, upon the tendencies towards co-operation and free collaboration which are becoming more and more characteristic of modern capitalist society", he devoted himself entirely to the co-operative movement and published two pamphlets, one of which, *The Co-operative as the workers task of emancipation* can be counted among the literature of anarchism. The ideas set out in the two books mentioned above are so independent and interesting

that it would be necessary to devote a special study to them. We shall restrict ourselves simply to pointing out that Abramowski, in creating his system of scientific anarchism, was opposed to all violence and consequently a supporter of non-revolutionary anarchism.

Abramowski's second book, *Socialism and the State*, was issued by a "Publication Society" in Leopole which later published *The Conquest of Bread* and *Concerning a Life by Kropotkin* as well as *An Appeal to the Young*. Now all these books are completely out of print and are a rarity even in libraries. It is possible that *The Conquest*

of Bread could soon be re-published.

At approximately the same time, comrade J. Zielinski, a medical student, was active in Paris. In five years (1901-1906) he published four pamphlets: *The General Strike* (1901), *Hypocritical Socialism* (1902), *Is Anarchism in Poland Justified?* (1906), *Workers' Unions in Struggle* (1906).

Meanwhile, the situation in Poland was becoming serious. Showers warned of the storm to come; there were presentiments of the 1905 Revolution. Reaction and repression drove the workers to adopt more and more violent methods of exerting pressure. And soon anarchism ceased to be only a word. Already, in 1903, the anarchist communist group *The Struggle* was formed in Białystok, and from then on that town became a centre for anarchist action and propaganda. At first the group concerned itself chiefly with propaganda and published several pamphlets as well as numerous leaflets addressed to workers, peasants and soldiers. The anarchists organised meetings which were attended by six to eight hundred workers (a very satisfactory number for a small town). After three months of intensive effort the number of active members of the group reached seventy. It was chiefly in the period before May 1 1904 that the meetings, which took place almost daily, became particularly lively. The group took part in the workers' struggle and organised several strikes, some of which were only successful due to economic blackmail. In general, at Białystok, and afterwards in Warsaw, the anarchist movement distinguished itself from that in other countries by its use of economic rather than political blackmail. It was only later that they too were forced by savage persecution to have recourse to political blackmail. During periods of unemployment, the anarchists were at the head of the unemployed whom they urged by their example to seize the bread and foodstuffs that were necessities for them. Action which did not fail to displease the political parties.

In the small town of Krynki, the anarchists, weapons in hand, attacked the town hall and seized a certain number of blank passports, and at the same time carried out various acts of political and economic terrorism. The anarchists actively participated in the events of 1905.² Some even took part, on an individual basis, in the Council of (soviets) workers' delegates which had been formed and they exercised a considerable influence there. On 9 January, during the Great Strike, the anarchists were with the other revolutionary parties at the head of the movement. Terrified, the police fled and all the government institutions fell into the hands of the workers. It is with the indecisive attitude of the political parties that the responsibility lies for the defeat of the movement which was soon annihilated by the troops sent against the insurgents.

Towards the middle of 1906, a fairly strong Anarchist Federation was already in existence in Białystok.³ It was composed of workers

from four trades: weavers, leather and skin workers, joiners and tailors. The body of the group comprised Polish and Jewish workers. There was also a purely Polish federation and fifteen very active propaganda circles joined together with sixteen to eighteen workers in each. The federation took part in innumerable strikes and was particularly noticeable in the General Strike launched by the spinners in 1906. The strike was only successful thanks to the use of terrorism and the direct seizure of provisions. Some numbers of comrades were executed following these events. In December 1906 the hanging of the brave comrade Józef Mysliński took place. He had carried out a few acts of terrorism and was very popular among the Polish workers of Białystok. But, at the same time, other syndicalist outrages occurred and an agent provocateur was killed. A little later the executions took place of comrades Leonard Czarniecki (Olek), Yvan Gainski (Mielek) and Anton Nizborski.

The groups possessed a clandestine printing press *Anarchy*, which was seized by the police at the end of 1906 at the same time as several comrades, men and women, were arrested.

Some groups existed in various small suburban towns, such as Sokolki, Rozany, Bielsk, Cześćochowa, etc. Activities in these towns most often developed in conjunction with the activities in Białystok. At Rozany, the anarchists organised several strikes; in Bielsk an active programme of propaganda was carried out by a peasant group; a similar group worked in Orlo. In Wolkowysk economic blackmail was used, as well as in Zabłudowo and Krynki.

Of course this was not all. It is only one small part of the work of which we know, and we are a long way from knowing everything. But the action mentioned proves already that anarchism was a quite well-developed movement and continues a struggle, as vigorous as it was implacable, for the complete liberation of humanity.

Numerous groups also existed in Warsaw. The most active date from January 1905. The first group, *International*, was composed of Jewish workers; it arranged meetings where speeches were given in Polish and Yiddish. It organised propaganda circles with more than 125 members, and members of the group numbered 40. As at Białystok, the anarchists organised numerous strikes while using sabotage and economic blackmail. During the strike of bakery workers which was directed by the anarchists, some ovens were blown up and petrol was poured into the dough. The owners, terrified, surrendered. The anarchists had even gained control of a bakery which they ran communally until the owner gave in. One comrade threw a bomb into a bank, and two bombs were thrown into Warsaw's grandest hotel, *The Bristol*, by a group of "motiveless terrorists" who believed that the essential feature of anarchist activity is unmotivated terror.

The anarchists led an active struggle against the socialist parties who used infamies and vile lies to discredit the anarchists. On the day of the "freedom" the anarchists took their message into mass meetings. A little while afterwards repression began and many comrades were arrested. While distributing pamphlets among the soldiers, comrade Victor Rivkind was arrested. He was subsequently shot. A large quantity of weapons, bombs, dynamite, a booby-trap and a secret press were seized. In January 1906, sixteen members of the *International* group were shot, several of them were miners. The other members escaped abroad or were deported to Siberia. In August 1906 the movement revived a bit. Two groups were formed: *The Black Curtain and Liberty*. In the winter of the same year, the anarchists were already organising several strikes making use of economic blackmail.

In 1907 many arrests were carried out (on one occasion alone twenty-one comrades were thrown into prison). They found bombs and a secret lithographic transfer for the newspaper *The Revolutionary Voice*.

There were groups in Łódź, Siedlce, Biata and Creustochowa. In Grodno the anarchist Fridman killed a gaoler for maltreatment dealt out to detainees; pursued by the police he committed suicide, not wanting to be caught alive. In Brześć many acts of expropriation were carried out. There was also a group in Wilna. (Comrade Korotkin threw a bomb into a policeman's reunion).

There were also several groups working for the anarchist cause abroad.⁴ In London in 1907 there was a *Polish-Russian A.C. Group* which published two pamphlets: Thour's *What the Anarchists Want?* and Malatesta's *Anarchy*. In the same year Emile Henry's pamphlet, *Speech before the Assize Court* was published in Paris.

The years 1905-1907 caused the interesting personality of Machański, founder of the system of the "workers' conspiracy" to emerge from the ranks of Polish anarchism. But having developed, Machański became so estranged from anarchism that he came to regard it in the same way as the other socialist and revolutionary parties as a "harmful intellectual theory". The chief principle of the International that "the emancipation of the workers should be the task of the workers" he took literally and fought fanatically against any participation, even physical participation, of intellectuals in the workers' movement, believing that intellectuals only tend towards power behind the mask of socialism, revolutionary socialism or even anarchism. (*Workers' Conspiracy* No.1). His conception of the means by the aid of which anarchy could be realised is very interesting. He believed that a single path led to anarchy: the direct struggle of the workers themselves using the most revolutionary modes of struggle to obtain slight improvements and reforms which will finish by leading us little by little towards society without property or authority. Although strange, this idea is quite interesting. However, Machański worked above all among the Russian workers, and his ideas did not have the slightest influence on anarchism in Poland.

The years 1904-1907 were the period of the development of anarchism in Poland. The young movement with only a recent past but profound experience, committed many mistakes and errors as every lively and active group has elsewhere. To exchange opinions on these faults of the movement and to try to remedy them in the future, a secret conference of anarchist-communist groups from Lithuania and Poland took place in June 1907. The discussion was published by the conference's own secret press. Its resolutions were addressed to all workers. We must stop awhile on these resolutions, which read as follows:

"The Conference records that the general character of our epoch is supremely revolutionary. Each revolution carries within itself deeply decentralist, essentially anarchist tendencies. Also, all preceding revolutions have imbued the worker with the anarchist spirit. It is because of this that, now on the eve of the great revolution, the fooled masses begin to see clearly, and a powerful anarchist movement, born out of the necessities of our social life, is beginning to develop. But some faults have got in to our young movement. It is precisely the need for examination of these faults that provoked this Conference. The Conference believes that:

1. A federal organisation of all the groups which up to now have been isolated and dispersed is now necessary.
2. Seeing that the seizures of property that have taken place up till now were frequent but

unimportant and badly organised, this has involved a useless waste of strength and the chaotic use of conquered resources; only the complete federation is in the position to carry out considerable seizures of property which are well prepared and from which we can gain most judiciously.

3. Serious measures must be taken against the provocative attitude of the political parties against the anarchists.

4. Having examined the tactics of the anarchists and of the other parties, the Conference proposes that groups should struggle against the trade-unions in whatever form they exist, or under whatever name they appear, as if against a dangerous and perfidious weapon of the bourgeoisie having as its aim that of distancing the worker from the path of revolution and of throwing him onto the path of compromise and thus poisoning all revolutionary class-consciousness.

5. (the Conference) Declares itself in support of mass seizure of foodstuffs during strikes, periods of unemployment, etc....

6. (the Conference) Permits conspiracy". It is point 4 which draws our attention. We have no intention of analysing this now, we only wish to underline the fact that this is very characteristic among workers bound to their daily life and leading a very active economic-revolutionary struggle.

Twenty-four comrades were tried for having been members of this *Federation of anarchist-communist groups of Poland and Lithuania*. Among them were the German comrade known as Senna Hen (Johann Holzman), Kalinin, Kac, Grzeźnarowski (twice condemned to death), kilacrycki, and the women comrades Marcowska (twice condemned to death), and Malinowska. They were detained for a long time in deplorable conditions. Some became mad as a result of the persecutions of which they were the victims.

At the International Congress in Amsterdam, Poland was represented by two delegates: I Zielinska and Joseph Schweber.

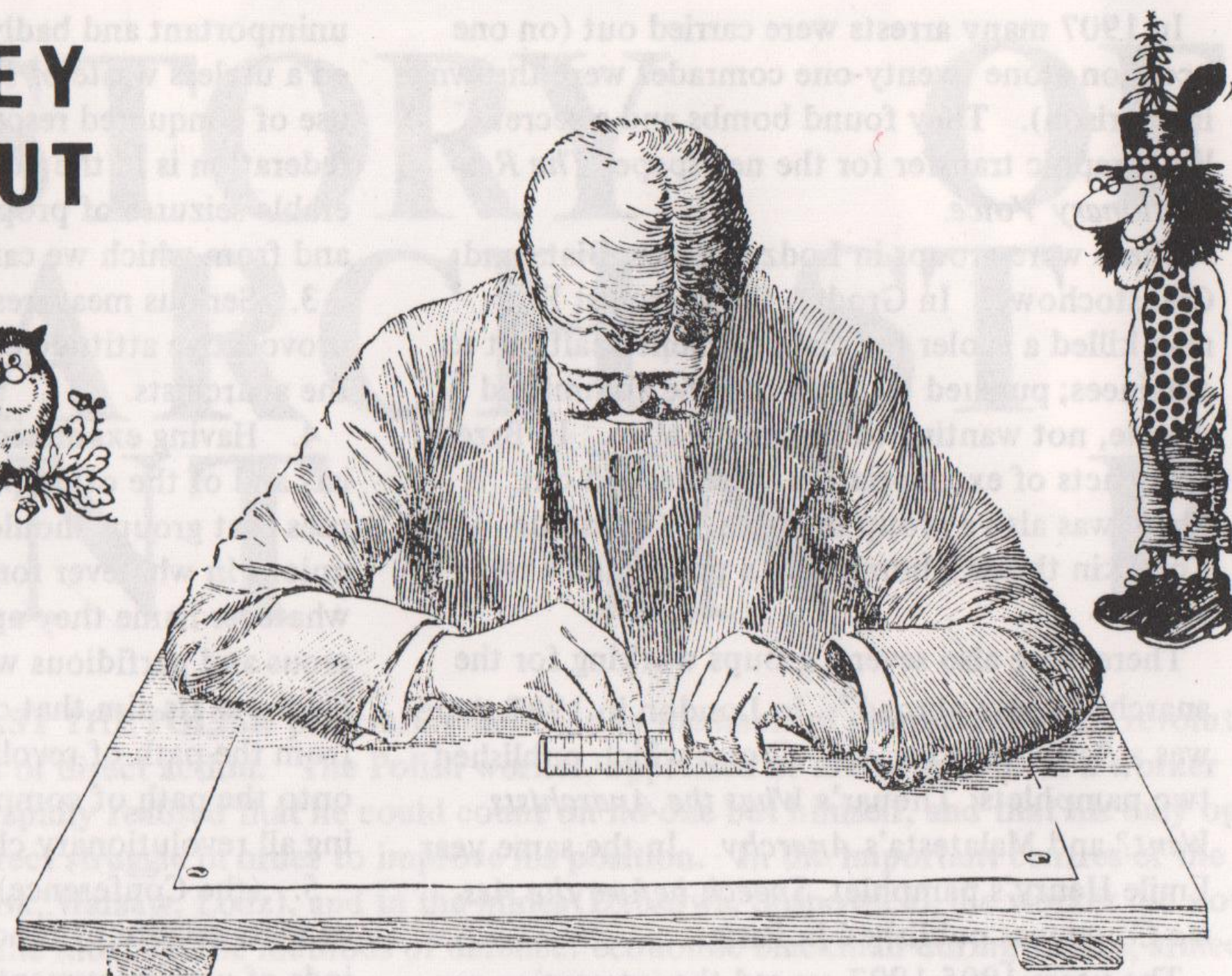
The anarchist movement in Galicia (the Austrian part of Poland) developed independently. In 1907 the newspaper *The New Epoch* (Leopole) was published and just three editions came out. Another newspaper *The Free World* (Leopole) was no luckier. Unfortunately we do not have all the details we should like about the activities of the comrades in Galicia. A periodical *Utopia* was published with the support of Gustav Landauer and Erich Muhsam. The editorial group represented the individualist anarchist tendency whereas all the others represented the anarchist communist trend. The active work of comrade Wroblewski during the years leading up to the war must be mentioned. He was a teacher of chemistry and put out his propaganda at first only among the youth at school and university. He finally put it out among the workers of Krakow.

An exceptional personality, he edited several works among which were *The Manifesto of Humanity*, *The Red Religion* (Paris 1911), etc. Apart from this, in Krakow, he published the newspaper *The Workers' Cause*, an anarchist organ of which more than one issue bore marks of censorship.

In 1911 in Paris there was a Polish group of anarchist-communists who edited the anarcho-syndicalist newspaper *Najmity* (*The Salary*). The group was in contact with Russian and Austrian comrades from Poland among whom were the railway workers of the Warsaw area who had prepared the ground for the paper by means of an active programme of propaganda. At the same time a revolutionary organ was published in Chicago, probably by the I.W.W., putting forward ideas of anarchism and revolutionary syndicalism. In the U.S. two pamphlets in Polish were published later, also probably by the I.W.W.:



WHAT THEY SAID ABOUT US LAST TIME



CIENFUEGOS PRESS REVIEW OF ANARCHIST LITERATURE 1976

RESISTANCE AGAINST AUTHORITY, particularly that of the State, has always been the hallmark of the Anarchist movement. Its willingness to proclaim "the idea" along the way, even amidst the harshest conditions of repression, has added a profound and lasting dimension to the struggle. In demonstrating the possibility of a libertarian alternative to the State anarchists have used any and every weapon at hand. The educator, propagandist or urban guerrilla are not necessarily conflicting people, and the use of one tactic does not preclude the use of any other.

History of the Anarchist Movement in Poland cont.

Kropotkin's *The Necessity of Revolution* and Grave's *Future Society* (a few chapters), and many topical pamphlets were also published. At the same time, the Krakow University Youth, in association with the editors of *Najmita*, began to publish in monthly instalments Kropotkin's *The Great Revolution*, and announced the appearance of *The State: Its Historic Role*. Unfortunately, the war interrupted the group's work. Only three instalments were published (instead of eight) and *The State* did not appear at all.

Footnotes by Zapatista:

1. In the Russian dominated part of Poland, however, a number of Polish anarchists did participate in the wider revolutionary struggle. Jaroslav Dombrowski (1838-1871) also took an active part in the Polish uprising of 1863. He was arrested for complicity in the uprising in 1864 and was imprisoned in Moscow. Receiving help from Russian revolutionaries, he escaped in broad daylight, dressed as a woman. He was hidden for a while in St. Petersburg before leaving the country, for exile in Paris, where he was killed as a communist in 1871. There are also reports of one anarchist group in Warsaw in 1884, which had as its "leaders" a number of magistrates! While information about this group is scanty, from what is known it seems likely that it was an organisation composed of people with links with the Russian Social Revolutionaries, and one or two followers of Peter Lavrov, and not anarchists at all.
2. A mass strike.
3. Ironically recent reports indicate that a special detention camp has been built at Bialystok, to imprison those workers that were convicted following the riots in Poland during June (1976).

There comes a time when even the most gentle of libertarian writers is forced to employ more practical weapons to defend his ideals in the face of extinction, just as those who find themselves in the front line of the class-war have often exchanged their rifles for pen and print when the struggle demands it. For those who refuse to accept the terms of surrender by the State no form of resistance is "good" or "bad", they are simply different. Whether or not it is true that the pen is always mightier than the sword, the literature thrown up by the revolutionary struggle has always stood the test of time and at its best inspired new generations to carry on afresh.

The Review of Anarchist Literature, published

In 1914 there was the group *International* in Warsaw. In 1915 the group in Bialystok once more led an intense course of action: putting out propaganda, organising strikes, etc. But the war, the German occupation, and afterwards the Russian Revolution, during which all the active revolutionaries left for Russia, all these temporarily interrupted the incipient anarchist activity. R. Nagorski (originally published by *La Revue Internationale Anarchiste*, Paris 1924. Translated from the French by S.B. and P.H.).

4. Polish anarchists have been truly international: Dombrowski was not the only Pole to fight at the barricades of the Paris Commune. Walery Wroblewski escaped death there, returning to take an active part in the struggle in Krakow. Others were active in North and South America — Simon Radowitzky, for example, who blew up the Buenos Aires Chief of Police in 1902. Many were active in exile: Walery Mroczowski was a member of the Bakuninist Alliance of Social Democracy. In London, one of the four anarchist clubs in existence at the end of the 19th century was frequented mainly by Russian and Polish exiles, and for a time an anarchist paper, printed in Yiddish was circulated among Polish workers in the tailoring industry in East London.

One historian even mentions the arrest of a Polish anarchist in Andalusia during the so-called "Black Hand" affair. However, he quotes her name as Sofia Pereskonia which is not Polish (Russian?), and it could have been an incredible attempt by the Spanish authorities to discredit (?) local anarchist groups by associating them with Sofia Perovskaya, the courageous Russian woman who assassinated the Tsar during the same period.

by Cienfuegos Press, brings together reviews on some of the best examples of present (and future) publishing by, or of interest to, the revolutionary activist. Most of the reviews included originally appeared in *Black Flag*, *Freedom* and *Laissez Faire*, though other sources are represented and some of the pieces — like the new prologue to Frank Mintz's book *L'autogestion dans l'Espagne Revolutionnaire* (which Cienfuegos Press hopes to publish during the course of 1977) appear here for the first time.

Mintz also contributes three other articles dealing with books on the Spanish Revolution and Resistance: *The Anarchist Collectives*, edited by Sam Dolgoff; Antonio Tellez's *Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary*; and what is now the standard source of material on anarchism in the Spanish labour movement *La CNT en la Revolucion Espanola* by Jose Peirats. Completing the section on Spain is an all too short note on another book to be published in English by Cienfuegos Press (already available in French and Spanish) *L'anarchisme espagnol: Action revolutionnaire internationale 1961-1975* by Octavio Alberola and Ariane Gransac. It is hoped that the next issue of the C.P. Review will be able to devote more space to this important book.

Appropriately enough, the first article in this 28 page pamphlet *Who Is Bruno Traven?*, by L. Kraft from *Man!*, August 1939, deals with one of the most gifted and elusive figures in anarchist literature, Ret Marut, a man equally at home on the streets of Munich during the short-lived German Revolution or anonymously giving the world a dozen or more brilliant anarchist novels from exile in Mexico.

Russian anarchism is represented by reviews of some of the more recent works of Bakunin and Kropotkin together with the *Black Flag* reviews by "Internationalist" of two works by Paul Avrich *Bakunin and Nechaev* and *The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution*, which demonstrate how stimulating book reviews can be at their best. Avrich himself also contributes a review of Voline's *The Unknown Revolution* (easily the best account of the Russian chapter yet written) and Arshinov's *History of the Makhnovist Movement*. Stuart Christie's *Time Out* review of Bakunin: *The Father of Anarchism* by Tony Masters gives us a taste for what is probably the only intelligent (as opposed to "intellectual") book on Bakunin since Guy Aldred.

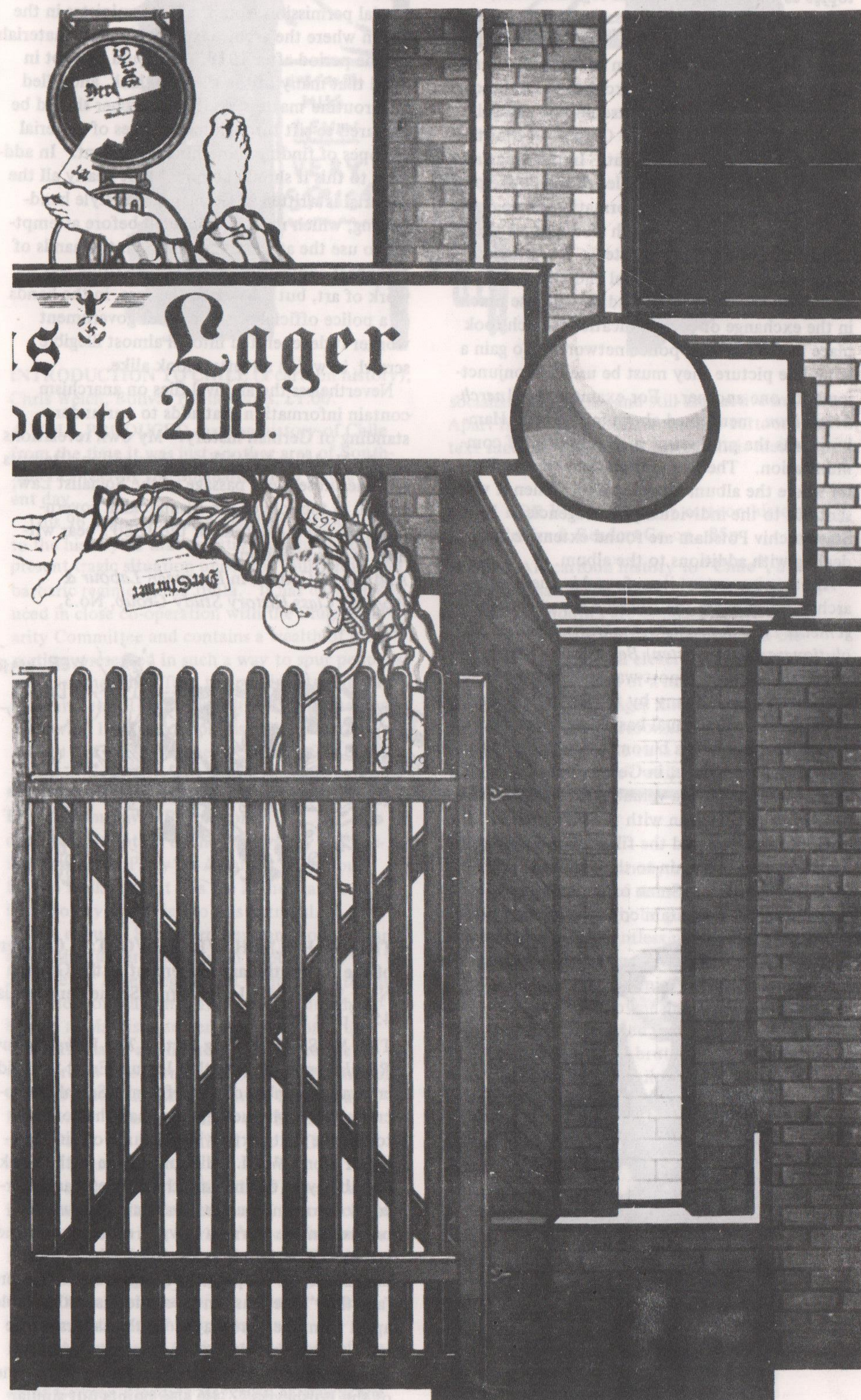
Of more contemporary interest are reviews of *The Angry Brigade* by Gordon Carr; *Post-Scarcity Anarchism* by Murray Bookchin; and *Anarchy and Order* by Herbert Read (all reviewed by Stuart Christie); together with Sidney Lens's *The Military Industrial Complex*, *The State* by F. Oppenheimer, *A Primer of Libertarian Education* by Joel Spring, and the full range of books published (and projected) by Cienfuegos Press. "Internationalist" (Albert Meltzer) gives two more useful contributions on Pietro Valpreda's *The Valpreda Papers* and the yet unpublished *The Christie File* (coming out this year sometime!) which, ideally, should be read together. Both are autobiographical works written by anarchists active in the revolutionary struggle which should not be missed.

Altogether, this is an informative and thought-provoking first installment of Cienfuegos Press's twice-yearly round-up of anarchist publishing. A useful thing to own for anyone who has tried to keep track of the original book reviews, like I have, and lost them. To borrow the words of Terry Perlin (reviewing *Man!*): "It reminds us that anarchists, in the worst and best times, have a critical distance that grants their resistance to the orthodoxies of the day a purity that is unsurpassed".

Phil Ruff (*Black Flag*)

Notes on the study of anarchism in

GERMANY



(Erich Muhsam, anarchist poet murdered in Oranienburg prison on July 10th 1934 on the express orders of Adolf Hitler. The illustration is from a tempera print by Flavio Costantini)

IT SHOULD BE NOTED at the outset that it is not my intention to cover in detail all files available for the study of anarchism in Germany. Even a partial listing would fill many pages. What I have attempted to do is to point out the principal repositories of materials available, while describing some of the most valuable or unique parts of their collections. Surprisingly the body of material for the study of

anarchism in Germany is much larger than one might at first assume. What is more most of it has been little used by researchers.

The Labadie Collection at the University of Michigan in Ann Arbor contains some manuscript material on individualist anarchism, including a file of the letters of John H. Mackay for the years 1891-1933. The collection also has the notebooks of Maximilian Metzkwon written in Old German shorthand, about 60 of Nettlau's letters, and some fragmentary correspondence of Muhsam and Rucker. The Labadie Collection possesses the single most important assemblage of sources in the U.S. for the study of German-speaking anarchists. In addition to a large collection of newspapers and pamphlets it has the most essential items for a study of Max Stirner, Muhsam, Most, Mackay and Rucker.

In the Rehse Collection, in the Manuscript Division of The Library of Congress, are found the Munich police files of Gustave Landauer and Erich Muhsam, along with considerable other materials on the abortive Soviet Republic set up in Munich after World War I.

The International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam has the largest collection in the world of German anarchist letters, diaries, unpublished memoirs, manuscripts, pamphlets and newspapers. Only a brief description, which barely scratches the surface, is possible. There is the Landauer Nachlass which includes diaries, unpublished letters and manuscripts. Max Nettlau during his lifetime conscientiously collected materials on anarchism. These are all in the Institute as well as his correspondence with anarchists, written accounts of interviews with anarchists, and unpublished manuscripts including a handwritten manuscript entitled *Geschichte des Anarchismus von 1890 bis 1914*, which has much information on the German groups during these years. The Nachlass of Rudolf Rucker is also in the Institute. This includes his correspondence, unpublished biographical sketches of anarchists whom he met during his lifetime, and the two unpublished volumes of his memoirs which are typewritten: Bd. I *Die Jugend eines Rebellen*, 612 pages, Bd. II *In Sturm und Drang*, 831 pages. There are also important collections on Johann Most, John Neve, Erich Muhsam, the Swiss anarchist Fritz Brupbacher, who was a close friend of Muhsam; as well as Belgian anarchist Victor Dave and the Austrian anarchist Josef Peukert both of whom were closely involved with the German movement.

The Ludwig Boltzman Institut fur Geschichte der Arbeiterbewegung at the University of Linz, Austria, contains the Nachlass of the Austrian Social Democrat and later anarchist Carl Dopf (1883-1968). Shortly before World War I Dopf moved to Hamburg where he became active in the anarchist movement, activities which he continued after the end of the war. His Nachlass is valuable for a number of items, notably: a Tagebuch — *Aufzeichnungen* — for the years 1912-1920; two versions of his memoirs in typewritten form the latter entitled *Aufstieg aus der Tief. Der Lebensweg eines unbedeutenden Journalisten*, 674 pages, which is being prepared for publication; correspondence with a number of German anarchists and syndicalists including Gustav Landauer, Erich Muhsam, Theodor Pliever, Karl Langer and so forth. His Nachlass also contains a large number of copies of small circulation regional anarchist newspapers published mainly in the Hamburg and Berlin areas.

The archives of the German Foreign Office located at Bonn also contain materials on anarchism for the period 1892-1919. Some of the files were partially filmed, while they were in Allied custody, by the University of Michigan and are described in *A catalogue of German Foreign Ministry Archives 1867-1920* (Ann Arbor, 1957), and

A *Catalogue of Files and Microfilms of the German Foreign Ministry Archives 1867-1920* (Washington, 1959). There is also a great deal of useful information on German surveillance of anarchism in other countries, especially the U.S. This material, for the most part, was not filmed.

The Nachlass of Maximilian Hardeh (Witkowski) in the Bundesarchiv Koblenz, while not devoted extensively to anarchism, contains a number of letters he exchanged with anarchists, notably Erich Muhsam. Also in the Bundesarchiv in the Bestand Reichssicherheitshauptamt der SS are found nine volumes of documents dealing with anarcho-syndicalism, Frei Arbeiter-Union Deutschlands (FAUD), Anarchistische Föderation, and other groups for the period 1928-1938. Included are records on the international surveillance of anarchism, records of arrest, search of domicile, confiscation of libraries of suspected anarchists, records of FAUD and other anarcho-syndicalist records, surveillance of suspected anarchists. These files were seized by the allied armies in 1945 and later microfilmed in their entirety. See: *Guide to German Records Microfilmed at Alexandria, Va. No. 39 Records of the Reich Leader of the SS and Chief of the German Police* (Washington, 1963).

Pre-World War I Munich held an attraction for radical and bohemian types, thus the Bayerisches Hauptstaatsarchiv has useful material on anarchism. Abt. V the Staatsarchiv für Oberbayern has an extensive file from the Bavarian Minister of the Interior *Dossier Anarchisten 1886-1915* which has a long list of anarchists in the area as well as some detailed and perceptive police reports of anarchist meetings and activities. Abt. II, the Geheime Staatsarchiv, also contains a number of files on anarchism for the years 1879-1906.

Hamburg was an important centre of anarchist activity. The Staatsarchiv in Hamburg has a collection of materials on anarchism which covers over fifteen feet of shelf space. Much of the material is routine but there are many significant items such as police reports on anarchist conferences, meetings, arrests of anarchists, annual reports on anarchist activity, lists of known anarchists residing in the Hamburg area and files on individual anarchists. The collection has a copy of the three volume *Anarchistenalbum* which contains the photos of 1163 anarchists. There is also the unpublished memoir of the police spy W. Wichmann *Um Ehre, Recht und Wahrheit oder wahre und erwiesene Erlebnisse des damaligen Geheimpolizisten W. Wichmann*.

Other archives in West Germany which contain large collections of materials similar to those found at Hamburg, but pertaining to different regions are: Niedersächsisches Staatsarchiv Oldenburg, Hauptstaatsarchiv Stuttgart, Staatsarchiv Ludwigsburg, Staatsarchiv Münster, Hesisches Hauptstaatsarchiv Wiesbaden, Hauptstaatsarchiv Düsseldorf. Those with smaller collections are Staatsarchiv Bremen, Staatsarchiv Sigmaringen, Badisches Generallandesarchiv Karlsruhe.

In Poland the Wojewodskie Archiwum w Szczecinie contains useful information on the former region of Pomerania, primarily Stettin, and the Landratsamt of Stargard, Regenwalde, Greifenberg, and Randow.

East Germany has a number of archives which possess collections of materials on anarchism. Some of those which possess what would be considered small to medium sized collections are: Staatsarchiv Magdeburg (formerly Landeshauptarchiv Sachsen-Anhalt), Staatsarchiv Dresden (formerly Sächsische Landeshauptarchiv Dresden), Staatsarchiv Leipzig (formerly Landeshauptarchiv Leipzig), Staatsarchiv Schwerin (formerly Mecklenburgisches Landeshauptarchiv), and the Historische Staatsarchiv Gotha. The Deutsches

Zentralarchiv Potsdam, which houses part of the archives of the former Reichsarchiv, has considerable material on anarchism. The Deutsches Zentralarchiv Merseburg, which contains part of the documents of the former Preussischen Geheimes Staatsarchiv, and the Brandenburg-Preussisches Hausarchiv has much useful material. In the files of the Prussian Minister of the Interior at Merseburg are found extensive and important sources on anarchism.

The Staatsarchiv Potsdam (formerly the Brandenburgische Landeshauptarchiv Potsdam) has the largest collection of archival materials on anarchism. There are nearly 400 files dealing with such topics as anarchism in various regions, cities, anarchist newspapers, and organisation. There are also approximately 650 files on known and suspected anarchists, some of which run for several volumes. Using the regional and city archives in conjunction with the Staatsarchiv Potsdam you can gain an understanding of how the German authorities dealt with the anarchist threat. In the Staatsarchiv Potsdam are located the files of the Polizeipräsidentium, Berlin, to which all information on anarchism was sent, and from which all measures taken against the anarchists emanated. A researcher using either, only the regional and city archives, or only the Staatsarchiv Potsdam will lose much in the exchange of communications which took place in the intricate police network. To gain a complete picture they must be used in conjunction with one another. For example the *Anarchistenalbum*, mentioned above in regard to Hamburg, was the product of such interplay of communication. The raw material was sent to Berlin where the album was prepared. Then it was sent out to the individual police agencies. In the Staatsarchiv Potsdam are found extensive files dealing with additions to the album.

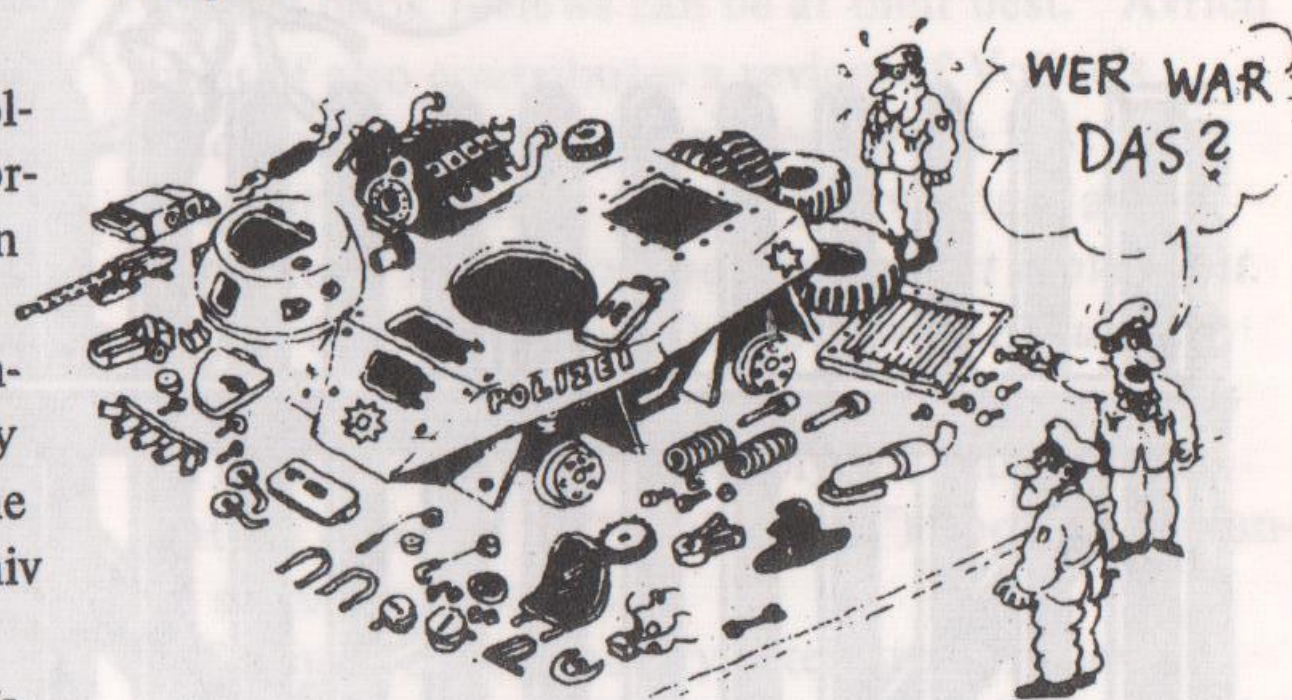
Another important item found in the Staatsarchiv Potsdam are the *Übersichten über die allgemeine Lage des sozialdemokratischen und revolutionären (anarchisten) Bewegung*. Starting in 1878 this secret report was sent out to the police agencies in Germany by the Berliner Polizeipräsident on a semi-annual basis; later it became an annual report. It is a barometer of anarchist and socialist activities, in Germany, and throughout the world. It is a valuable source, especially if used in conjunction with the files found in the regional archives, and the files of the Staatsarchiv Potsdam which pertain to the various areas and cities in Germany. Some of the archives mentioned above also contain copies of this report.



The Akademie der Künste in East Berlin has a unique collection of Muhsam Nachlass including his extensive Tagebucher, along with a large collection of correspondence to and from other anarchists including Gustav Landauer. There is also a collection of Muhsam's unpublished manuscripts. The Muhsam material at the Akademie is on microfilm inasmuch as the originals are to be found in Moscow. There are plans to publish his Tagebucher. The Nachlass of Martin Anderson-Nexb, valuable for the information they have on Muhsam, is also located at the Akademie.

Generally the researcher will not have difficulty obtaining access to the materials listed above, however, in some cases it will be necessary to obtain special permission from the Kultusminister in the region where the archive is located to use materials for the period after 1918. It should be kept in mind that many of the files are thick, and filled with routine matters, so the researcher should be prepared to sift through many pages of material in hopes of finding something significant. In addition to this it should be noted that nearly all the material is written in German script-style handwriting, which must be mastered before attempting to use the archival material. In the hands of an expert copyist the script-style writing was a work of art, but as is often the case, in the hands of a police official or some other government worker it degenerated into an almost illegible scrawl, in which all letters look alike.

Nevertheless the archival files on anarchism contain information that adds to our understanding of German history. My own revelations on the Hodel and Nobiling assassination attempts and the subsequent passage of the Socialist Law, as well as the role of the Bismarckian government during the decade of the 1880's bear witness to this assertion. Andrew R. Carlson in *European Labour & Working Class History Study Group*, No.3, May 1973.



THE WILHELMSHAVEN REVOLT: A Chapter of the Revolutionary Movement in the German Navy 1918-1919, Icarus(Ernst Schneider), Simian, 45p (post free).

THE MOST interesting part of *The Wilhelmshaven Revolt* lies in the fact that Icarus (Ernst Schneider) was a member of the reformist Social-Democratic Party who nevertheless had the courage to oppose that party when it came out in support of World War I. His confidence in the workers' ability to emancipate themselves was inspired by the numerous anti-war activities which occurred in the German Navy — even prior to the outbreak of war. Mat Kavanagh, the late life-long anarchist propagandist, points out in his preface that "The Russian revolution is unthinkable apart from the part played by the sailors of the navy. Their heroic stand at Kronstadt in 1921 remains their eternal glory and the lasting shame of the Bolsheviks". He also points out similar revolts and mutinies of the Brazilian and British Navies.

Inspiring as all this is, the sad fact remains that insofar as the German Navy is concerned the rebellious spirit of the 1918-19 War was totally lacking in the Second World War. Schneider gives a

INTRODUCTION TO CHILE (a cartoon history), Chris Welch, Bolivar Publications, £1.00.

A WELL PRODUCED cartoon history of Chile from the time it was just another area of South-America (before the Spaniard came) to the present day.

This 96 page book is an excellent introduction to the history of that country leading up to the present tragic situation under the murderous and barbaric regime of the Junta. It has been produced in close co-operation with the Chile Solidarity Committee and contains a wealth of information presented in such a way to spur people's consciousness to affirm their solidarity with the Chilean people. The only drawback is the book's somewhat laboured emphasis of the Marxist groups and parties to the exclusion of all other groups, particularly the anarchist and libertarian

The Wilhelmshaven Revolt cont.

detailed description of the betrayal by the Social-Democratic Party on August 4, 1914, but fails to realise that it was the authoritarian Marxian ideology which led to this betrayal.

True enough, Schneider mentions no less than seven Marxian groupings who opposed the war to a greater or lesser degree, but nonetheless it was the sailors of Wilhelmshaven who, although unknown as Marxists, so heroically opposed the war. The same applies to the rank and file of the workers who formed councils, as did the soldiers and sailors in Wilhelmshaven, Bremen and Brunswick. The betrayal by the Social Democratic Party was not confined just to Germany as Schneider points out:

"It was Karl Radek — the (1919) then Russian Plenipotentiary in Germany — who declared openly "a victorious workers' revolution in Germany now means a lost revolution in Russia". Stalin, discussing the situation in Germany (1923) urged "In my estimation, the German workers must be restrained, not spurred on".

Schneider goes on to give many details of the workers' resistance to the war despite the treason of German's leading Marxians, as well as the Bolshevik leaders of Russia. He also describes many new re-groupings — all under new communist names, but none realising that it was the very Marxian and authoritarian ideology of compromise which led, inevitably, to the disastrous



socialists who were (and still are) active in Chile. Apart from that sectarian note the cartoons and text succeed very well in getting their message over

CUBA FOR BEGINNERS (a cartoon history), Rius, Writers & Readers Co-op., 85p

A SIMILAR cartoon history to "Chile", but with more satirical content. The drawings, situations and politics are clearly presented and very funny until we reach page 60 when the humour, although still clever, suddenly sours with the presentation of a long, partial, and distorted list of the changes rung out by the Castro regime. The final cartoon shows a *barbudo* whistling merrily as he runs up a stairway marked "To the simple life" while underneath we read

rise of Nazism.

At the moment Germany is divided into East and West. The fate of sincere revolutionists in East Germany can only be guessed at from our knowledge of the relentless persecutions carried out by the Bolshevik government of Russia. The fate of the revolutionist in West Germany, however, is better known: merciless repression, men and women arrested and held for years without trial, and both brutal physical and mental maltreatment while in custody. The rebellious spirit in Germany, as in Russia, is no longer fanned by sailors and soldiers as such, but by anti-authoritarian activists from a much wider spectrum. One can only hope that this will ultimately lead to much needed new revolutions in both countries in the not too far distant future.

Marcus Graham (*Black Flag*)

TO ERR IS HUMAN
TO FORGIVE IS
NOT COMPANY POLICY



: "Cuba — forget numbers and living standards — is creating the possibility of a new man, of a new society based not on money, but in the common and better life. Cuba is a living example of a people really moving and working. A nation surviving and growing against almost impossible odds".

Again, as in "Chile" not only do we find no mention of the important role played by the anarchists in the Cuban revolutionary movement, but no mention of the vicious repression and systematic liquidation of anarchist militants by the present regime, including the murder of Camillo Cienfuegos, a Durruti like figure within the revolutionary movement, a man of the people who had outlived his usefulness, on the orders of Raoul Castro.

Presumably, also, "the simple life" is not to be marred by dangerous sexual deviants* such as homosexuals, lesbians, masturbators, etc., which is why most of these 'degenerates' are locked up until they can be 'rehabilitated' to normal once weekly heterosexuality.

The latter section of *Cuba For Beginners* is, in fact, one long paean of praise for (and I suspect by) the Cuban Communist Party. However, provided the book is read with this in mind it is an ideal introduction to the history of Cuba — until the Cuban anarchists can produce one with a happier (or more critical) ending. * N.B. "The heart of the question that the comrades are asking is this: Is it anti-communist to have sexual relations with other than husband or wife? Is it anti-communist to have sexual relations before marriage?" *Proletariat (organ of the Communist Labour Party)*

"We would never come to believe that a homosexual could embody the conditions and requirements of conduct that could enable us to consider him a true Revolutionary, a true Communist militant".

Fidel Castro (quoted in Castro's Cuba: Cuba's Castro by Lee Lockwood, 1969)

"If a person did that (masturbate) it would be against the Revolution and he couldn't be a Revolutionary".

Paula Diaz (Cuban Centennial Youth Column leader)



Posters

A series of laminated posters depicting the class struggle, published in aid of the Anarchist Black Cross. Pyramid by Flavio Costantini. 3 colours.

£1 (including p&p).

VOLINE (1882-1945) WAS a Russian anarchist who took part in the revolutions of 1905 and 1917. After many adventures he was expelled from the Soviet Union in 1921 and spent the rest of his life in exile in France. In his later years he wrote *The Unknown Revolution*, a

RUSSIA

classic anarchist account of the Russian revolution, a work which has only recently received the attention it deserves. The following autobiographical extract was first published in Daniel Guérin's anthology *Ni Dieu Ni Maître* (1970).



"VOLINE" |

"In April 1917 I met Trotsky, again. (We had known each other in Russia, and, later in France from which we were both expelled in 1916.) We met in a print shop which specialised in printing the various publications of the Russian left. He was then editor of a daily Marxist paper *Novy Mir* (New World). As for me, I had been entrusted with editing the last numbers of *Golos Truda* (Voice of Labour), the weekly organ of the anarcho-syndicalist Union of Russian Workers, shortly before it was moved to Russia. I used to spend one night a week at the printshop while the paper was being prepared. That is how I happened to meet Trotsky on my first night there.

Naturally we spoke about the Revolution. Both of us were preparing to leave America in the near future to return home.

In the course of our conversation I said to Trotsky: "Truly I am absolutely sure that you, the Marxists of the left, will end up by seizing power in Russia. That is inevitable, because the Soviets, having been restored, will surely enter into conflict with the bourgeois government. The government will not be able to destroy them because all the workers of the country, both industrial workers and peasants, and also most of the army, will naturally put themselves on the side of the Soviets against the bourgeoisie and the government. And once the Soviets have the support of the people and the army, they will triumph in the struggle. And once they have one it will be you, the Marxists, who will inevitably be carried into power. Because the workers are seeking the revolution in its most advanced form. The syndicalists and anarchists are too weak in Russia to attract the attention of the workers rapidly by their ideas. So the masses will put their confidence in you and you will become 'the masters of the country'. And then, look out anarchists! The conflict between you and us is unavoidable. You will begin to persecute us as soon as your power is consolidated. And you will finish by shooting

us like partridges..."

"...Come, come, comrade," replied Trotsky. "You have a stubborn and incorrigible imagination. Do you think we are really divided? A mere question of method, which is quite secondary. Like us you are revolutionaries. Like you we are anarchists in the final analysis. The only difference is that you would like to establish your anarchism immediately without a preparatory transition, while we, the Marxists, do not believe it possible to 'leap' in one bound into the libertarian millenium. We anticipate a transitory epoch in the course of which the ground for an anarchist society will be cleared and ploughed with the help of the anti-bourgeois political powers: the dictatorship of the proletariat exercised by the proletarian party in power. In the end, it involves only a 'shade' of difference, nothing more. On the whole we are very close to one another. We are friends in arms. Remember now: we have a common enemy to fight. How can we think of fighting among ourselves? Moreover, I have no doubt that you will be quickly convinced of the necessity of a temporary proletarian socialist dictatorship. I don't see any real reason for a war between you and us. We will surely march hand in hand. And then, even if we don't agree, you are all wrong in supposing that we, the socialists, will use brutal force against the anarchists! Life itself and the judgement of the masses will resolve the problem and will put us in agreement. No! Can you really admit for a single instant such an absurdity: socialists in power shooting anarchists? Come, come, what do you take us for? Anyhow, we are socialists, comrade Voline! We are not your enemies..."



Leon Trotsky, 1919.

In December 1919, seriously ill, I was arrested by the Bolshevik military authorities in the Makhnovist region of the Ukraine. Considering me an important militant, the authorities advised Trotsky of my arrest by a special telegram and asked for his instructions concerning me. The reply, also by telegram, arrived quickly, clearly, laconically: "SHOOT HIM IMMEDIATELY - TROTSKY". I was not shot, thanks to a set of circumstances particularly fortunate and entirely fortuitous."

News From Nowhere, (Canada, 1973)



DAUGHTER OF A REVOLUTIONARY: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/Nechaev Circle, Michael Confino (ed), Alcove Press, £4.50.

IT IS HARD TO KNOW what to make of a book like this. Professor Confino is a Professor of Russian History who parades his achievements and puts together a book (at a high price) which is nothing more, nothing less, than a "collection of documents by or about Natalie Herzen." Who was she? "The daughter of a revolutionary". So what is so exciting? Look up from the chair in which you are reading this (average reader) and there is your little daughter - does she merit a book? Probably she does, and a darned good one it will be, but you can bet your last shekel it won't come from Professor Confino.

Natalie was the daughter of Alexander Herzen, who is reckoned to be one of the first Russian anti-Tsarists to carry on an active propaganda from abroad. In his circle many of the next generation of anti-Tsarists mixed - like Bakunin and Nechaev. He was not exactly a revolutionary himself and nothing important emerges from a revolutionary point of view.

Where the literary con-trick comes in is to distinguish the "revolutionary" who is recognised in the college curriculum from the revolutionary worker. The revolutionary is to be a man apart, something extraordinary (and far beyond what you or me might be)...compare Roel Van Duyn's unintentional joke about the comet flashing across the sky when a "revolutionary" died. In a pejorative manner the writer of a romance about Sidney Street will show the "revolutionary" as something extraordinary and absurd, removed into the veins of fantasy.

But revolutions are caused neither by intellectuals nor (necessarily) by those who are recognised by the intellectuals as suitable candidates for the university curriculum. It is the individual as he comes into contact with history, as part and parcel of humanity, who makes history of any kind - "great men" are only its bookmarkers.

For what it is worth Natalie's diary and letters cast some light on the life of Herzen in London, when Bakunin came round to tea. It also takes considerable time to explain from correspondence, Bakunin's break from Nechaev. Poor old Nechaev always gets the fire of the academics. There is no doubt he was a considerable revolutionary in his own right, as Bakunin clearly saw. That he might have conned his friends and robbed his enemies is something the academics can never forgive, as they rely on public grants themselves. But it remains true that his uncompromising and much abused *Catechism* was the only way in which, ultimately, any revolutionary could work actively in Russia at the time and it is still true 100 years later (as many Siberian convicts could ruefully assure the academics).

The moral of this book seems to be that if you are going to be more than normally militant, discourage your daughter from keeping a diary, or you'll have that quarrel with the neighbours recorded for posterity, just in case you make the history books.

(Black Flag)

NOWHERE AT HOME: LETTERS FROM EXILE OF EMMA GOLDMAN & ALEXANDER BERKMAN, edited by Richard & Anna Maria Drinnon Schocken Books, £8.00.

"CAST OUT, PURSUED by the furies, and nowhere at home". Such was Emma Goldman's description of her fate after leaving Soviet Russia with Alexander Berkman in December 1921. The relationship between Emma and Sasha is one of the great love stories of our time, and their letters are among the finest ever written by anarchists or anyone else. *Nowhere at Home*, then, is an extremely welcome book. It provides a selection from the letters of Goldman and Berkman in exile during the 1920's and 1930's. The bulk of the correspondence is between Emma and Sasha but there are also letters to and from such well known figures as Havelock Ellis, John Cowper, Frank Harris, Harold Laski, Isadora Duncan, John Dewey and Roger Baldwin, as well as such fellow anarchists as Ben Reitman, M. Eleanor Fitzgerald, Stella Ballantine, Mollie Steimer and Max Nettlau. Their concerns cover the whole range of problems that confronted the world between the two wars: the emergence of the Bolshevik dictatorship and the repression of the anarchists; the plight of the political exiles in Western Europe; the martyrdom of Sacco and Vanzetti; the rise of Mussolini and Hitler; the tragedy of Spain; and the overriding question of



Spain, 1936. Emma Goldman with Spanish comrades.

THE RUSSIAN TRAGEDY, Alexander Berkman, Cienfuegos Press, £1.50 p/b, £4.00 h/b.

THE RE-PUBLICATION of these three pamphlets written by Alexander Berkman in 1922 poses once again the problem of an anarchist analysis of the Russian Revolution. Without doubt, the works of Russian anarchists such as the better known Voline, Arshinoff, Makhno, and the lesser known Iarchuk, Gorelik, and Maximoff, denounced totalitarianism from the moment it reared its head, but it is equally true that their criticisms did not manage to percolate beyond the libertarian ghetto. The pages of this book by Berkman helps us to gain an insight into this defect

violence, revolution and war.

Although the letters themselves make absorbing reading, the editorial apparatus leaves much to be desired. The introduction, while interesting, is too short, as are the headnotes to the five sections into which the letters are divided. There are few source references and no bibliography, errors in the letters are not indicated and corrected, obscure names and events are not always explained, and there are a disturbing number of errors in the editorial matter itself. For example, Rudolf Rocker is identified as a "German-Jewish anarchist" when his Christian origin is one of the most striking things about him; and the date of Emma Goldman's death is wrongly given as May 18, 1940 (it was actually May 14) and is thus mistakenly linked to the anniversary of Berkman's release from prison. (May 18, 1906). In short, this is not the scholarly edition we might have expected from Emma's biographer and his wife. The letters, moreover, while ably selected, have been drawn exclusively from the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam to the neglect of important correspondence in other libraries and archives. These, however, are relatively minor criticisms. We are greatly indebted to the Drinnons for making this handsomely printed and illustrated volume available to a wide audience.

Paul Avrich (*Laissez Faire Review*)

the East European countries for failing to provide an adequate interpretation of the situation, and leaving the militants to glean their information from the lies and calumnies of the capitalist and communist press. To a lesser degree this same problem exists with the situation in the countries of the Third World, Asia, Africa, and Latin America.

There are two main points here of interest to us: the anarchist interpretation of the Bolshevik revolution and the predictions for it at the time when Berkman was writing. There is also the bourgeois interpretation of the revolution and the lessons which Berkman draws for us.

Berkman states that the Bolshevik revolution was not a *coup d'état* (p.13). On the other hand, however, Kropotkin wrote nearly the opposite and did not demonstrate any enthusiasm for it at all (letters to Turin in *Memoirs of a Revolutionist*, edited by James Allen Rogers, Doubleday Anchor Books, 1962). Other statements by Berkman also contradict Kropotkin's affirmations: "The Communist Party stepped into power." (p.15). "The Revolution, in its post-October developments, was only political, not social." (p.30). In fact Berkman's description of the revolution relates to the deceit and lies spread by the Communist Party and its blatant adoption of anarchist slogans, thus manipulating popular support to establish themselves in power and consolidate their position with the assistance of a secret police. It is typical that his definition "dictatorship over the proletariat" is accompanied by a brief description similar to that made by Solzhenitsyn in *Gulag Archipelago* with the necessary history. Bolshevism, or Marxist-Leninism, consists in "decrees and terror" (p.22) and in forced labour (it would have been useful to know where the Bukharin quote on page 41 came from). And the unmistakable conclusion: "As a matter, the proletarian dictatorship, as it actually exists, is in no sense different from State capitalism." (p.54).

The predictions for the future of the revolution betrayed by the Bolsheviks are threefold: "The Industrial and agrarian exploitation of Russia, under the New Economic Policy, must inevitably lead to the growth of a powerful labour movement." (p.28). "It is not to be lightly assumed that the Communist dictatorship could satisfactorily solve the difficult problems arising out of a real labour movement under Bolshevik autocracy." (p.29). This hoped for development did not, in fact, take place. On the one hand the civil war and, later, the Second World War "served to keep alive popular enthusiasms and nurtured the hope that, with the end of the war, the ruling Communist Party will make effective the new revolutionary principles..." (p.53). Above all, the constant repression had been of sufficient intensity to save the regime: "Bolshevik Russia, is quiet again - with the quietness of death" (p.63); "the workers there were terrorised, so that in reality no assistance could be expected from anywhere." (p.102). We have the recent examples of the repression in Czechoslovakia with the tacit approval of the West, repeating the experiences of East Germany, Poland and Hungary, and on the other hand the coup in Chile with the tacit approval of the East-European countries (and earlier in the cases of Brazil, Biafra, etc.). These examples show only too clearly the collusion between the imperialist powers and the need for constant hope for a more serious crisis, or a more efficient international

(Cont. on page 63)

ARGENTINA

POLITICS IN ARGENTINA 1890-1930.
THE RISE AND FALL OF RADICALISM.
David Rock, Cambridge University Press,
£6.60.

Suddenly in the eighties and early nineties, the world powers (England in particular) saw the prospect of huge commercial expansion in the Argentine. They rushed in to capitalise the country, creating boom conditions for the capitalists and major exploitation for the workers. They also introduced mass European immigration which should have brought huge economic disaster for the native workers, according to the normal plan, with its consequent cheap labour. But this part of the plan did not go at all well for them, because a majority of the immigrants came with the most revolutionary ideas of the Old Country.

Just at that moment the governments of the old world were expelling militants by the scores and even thousands, both by political pressure and by economic pressure (black-listing of a militant, which meant he fell into the bottomless pit of poverty and ended his days in degradation and humiliation, was a major repressive factor in those days), the Argentine opened its doors wide. The majority of the militants came with anarchist ideas – from Poland, Italy, Spain, France, Russia. It was more or less a coincidence that those with Marxist views went to the United States – Anarchists did too, of course, but Socialists impressed with Marx's analysis of America hitched their waggons to the stars and stripes.

In this history of the rise and fall of "radicalism" in the Argentine, David Rock is detailing the rise and fall of the Argentine working class. From being an impoverished hard core of indigenous workers and an enormous floating mass of impoverished immigrants, it welded itself together as a force to be reckoned with, that might well have managed to smash the infant capitalism of the republic. The capitalist class was almost wholly immigrant though the bourgeoisie tended to be native; it was the comparative weakness of the ruling class that led them to maintain power through the Army, which has since always maintained its political role. The early Radical Party tried to maintain an alliance between the middle-class and the workers, despite their natural enmity. It tried to assuage the enmity by the doctrine of paternalism, to mitigate the consequences of laissez-faire capitalism. But this could not survive the introduction of socialist politics, though as was pointed out by Errico Ferri, an Italian critic, the Socialist Party was more a radical Party in the French or Italian sense – i.e., it stood for reforms as universal suffrage, compulsory education, welfare-stateism and so on – rather than being in any sense a supporter of socialistic doctrines. (Today, this distinction has blurred. What "Socialist Party" is more?) It never acquired control over the main unions.

And from the 1890s it faced the competition of the Anarchist movement, "among the largest and most influential in the world" (says Rock). Its most significant propagandist was Pedro Gori. (Rock overlooks another, Sheffield man Dr. Craghe, who founded

the daily *La Protesta*.) They enjoyed solid support among the dock workers, though the Socialists claimed greater support among the "workers' aristocracy" of railway footplatemen and other specialised groups. The shop mechanics, bricklayers, the bakers and the coachbuilders were Anarchists, the bakers being the most militant of all (it was suggested to me by the late Charles Lahr, incidentally, that the militancy of the bakers throughout the world was largely due to itinerant German Anarchist bakers).

Despite deportations and prison sentences, the Anarchist movement grew to the extent where it was able to create a major syndicalist movement, the F.O.R.A. (Workers Federation of the Argentine Region). Rock, though excellent in his details of the growth of the working class movement, is none too clear as to what constitutes Syndicalism and Anarchism and keeps mistaking the Socialist splinter group within the syndicates as "syndicalists" as opposing to "the anarchists" (anarcho-syndicalists).

The result of socialist manoeuvres meant that there were several splits within the F.O.R.A. each split also designating itself F.O.R.A. But ultimately only the anarcho-syndicalists stayed with the name F.O.R.A. because ultimately only they were prepared to accept the bitter struggle that went with it – so graphically shown in the film "Patagonia Rebelde".

In order to crush the working class movement the rulers offered both the most terrible repression and an olive branch, somewhat suspect. Following the strikes of 1919 a police edict against "all known anarchists" led, says Rock, to "a brutal spate of mass arrests and deportations." This went hand in hand with appeasement of "the British" (i.e. the capitalists). The olive branch was

Faccia a faccia col nemico
Personaggi e interpreti
dell'anarchismo in Argentina

Episodes of libertarian activity in Argentina from 1909 to 1936. A document on class repression.

Illustrations by Pino Milas, text by Cesare della Pietra (Italian)
£3.50 (inc. p+p).

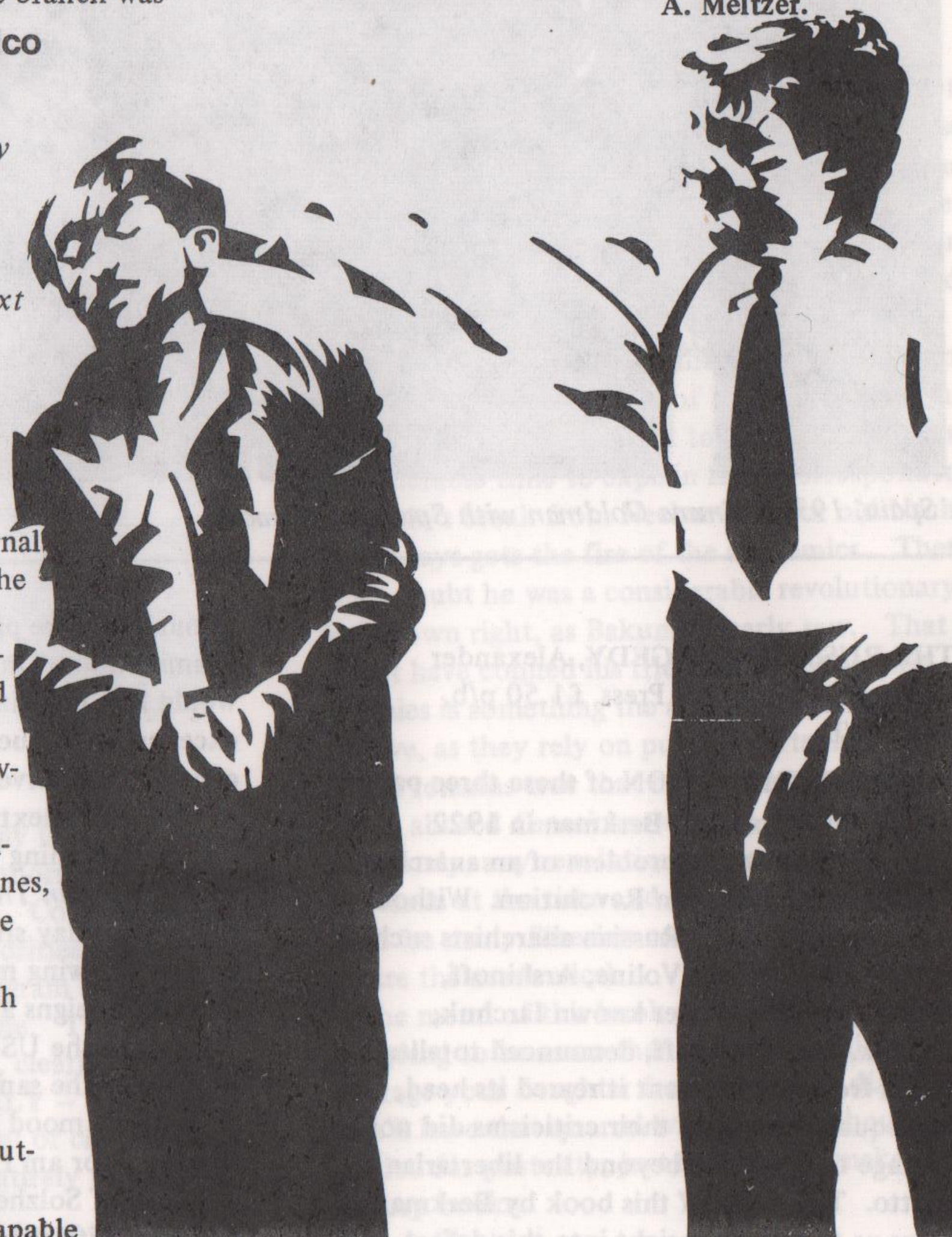
the offering of the Radical Party as a "patriotic" alternative to socialism, it having indeed all the features of paternalistic government common to the Socialist Party without being a working class party. The British capitalist class had financed the activities of the Patriotic League against the Radical Government, (though in theory it was agitating against foreign influences – but working-class ones, not capitalistic). It might have been worth more light being thrown on the manner in which the British capitalists financed the blood-thirsty anti-semitic pogroms too, – solely for the purpose of drowning the revolutionary feeling in blood of one sort or another – while still capable

of feeling compassion at huge Mansion House meetings, for the victims of Tsarism.

It is often said that the Anarchists in Argentina employed "terrorist tactics" yet – needless to say – it is seldom explained why; the workers were faced with the most terrible repression, which was not called "terrorist" only because the Government supported it and financed it and because it was used against the working class, or vulnerable groups. This dual standard of reporting exists, of course, to this day. The Right Wing is allowed murder gangs, and we have seen today that even the secret police itself forms itself into off-duty kidnapping and murder gangs; yet any attempt to even the odds is regarded by the world's press with horror and equated with genocide.

To look back on the past heroic struggles of the working class and to find invariably that they have been under libertarian banners and not authoritarian ones, is a major inspiration for the future and stresses invariably the point that where the workers have yielded to a middle-class leadership, this has invariably been authoritarian. Notwithstanding the fact that Marxist authoritarians always insist the anarchist movement is "petty bourgeois" and cite Marx out of context as their blockbusting proof, the fact remains that the workers, left to their own ideals and principles, come up with anarchistic struggles and solutions, and authoritarian ideas are always imposed on them by outside intervention. David Rock isn't an anarchist – and isn't even in sympathy with anarchism; he has no axe to grind in stressing the importance of Argentine anarchism and his academic credentials give him authority among the neo-Leninists. (How my "Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China" received a slating from them until I pointed out which parts were to be found in one professor's book and which parts in two others; and which in yet another!) A pamphlet in English summarising Argentine anarchism is long overdue.

A. Meltzer.



MUSEIFUSHUGI: ANARCHISM in JAPAN

THE INDUSTRIAL revolution came late to Japan.

This late arrival was the inevitable result of total isolation throughout the Japanese archipelago. When the Western World had long since emerged from the Middle Ages into the age of mass production with the Steam engine at the expense of its newly formed class of dispossessed peasants – the proletariat, Japan with its doors tightly closed against the encroachments of the outside world, continued on as a feudal regime with its attendant caste system, totally supported by intensive agriculture. It was the same socio-economic system encountered by Francisco Xavier in 1549 when he first landed on the shores of the Empire of the Rising Sun. Not until 1853 did Japan awake to the sad reality that it lagged far behind the rest of the world in technology, education, commerce, industry, politics, medicine, transport, – even the art of war, when Commander Perry of the United States Navy signalled the arrival of progress with cannonades from his gunships.

Forced to reality by the American gunboats the Japanese ruling-class decided that there was no alternative to embarking on a policy of Westernisation if Japan was to move into the Industrial age and Victorian Paradise. To this end the Japanese Government brought in massive numbers of technical and scientific advisers from the industrial countries of the West in an attempt to catch up with them. Similar numbers of Japanese students were sent to Europe and North America to be educated in the technology of the West. No sacrifice was too great if it helped effect the transformation of Japan from a backward feudal regime to a modern capitalist State. The metamorphosis was startling. Before the 19th Century drew to a close, Japan had not only become the major industrial centre of the East, but had also launched its first imperialist war against its giant neighbour China, to secure the supply of the raw materials required for industrialisation.

The transformation of Japanese life and society was total. Nothing in the history, science or culture of Japan could be drawn on or adopted by the architects of industrialisation. Everything – the machinery, techniques of production, merchandising, the system of measurement, the labour system, primary and secondary education – was an exact and faithful copy from Manchester, the Ruhr and Pittsburg. Even the same system of State repression was taken from the German model.

In his great haste to build the industrial wealth of Japan, the newly-installed Emperor Meiji, the Mikado, seems to have totally ignored the fact that, apart from creating wealth for the few, an integral part of the system he was so anxious to introduce to his islands was the idea of social change – the indivisible fruit of the industrial revolution. The germ of revolution seeded itself in Japan with the same speed and ease as the industrial

complexes, the techniques and the instructors. The only difference was that, while the latter entered through the front door by invitation, revolution entered the country through the back door – unannounced and unexpected.

In the work which follows it will be obvious that I have made a determined and visible effort to show that in Japan, as in all agricultural economies, there has always existed a genuinely libertarian tradition. Despite this fact, and although in Japan there has always been a living spirit of rebellion among the people, this tradition and spirit had little hope when confronted with the massive industrial, commercial and social systems imported from the West. Fortunately, however, this western capitalist progress was accompanied by the seeds of its own destruction – the ideas of libertarian social revolution.

In spite of the original and indigenous figure of Ando Shōeki, a Japanese William Godwin, the Japanese anarchists turned to European theorists of anarchism for their inspiration. Despite their originality and creativity, Kotoku and Osugi, two of the most outstanding early exponents of anarchism in Japan, dedicated themselves to translating texts of Kropotkin, Bakunin, Proudhon, etc., instead of adapting the libertarian ideal to a Japanese tradition. The word 'anarchism' was assimilated into Japanese usage – with the same pronunciation as its place of origin – with the same speed as the other words and ideas accompanying the Industrial Revolution: – machinery, techniques, the metric system, science, instruction, political system, etc.

To create a word denoting the libertarian ideal, the Western revolutionary had to go back to the source of his culture, Greece, and take from it, as did Proudhon, a root and a prefix: an-archism. The Japanese, on the other hand, require five ideographic signs to denote the social doctrine which denies authority: *Mu* – signifying absence of, *sei* – meaning political, *fu* – meaning organism, *shu* – principle and *gi* – denoting the suffixism. For the semantic purists the word *Museifushugi* represents the true interpretation of anarchism in Japanese, but in Japanese anarchist texts this word is rarely if ever found.

Anarchism in Japan has had its heroic era too. This period can be located chronologically in the years 1903 to 1937 and in the pages which follow the reader will find a history of martyrs and men and women whose dedication, self-denial and sacrifice place them in the forefront of the history of the class-struggle. Until the outbreak of World War II, to be known as an anarchist in Japan meant a potential death sentence. One example of this fear which anarchism inspired in the hearts of the Japanese ruling class was the case of a professor of Economics at Tokyo, N. Morito, who, despite the fact that he was not even a sympathiser of the Japanese Anarchist Movement, took it upon himself to publish

a "Study of Kropotkin's Social Thoughts" in 1920. He was immediately arrested, tried and sentenced to one year's imprisonment and barred from continuing his career as a teacher.

The first massive repression carried out against the organised anarchist movement in Japan climaxed on January 24, 1911. Afraid of the incipient but growing strength of the Japanese Anarchist Movement the police and army took it upon themselves to concoct what became known as The Great Revolt or High Treason incident (Daigyaku Jiken), a conspiracy designed to compromise and rid the State of the most "dangerous" figures of Japanese anarchism. Twelve anarchists, among them a doctor, a woman writer, two journalists, a buddhist priest, a civil servant, two shopkeepers, a businessman and workers, students, and peasants, were all hung for the crime of lese majeste. Such an unlikely melange of professions was totally incompatible with the charges laid against them by the police and army, and belied the State's conspiracy charge. All proclaimed their innocence to the last but their protestations were in vain. Many long prison sentences were also handed out by the courts during the same bout of repression. A reminder came recently when the international press agency UPI cabled the news from Japan that Sakamoto Seima, one of the last survivors of those imprisoned for their alleged role in the conspiracy had died on January 16, 1975, aged 87 years.

The murders and reprisals which followed "The Great Revolt" of January 24, 1911 were followed by many more. Outstanding among the attempts to destroy anarchism in Japan was that which followed the great earthquake of September 1, 1923, when the authorities laid the blame for the subsequent arson and looting at the door of "Koreans and Anarchists." It is not known how many anarchists died in the bloodbath which followed. However, the repression which fell on the Japanese libertarians following Japan's official declaration of war on China in 1937 outdid all precedents in its severity and viciousness.

It was not until the end of the Second World War, when Japan re-emerged from the ruins of the holocaust, that anarchism came out of clandestinity. Surprisingly, there were libertarians who had survived both the police and army attempts to destroy them and the horrors of the war. On May 12, 1946 the Japanese anarchist movement reformed its ranks and began to organise afresh for the new era with the founding of the Japanese Anarchist Federation.

This work is the first major attempt to bring together the information which has appeared intermittently in articles in the international anarchist press relating to the history of the Japanese Anarchist Movement, a history little known to the anarchists of the West. Victor Garcia (*Museifushugi*) has been published in Italian and Spanish editions and is presently being translated into English for C.P.)

SPAIN

THERE HAS BEEN A revival of interest in Felix Morrow whose book on Spain has been resurrected. Long the Spanish "Bible" of the Trotskyites, Morrow has appealed also to certain 'pacifist anarchists'. The reason is not far to seek since the Trotskyite line on Spain was largely identical with — at any rate not contradictory to — the pacifist. It may seem ironic that libertarians who reject the conception of armed struggle find themselves in the Marxist-Leninist camp. But so it is. The Trotskyites (1936-39) carried on a campaign against arms for Spain. 'Arms for Spain' was a delusion, they said. Arms were not necessary. (This same line was scoffed at by Trotsky during the imperialist World War, when he called for the "defence of the USSR" and the rejection of "social pacifism". The social-democratic government of Denmark wanted to be 'neutral in its own war' but Trotsky was, in effect, neutral in a workers' struggle.)

Morrow underlines and emphasises the crude history that arms were not necessary, and that all that was necessary was a 'correct Marxist policy'. The POUM, though Marxist-Leninists, were criticised because they were offered that precious 'pearl' — 'a clear cut Marxist analysis' — something not to be picked up in Woolworths — and kept on about arms. As if, scoffed Morrow, quoting Lenin, a small party needed weapons once it had the right ideas! A Trotskyist cartoon of the time showed the Spanish workers bound with chains all marked 'arms for Spain'. The supplying of this analysis was the 'one task' of international Trotskyism, the logic of which is that the 'intellectuals' who provided the analysis (with the Old

Man himself in the background) could have saved the workers, who, misled by the anarchists, wanted to fight.

How could unarmed workers defeat the forces ranged against them? The Republic should have liberated Morocco and then 'the Moors' would not have helped Franco. True, but it didn't, and then what? In a recent version of the Morrow analysis given by the Anarchist Workers Association it was the anarchist workers who had no 'foreign policy,' though they had been holding strikes and revolts to the death against sending troops to Morocco for three quarters of a century. The Republic should have declared Morocco independent, but it did not do so because the Socialist-Communist alliance did not want to antagonise the French Popular Front which would have been faced with the revolt spreading.

It must be confessed, however, that it is the height of naive pacifism to imagine that armed Moroccan mercenaries trained to legal banditry in a foreign army, given licence to enter Spanish towns with intent to murder, rape and plunder, would be deterred by the political vision of a 'Free Morocco' as if they were nationalist students at the Sorbonne. Only a monkish academic who had never heard a shot fired in anger, or did a day's work, could think so.

In *Freedom* Vernon Richards adds some criticisms to Morrow, in answer to Sam Dolgoff. Dolgoff is somewhat under-critical, but does know what makes society tick. Dolgoff points out that one paid secretary could not overnight turn into a bureaucracy Richards denies this, with the usual quotations which include Morrow.

In ascribing 'bureaucracy' to the CNT Morrow transfers Russian experience to Spain. There is a vast civil service in Russia which has superseded the capitalist class which failed to arise. Unwilling to admit the defects of Marxism, all the ills that have befallen Russia are ascribed to this bureaucracy.

Unwilling to blame the Party, Trotskyites blame the bureaucracy. But can this situation be transferred to Spain?

Vernon Richards points out that the CNT took a vast building, no.s 32/34 in the Via Layetana, rechristened the Via Buenaventura Durruti, which had hundreds of clerks inside. A bureaucracy! There were shorthand typists — were they not bureaucrats?

The CNT took over the *Banco de Cambio* whose building it was (and to whom it has since reverted). Ought they to have left the bankers there while they continued with one paid secretary with a typist on a second floor office when the whole of Catalan industry had been taken over? All the clerical work of collectivisation in Catalonia was centred in this building. The workers, mainly women, received the current unitary wage. The typists (few took shorthand) worked up to 18 hours a day. The translation service and radio services were there. But an office worker is not a bureaucracy. A bureaucrat is a person who rules only by virtue of his position in an office, as distinct from someone who rules by virtue of his post in the Army, Party, Church, Government or because of wealth. The women workers of the Casa CNT/FAI were not bureaucrats, and in fact no bureaucracy existed in the union before or during the civil war. Had there been, there would have been no collectivisation.

Some militants did enter the government bureaucracy, which is quite another matter. To do so, no consent was necessary.

On the Trotsky theory, all collectivisation and resistance by the anarchist-workers is by 'the workers'; all compromises during the war are by 'anarchists'.

What accounts for this revival of Morrow? He is an excuse for the Trotskyites, but also an excuse for the 'libertarian' who sees no alternative to Marxist Leninism on the one hand or pacifism on the other. Leave everything to spontaneity and then,



whoever wins, all credit and no blame to 'us'!

This is a recipe for structurelessness, in which the dominating personality or the organised party must come on top. The workers have to guard against these false friends. The necessity for a syndicalist union is as much to keep them out as it is to overthrow capitalism.

THE SPANISH LABYRINTH. Gerald Brenan, C.U.P., £2.40

READING THIS BOOK one ought not to forget it first appeared in 1943. However, we also know that six years later, in 1949, Brenan published his *The Face of Spain* and had he wanted to he could quite easily have incorporated at least some of the voluminous material which had appeared in the meantime in numerous books on the subject. The fact that he did not rectify his previous errors meant, above all in relation to Spanish anarchism, a gross conservation of errors.

Reviewing this book in 1944, Marie Louise Berneri wrote: "He has dealt with his subject not only as a scholar, but also as an artist and psychologist." However, although she appreciated the value of the work she did not hesitate to underline three main failures of Brenan in his judgement of the anarchists: firstly, that the author accepted and maintains, "It may be thought I have stressed too much the religious element because Spanish anarchism is after all a political doctrine. But the aims of the anarchists were always much wider and their teachings more personal than anything which can be included under the word 'politics'". The other point which M.L. Berneri underlined very justifiably: "Brenan has emphasised too much the agrarian nature of anarchism. This is probably due to the fact that he lived in Andalusia, a completely agricultural region". (Now, of course, it is different); and lastly, a total lack of understanding of the meaning of self-management, something which even H.N. Brainsford, the *New Statesman* correspondent noted and reported: "I witnessed their (the anarchists) astonishing success during the Civil War in running factories with high principles as their chief equipment, and I was deeply moved by the schools they established for the sorely tried children in Madrid."

So far as the last point is concerned, Brenan obstinately insists on putting down self-management to simple Spanish traditionalism — when he is not harping on at length about the medieval

agricultural communities and quoting Saint Augustine in Latin to make the point that the origin of all things Spanish is to be found in Spain itself. If that were the case, in fact, the Spanish fascists, defenders of the traditions of the *Reyes Catolicos* (the Catholic Kings) of Spain, One and Indivisible, 1490-1500, would be the most ardent supporters of self-management.

Brenan does not hesitate to affirm that, occasionally, the *pistoleros* of the Falange were members of the CNT (*cenetistas*). He considers this to be quite normal: "...they had the same enemies and the same belief in violence". (Chapter XIII, *The Popular Front*). What is clear, however, is that Brenan navigates uncertainly between religious and Leninist interpretations (with slogans such as "anarcho-Hitlerites" or "anarcho-fascist" which were so common from 1936 to 1968).

However, leaving the medieval and literary allusions to one side (an English equivalent would be to intersperse a history of Great Britain with commentary on the role of plum pudding, Sherlock Holmes, the tea-break, etc.). Brenan's work remains an important contribution to the preliminary period of the Civil War.

The strongest point of the book is its study of the geography of Spain together with the region by region breakdown of socialism and anarchism which, although not quite exact, is valid in general terms.

Brenan manages his interpretations and statements on the basis of a limited personal knowledge through a stay of fifteen years in Andalusia prior to the war, and never on a basis of a clear overall perspective. No mention is made of the historical events which serve to contradict his thesis, and the self-management practised during the Civil War makes a nonsense of his concept of anarchist medievalism (this, by the way, is also a Bolshevik idea and appears thus in the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* under Kropotkin: "Small communes are impossible in heavy industry which employs thousands of people. And without the machinery of heavy industry humanity would return to a semi-barbarous situation"); neither is it correct that religion played an important popular role prior to the Civil War.

Severino Aznar, a catholic sociologist, gives us some figures for seminarists who gave up their courses in the years between 1930 and 1934. His figures cover the whole of Spain with the exception of Catalonia and the Atlantic coast: 35.3%

in Granada (where Brenan was living); 36.3% in Seville; 47% in Valencia; 51.6% in Santiago (in spite of the fact that Santiago is where Spain's patron saint, according to the Catholics, miraculously appeared); 41.3% in Toledo. In such a state of disinterest did the people hold the church that Cardinal Goma, who became notorious in 1936 for writing a pastoral letter in support of Franco, declared, in 1935: "We hitherto believed that we lived among a people who were profoundly religious, although distracted, as it were, from the fulfilment of their duties to God and the Church. However, the number of cases of phobia for things divine has, in recent times, along with the discarding of religious feeling, forced us to change that belief which we hitherto held as an historical truth..."

Brenan ends by being more papist than the Pope, but the book is interesting. Frank Mintz (*Black Flag*)

THE REVOLUTIONARY LEFT IN SPAIN: 1914-1923, Gerald Meaker, Stanford University Press, £9.50

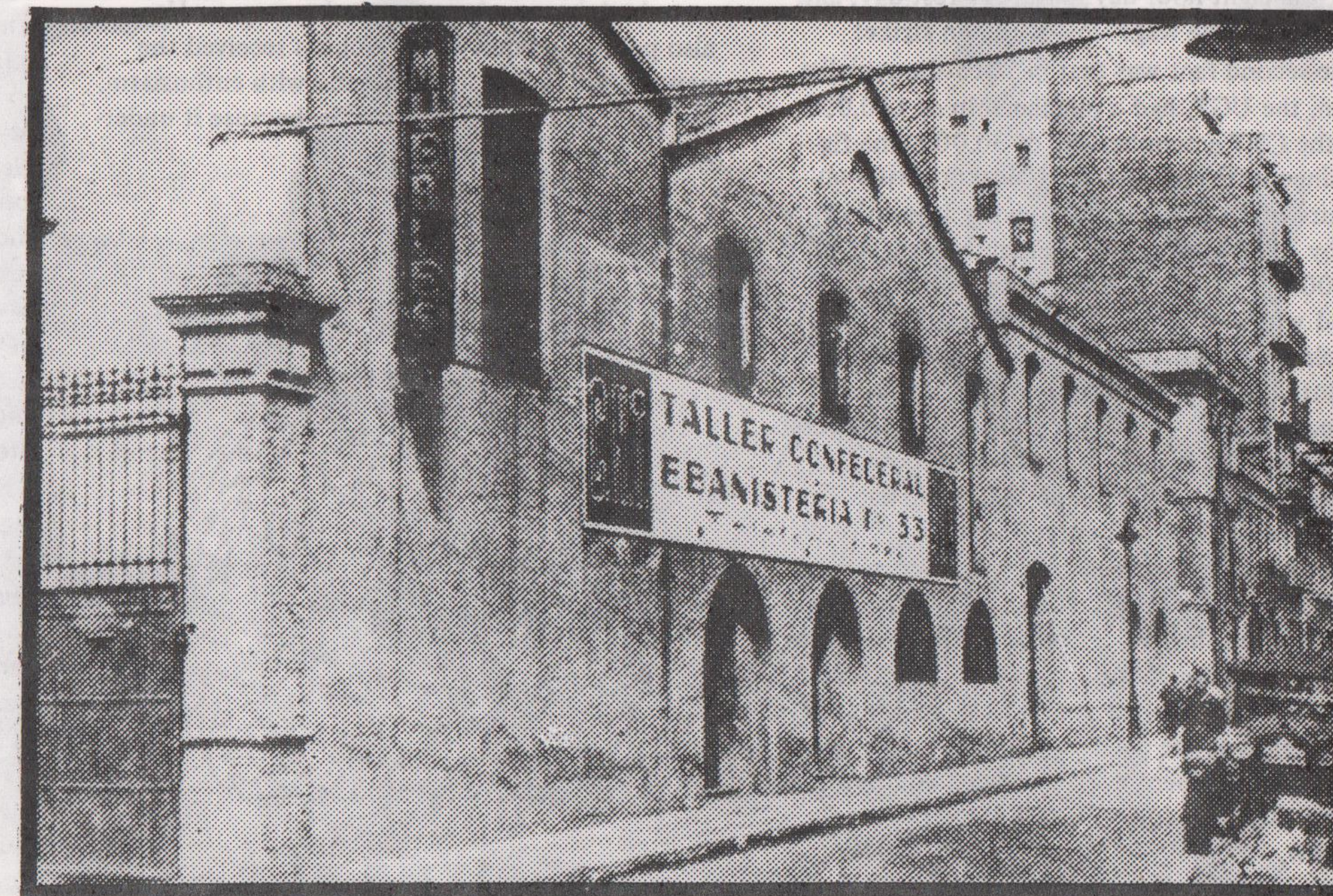
THIS UNIVERSITY THESIS poses a very interesting problem: "The Spanish Anarchist response to the Bolshevik Revolution and to the Leninist concept of revolutionary strategy and tactics", as well as that of the socialists. Such a plan, together with the list of people contacted by the author — Stanley Payne, Gaston Leval, well-known militants of the Spanish anarcho-syndicalist union, the CNT, and Joaquin Maurin of the POUM, the Marxist party, not Trotskyite, opposed to Moscow. All this, then, should presage a fundamental and well documented book.

This impression, however, would be substantially wrong. The erudition and documentation of the author — so far as Spain and Russian Communism are concerned — are profound, but on almost every occasion he confines his findings to the level of "the leadership" and writes out the workers as though they were a mass of brainless simpletons.

The main social background of the period disappears completely — the cruel exploitation by Spanish capitalism; the joint socialist and anarchist attempt to oppose the boss class in 1917 by means of the General Strike; the breach bet-



Civilian volunteers, including at least one woman, attacking the La Montana barracks thus putting and end to the Fascist hopes of supplementing the rising in the provinces with a successful rising in Madrid.



Barcelona, 1937. A factory collectivised by the C.N.T.



ween the socialists concerned with compromise and political dialogue, and the anarchists with their revolutionary praxis; the adoption of the "sindicato unico" (One Big Union) by the anarcho-syndicalists which was concisely defined by Romero Maura in *Government and Opposition* (1970) as "bringing together all the workers in a given factory under the umbrella of one union, imposed the militancy of the majority of the unskilled workers on the labour aristocracy. The territorial basis of organisation linkage brought all the workers from one area together and fomented working class solidarity over and before co-operative solidarity".

The efficiency of such an organisation was based on two facts. Firstly, the "La Canadiense" strike, one of the most glorious pages in the history of the world labour movement, which began with the unjust sacking of eight office employees at the "La Canadiense" electricity works in Barcelona on February 5, 1919, with, first of all, the department workers, then the entire factory work force, and then all the electricity workers in Catalonia coming out in demand of their re-instatement, the eight-hour day and no Saturday working (the "English Week"). By February 21 every factory in Catalonia was forced to close down for lack of electricity, and by March 7 the Government attempted to conscript the workers which they promptly ignored en masse, and which led to 3,000 arrests. The printworkers established a "red censorship" on all news reports hostile to the strikers. After a week of General Strike and negotiations under way (March 24 to April 7) to obtain the release of the prisoners, the employers finally agreed to the re-instatement of the sacked men, the eight-hour day, Saturday rest-day, and payment for the wages lost while on strike!

The second fact was that in 1913 the socialist union, the UGT, had a membership of 150,000 and the CNT a membership of 30,000 (the figure since its foundation, but Meaker insists on a figure of 15,000...without giving any source), but by 1919 the UGT had a membership of 200,000 while that of the CNT was 755,000. Faced with this rapid growth of strength of the anarcho-syndicalist CNT, and the awareness of revolutionary upheavals in Russia, Italy, and Germany during the same period, the employers federation in Catalonia, the centre of both the economy and anarcho-syndicalist influence, embarked on a policy of liquidating workers' spokesmen by underworld gunmen. This was the epoch of *pistolero*, 1920-1923, which seriously debilitated the anarcho-syndicalist union prior to Primo de Rivera's seizure of power in 1923. That desperate struggle took place amid the total indifference of the socialist and communist parties — of which there were two, each competing against the other for official recognition from Moscow. In addition to the historical backdrop there was also the colonial war in Morocco, and the emigration to escape the misery at home.

Not only does Gerald Meaker have no respect for the workers themselves, but he often manipulates his sources against the anarchists. He quotes an hysterical Francoist that the anarchists were shooting each other over the question as to whether or not they should participate in the war. No mention at all is made of the position taken on the war by Malatesta and the majority of the anarchist movement simply in order to back up his thesis that the neutrality adopted by the anarchists not only assisted the Germans, but quite possibly was also financed by them as well (p29). He makes no mention of Angel Pestana's denunciation of some elements suspected of having been taken in by the Germans. He affirms and underlines each and every vulgarity he discovers — or exaggerates — when dealing with anarchists. For example, Boal was "a heavy drunkard" according to a well-known anarchist militant, but when we look at the source of this information we find that Meaker makes this statement on the basis of a comment made in passing by Buenacasa in *El Movimiento Obrero Espanol* (Paris, 1966, p252): "he drank slightly more than most, but he was always an irreproachable comrade". Nor does Meaker go on to mention that Boal was gunned down by an employer's gunman.

In effect, for Meaker, "the resort of the Anarcho-Syndicalist to terrorist methods was not long in producing a counter-terror on the part of the employers. That the cause and effect relationship ran this way has been conceded by both Buenacasa and Pestana, who admit that the pistoleroism of the employers came only as a response to the *atentados* of the action groups". (p176). Meaker then throws at us two bibliographic quotes. The first of these proves nothing — a complaint against groups who carried out robberies and who manifested interests more personal than militant. The second is correct, but when was it said? — in 1933 when Pestana was already separated from the anarchists and had just formed a political party, desperate to appear *un buen chico* in the eyes of the bourgeoisie.

On the other hand, Meaker describes as well-bred and cultured the professors of the Socialist Party and future Communists. There the erudition of our author ends. He does not bother to give us one single quote of the type: "We shall respect the decisions of the next Moscow Congress, whatever they may be". He does, however, point out the inability of the Communists to make alliances with anybody but rather embarking on a policy of assassination of socialist leaders without obtaining any important advantages. He also points out that the anarchists received the news of the revolution in Russia with enthusiasm, but that the socialists ignored it because it undermined their reformist role.



DURRUTI



...no nos asustan las ruinas
nosotros heredaremos la tierra."

Meaker's blind spot reappears when he creates the impression of ignoring the fact that there were Marxists such as Nin and Maurin who joined the CNT, and who appointed themselves delegates to go to Moscow when there was a CNT delegate already there, refusing to adhere to the *Third International* (Angel Pestana).

Because of his inability to explain or even understand why anarchism should have established such strong roots in Spain, Meaker falls back on the most oafish arguments in bourgeois research (he could, at least, have read Romero Maura and Joaquin Maurin). He comes to the feeble conclusion that this "ideological vacuum" is explained by Spain's industrial backwardness and the 19th century mentality of the workers. Apparently that which is not Leninism is nothing.

It would have been far more useful if Meaker had asked himself the question how Lenin was able to impose anarchist slogans and watchwords such as "All Power to the Soviets" on the Central Committee of the Communist Party, giving the Party some degree of popular support and purging it — almost at the same time — by Lenin's own creation — the CHEKA. This is Marxism. Frank Mintz (*Black Flag*)

A GUERRILLA DIARY OF THE SPANISH CIVIL WAR, Francisco Perez Lopez, Andre Deutsche, £2.50.

THERE ARE HUNDREDS and perhaps thousands of stories that can be picked up from the Spanish Civil War and the subsequent resistance. Miguel Garcia's book *Franco's Prisoner* hinted at many of them. They can be picked up by chance as the stories are related or as the person involved finds the facilities to bring them to the public notice. Francisco Perez Lopez, for instance, was an ordinary volunteer. He was brought up in France and went over to Spain, joining the International Brigade. It is true that the Brigade has attracted more notice than the whole of the battalions put together — partly because of Communist propaganda, partly because of the natural interest of other countries in the part played by persons of their own nationality, and also because of the presence of many highly literate and vocal volunteers.

But Perez Lopez was not one of them, and only the accident of his foreign upbringing brought him into the Brigade rather than any other unit; this way he saw little of the Communist Party domination and the intrigues in the Brigade and a lot of action; his was a unit for fighting. He was captured and taken into a disciplinary battalion of the Franco Army.

He went through all the humiliations suffered by the defeated army which had fought fascism; being taught how to salute the Fascist flag and stand and sing the Fascist anthems, lessons at which he, like a great many others, was a bad scholar. A man

without strong political convictions, he was, and became, more firmly anti-fascist. He escaped, in an enthralling adventure that beats the wild stories of fiction but is commonplace among those related by persons who lived through those days.

He decided to fight his way through Spain and get back to France. To do this he joined with others who managed to escape from the rounding-up of the defeated army, and formed a small guerrilla band. They went on fighting to the end of the Civil War, and afterwards. His right-hand man in the band was Vicente, an anarchist who had served in the Durruti Column, and with others whom they collected on the way, they fought on, some to the death, and some to cross the frontier. Perez Lopez makes no claim to knowledge of the general resistance: he only gives the enthralling episodes of his own small band. He does not indicate that many such bands fought only to the death; many were taken and re-captured, to death or prison; some went over the border, and yet more fought on to the 'years of tranquility' when Franco thought he had them all beaten. He was not political, he was not a member of what is regarded as the Resistance; but like so many others, he tried to refuse to serve fascism as it presented itself in Spain.

His book is another pointer to the mass of stories in Spain, buried from the general world. For if an ordinary worker, without any political motivation, such as Perez Lopez, can recount so exciting a story of guerrilla battle through Spain, what fascinating stories must there be to tell of people who became legendary even within Spain. Sabate, Facerias, and many others, to the present day?

Part and parcel of the stuff of the Resistance is the anarchist movement, and characters such as Vicente who come through in the book are still around; some are in prison to this day, some are still carrying on the struggle, some have given up, and often their sons and daughters are carrying on. Perez Lopez just happened to be a prolific writer of the sort that writes naturally despite discouraging circumstances of education; but in Spain, one could almost say, knock on any door..

THE DEATH OF LORCA, Ian Gibson, Paladin, £1.00.

IN THE EARLY MORNING of 19 August 1936, four people were executed in the little village of Viznar, six miles north of Granada. Not an unusual occurrence in Spain then (or now), but one of them happened to be a poet of international reputation. His name was Federico Garcia Lorca.

The death of Lorca has been a cause of deep feeling and controversy in Spain for 39 years. None have been more eager to put an end to the debate than the Spanish Government, angered and embarrassed by the unwanted international attention that has been focused upon it by Lorca's death. For it is not *one* death that must be explained, but the systematic extermination of a generation.

Franco's uprising reached Lorca in Granada on 20 July 1936, where the local troops left their barracks and began seizing the city. Almost totally unarmed, by virtue of the Government's refusal to distribute arms to the workers, the populace fought as best they could. But as Gibson points out "...a handful of pistols and rifles without ammunition is no answer...to modern artillery, aeroplanes, grenades, and machine-guns. Granada fell to the rebels because, quite simply, they had the weapons and the training to use them effectively". (p79)

With the military victory complete the Francoists immediately set about rounding up those left alive and herded them in their hundreds into prisons and detention camps. Mass executions began in the municipal cemetery at once. By the end of August (according to official records) over 800 people had already been shot.

It was against this background that Lorca sought refuge in the home of his friend the Falangist poet Luis Rosales. This was to prove his undoing, "...the confidence that people are always good, that belief that a friend is a friend, Fascist or no, cost him his life. Because it was his friend's friends who he counted among his best, who at the last moment turned out to be Fascists first and foremost...they didn't shoot him. They washed their hands of him and then handed him over to those who did" (p55). On 16 August the ex-deputy of CEDA, the Catholic Action Party, Ramon Ruiz Alonso, arrest-

ed Lorca at Rosales house accompanied by a group of armed men. Two and a half days later Lorca was dead.

For Franco's regime Lorca's murder was a serious tactical blunder. Constantly seeking to evade responsibility, Franco dismissed the affair in 1937 as "one of those natural accidents of war". But Lorca's reputation brought world attention at the same time to the murders of thousands of other people who could not so easily be shrugged off as "accidents". This is undoubtedly the greatest strength of Gibson's book, the fact that he places the death of one man in the perspective of a general and systematic campaign of genocide and puts the blame where it belongs.

"Lorca, along with thousands of other victims, was eliminated by a system of terror set up for the express purpose of crushing all possible resistance by the Granadine populace to the Movement" (of Franco) (p133).

Predictably until the 60's Lorca's work was banned in Spain. But international interest has forced the regime to 'rehabilitate' the poet. Attempting to profit by this decision the Falangists have gone so far as to claim that Lorca was really "one of their own", extending the poet's friendship with Rosales to suggest that he was composing a Falangist battle hymn at the time of his death, (which they blame, alternatively, on "Reds" and unspecified assassins "acting on their own initiative"). Whilst Lorca's 'leftness' has certainly been exaggerated by most people he was certainly no ally of the Francoists. It is worthwhile to quote Lorca himself: "I am brother to all men, and I detest the person who sacrifices himself for an abstract, nationalist ideal just because he loves his country with a blindfold over his eyes. A good Chinaman is closer to me than a bad Spaniard...I am cosmopolitan and a brother to all. Needless to say I don't believe in political frontiers".

"I will always be on the side of those who have nothing, of those to whom even the peace of nothingness is denied". (*El Sol*, 1934).

"Like all true poets I'm a revolutionary, but a politician — never!" (*July*, 1936).

Lorca was first and foremost an artist, politically a "liberal" in the widest and best sense of the



Francoist firing squad execute an anti-fascist.

word. That such a sensitive and personally mild man was killed by the Francoists bears witness to the indiscriminate nature of the repression — blinded to any sense of human compassion and savagely opposed to even the mildest criticisms.

Lorca's life is best remembered for the unique writing it gave the world. His death serves as a potent reminder of the murder and hatred upon which Franco built and maintained his rule. "Had Federico not died that morning in Viznar, the thousands of other innocent, but less well-known Granadinos liquidated by the rebels might have been forgotten" (p168).

The Death of Lorca serves as a gravestone on the mass grave of Spain.

Phil Ruff (*Black Flag*)

(For Spanish readers it is worth noting a book by Jose Luis Villa San Juan called "GARCIA LORCA, ASESINADO" published in Barcelona by Editorial Planeta which seems to prove that friendship between Lorca and Rosales was genuine).



L'ANARCHISME ESPAGNOL: ACTION REVOLUTIONNAIRE INTERNATIONALE 1961-1975, Octavio Alberola & Ariane Gransac Sadori, Editions Bourgeois, £1.50

THIS BOOK HAS BEEN published in two editions in two languages in one year, Spanish and French. We deal here with the latter edition, the French one, as it has been corrected and updated in a few minor details. It is useful that this volume should appear at this particular point in time when, with the death of the "Caudillo" and the introduction of a certain amount of liberalisation, the enthusiasm of a particular section of the bourgeoisie would seem to wish to obliterate all memory of the dictatorship.

In fact it is now over fifteen years since Francoism turned an honest face to the world when, in 1962, the regime chose to imprison and not simply stamp out the Asturian strikers militarily. Since then prisoners have been called simply delinquents and not "politicals".

The great quality of this book is that it demonstrates not only that the anarchist anti-Francoist movement did not end with the defeat of the Civil War, but that each and every struggle throughout the world adopts the use of violent action: "We tend to believe that the will of the majority is the general will, the will of all. We count on the fact that minorities will all await their hour peaceably, in the hope that they, too, will attain majority status. However, it is not always so. There are those who use our so-called perfect democracy as an idol, a perfect idol if you wish, corrupted to the point of banishing all hope by the economic and social bureaucracy" (Daily Telegraph describing Angry Brigade - trans. from the French).

State oppression is so strong that any questioning of the establishment, authority, or the accepted way of life brings down a swift repression: the hippies, los marginales, samizdat writers, los juligans, and homosexuals, among others, are the sacrificial lambs in both the East and the West.

Alberola and Gransac also give a brief but profound description of the bureaucratisation of a sector of the Spanish anarchist movement while the militants of the movement were committed to total struggle. Who today pays any attention to the declarations of the CNT against Francisco Sabate? Who, today, remembers another CNT declaration condemning an anarchist kidnapping — "If, in fact, some members of the CNT are the authors of the kidnapping, they have acted without the agreement of the Intercontinental Secretariat, and so far as we are concerned the whole affair is an entirely negative operation" (p.120).

However, in practice, anarchism was quite able to prove its efficiency and if Francoism (and the C.P.) looked forward to the disappearance of a dangerous enemy in 1960 with the death of Sabate they were badly mistaken. From 1961 onwards there were attempts to organise a violent anarchist response from both within and outside the CNT. The non-violent repression of the 1962 strikes clearly indicated that the regime was moving towards democratisation and

the creation of a consumer society in which the Communist Party would, directly or indirectly, play a role limiting and gagging the actions of the masses and, therefore, faced with the hierarchy of exploitation the only alternative would be the hierarchy of the traditional left.

The only ones to defend the future of anarchism were, generally, those anarchist groups involved with the Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth (F.I.J.L.). In the same year of 1962 the F.I.J.L. began to organise a series of attentats against symbolic buildings of the regime and the Spanish tourist agencies with the double aim of giving impulse to the class-struggle (already under way with the strikes) and also reducing the number of tourists bringing important foreign currency to the regime's coffers.

This campaign caused a great deal of fear within the regime and the number of arrests and severity of penalties inflicted on anarchists grew in proportion: Jorge Cunill Valls sentenced to death in 1962; Delgado and Granados garroted in 1963; sentences of between 15 and 30 years (such as those imposed on Carballo and Christie). But the most spectacular aspect was the series of "ideological" kidnappings which first began following the death sentence passed on Jorge Cunill



Joaquin Delgado — anarchist activist strangled by garrote-vil in Carabanchel Prison, Madrid, 1963

Valls. The statement issued by the "International Federation of Libertarian Youth" said: "Our object was to draw the attention of the world to the sad fate of three libertarians recently arrested in Barcelona and to prevent the execution of Jorge Cunill Valls. We return Sr. Elias to his family as promised to demonstrate that our methods are vastly different to those employed by the Francoist regime". (p64). Later there was the kidnapping of Mgr. Ussia, the ecclesiastical adviser at the Spanish Embassy to the Vatican, which was claimed by the First of May Group (which developed out of the FIJL) and which led to the already quoted statement from the CNT. After holding him for ten days the First of May Group released the priest amid the expected clamour of the world press "hoping that the present Spanish Government, which so often proclaims its Christianity, will demonstrate its good will rapidly by granting freedom to those Spanish democrats who do not enjoy it today". (p121).

That's all very well, but what need was there to prove the lack of freedom or democracy in Spain? If anything was clear in politics it was that the Franco regime was, even for its own allies, a mockery of legality. And in Spain, among the workers, if the right to strike was that much easier there was still no lack of torturers for the organisers, and nobody really held out any illusions. The mistake made by the FIJL and the First of May Group was without doubt not adapting to the combativity of the moment, such as was later seen in the actions of the MIL and the *acratas* who organised bank robberies to finance future actions.

This lack of reflection lends the book an air of mere description of events and actions in Spain, and throughout the world, with no discussion of possible similarities and differences between, say, the Palestinian groups, the R.A.F., the G.A.R.I., etc. Also, it appears that the violence organised by the militants and the spontaneous actions of the workers, in Spain and elsewhere, is separated artificially, but this may be simply a problem of style. Let us hope that the authors go on to give us another book on the study of present day violence and the different tactics. It will be the indispensable complement to the present volume.

Frank Mintz (*Black Flag*) (Comrade Alberola is at present working on the companion volume: *Los Anarquistas: de ayer (1936) a hoy (1976..)* which should be available in Spanish later this year).

THE INTERNATIONAL REVOLUTIONARY SOLIDARITY MOVEMENT: FIRST OF MAY GROUP: A study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-1973 with particular reference to the First of May Group and The Angry Brigade, edited by Albert Meltzer, Cienfuegos Press, £1.35

THOUGH MANY WOULD have us believe that the anarchist resistance in Spain died with "El Quico" (Francisco Sabate - gunned down in 1960 by Catalan Militia and Civil Guard) other anonymous men and women were even then taking up the struggle. Within a month of Sabate's death the "Revolutionary Directorate of Iberian Liberation, DRIL, later to develop into the Iberian Liberation Council, the CIL) was formed to co-ordinate the resistance against tyranny in Spain and Portugal. The anarchist movement established a two-fold struggle: a movement for workers' councils led by the FOI (Federacion Obrera Iberica, the internal name of a pro-CNT grouping), which aimed at the reconstruction of the CNT, and a "rearguard" of armed fighters to defend the workers' movement in reconstruction from the attacks of the State.

The international support which this activity attracted led, in 1962, to the setting up of a secret organisation known as the DI (Internal Defence Section), to better co-ordinate the clandestine resistance breaking through the years of ignorance of the existence of international anarchist activity (one by-product being the infusion of libertarian ideas into the nationalist and clerical dominated Basque liberation movement). The bridgehead between the era of Sabate and the modern resistance movement was established by the appearance of a group fighting under the traditional banner of international working-class solidarity - The First of May Group. It marked the re-awakening of resistance to the growing repression of private and State capital throughout the world: the birth of an International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement.

Once the class-struggle was seen simply as a fight between capitalism and communism, in the 1930's and '40's it was translated into the twin poles of dictatorship — fascism and State-Communism — and until the late 1950's presented as a series of wars between rival power-blocks. Today, in the post-Vietnam consensus of "detente", it can be more clearly recognised as a struggle waged by the rulers of the world (who have united their common interest of power and privilege) against the people — between the State and anarchism.

It is this which explains the collaboration and international police conspiracy which has resulted, amongst other things, in a Labour Government in Britain allowing French secret policemen to raid the homes of Franco's opponents in London (including the editor of this paper), arrests and expulsions of sympathisers of the Spanish resistance living in France, and the recent series of summit meetings between the Home Secretaries of Britain, France, and Germany to better perfect the technique of exterminating dissent in their respective countries.

INTENSIFIQUEMOS LA LUCHA CONTRA EL FRANQUISMO



AYUDA AL GRUPO 1º DE MAYO A PROSEGUIR SU ACCION

In order to explain away the corresponding resistance which this international repression has brought upon itself, many politicians ask us to accept the "conspiracy theory of history" — that all revolts are the work of a small (and allegedly crazed) band of conspirators — which is precisely how they themselves climbed to power. They choose to ignore (even if they realise) that revolutions stem from popular discontent and that everyone is a potential revolutionary.

The actions of the First of May Group serve to illustrate the real nature of armed resistance in the context of the class-struggle. As with Sabate and an earlier generation of guerrillas in Spain, the new generation clearly realised the limitations as well as the possibilities of their activities. That it was the working-class who would make the revolution, not they. Their role as urban guerrillas was to defend the people in retreat from attack, be prepared to meet the repression of the class-struggle by the State with armed resistance and, in particular circumstances, act as a detonator for future rebellions and revolutions:

"We do not believe in miraculous solutions, nor in the mere educative role of example — we believe in the effectiveness of action when it responds to certain conditions which give it meaning, and a consistent ideological and tactical line". (1st May Grp. Communique, 10/3/68).

"The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement represents the broadening resistance to an international State conspiracy, a general resurgence of revolutionary anarchism which has characterised the post-war years, and distinguishes itself from the ossified organisations in exile on the one hand, and the radical "hip" and pacifist movement on the other. If anarchism abandons its only possible vocation — its combativeness in the struggle for revolution, if it is content to reminisce about the past or to vegetate into bureaucracy, it will lack a final

objective and, as it lacks mystical roots, it could not survive as a sect — it would be of no practical use to any social grouping, be their needs spiritual or material". (1st May Grp) p 28)

This study of the origins and development of the revolutionary anarchist movement also explains the emergence of such groups as the Angry Brigade in Britain, the Red Army Fraction in Germany, and the ETA in the Basque country, who, while not specifically labelling themselves anarchist clearly express this re-discovery of libertarian activism. It shows that the call for "revolution has gone throughout Europe. Never again will it lie down before the attacks of fascists, vigilantes or secret police. It is not even confined to one revolutionary ideology. It is not a conspiracy. It is a movement that may prove to be irresistible".

Phil Ruff (*Black Flag*)

Marcus Graham writes:

THE ABOVE BOOK is an unusual achievement from an historical point of view. In the opening pages Meltzer gives a concise analysis of the principal ideas that are the background to the significant revolutionary acts that have taken place in many countries. The opening two chapters - 1900-1939; 1939-1945 - serve as an introduction to the main events that had taken place prior to 1945 in those anarchist movements that managed to survive despite severe government

The documents of the 1st of May Group show how deeply concerned it was with the needs of the anarchist movement and calls for revolutionary activities. The other documents deal with the manifold clandestine acts within Spain where Franco had succeeded in crushing the revolutionary people with the open aid of the most reactionary governments and the indirect aid of the so-called "liberal" governments, as well as the



knifing in the back by the henchmen of the Bolshevik Government. The chronology relates many interesting and daring attempts carried out in many countries by anarchists against the institutions that made the prolonged reign of Franco possible. These acts included bombings, bank expropriations, and kidnappings to secure the release of class-war prisoners.

Meltzer points out the deplorable attitude held by some of the CNT members against the courageous militants who relentlessly carried on their struggle against the Franco regime. He also shows the great harm done to the anarchist movement by Peter Kropotkin's pro-war stand and one is therefore at a loss to understand why Meltzer has failed to castigate the anti-revolutionary position taken by *Freedom*, the supposedly anarchist paper, for its attitude towards the comrades accused of belonging to the Angry Brigade before they went to trial, as well as after their long prison sentences.

(Marcus Graham was the editor of the American anarchist paper "Man!" from 1933 until its closure by the US Government in 1940. He still writes for *Black Flag* and has edited an anthology of anarchist articles from his paper for Cienfuegos Press, Man!, £3.25).

SABATE, Antonio Tellez, Translated by Stuart Christie, Cienfuegos Press, £2.35. FACERIAS, LA GUERRILLA URBANA Antonio Tellez, Ruedo Iberico, £4.00.

THEIR OWN battle against fascism lost, the exiled Spanish Republicans fought on virtually every front in the Second World War. They played a prominent role in the French resistance and fought with the British at Narvik, in North Africa and even as guerrilla units behind German lines in the Ukraine. After the fall of Mussolini and Hitler, many of the survivors returned to take up the struggle against Franco. An army of several thousands of *ex-maquisards* invaded the valley of Aran in northern Spain at the end of 1944 only to be repelled by the regular army.

Of course many Republicans had not gone into exile. During the Civil War, many who were cut off from their own lines by the advancing Nationalists refused to surrender and took to the hills. These *huidos*, particularly in Andalusia, Galicia and Asturias, began a guerrilla resistance to the Franco regime. Their main preoccupation, particularly after the defeat of the Republic, was simply to keep alive. Nevertheless, acts of sabotage were carried out and large numbers of troops were kept occupied by them.

These isolated groups were still active when the ill-fated invasion of Aran took place. They represented no single party and consisted of Socialists, Communists and Anarchists, although Communists were predominant in Galicia, Socialists in Asturias and Anarchists in the south. Nevertheless, after the failure of the Republican invasion, it was the Communists who emerged as the most important group, sending in militants trained in the French resistance and the Russian guerrilla to organise existing groups into a coherent force. The Socialists had renounced the struggle in the interior, confident that the Allies would overthrow Franco, and the Anarchists were bitterly divided by internecine polemics.

As far as the rural guerrilla struggle is concerned, it would be true to say that the Communists played a crucial role in organising it on a regional basis and supplying the various

groups with food, arms and money. The years of most activity were 1945 to 1948. Civil Guard posts were attacked, trains blown up, power lines brought down. At first, the reaction of the peasantry seems to have been passively favourable. In Galicia, the *guerrilleros* accepted requests for specific actions such as burning municipal archives to prevent the collection of taxes. But in the long term the guerrilla was doomed to failure. The 1940s were years of intense hunger in Spain. After three years of Civil War and several more of state terror, most people were too busy trying to stay alive to support any wide uprising.

If it was ever to succeed, the guerrilla action would have had to be complemented by strikes in industrial areas. Such had been the original hope of the Communists, but they failed to realise the extent to which the working class had been reduced by the post Civil War repression. When they finally accepted that the guerrilla could never be a revolutionary vanguard action, they withdrew their militants from the struggle, to concentrate on rebuilding the workers' movement. Yet the rural struggle went on well into the 1950s, carried on by isolated Anarchists.

However, the main Anarchist resistance took the form of an urban guerrilla, mainly in Barcelona. Its repression was to occupy the forces of order until the late 1950s by which time mass opposition by workers and students was beginning to re-emerge. Even less is known about this movement than about the rural guerrilla, yet it is crucial to an understanding of the 1940s in Spain. It is all the more to be applauded then that Antonio Tellez, the confidant and correspondent of the activists, has now begun to publish the unique material at his disposal.

Books about guerrilla actions tend for obvious reasons to be anecdotal, and these two are no exception. The lives and exploits of Francisco Sabate ("El Quico") and Jose Luis Facerias were both heroic and adventurous. In September, 1955, for instance, during a visit by Franco to Barcelona, with security forces everywhere, Sabate hired a taxi with a sun-roof and drove around firing anti-regime leaflets from a mortar. Both *Sabate* and *Facerias* contain plenty of otherwise unobtainable information about bank robberies, shoot-outs with the police, reprisals against informers and torturers and about the methods used by the police to combat them. However the value of these books goes far beyond the picturesque anecdote; the material provided by Tellez particularly about the bewildering world of the Republican exiles in France, makes it possible to study the failure of opposition in the decade after the Civil War.

The overwhelming reason was, of course, the demoralisation of defeat. Accordingly, as Stuart Christie makes clear in his passionate introduction to his own excellent translation of *Sabate* the urban *guerrilleros* were only carrying out a rearguard action. In the conditions of 1940s Spain, they could rarely undertake the sort of ambitious projects organised by the Tupamaros in Uruguay. All leftists were closely watched by the police. Certificates of political reliability were necessary to get a job. So, unlike the Tupamaros, they could not just melt back to their normal lives after an action. They were forced to be full-time members of the resistance and live in permanent clandestinity. In order to eat and do basic tasks like maintaining an underground press, they were obliged to waste energy on

robberies of no political significance. This made it easier for the authorities to brand the *guerrilleros* as gangsters. In view of this and of the overwhelming forces massed against them, it is remarkable that Sabate and Facerias were able to make the propaganda impact they did.

In the last resort, however, the guerrilla was a practical failure, and Tellez attributes that failure to exiled Republican leaders who were riven by all kinds of divisions. The internal resistance, in need of moral and material support, was constantly demoralised by the sterile haggling of the exiles.

Tellez's detailed account of the day-to-day struggle within Spain and of the interminable wranglings of the exiles is very valuable. Yet it is clear that his purpose in publishing these books was not just informative but also exemplary. Both he and Christie regard the guerrilla actions as having kept up the morale of an otherwise shattered working class. But they never ask themselves whether the guerrilla may have been counter-productive. After all, the Communists abandoned the rural guerrilla in 1949 because they believed it was counter-productive. It is perhaps asking too much, however, that the chronicler of the Anarchist urban guerrilla should question its value. As it stands, the usefulness of his work is difficult to exaggerate.

Paul Preston (T.L.S.)



Miguel Garcia Garcia

FRANCO'S PRISONER, Miguel Garcia Garcia, Hart-Davis, £2.25 (temporarily out of print).

SURELY NO WAR lives on in the hearts and lives of a nation as much as the Spanish Civil War lives on in Spain. It's impossible to walk down a street, take a bus, buy a newspaper without constant reminders of that terrible civil conflict which divided the world's conscience but has now been so conveniently forgotten by all but few outside Spain. Franco's own particular kind of bamboo curtain has contributed considerably to popular ignorance of the lot of the ordinary Spanish people. Censorship is incredibly effectively practised; today, even the Falange party is regarded as dangerously radical. Opus Dei rules the roost and imprisons its own dissident priests and bishops in a remote fortress exclusively used for religious transgressors. The Inquisition used to call them heretics.

Times don't change much in Spain. The clock seems stuck in the thirties. The regime continues to rule a resentful and disaffected people. One such was Miguel Garcia Garcia whose account of himself, *Franco's Prisoner*, tells more in a few pages of less-than-fluid English than whole tomes of arid theory. Garcia was an anarchist active in Barcelona. He was in the Tallion Group and worked closely with the brilliant and dedicated Sabate brothers. On October 21, 1949, he was arrested and later sentenced to death with eight of his comrades. After 38 days on Death Row his sentence was commuted to thirty years imprisonment. He was released after serving twenty years and came to England where he is today active in the cause of international revolution and anarchism. (Cont. on page 38)

GUERRA, EXILIO Y CARCEL DE UN ANARCOSINDICALISTA, Cipriano Mera, Ruedo Iberico; £4.00.



CIPRIANO MERA

CIPRIANO MERA'S LIFE was, for many years, closely linked to the evolution of the Iberian Anarchist Federation (F.A.I.) and the C.N.T., and from 1925 until his death in 1975 he was always in the middle of the struggle. This dedication to the anarchist movement, together with his honest and sincere modesty, tends to make this memoir rather dry and almost skeletal in parts. In spite of his generalship, with its command of three divisions during the war he used to say, to explain his return to his trade of bricklayer in exile in France: "My greatest victory was with the trowel".

Cipriano Mera's memoirs take us from 1936 to 1947 during which period a number of problems facing the anarchist movement are underlined. There are powerful reasons for his recurring theme of the organisation of an anarchist army: fear and the instinct of self-preservation (which outweighs good intentions and militant self-discipline); and the lack of military efficiency with its resultant losses of good militants. He makes the point that the military - soldiers and officers alike - can succumb to panic, but the army has tactics and training to fall back on which the militants lacked. Mera also recognises the fact that there were some militants with more experience than others and that in military warfare, in badly organised actions, these militants were to die meaninglessly when compared with their greater possibilities as organisers (p39).

Another point of view on this subject which isn't dealt with in the book is the question of the *moros*. Franco employed Moroccans - *moros* - as shock troops. These men had no choice in the matter - they were "colonials" and therefore expendable cannon fodder. I do not know if it was Garcia Oliver, or Peiro, an anarchist Minister at the time (for whatever that is worth!), who declared that the C.N.T./F.A.I. had suffered too many losses and would, therefore, have to

fall back on the *moros* - or non-politicised - in the Republican sector (those who had not volunteered for the militias), but certainly Mera protested vigorously against this anti-anarchist mentality (see the anthology in the new French edition of my book *L'autogestion dans l'espagne revolutionnaire*).

Another recurring theme is the need for collective discipline, of making concessions for the sake of the idea and eventual victory. It is interesting how Mera interprets this in his own way and in the name of what he considers to be a fundamental criticism: governmental collaboration of the C.N.T. and the flight from Madrid of the Government and the National Committee of the C.N.T.; the re-placement of Durruti following his death; the need to instill more discipline among Republican officers; and the need to destroy the Communist Party militarily.

Disgracefully, this last point is not explored further. In 1939 Mera and Garcia Pradas, together with a number of socialists, organised the liquidation of the communist controlled forces and initiated negotiations with Franco in a last attempt to obtain free exit from the country of thousands of the most compromised Republicans. It was a failure.

Mera goes on to recount his experiences as a prisoner - first as a captive of the French in North Africa and later in Spain when he was handed over to Franco by the French authorities. Sentenced to death and later pardoned and released (on the same day as Joaquin Maurin according to a book published in Spain by Manuel Sanchez). He describes the re-organisation of the clandestine C.N.T. and its contacts with Francoist generals to prepare a *coup* against the regime with assistance of the French and British armies (who had only recently won the war) (One detail worth noting here is that many Spanish anarchists served as *moros* for the Allies during World War II. A friend of mine was told by De Gaulle - while being decorated in Montecassino in 1943 - "Today Paris, tomorrow Madrid.")

Mera's testimony opens up horizons far wider than those described in his book. Up until the last few weeks of his life Mera contributed a good part of his retirement pension to support *Frente Libertario*, an anarchist paper published in exile - his life meant less to him than the collective strength of Spanish anarchism. Frank Mintz

DURRUTI: LE PEUPLE EN ARMES, Abel Paz, Tete de Feuille, £4.00. (An English language translation of this work DURRUTI: THE PEOPLE ARMED will be published shortly by Black Rose Books, Canada).

AS WELL AS being a biography of the best-known Spanish anarchist, this book is also an account of the revolutionary climate and development of the anarchist movement in Spain from 1917 to 1936.

As activists in a pre-revolutionary climate, Durruti and a number of his comrades - who were just as well-known and who took part in an equal number of exploits - Garcia Oliver (future Minister of Justice!), Jover, commander of an army division, Ascaso, killed resisting the military coup in Barcelona in 1936 - together formed a clandestine affinity group dedicated to building up the workers movement and giving drive to their combativity. They smuggled arms and ammunition, assassinated the murderers hired by the employers (the *pistoleros* and the arch-reactionary Cardinal Soldevilla, etc.), carried out rob-

beries to support striking workers, *financed libertarian publishing groups* (eds. italics!), taking money from Spanish banks in France and Belgium, and Latin American banks in Buenos Aires and Mexico. So fantastic were the activities of Durruti and comrades that even the most imaginative film director would think twice before undertaking to present his life on the screen: Pardoned by the courts because a witness failed to identify him (after a little pressure had been exerted); expelled from France to Belgium by the French police who made him pass the border clandestinely; preparing the counter-attack to the future military coup in Barcelona and discussing this defence as an equal with senior Republican officials. Abel Paz portrays for us - vividly - the dynamism, the details and the wide panorama of the epic period in which Durruti and his comrades were active militants.

The most important point of the book, however, is that it shows that Durruti was never assimilated - an all too easy process - into the bureaucracy of the revolutionary machinery. He never set himself up as a representative of the revolutionary conscience as did members of the Communist Party, who were few and did nothing, or those of the future POUM, then known as the *Bloque Obrero y Campesino* (B.O.C.), with Nin and Maurin who weren't worth a great deal more.

Durruti wrote little, but sufficient remains of his thoughts to leave no doubt as to the strength of his ideas. In 1920, at the age of 24, he declared: "The position matters little; the important thing is vigilance from the rank-and-file to ensure that the 'leaders' keep their promises and do not allow themselves to lapse into bureaucracy". (p35). In 1931, when the Republic was proclaimed, he stated at a public meeting: "As anarchists we declare that our services never have, nor ever will be, at the service of any political party or State. The anarchists and syndicalists of the CNT, together with other revolutionaries, have a mission to ensure - under pressure from the rank-and-file - that the members of the government fulfill their mandate." (p154). Again, in 1932: "Those whom the bourgeoisie refer to as 'chiefs' are workers known to everyone, and whose standard of living is identical to that of any other poverty stricken worker. What distinguishes them from the others is the fact that they have the courage to stand in the front line of battle, running the greatest risk of a bullet or filling the prisons." (p188). After the unsuccessful attempt to declare libertarian communism (January 8, 1933) Durruti wrote: "It is a fact that the conditions (for the rising) were not favourable. Had it been otherwise we would not be in prison! But, equally, it is no less true that we are living in a pre-revolutionary age and we cannot allow the bourgeoisie to strengthen its hold on the power of the State (...). We desire a revolution by and for the people. Outside of this concept, no revolution is possible. It would simply be a *coup d'etat* and nothing more. But we who come from the mines, the factories, and the land shall try to create an effective social revolution. This has nothing to do with Blanquism or Trotskyism - it is simply the clear and precise idea that the revolution is something which has to be prepared for each and every day. We can never tell with any certainty when it will burst upon us." (pp196/197). At a public meeting on November 16, 1933, Durruti declared: "We anarchists, as always, shall fulfill our obligations by being the first to throw ourselves into the struggle. The occupation of the Italian factories should be a lesson for us. The occupations must spread outwards to the exterior, because, as with each insurrection, they

must take the offensive. Just as a defensive attitude is the death of any insurrection, so also is doomed to failure occupation of the factories isolated from links with the outside world. The workers have nothing to lose but their chains. Long live the social revolution!" (pp209/210).

Durruti was to fulfill his aspirations magnificently during the Civil War, fighting the war and building the revolution with his column in Aragon, and Abel Paz gives us an excellent description of this period, including the vacillations of the anarchists when faced with the necessity to launch campaigns in Morocco and Portugal to destroy Franco's bases there, and in expropriating the Bank of Spain's gold to buy arms and machinery with which to produce them.

My only reproach is that the author dedicates a certain amount of false solicitude in his inquest into the death of Durruti. It has been known for some time (and recently confirmed by witnesses in Spain) that Durruti was killed accidentally in his car by one of his comrades, Manzana, when his gun went off. (Incidentally, Manzana tried to commit suicide on the spot when he realised what he had done). It was Garcia Oliver who invented the version which was accepted until quite recently that Durruti had been killed by a Francoist bullet – a ploy to stimulate morale (a typical bluff). However, the gun had gone off at such close range that the area around the wound was charred. This, in turn, gave rise to the Francoist, Communist, and Trotskyist version (the latter by Broue) of Durruti's death that he had been killed by his own men in a "settling up of accounts".

So far, Abel Paz's book has had two interesting adventures. The first is that it inspired the German writer on anarchism, Hans Magnus Enzensberger, to write a delightful book entitled "The Brief Summer of Anarchy: The Life and Death of Buenaventura Durruti", an intelligently presented series of testimonies on Durruti which concludes with a comparison between the anarchists of today and the old Spanish emigres: "They are not tired, nor neurotic, and they don't need drugs. They do not complain. They do not bemoan their fate. Their defeats have not made them cynical. They know that they made mistakes, but they do not try to wipe out the memory of them. These old and still revolutionary men are stronger than all who came after them." (Although this statement is greatly exaggerated it is still valid for not a few militants today).

The second is that Abel Paz's book was published in resume form in Spain, together with the quotes from Durruti translated entirely from the French(!) – without permission of the author! There are two sides to this story, one good and the other bad. The good is that it was published very cheaply and in a very readable form, selling over 10,000 copies in Spain. The bad part is that the plagiarist, Julio C. Acerete, is an anarchist of the bourgeois type who believes in the principle "what is yours is mine, and what is mine remains mine"!

Frank Mintz.

Franco's Prisoner cont.

It is ironic that one of the people who was instrumental in getting Garcia his liberty should now be facing the same kind of prison existence – Stuart Christie, who was in Carabanchel with Garcia where the two became fast friends. Garcia's account of prison life is petrifying. His courage and convictions are impressive. A simple book, told by an activist whose politics are drawn from the land which reared him. 'Franco's Spain' is one reason why the Spanish regime cannot hold. It is also one of the reasons why it must not be permitted to hold.

Monica Foot (Time Out, Aug. 1972)

COLLECTIVES IN THE SPANISH REVOLUTION, Gaston Leval (trans. by Vernon Richards), Freedom Press, £2.00 p/b, £4.00 h/b.

WITH THIS BOOK English readers now have three sources for the study of self-management in Spain to call on: *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution* by Vernon Richards, and *The Anarchist Collectives* by Sam Dolgoff, published in 1972 and 1974 respectively. There are, of course, other studies on the same subject by Bolloren and Hugh Thomas which are interesting, but they are more limited in their scope and of less importance.

As I am particularly interested in this field I should like to define my position very briefly in relation to the abovementioned three works. If they had given me complete satisfaction I would not, of course, have undertaken this review, but my opinion is that these works are based on affirmations rather than demonstrations of facts – too many witnesses and too few concrete results. In fact, they could just as easily relate to idyllic accounts of Chinese communes or *kolkhozes*, and it was for precisely this reason I undertook my work with the firm desire to destroy, iconoclastically, all the demagoguery surrounding the subject and face the reality of what actually happened. The questions which I pose in my book, *L'autogestion dans l'espagne révolutionnaire*, are entirely practical ones: Why did self-management take place in Spain? How did it develop? – spontaneously, or by force and coercion? Did it produce any concrete results? Does it present any original features when compared with other attempts at self-management?

It is for this reason that I disagree with Vernon Richards who states in this edition: "Mintz is less concerned with the economic profitability of collectives compared with the old system" and much more with the questions of freedom and equality and thus asks Why? and How? did Collectivisation take place." (p364). Should there be any doubt about this the new edition of my book (Maspero, 1976) demonstrates only too clearly the importance of the purely economic achievements. I also give figures which answer the criticisms levelled against me by Vernon Richards (pp14, 365).

Leval's work brings together two aspects of the study which are generally difficult to unite – study and testimony – but, and in part due to this method of presentation, the interest of the reader is held throughout the book. The author had the privilege of travelling among the collectives of revolutionary Spain and he paints a serene picture – but not one totally devoid of critical touches. He insists, quite correctly, on the extraordinary role played by those militants who either prepared for, or participated in, the worldwide popular movement towards self-management: "the social revolution which took place then did not stem from a decision by the leading organisms of the CNT or from the slogans launched by the militants and agitators who were in the public limelight (...). It occurred spontaneously, naturally, not (and let us avoid demagoguery) because "the people" in general had suddenly become capable of performing miracles (...). but because, and it is worth repeating, among those people there was a large minority who were active, strong, guided by an ideal which has been continuing through the years a struggle started in Bakunin's time..." (p80).

Leval believes that in Aragon, where the libertarian militias were numerous, they played a minimal if not a negative role as they lived, in part, at the expense of the collectives. All the energy came from the militants who took initiatives "with a tactical skill often quite outstanding." (p91)

Not a few of the chapters are delightful studies: "The Socialisation of Medicine", "The Chart-ers", "Elda", "Rubí", "Lerida", etc. The agricultural, industrial and social service industries are all explained with their own peculiar aspects and their development traced within the overall scheme of self-management.

Various points raised deserve separate study, such as the problem of the relationship between the individual and his work in a new society: "Obviously some would have preferred to stay in bed, but it was impossible for them to cheat." (p117); "there was no place in the rules for the demand for personal freedom or for the autonomy of the individual" (p125); "Building operatives were working with enthusiasm. They had started off by applying the eight-hour day, but the peasants pointed out they they worked a twelve-hour day." (p146 and also pp211, 212, & 304).

There are some comments by the author which stick in the gullet: "his Slavonic psychology, his generous Russian nature" (p18 on Bakunin, but Lenin, too, was a Russian), "preaching the libertarian gospel" (p47), "the Good News" (p56), but fortunately these comments are few and make no difference to the essence of Leval's story.

More curious, however, is Leval's position: "convinced very soon that the anti-fascists would end by losing the war" (p68) he dedicated himself to collecting together the results of this unique experiment for posterity. There are contemporary articles written by Leval: "I had to make an effort to give them confidence and offered them words of hope" (p112). We cannot but underline Leval's hypocrisy in this matter – a sort of tourist's eye view of the attempts to live off the condemned. What was there to do?

Here are the two faces of Leval. In his book he gives us an excellent chapter entitled "Political Collaboration" with the phrase "this excursion in the corridors of power was negative" (p324) (in French it is literally: the stroll in the alleys of power was entirely negative). But in Spain, during the Civil War, that was not Leval's opinion at all. When he arrived there he published an article in *Solidaridad Obrera* (27/11/36, p8) entitled "Discipline: A Condition of Victory", in February 1937 he took part in a meeting with Mariano R. Vazquez (a strong supporter of CNT participation in the government) and in France in November 1937 in *Le Libertaire* he pleaded for a moratorium on the anarchist programme, for the duration of the war. Leval also published articles of a practical nature: "The small Proprietor and the Small Business", "Our Programme for Re-construction", "Let us Establish Co-operatives", etc., (*Solidaridad Obrera*, 12/12/36 p4; 27/12/36 p10; 2/3/37 p6). This stand by Leval in support of the pro-governmental section of the CNT is important. Before the war Leval was better known for his books on social reconstruction, written in the spirit of Peter Kropotkin's *Conquest of Bread*, but adapted to the epoch. Many of the collectivists knew Leval from these writings and had he defended then the position he takes today then the opposition to the political side-tracking of the time would have been far greater.

It is strange that Vernon Richards has not pointed out this evolution in Leval's thinking. It would also have been useful and informative to point out that Dolgoff took his texts from the 1952 Italian edition of Leval's book, with variations (the figures given in the chapter on the socialisation of medicine are not the same – are they typographical errors by Dolgoff or forgetfulness on the part of Richards?) and other texts, in particular "The Characteristics of the Libertarian Collectives" which is an excellent resume of the 19 points of the main aspects of self-management. This

text, as well as part of the Italian pamphlet *L'attività sindacale nella trasformazione sociale* (1948) concerning industry in particular should have been included in the new edition and I don't understand why Leval did not do so.

Vernon Richards has added a bibliography to Leval's book (why didn't Leval do this as well?) and an informative introduction. There is, however, one reproach to be made against Richards. He says that Leval estimates the total number of collectivists "between 5 and 7 millions" (p14), but Leval's exact phrase is "six, seven, eight millions", which contradicts the figure of "about three million peasants" which Vernon gives in his own book on Spain (p99); to add to the confusion this figure is nowhere to be found in the Italian edition of Leval from which the present edition is taken.

One last detail. If the translation itself appears to be quite faithful to the original, there are some paragraphs from the French text which are not included in the English edition – without the reader being informed: 3 pages at the beginning of the book; 2 lines on page 69; 4 on page 326; 14 on page 328; 3 on page 346; 10 on page 353; and 21 on page 354. At no time do any of these omissions detract from Leval's story, they are merely repetitions, amplifications, etc., but when one is publishing a book with 368 pages with an introduction and bibliography by the translator, why worry about one or two extra pages?

The above observations are really for the benefit of *aficionados* or serious students of the subject, but as our ideas attempt to separate as far as possible the differences between intellectual and manual workers and leaders and led, it is for this reason I believe that the English edition of Leval's book should have covered the points which Leval did not include in the French edition – to make it perfect as opposed to just good.

Frank Mintz

QUE ES EL ANARQUISMO? Federica Montseny, Gaya Ciencia (Barcelona).

THIS BOOKLET, published in a cheap edition by a well-known Barcelona publisher, is written by such a well-known and important figure of the Spanish Libertarian Movement in Exile that it is well worth while examining it closely – especially as it seems to be the official exposition of anarchist ideas.

Before looking at the contents of the book, let us first take a personal and, possibly, controversial look at Federica Montseny herself.

Along with other well-known figures of the Spanish anarchist movement – Pestana, Peiro, Garcia Oliver, Abad de Santillan, etc. – Federica Montseny can be characterised by her contradictory attitudes and her influential personality. She first appeared on the scene as a socialist writer compromised by short stories: *Amor de un día*; *Amor en venta*; *El amor errante*; *El amor nuevo*; *El amor que pasa*; *Amor sin mañana*; *Cara a la vida*; *La hija del verdugo*, and at least seven other similar titles. However, almost at the same time, Federica threw herself body and soul into the activities of the F.A.I. and propagating the ideas of anarchism. "Anarchy is the antithesis of government, of authority, of Power. It is quite impossible to accelerate the onward march towards anarchy if the anarchists take over the reins of power which they deny and destroy" (*Mas Lejos* quoted by Peirats in *Presencia* No.9, 1966, p122 – 30/4/36)...to her stand in open war: "If all the comrades from Europe, America and the other countries who do not understand what we are

doing with Spanish anarchism were here in Spain, we could have seen how they would have reacted to those events which have occurred, with a reality very different to that which we dreamed about (...) because *nobody* could have known that we would make the revolution at the same time as we made war." (*El anarquismo militante y la realidad española*, Barcelona conference, January 3, 1937). (We should like to mention in passing that the *nobody* she refers to is Bakunin, Makhno, Kropotkin, and even Abad de Santillan!).

Federica gives us a prime example of governmental cretinism of the worst sort in her speech to reservists being called up to the front: "You are the men of austerity, the always courageous Spaniards. Race of captains and mystics, saints and rebels, of dreamers and pragmatists. A race in which all the bloods that go to make up the unclassifiable, indecipherable Spaniard mix happily (...) You will do your duty, honour your parents and set a good example to your sons – heroically and simply." (*Solidaridad Obrera*, 21/6/1938, p2). Yes, demagogic cretinism worthy of La Pasionaria or Franto, but without the redeeming features of class-objectives or revolutionary change.

It should be noted, however, that Federica was consistent in supporting the work of self-management during the Spanish revolution (although I cannot accept her grossly exaggerated figure of eight million collectivists); and above all she was a recognised leader, accepted as a woman, which was by no means easy at that time in Spanish society (including many anarchists), and she knew how to make her presence felt and get her ideas across, which is admirable (the more so when one thinks of the consequences of La Pasionaria's lovers on the policy of the Central Committee of the Spanish Communist Party).

In this booklet Federica adopts a free and easy tone, and attempts to outline the ideas of anarchism in general, and Spanish anarchism in particular – a difficult task in such a short space. The constant theme is that of underlining the importance of anarchist writers and the cultural benefits of anarchism. But she does this so often that she deforms it – at the expense of explaining the aspects of re-construction, of necessary and limited violence in order to make the revolution, of alliances among the rank-and-file, and on clear points of similarity with other tendencies.

The work becomes a simple listing which the unwary reader could interpret as an attempt to overwhelm with culture, and to present anarch-

ism in terms of cultural leaders, and the ridiculous notion that to be a writer was sufficient security against reactionary, fascist, and racist ideas (Heidegger, Ezra Pound, the pro-K.G.B. Mayakovsky, the Stalinist Neruda, etc.). Furthermore, there is a description (accepting State imposed frontier lines) of those countries which could quite easily have overcome their problems with a vision of great regions, or continents, or social zones (Bakunin was both a Swiss and Italian militant while Kropotkin was equally French and English in his propaganda).

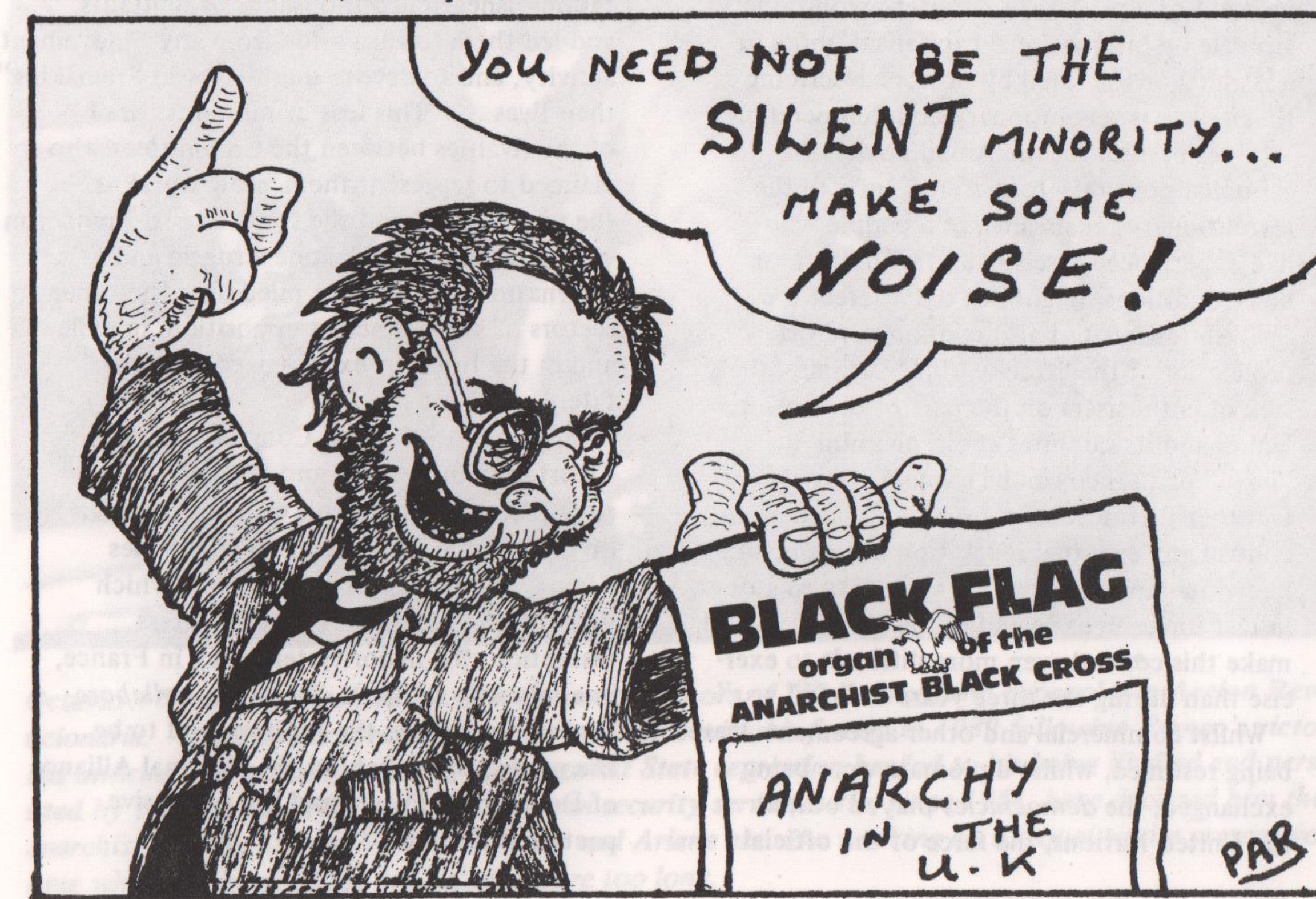
Federica underlines how the socio-economic conditions of Spain led to the firm establishment of anarchist ideas in that country and how they gave impetus to the immediate solution of the problems of social reconstruction (comparing them with other countries such as France – except during the period of a strong anarcho-sindicalist movement – Britain, etc.), but I simply don't understand why she gives over three and a half pages to Ferrer (who is certainly important) and hardly half a page to the achievements of self-management during the Civil War.

The booklet ends with extracts from the seven points of Malatesta's anarchist programme and the motion relating to the economic organisation of an anarchist society proposed at the Carrara Anarchist Congress in 1968.

There is a sorry lack of reference to other books on anarchism, by anarchists, which are available in Spanish: *Durruti*, by Acerete, *El anarquismo en la sociedad de consumo* by Murray Bookchin, *Historia del anarcosindicalismo español* by Juan Gomez Casas, *Por que perdimos la guerra* by Abad de Santillan, and, most important of all, the absence of any reference at all to Jose Peirats' famous work *La CNT en la Revolución Española*, published by the CNT itself.

Will this booklet achieve what it set out to achieve? I don't know. When the reader has finished it and puts it down, thinking of the hysterical criticisms made against the anarchists by the Communist Party and the POUM, it will seem that no clear answers are given. It would not have been difficult to add another chapter on the theoretical and practical arguments of the different brands of marxists against anarchism – from the obituary delivered by Rosa Luxemburg to our affiliation – via Colín Bendit in 1968 – with the CIA (according to *Pravda*).

The only thing we can hope for is that the presence of the re-constituted C.N.T. in Spain will correct certain aspects of Federica's work. Frank Mintz



TWENTY TWO
YEARS OF

DICTATORSHIP and EXILE

(From *el anarquismo español y la acción revolucionaria*, Alberola & Gransac, Ruedo Iberico, 1974, £4.00)

(Translated by Dave Mansell)

ALTHOUGH ANARCHIST ACTIVISM HAS PLAYED a far from negligible role in the development of the international phenomenon of the wholesale challenging of authoritarian society, and in the radicalisation of revolutionary minorities, it has been deliberately ignored in studies relating to this development. And the pages devoted to Spanish and international anarchism in these last few years have been too summary to take in its real evolution, and the importance of its ideological and practical contributions to the sensitization of the international revolutionary movement.

As we think that the study of this process of revolutionary affirmation may be important to those who are interested in the evolution of international revolutionary activism, and of anarchism in particular, and since we have first-hand information and documentation available to us — from having experienced this evolution at close quarters — we have decided to make public this testimony, which, without claiming to be impartial, strives to be objective.

Octavio Alberola & Ariane Gransac

TWENTY-TWO YEARS OF DICTATORSHIP AND EXILE.

The "end of the civil war" on the 31st March 1939 in fact meant only the cessation of hostilities and the total occupation of Spanish territory by "rebel forces" under the command of General Franco. For all Spanish anti-fascists, for those who managed to go into exile as well as for those who remained at the mercy of *reprisals* by the triumphant rebels, the "end of the war" was the beginning of a long calvary. Without doubt it was the anarchist movement, and its sympathisers, that paid the heaviest penalty, not just because Francoist repression was directed against it with greater brutality but also because it received less help from the outside than other sections which could count on powerful organisations and associated parties in the "free world". And so, when "liberation" came, the Spanish Anarchist movement — despite its contribution to the Allied triumph — found itself more isolated than ever.

The acceptance of Franco's fascist regime by the Allied powers came as an immense disappointment to Spanish anti-fascists. For the anarchists this was the culminating moment of a process of counter-revolutionary struggle by international capitalism, more or less aided or tolerated by powers describing themselves as revolutionary and democratic.

It was natural for the Allied Powers — capitalist powers — to prefer Franco to the revolutionary renaissance of a people who had experienced fascism, and who, in these new conditions, might not only defeat the Spanish fascists but also contaminate the proletariat of the "free world." Equally, the lack of enthusiasm on the part of the Soviet Union and its satellites about claiming the "head" of Franco can be explained by the fact that their leaders wanted, and needed, to control any eventual revolution in Spain, and knew that any effective aid they gave to anti-fascist forces in exile and in the Interior would make this control even more difficult to exercise than during the three years of "civil war".

Whilst commercial and other agreements were being resumed, whilst diplomats were being exchanged, the *democracies* played out, at the United Nations, the farce of the official

condemnation of the Spanish totalitarian regime. This resolution served to paralyse the Spanish anti-fascist forces, who split and squabbled over chimeras of hope.

After a period of suffering and setbacks, after the violent annihilation of the most active groups, Spanish anti-fascism entered on a phase of disillusionment.

This was also the beginning of a long period of internal struggles and divisions in the Spanish anarchist movement, starting with the "confederal scission" of 1945, which made the job of destroying the most authentically revolutionary Spanish popular movement, being carried out by Franco in the interior, much easier.

It is true that the Libertarian Movement (1) had suffered an enormous haemorrhage of militants, but the Movement had been so powerful and so popular that it still had enough influence and strength to regain the enthusiasm and popularity it had formerly enjoyed. But this did not happen, and from 1945 its popular influence waned unceasingly.

By the end of 1945 the Spanish anarchist movement had definitely split into two currents. These two "movements" were not to *reunite* until the end of 1961, after wasting fifteen years of valuable energy on an internal war. Their division and confrontation disheartened thousands of militants and led them to turn aside from any "movement" and to devote themselves to "remaking" their lives... This loss of militants, tired of the rivalries between the Committees who claimed to represent them, grew worse as the years passed and the routs of anti-Francoism on the levels of clandestine struggle and international diplomacy piled up. The other sectors of anti-Francoist opposition, in exile and in the Interior, experienced a similar fate.

In May 1945 the first Congress of the Libertarian movement and the CNT in exile took place. It was at this Congress that the division of the CNT into two tendencies occurred: "one, *apolitical*, the one which would find expression in the Congress resolution, the majority tendency in France, in a minority in Spain, the other, *collaborationist*, stronger in the Interior, and to be the moving spirit behind the National Alliance of Democratic Forces and the successive pacts and alliances." (2)

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in a position of total dependence on the victorious powers.

The libertarian action groups, like the hard-core groups of guerrillas still operating in the peninsula, were gradually abandoned to their fate at the hands of Francoist repression.

In brief, it could be said that if the vital question for the Franco regime in this period was *resistance*, the anti-Franco movement's major concern was waiting for others to resolve its problems. So it is not surprising that the course of events during these years confirmed its attitude and finally led the anti-Francoist movement from a political impasse to decay and break-up.

There is no need to go any further into the series of manoeuvres and counter-maneuvres, pacts and defections, crises and reconstitutions of the Republican government in exile, on which all the political sectors in exile spent most of their energy during the whole of this period, whilst the Franco regime was carrying on its work of repression, in the Interior, against those who were attempting to reorganise, clandestinely, trade-union structures, opposition parties, and armed resistance groups.

And so an increasing number of clandestine opposition committees succumbed to repression. The CNT, in its two fractions, and the MLE had to face up to a veritable haemorrhage of militants. As evidence of the bloody repression going on we will quote some cases, taken from the book, *España Hoy*, by Fernandez de Castro and Jose Martinez (Paris: Ruedo Iberico, 1963) which attracted attention at the time because of the personalities of the militants who were killed:

In March 1947, "several anarchists were shot, among them Amador Franco and Antonio Lopez. They had been captured by the Guardia Civil after a confrontation in Irun — the commando unit they were in charge of had a portable radio transmitter."

In June 1948, "the Barcelona police launched a gigantic hunt for Raul Carbeillera an Argentinian anarchist who was directing the CNT action groups; he had crossed the frontier on several occasions to initiate direct action by the Resistance. After his group had had a confrontation with the police in the course of which a militant and several policemen had died, the Brigada Social made up their minds to capture the man they considered their principal enemy because of his importance as an organiser and because of the daring of his actions. On the 26th June, encircled by the police and the Guardia Civil in Montjuich, he killed himself."

In November of the same year, "a 'Council of War' in Barcelona tries CNT militants, Jose Lopez and Jose Gonzales Puig. They are condemned to death and the first is shot immediately."

In February 1949, "A 'Council of War' tries eight CNT militants, Marcos Nadal, accused of being the Secretary General is sentenced to death."

In March of the same year, "an attack on the car of Pinol Ballester, secretary to the head of the (Falangist) Youth Front. Pinol Ballester and the chauffeur die of bullet wounds. Several days later the police announce that the perpetrators of the attack have been discovered and that three of them died in a shoot-out."

Later that same year, "the police surprise twenty CNT militants in Barcelona and six *cenetistas* [militants of the CNT], amongst them Jose Sabate Llopart, died in the fight. A little later five other members

of the CNT are arrested. The police announce the destruction of 'four gangs'... A 'Council of War' meets in Zaragoza to try Cruz Navarro, a *cenetista*, who is sentenced to death... Near La Coruna a confrontation between the CNT and the police, in the course of which seven anarchist militants die... In Barcelona, a 'Council of War' sentences to death the *cenetista* Lopez Penedo, accused of having killed a superintendent. He is executed."

In February 1950, "on the 24th Manuel Sabate Llopart is garrotted in Barcelona prison. An anarchist militant, he was accused of having crossed the frontier clandestinely, to take part in the Resistance. One of the main reasons for his execution is the fact that he is the brother of Francisco Sabate, a known member of anarchist action groups."

In November 1951, "on the 14th 75 members of the CNT are tried in Seville prison, accused of reorganising their union and of helping guerrillas, particularly for their attempt to evacuate a group of guerrillas by sea in 1949. Two death sentences, against Antonio Nunez and Dionisio Rueda, and prison sentences of from 8 to 30 years, most of them over 15 years, are handed out."

In February 1952, "a Council of War to try 30 CNT militants who have been in detention for two years. The sentences are from 2 to 30 years in prison, and there are 11 death sentences, of which five are carried out."

In August 1957, "on the 30th, Jose Luis Facerias, is assassinated by police in Barcelona. He was a veteran organiser of anarchist action groups which had been operating since the end of the civil war. The 'irreducible fighter' died riddled with bullets in an ambush laid by the police at the junction of Urrutia and Verdun Street."

And so on... until the death of Francisco Sabate Llopart in January 1960.

Despite the repression and the scant assistance from those in Exile and from the big international trade union organisations, the Spanish working class initiated, from 1947

onwards, a series of protest actions and wage demands which the Regime could not always either stifle or easily put down. However, in all cases, the end result was always the same; Francoism imposed its order brutally, and the painful consequences of these setbacks were heaped on the backs of the working masses.

"... in 1949 a political epoch closed, on a happy note for Franco. In the Interior he had practically eliminated the whole of the traditional working-class opposition: its leaders were in prison, the activists and guerrillas either dead or executed, public order seemed to be assured for a long time... In opposition circles, the feeling grew that the best opportunity for a rapid resolution of the situation had gone, without any advantage having been taken of it..." (7)

There was an important triumph for Francoist diplomacy in 1950. In August the American Congress voted an amendment to its "law on the allocation of credits," granting a maximum credit of 62,500,000 dollars to Spain; and in November the United Nations General Assembly decided to annul its resolution which recommended that member states recall their ambassadors from Madrid, and forbade Spain's membership of any of the United Nations' international institutions.

In spite of this the PSOE (Spanish Workers' Socialist Party) and the other political forces of Opposition persisted in their illusory hopes of a solution from outside... And in the face of their abandonment by the Americans, turned their eyes towards a "Europe which was taking the first tentative steps towards unification..."

The letter which Don Juan (8) sent to Franco in July 1951, brought fresh disappointment to "the democratic anti-Francoist opposition": the PSOE and the sectors of the Opposition which had signed the "Pact of San Juan de Luz." The PSOE could do nothing but break the pact and abandon its policy of agreements with the monarchist forces, a policy which had been the cause of



Octavio Alberola Surinach and Ariane Gransac, authors of "El Anarquismo Español y la Acción Revolucionaria." Octavio was forced into exile in Mexico with his family in 1939 following Franco's victory. His untiring and uncompromising stand against State repression has led to his being libelled and persecuted by the Spanish press and the European security services who, since 1961, have declared him the anarchist "Public Enemy No.1". Octavio and Ariane are now working on a sequel to the present volume which we hope to see in English before too long.

many confrontations and divisions within the anti-Francoist movement.

The same year saw the celebrated interview between Franco and the American admiral, Forrest Sherman, which initiated negotiations about the use of bases by American military forces. This was in the middle of the "cold war" period when the United States government had definitely lowered its mask. It gave up its *democratic scruples* and started a long period of political, economic and military collaboration with the Francoist regime.

In the same year spectacular mass movements flared up in Barcelona, Vizcaya and Guipuzcoa. As in previous years, and in those to come, this kind of protest movement did not succeed in spreading itself to the whole country, but only provided heroic testimony to the spirit of resistance against, and refusal of, the Regime by large sections of the working class and the young.

These popular struggles had a profound effect on politicisation within Spanish universities, and on the same appearance of "new political generations," opposed to the Regime, inside the country. At the same time they demonstrated the sterility and opportunism of the Communist Party's policy of "national reconciliation" (9).

The years 1952-55 saw new "diplomatic victories" for Franco (10). Within Spain, the period was distinguished by the development of a policy of rapid and uncontrolled industrialisation, an increase in social conflicts, and the public confirmation of Falangist "opposition" to monarchists and liberal intellectuals.

The Socialists and Republicans redoubled their efforts to obtain the support of Western European government, while the Communists carried on their work of *infiltrating* legal organisations, multiplying their contacts with, and advances to, the new "opposition." For their part, the libertarians entered on a long period of quiescence, which meant a progressive loss of ground and adherents, and the removal of the CNT and MLE from the forefront of the day-to-day struggles of the anti-Francoist opposition.

At the beginning of 1957, Franco reorganised his government, and made no bones about the fact that he was opening the way to power for Opus Dei, which presented itself as a "pressure group" of technocrats "with no political leanings." The sacrifice of the Falangist "left" was obvious. The Regime was tending definitely in the direction of a "liberalisation" which was to lead to a *rapprochement* with "democratic capitalist" Europe. This sacrifice of dogmatism and nostalgia in no way meant the sacrifice of the *hard men*. The appointment of General Alonso Vega, one of the hardest of the hard, as Minister of the Interior was a clear indication of the Regime's firm decision to continue its severe repression of opposition activities. This was evident in the repression of student movements and of the memorable strike by Asturian miners in March 1958.

This period coincided with the appearance of the "new political generations" inside the country, which occasioned different and opposing reactions among the exiles; some regarded the phenomenon with grave suspicion, others, especially the Communists, tried to win over part at least of the "new generations" with their "days of national reconciliation" in May 1958, and the abortive "peaceful national strike" of June 1959.

During this period Spain was subjected to

a "galloping inflation" which threatened the very survival of the Francoist economic system. The USA intervened to safeguard the Spanish economy with credits and international loans, and finally the massive expansion of the tourist industry began to become a solid economic prop of the Regime. In anticipation of the possible *subversive* effects of the presence in the country of tourists from democratic countries, Alonso Vega prepared to apply the new "Law of Public Order", promulgated in June 1959, which sought to place a more juridical mask on repression. There were to be no more death sentences. The nascent "European" aspirations of the Regime made this advisable. But, in January of the following year, "near dawn, on the 4th, in the neighbourhood of Banolas (Gerona), there was a fight between the forces of the Guardia Civil and an anarchist commando group which had crossed the frontier six days before. Four of the anarchists and the commander of the Civil Guards, Francisco de Fuentes, died in the shooting. The leader of the anarchist group, Francisco Sabate Llopart was wounded, and although he managed to escape, was killed the next day at San Celoni by a 'somaten' (Catalan militiaman). The episode caused a sensation in the country as a survival from the old Resistance days." Two months later Antonio Abad Donoso was garrotted after having been condemned to death by a summary "Council of War" for terrorism.(11).

The last two years of the period we have been analysing in this chapter, as an introduction which will lead to a better understanding of the chapters that follow, proved decisive in the birth of new tendencies and new concerns within the opposition movements in Spain and in exile. The fall of some Latin American dictatorships, notably Batista's awakened new hopes. The Castroist "epic" of the "Sierra Maestra" and the eventual triumph of the revolutionary forces, had a great impact on the anti-Francoists and stimulated the rebirth of direct action tendencies.



Raul Carbeillera

Francoism had continued to make progress, in the sense of the recognition and consolidation of its position on the international plane, and this was triumphantly confirmed by Eisenhower's presidential visit to Franco in December 1959. As for the internal situation, although the Economic Council of the OECD considered that the first phase of the stabilisation programme had succeeded, the working class had suffered badly from the effects of stabilisation, which had brought about a notable increase in unemployment

and emigration. All these factors had contributed to the evolution of a certain form of opposition by sections of Catholic workers and intellectuals, which had started up several years earlier.

At the end of 1960 Spain underwent a profound economic crisis. Only the money from tourism, emigrant workers and "external aid," and implacable repression, allowed the regime to minimise the risks to the internal situation which the crisis represented. Despite this — and although in such circumstances the threat of being fired causes workers to limit protest movements and strikes — the anti-Francoist Opposition became active and underwent significant transformations.

The anarchist organisations in exile became aware of what was going on, and decided to bury their old quarrels and put an end to their internal divisions under pressure from a "base" which was conscious of the process of extinction which the policy of quiescence had been leading it to, and which had rediscovered its old enthusiasm and need to fight.

The Spanish anarchist movement prepared to accelerate the organic process of Confederal reunification. The death of Francisco Sabate Llopart and the heroic end of his group, the formation of marginal groups within the two fractions of the CNT oriented to Confederal unity and radicalisation of the struggle against Franco, the pressures of other sectors of the anti-Francoist movement for a Syndical Alliance (CNT-UGT-STV) and a new alliance of democratic forces, were all factors which brought about a majority tendency in favour of unity in both fractions of the CNT, and finally led to the "accords" which made it possible.

O.A. & A.G.

(1) A fusion of the syndical (CNT — National Confederation of Labour), specific (FAI — Iberian Anarchist Federation), and youth (FIJL — Iberian Federation of Libertarian Youth) branches.

(2) "Espana Hoy" by Fernandez de Castro and Jose Martinez (Paris: Ruedo Iberico, 1963).

(3) At the May Congress the majority tendency had approved the following resolution: "... the Movement and the Confederation, as freely determined by the membership base, *ratify* their tactics of direct action, of struggle against the State, and their revolutionary anarchist-socialist principles."

(4) The adjective "Libertarian" began to be used more than that of "anarchist", particularly by militants of the collaborationist tendency, who were called "scissionist" and "reformist" by those in the other tendency.

(5) "During the summer of 1944, groups of Spaniards who had fought in the Resistance in France, at the initiative of the Juntas of National Union, and under the political control of the Spanish Communist Party, prepared to liberate their country ... An attempt to invade along the whole frontier was made by these groups, mainly in the Valle de Aran. It was repulsed by Francoist troops who captured three or four thousand of the participants in the invasion." (Espana Hoy).

(6) The A.F.A.R.E. (Association of Spanish Republican Armed Forces) was constituted in January 1945. "It is controlled by a Committee of professional soldiers, the majority of whom are Republican. Its activity is basically directed to the rebuilding of the organisational structure of the Republican Army ... Armed activity by

NOTES ON

CLANDESTINE ORGANISATION

IN SPAIN

(From *el anarquismo español*..)

Report on the setting up of a National Council of Defence (Defence d'Interior — D.I.) by the "re-united" C.N.T. (1961):

After the declarations of the direct delegation of the National Committee from the Interior, which insisted on the necessity of the CNT continuing "firmly its revolutionary action," the Congress, without any great difficulty, adopted concrete accords about the Syndical Alliance and the Anti-Fascist Front:

"... the CNT will insist on the necessity of the Alliance's assuming a dynamic character and directing its activities principally into direct opposition to the Regime in Spain ... The CNT considers that the Alliance's period of inactivity must come to an end, and that it is urgent that it becomes a dynamic living organisation by activity in both the Interior and in Exile. If this condition is not fulfilled, the CNT will reconsider its agreements ..."

"... as subversive action against the Regime is indispensable, the CNT, along with the other anti-fascist forces, will attempt to set up a National Council of Defence as a fighting instrument, whose task will be to develop, coordinate and set up clandestine struggle in the Interior. If, contrary to our desires and the most elementary of our duties, we do not succeed in impressing this fighting spirit on our acts in common, the CNT will undertake this line of combat by itself, considering it the only hope of salvation."

This "firm" decision to "dynamise" the struggle against the Regime, "in conjunction with the other anti-dictatorial sections of the anti-Francoist movement or without them", made clear in these two accords, is the most faithful reflection of the atmosphere which prevailed at the end of the Congress. An atmosphere which led to the approval, in a closed session, of the (secret) report of the D—I (Interior Defence).

The report was drawn up by a committee composed of three known militants (G. Esgleas, M. Celma and V. Llansola) of the "purist" faction, who had expressly proposed that they should do it.

22 Years of Dictatorship & Exile cont.

it was very rare ... In March 1947 a wave of arrests brought about its dismantling" (Espana Hoy).

(7) Espana Hoy.

(8) "I have carefully avoided," wrote, Don Juan, "identifying the Crown with any party ... my hands are free of any ties or pacts concerning the future ... this does not mean that I am ignorant of the activities of monarchist elements which have sought, entirely under their own responsibility, with a mind to the future, to neutralise any possible revolutionary tendency among the anticommunist sectors of Spanish workers, by leading them in the direction of social and patriotic co-operation ... I have been accused, maliciously I believe, by anti-monarchist propagandists, of not identify-

"Report on the 8th Point of the Agenda":

1st. The existing report, of 8th May 1951, adopted at the previous CNT congress at Limoges, is ratified, the sister branch (FAI) also ratifies it.

2nd. Agreeing with its clauses, and considering that we must prepare ourselves, in all eventualities, so that we, Exile and Interior in strict coordination, may take the situation in hand, and act coherently as a determining factor.

WE SUGGEST: that there be created, via the defence organisation, the D—I SECTION.

That a comrade from the Interior may form part of it, if the Interior thinks it necessary.

The comrades of this Section will be designated by the defence organisation and will be replaced by the same organisation where the Exile is involved.

This section will be kept secret, and it will maintain secrecy about its members and its work, for which it will be responsible to the defence organisation.

The location of the D—I Section will also remain unknown, no details being given of whether it is in the Interior, in France, or some other part of Europe, Africa or America.

The D—I Section will be responsible for the selection of comrades who consider themselves suitable, trustworthy and up to the realisation of the objectives of defence.

Without limiting other complementary initiatives, the section is recommended to:

- Prepare organisation networks in the Interior, wherever necessary, with a view to their being used where the needs of the organisation call for it.
- Prepare action networks which specialise in all aspects of combat and conspiracy.
- Establish preparational and operational bases in reserve, in Exile and in the Interior, particularly in France, Portugal, Morocco, England and other places.
- Form study and technical, strategic and tactical preparation networks.
- Form an informational and infiltration structure, particularly in university, student, intellectual and industrial circles, and work

ing myself with the National Movement ... let us make an agreement to bring about a stable regime. ..."

(9) At a meeting of its Central Committee in June 1956, the Spanish Communist Party openly formulated a policy of *national reconciliation*: "... the Party reached the conclusion that there was a strong possibility of an agreement to struggle against the dictatorship between forces which, twenty years before, had fought on opposite sides. The possibility of suppressing the dictatorship without going through a civil war became feasible. These conclusions led the party to formulate the policy of National Reconciliation." (Espana Hoy).

(10) Admission of Spain into Unesco in November 1952; signing of a Concordat with

environments in general.

f) Form a suitable propaganda structure, with specialists in oral, written, radio, etc., propaganda.

All comrades, young or veterans, can be counted on to cooperate, according to their aptitudes, in the tasks, networks, functions and jobs described.

To collect the means indispensable to the realisation of these tasks, the Organisation will decide on the methods to be used, whether subscriptions or appeals, to find the full amount of funds necessary.

The report Committee considers that all these proposals can only be realised if there are men who are really prepared to work in accordance with the movement's conditions, who are capable of realising its objectives, who are individually and collectively responsible, and if the means are at hand.

For the report Committee; F.L. of Seysses, F.L. of Bordeaux, and F.L. of Ingre. Limoges, 2nd Sept. 1961 (There follow the delegate's signatures).

RIDER. In order to raise at least 10 million in funds as rapidly as possible, we suggest that a special subscription to this end be opened in addition to the normal one, in all Local Federations.

NOTE from the Intercontinental Secretariat: Comrade Secretary, The confidential nature of the present Report demands that you take care not to mislay it, and that it be carefully guarded once you have informed the comrades you represent in the region you are responsible for, whether it is a Local or Regional Federation."

This report represented, in principle, a decisive step along the road to recovery of the libertarian movement, as such because it was the necessary corollary of reunification and of the spirit of struggle of the Confederal Organisation, as because, along with the accords about the Syndical Alliance and the Anti-Fascist Front, it formed a coherent strategic whole. For the first time in the long anti-Francoist Exile, libertarian strategy had acquired a realistic and logical political

the Holy See in August 1953; signing of the "Madrid pact" on the joint uses of bases in Spain by Spanish and American forces in September of the same year; a new meeting between Franco and Don Juan at Caceres in December 1954; the Congress of the Inter-Parliamentary Union allows the admission of Francoist Spain in August 1955; entry of Spain into UNO; etc.

(11) In March "... two bombs exploded in Madrid, one in the Town Hall and the other in the hands of the man carrying it. From papers found on the victim, he is identified as Ramon Perez Jurado, aged 27. Three other unexploded bombs are found. The Iberian Revolutionary Directorate of Liberation (DRIL) claims responsibility for the attack.

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Clandestine Organisation cont.

direction. With the adoption of the Report, the Congress fully justified its meeting, and opened promising perspectives on the galvanisation of libertarian enthusiasm and the mobilisation of broad sections of the anti-Francoist movement.

This is why reunification had awakened so many hopes and so much enthusiasm, particularly among the young libertarians who were disgusted by the passive policies laid down by the two other branches of the Movement. A disgust which had culminated in the separation of the FIJL from the Defence Committee (C de D) several years earlier.

The management of the reorganisation of the Interior — undertaken by the Intercontinental Secretariat, which had made possible the unity of the CNT — and the preparation of an action — with adequate technical means — to assassinate the Caudillo (1), had brought about a resurgence of confidence on the part of the Youth Organisations in their "elders", and the disposition to collaborate with them once more in the tasks of resistance in the Interior.

The FIJL had pronounced itself in favour of unity a long time before, and, as far as it was possible, had participated in consolidating it. Its sections in Mexico and Venezuela had collaborated directly, from the end of 1960, in the collection of funds and in the campaign of libertarian mobilisation for the re-opening of the anti-Francoist struggle. At the Plenary Assembly of Young People in September the delegation of young libertarians from the Interior managed to overcome the last reservations, and obtained the decision to reintegrate the FIJL into the Movement's Defence Committee.

Like the Confederal branch and the specific branch (2), the youth branch drew up a report on clandestine struggle, but in anticipation of the non-application of the accords, the FIJL had added a condition to its report:

"... in the case where the common line of action is transgressed or sabotaged by one of the other branches, we regain our freedom of action."

At the same time that many *cenetistas* had been arrested in Spain, the French police, at the beginning of October, proceeded to arrest, at their homes, a dozen militants of the Paris Local Federation of the CNT, for "verification of identity."

In Spain the arrests were spread all over the provinces, once more disrupting the National Committee of the CNT and the organic links it had established after a long and difficult job of reorganisation. Several delegates from the Youth Movement of the Interior had to stay in France, since their names had been quoted by the Francoist police in connection with the arrest of the CNT National Committee. The fall of this Committee was a hard blow to the immediate setting up of the conspiratory organisation (D-I), since the National Committee had to have a permanent delegate in this organisation.

In France the authorities forbade the publication of the Confederal newspapers (CNT, *Solidaridad Obrera*, *Espana Libre*).

The end of the split in the Confederation had put new life into the meetings of anarchist groups in all continents, who saw the possibility of their own revival in the prospect of the reopening of the anti-fascist struggle.

All kinds of testimony of support and solidarity were given, from numerous public acts (meetings, demonstrations and festivals) to more concrete actions, like the attack on

the Spanish Consulate in Geneva undertaken by young Swiss anarchists. In Venezuela, with the help of the STV (Venezuela trade union organisation) a semi-clandestine radio-transmitter, broadcasting anti-Francoist propaganda to Spain, had finally been set up.

The unity of the Confederation thus seemed definitely consolidated, and it seemed to be proceeding towards new goals, but in the CNT press itself, those who had been keenly opposed to reunification returned to the attack... feeding the fears and the grudges surrounding internal disputes which had not yet been resolved. At the same time they carried out a reformist "witch-hunt", applying this adjective to all who dared to denounce their sectarianism or their intransigence. Seeing that the young libertarians were identifying themselves with the current trying to get the Movement out of its stagnation and inactivity, they started to sow rumours about them.

The year ended without the working-class agitation of its last months, occasioned by low salaries and continual violations of collective agreements by companies, turning itself into a coherent programme of demands:

O.A. & A.G.

(1) The carrying out of this attack against Franco, decided on and prepared by the Defence Committee of the time, failed because the preparations could not be prepared before the arrival of the dictator in San Sebastian in the summer of 1961.

(2) The FAI had ratified the "D-I Report" on all points, theoretically adopting the same line as the CNT.

France

HISTOIRE DU MOUVEMENT ANARCHISTE EN FRANCE, Jean Maitron.

NOT ONLY has a new edition of "Maitron" been brought out, gaps have been filled, corrections made, annexes have been added, and it has been brought up to date. This study of the French anarchist movement, which when it appeared in 1951 was far from a best-seller, later became an object of speculation to the profit of booksellers; its extensive bibliography was alas omitted from the second edition, and could only be copied, recopied and photocopied by the lucky few.

Jean Maitron did not do things by halves; over a period of twenty years, at the same time as he was supervising numerous students' theses and editing the massive "Bibliographic dictionary of the French workers' movement," he read everything published in his area of study, he reported regularly on the state of his studies in "Le Mouvement Social" — from the bibliographical note to the special ("The Sorbonne from the inside", no. 64; "Anarchism is here and elsewhere, yesterday and today, no. 84). This accumulation of knowledge, patiently built up, brings us today not only the "History of the anarchist movement in France, 1880-1914," revised and completed, with its invaluable bibliography, but a second part as well, dealing, although less fully, with the period 1914-1973, and a complementary bibliography (including notably invaluable chronological tables for periodicals). A work of reference for many years to come; and who else would have devoted his/herself to such a task?

It is so unlikely that anyone else would have that one begins to regret the few errors, the occasional obvious gap; one begins to wish that Maitron had been a superman and performed an exhaustive and perfect job... One notices at once, for example, that all the references are in French: the author must therefore not have read Nettlau, in particular, (except for the "Bibliography" and the "History of anarchism"), and lacks the comparative viewpoint obtained from foreign works. Besides Maitron always keeps to a strictly nationalist approach: only those who call themselves anarchists are treated as such; in the case of the movement recently, this is of course limiting (but who knows the limits? Not us). It is perhaps this factor which leads him to make some questionable assessments of the relative strength of organisations, and to neglect non-organised tendencies — readers of journals, discussion groups, outings, and the spread of anarchist ideas outside the movement. Finally, a few pseudonyms are not cleared up (whose fault?), a few dates are approximations; and the theoretical part, which is valuable to someone unacquainted with anarchist ideas, merely follows and repeats the work of Eltzbacher. But these are minor criticisms.

The history of anarchism is fortunate in having a few craftsmen who worked on large scale projects, and, full of modesty, it relies on large scale definitive works: Nettlau for its prehistory, Maitron for France, Linse in Germany, Masini and Cerrito in

Italy, Bettini for bibliography. Other promising work is in progress; we can only rejoice. Marianne Enckell (*CIRA bulletin*) Trans. J.L.

Canada

FROM VANCOUVER comes the first issue of a new libertarian paper THE OPEN ROAD, which is "designed to reflect the spectrum of international anarchist and anti-authoritarian Left activities and to provide reports and analysis of popular struggles and social problems." It is not the organ of a political organisation, but is produced collectively by anarchists and libertarian leftists of differing viewpoints, who feel their "primary loyalty must be to the social forms created by the revolutionary process itself, not to the political forms created by radicals."

Some of the articles in the magazine, (which has a Rolling Stone type format) are drawn from first-hand accounts based on the personal experiences and interests of the members of the editorial collective, much of the material on national and international developments is based on the printed publications of a number of different organisations.

The layout is good and compliments the high standard of the articles, which in turn are well illustrated. (The illustrations include two drawings by Flavio Costantini, one of which *The Death of Pinelli*, first appeared as the cover picture of *Black Flag*, the other is a poster-size colour picture of Sabate). There is an extensive interview with black militant Martin Sostre, in which he relates his personal experiences while in jail on framed-up charges, and his plans now that he has been released following world-wide pressure. One of the other articles is also an interview with members of the Symbionese Liberation Army, who describe the way their political views have shifted and evolved over the last couple of years. Other articles cover the resistance to the Indonesian invasion of East Timor, Greenpeace, the nature and activities of the American Indian Movement since Wounded Knee and more.

A couple of the articles in *The Open Road* are on music, the first an American feminist folk singer Holly Near, the second an obituary of the late Phil Ochs (whose best known composition is probably 'There But For Fortune' made famous by Joan Baez). There are also several good book reviews, of which the one on a new book about Spanish anarchist Durruti really stands out.

A short review of the paper doesn't really allow sufficient space to do justice to the care, attention and planning that has gone into the production of *The Open Road* especially as many of the articles merit individual reviews of their own. It's all summed up neatly in Walt Whitman's 'Song of the Open Road' (part of which is reprinted in the first issue) "My call is the call of battle, I nourish active rebellion."

Zapatista

Subscription Address: The Open Road, Box 6135, Station G, Vancouver, B.C. Canada. (single issue 40p) Vol. I No. 1 is now out of print.

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Some people turn up occasionally at anarchist meetings and conferences who don't seem to know the first thing about the anarchist movement — they doubt its existence, they have a false picture about what's going on in Spain, they follow the New Left package-deal on Ireland and elsewhere, they either follow trotskyst demonstrations blindly (or critically) or think no one has ever completely demolished trotskyst pretensions, they come out with hoary illusions about facts — such as fascism and free speech, or the right to work — having "never been discussed" by anarchists. . . . all these subjects have been treated over and over again in **BLACK FLAG**.

It has been accused of being sectarian (correct) prejudiced (incorrect) mad, bad and dangerous to know (depends which side your on) but never of being dull . . . if it can't be witty and informative it skips an issue. But subscribe for 12 issues. Its only £3.00 home, £5.50 airmail.



"WORKING CLASS JUDGES AND ARMY OFFICERS REPLACING THE PRESENT PERSONNEL IS A SMASHING OF THE BOURGEOIS STATE. A REPRESENTATIVE OF THE WORKING CLASS AS CHIEF CONSTABLE WITH HIS MAIN COLLEAGUES COMING FROM THE SAME CLASS, EVEN IF THEY OCCUPY THE ORIGINAL SCOTLAND YARD BUILDING, IS A SMASHING OF THE STATE". (Bert Ramelson, Communist Party Industrial Organiser, and idiot of the century, *Sunday Times*, Oct.15, 1972).

(The Sheffield Anarchist)

N.AMERICA

PRISON MEMOIRS OF AN ANARCHIST, Alexander Berkman, Schocken Books, £2.95.

PRISON MEMOIRS of an Anarchist is, some sixty-odd years since it was first published, one of the most foreeful books of the prison experience ever written. Although conditions in American prisons have, for the most part, changed substantially since the period 1892-1906 which the book covers (the years of Berkman's imprisonment for his attempt on the life of Carnegie's Henry Clay Frick during the Homestead Steel Strike), Berkman's book on his prison years has a timelessness and universality that makes it still vital and powerful today. And while conditions have changed, the basic nature of prison cannot change. One need hardly justify the book further by noting that it was, in its day, one of the very first to explore tabooed subjects such as prison homosexuality with frankness and tenderness.

Berkman entered prison at age 22, an idealist revolutionist straight from a classic Russian mould. He had attempted to strike a vengeful blow for justice in solidarity with the striking workers of Homestead, who had been shot at and who had responded in kind. The defiant spirit of the workers inspired Berkman and he felt that a dramatic spark could ignite the social revolution in America. How vastly different was America from Tsarist Russia! Almost immediately upon being jailed, his act engendered utter incomprehension among the very workers he hoped to inspire — "Some business misunderstanding, eh?" suggested one to Berkman — prompted a revaluation of revolutionary methods, goals and tactics. Read in one way, PMA depicts, autobiographically both the Americanisation of a young Russian revolutionist and the simultaneous passage into maturity of revolutionary thought by one of the world's most fascinating activists.

Alexander Berkman, a Lithuanian Jew born in 1870, emigrated to the US in 1888 where he became completely involved in labour and anarchist circles. During a strike against the Carnegie Steel Co. he shot Carnegie's manager for which he was sentenced to a long term of imprisonment. On his release he immediately threw himself into the anarchist struggle once more — editing, *Mother Earth* and *The Blast*, working in strikes, with the unemployed, agitating for birth control and libertarian education, and untiring in his work helping to organise prisoners' defence committees. As joint founder of the "No Conscription League" with Emma Goldman to oppose US participation in World War I both he and Emma were given prison sentences of two years, and then, soon after the revolution, deported to Russia. Berkman left Russia (with Goldman) disappointed and angry, at the end of 1921, and spent the remaining four years of his life in exile, welcome in no country, attempting to counter the myth of Bolshevism. He shot himself on June 28th 1936.



PMA is masterfully written; it dramatically evokes righteousness and indignation, humour, tragedy, and love. In it we laugh at our own naivete, recall some of our own impulsiveness and vulnerability. And yet, surer than ever, we are left with the sincere conviction that those imprisoned are no less human and no less worthy than those who build prisons or those who tolerate them.

It can be argued that the theme of Berkman's life revolves around the concept of justice and punishment. Fourteen years in prison did not rob him of his courage or his revolutionary determination; if anything, it made him all the more fearless. The futility of prison and the punishment of symptoms of social disorder were targets of Berkman's efforts for the remainder of his life.

The prison experience was a humbling one for Berkman, raised in comfortable circumstances. Fourteen years of daily immersion in an enclosed world among all types, but particularly those of the disadvantaged classes, taught Berkman to rise above the intellectual arrogance of those who have great plans for the working class but know it not. Instead of remaining the honoured guest of the Revolution when arriving in Russia in 1919, Berkman sought out the common people and so retained an independent, and more accurate, view of the realities of life in revolutionary Russia.

There is a vital nobility to the fanaticism of the idealist young Berkman. His *Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist* illuminate this brilliantly and then proceed to show us how Berkman was transformed into an immensely successful and important organiser in the pre-World War I American revolutionary labour and anarchist movements.

Bill Nowlin Jr (Bill Nowlin is the editor of the Cienfuegos Press edition of *The Russian Tragedy* by Alexander Berkman)

THIS SOLDIER STILL AT WAR by John Bryan, Quartet, £4.95.

JOHN BRYAN DESCRIBES the S.L.A. as "... the most hunted, and least understood band of outlaws in American history;" he might easily have added the most written about too. For the brief but spectacular operational career of the S.L.A. — in which six of their members were murdered in the biggest extermination operation since the campaign of genocide directed against the Indians — captured more headlines and more column inches of newsprint than any other American guerrilla band.

This Soldier Still at War is not the first book about the S.L.A. but it is the best so far. Within the confines placed upon him Bryan has succeeded in recording one of the first battles of a war that is still being fought-out not only in America but throughout the world, and which the S.L.A. formed only a part. In many respects it bears a striking resemblance to Gordon Carr's treatment of the 'Angry Brigade', though with obvious differences of language and style. Like Carr, Bryan has gone to great (though at times too great) pains to set his narration of the S.L.A. against the social, cultural, and political background of the American industrial-military complex; waging war abroad whilst suppressing revolt at home. Though rather too much space is given over to exploring the antics of the Haight-Ashbury hippie scene (and far too much importance is laid upon Remiro's family antagonisms) there can be no proper understanding of what the S.L.A. was or was trying to do without reference to the context in which it formed and worked.

It is the war in Vietnam which, for Bryan, shaped the revolt in America and the emergence of the S.L.A. more than anything. Both Joe Remiro and Bill Harris had seen combat duty there, and like so many young Americans, the only thing it taught them was that they were fighting on the wrong side. The obvious next step, which few besides the S.L.A. have yet taken, was to turn their weapons against the order-giver, the American state. Hence the title of the book. A revealing if in places over-simplified approach. Bryan narrates the development of Joe Remiro from childhood amongst a not untypical Spanish-American catholic family, through his experience in Vietnam, to his plunge into the early San Francisco "counter culture" in search of other values than those which sent him to the other side of the world to "kill a gook for God." Ten days participation in the fighting at Wounded Knee beside the Sioux Indians marked his transition from protest to resistance, after first discovering the inadequacy of pursuing change via marches and open propaganda in Vietnam veterans' organisations. Joe Remiro is not a remarkable man; the changes he has gone through have been shared by many; what marks him out is his determination to DO something about it. Remiro's emergence as a serious and dedicated revolutionary was a natural reaction of an ordinary human being to society's injustice. It is proof, if proof be needed, that *everyone* (and not just a few radicalised intellectuals) is a potential revolutionary.

The S.L.A. first surfaced with the assassination of Oakland Schools Inspector Marcus Foster (for which Remiro and Russ Little were later arrested and put on trial). This was the most controversial least under-

(Cont. on page 64)

GENERAL

THE PIEBALD STANDARD by Edith Simon, White Lion Publishers, £5.95.

THERE IS a masonic tradition of continuity from the Knights Templar to modern Freemasonry with supposedly passing on of secret knowledge. In the true Templar degrees, not to be confused with the Degrees of Chivalry worked under the English Masonic jurisdiction (these are but side degrees), the ritual includes the invocation: Death to all kings, Death to all Popes. This is to immortalise the persecution and final annihilation of the Knights at the hands of the State. Now, the significance of this is that these degrees and rituals were not in their entirety the products of 18th or early 19th-century lovers of secret initiatory societies. There is always a substratum of fact behind and beneath the accumulated myth. The truth is that, of all the crimes of Christendom, the destruction of the Templars aroused most resentment and hatred among the laity, as well as memories that have persisted down to our own times.

The reissue of Edith Simon's fascinating study of the rise and fall of the Templar order is a welcome addition to the literature of the period. It includes valuable data on such inter-related issues as the final loss of the Christian Kingdom of Jerusalem, the high-water point of Arabic advance, political struggles between throne and Papacy, the Avignon episode with duality of Popes, to say nothing of jealousies and enmities between the military orders themselves. *The Piebald Standard* not only gives a record of historical events, it is written in a most readable style. The frequent "asides", analytical viewpoints of the author, as well as background reminders all give it almost the flavour of a thriller-novel. Indeed she poses more problems than are answered, with the resulting effect of an unsolved "whodunit". This is far more pleasing and intriguing than merely irritating, as it might be with some authors.

When all is said and done, what were the allegations against the Templars, and have they credibility in the light of history and what is known of mediaeval society? The charges are made by the renegade Knight and agent-provocateur, Esquieu de Florian, were: that they put the Order before the moral and religious principles, and swore to defend and enrich it, whether right or wrong, that they kept up a secret correspondence with the Moslems; that novices were made to spit on the cross, to renounce Christ, and participate in a mock ritual; that any who betrayed the Order were secretly murdered; that they despised the sacraments, made nonsense of the Mass, and practised lay absolution and idolatry; that they practised sodomy and immorality of all kinds, that they had betrayed the Holy Land; that they worshipped Satan in the form of a cat.

From the "night of the long knives" of 12 October 1307, beginning with mass arrests down to the final horror of the burning of Grand Master Jacques de Molay and Geoffrey de Charnay on the morning of 19 March 1314, the tragic-farce continued. The show-trials, tortures, "confessions" so ridiculous — one, de Villiers cried in anguish that had he been

asked to admit to killing Christ himself, he would have done so — are vividly described. And the result? As the author succinctly remarks: "No documentary proof of the charges was ever found. In spite of the surprise effect of the arrests in 1307 and in spite of exhaustive research, the idol which thousands of prisoners confessed to having worshipped — the head of wood, of silver, bearded, beardless, eyeless, carbuncle-eyed, life-sized, larger than life, the size of a fist — no such idol was unearthed. No cats were ever apprehended either." The one alleged crime that could have been taken seriously and might even have been validated, that of trafficking with the Islamic opposition, was almost ignored. Therein, as I have observed elsewhere, possibly lies the answer to the riddle of the Templars.

An old print shows a Knight playing chess with a Saracen. But it was much more than chess that was in danger of permeating the Christian empire. Ideas of a rational nature regarding the world, Arabic scientific discoveries, facts about the origins of the Christian myths. These were factors which could undermine and were to finally destroy mediaeval European society, far more than alleged sodomy or kissing someone's arse in a mock ceremony. Repressive and inhibited institutions always produce sexual obsessiveness, with guilt feelings leading to the need for scapegoats. Christianity was no exception and in addition the rumblings of the Reformation — the power struggles between the Church and the secular authorities were beginning. And so the poor Knights Templar had to suffer.

Throughout the Middle Ages immorality was rife. Stories of homosexuals in monasteries, of infanticide in convents were legion. Yet it was continually ignored or winked at. The other two military orders had possessions and powers approximating to that of the Temple, and abuses of all kinds obtained in religious communities everywhere. But none were attacked, defamed, and destroyed in the same manner. There remains a qualitative difference in the treatment of "The Poor Fellow-Soldiers of Christ and the Temple of Solomon," to give them their full title.

Edith Simon has given us a well-researched documentation of events, with interesting biographical studies of the chief participants. So well-portrayed are the avaricious Philip le Bel of France, cynical double-dealing Pope Clement and the arrogance and weaknesses of the Templars themselves. It should be required reading for every student of the history of Christianity. And yet... and yet, the real mystery behind the vindictive viciousness of the persecution remains unresolved. The intellectual assault upon Christian belief imposed by the Templar episode is hardly mentioned, though its results reverberate down through history. One thing, of which the Knights Templar certainly were guilty was never one of the accusations against them — except by implication. They were members of a secret society!

Let the last words remain with the vivid description of the attitude of the people of Paris to the final burnings. "The onlookers

wept and groaned and shook their fists at the executioners. They fell on their knees and prayed. The soldiers of the King dispersed them. In the night some came back and under cover of darkness salvaged what they could from the remains of the pyre, and, bearing the grisly bits of coal in their mouths, swam back to the mainland, to hide and reverence what might turn out to be holy relics. But the martyrs of the Temple never became saints of the Church which had made them great and then consigned them to perdition." James. M. Alexander (*The Freethinker*).

THE MAGIC OF URI GELLER by James Randi, Ballantine Books, 85p.

THE IMPOSSIBLE can be performed twice nightly by any competent conjuror. Miracles take slightly longer. Gautama the Buddha, put it rather well when in reply to a question from his followers, he said that even the creator could not work miracles. Once God (even supposing he existed) had created the universe with its concomitant physical laws, any attempt to abrogate any of them would cause complete disintegration of the universe itself. Even the gods themselves must be subject to the laws they have made.

Down the ages have come a succession of charlatans claiming that universal laws can be suspended in their favour. They attract vast hordes of believers, partly because of man's insatiable love of mysteries. And, with the breakdown of the authority imposed by established superstitions, they invoke increasing interest and greater relevance. Nor are merely the illiterate and ignorant the only dupes. One of the regular claims of these wonder-workers is that they have been "tested and approved" by leading scientists and university professors.

Uri Geller is but the latest miracle merchant to hit the headlines. His pretensions and tricks are most satisfactorily debunked in this book by one of America's foremost magicians and illusionists. The Amazing Randi. It is in the tradition of Houdini's famous exposure of mediums some half century back. Randi's style is both racy and informative. He does much more than explain how the tricks are done. Indeed, we learn that many of those in the Geller repertoire can be found in popular books on conjuring obtainable from any magic trick shop. Some of them are now considered by professionals to be so simple and old-hat that they have been abandoned long ago.

That all fakirs are fakirs comes as no surprise to one who was initiated into some of their secrets by friends, like The Marvellous Haytors — a well-known "second-sight" act of the thirties. Henry Sara (sometime National Secular Society lecturer, exposé of spiritualism, and a very good amateur magician); Percy Press of the Magic Circle, now well into his seventies and still entertaining. That all "thought transference" acts are based on codes of one kind or another involving the use of confederates, is, one would have thought widely known. So it is no surprise to learn that Geller is invariably accompanied by his *eminence grise*, (or should it be "greasy"?), one Shipi Shtrang. They have been associated since the days of performing their act in Kibbutzim and at Bar-Mitzvas, before graduating to Tel Aviv night-clubs. At all demonstrations, whether at Sandford Research Institute, TV studios, or University College, London, Shipi is hovering inconspicu-

ously in the background. That this should be permitted under so-called test conditions is an example of the credulity of alleged logical-thinking scientific "experts."

But there is a much more serious side to the whole business than key and spoon bending, reading messages in envelopes or describing drawings concealed in sealed boxes. There is a military interest in Extra Sensory Perception now. The Pentagon moguls would love metal-bending by remote control to be really a fact, thus enabling the enemy weapons to be bugged up. The CIA could pull off some real coups with the aid of teleportation. And what an opportunity to put one over on those beastly Reds. Meanwhile, in Moscow those selfsame Reds are equally busy investigating their own claimants to ESP powers. Perhaps this is what it is really about and why so many scientists and the spaceboys at Houston have been involved. The author hints at these sinister implications throughout the book.

In explaining his decision to expose Geller, Randi says, "... I am proud of my profession. I am even jealous of it and resent any prostitution of the art. In my view, Geller brings disgrace to the craft I practice. Worse than that, he warps the thinking of a young generation of forming minds. And that is unforgivable." Again: "For we are the only element which stands between the faker and his victim. Men of science and other great intellects are without that peculiar expertise that qualifies us to detect chicanery when it is practised on a high level. ... This is a challenge we must not only accept; we must lay claim to it. Tomorrow may be too late. The charlatans are upon us." He also reveals that Geller may be planning to move on from mere metal bending to spiritual healing.

It is an interesting example of the power of vested interests involved with the sensational that it seems not widely known that long before he started on his occult conquest of the West, Geller had already been exposed as a fraud and convicted in his native Israel. This is fully documented with translation from the original report in the Hebrew language magazine *Haolam Haze*.

People believe in the irrational because they want to believe. But there is more to it. The media will rush to join the bandwagon in reporting the sensational. There is no news value (or advertising revenue either!) in saying that Father Xmas is a myth; but what a story if it could be shown that he actually existed.

Thank you James Randi for a fine piece of research, even if the literary style is not the greatest. The illustrations add conviction to the facts described and give visual evidence of fraud. In the Space-Age as in mediaeval times, the deluders and the deluded are still with us. Fortunately, friend Randi has shown that we can safely sleep in our beds. The laws of the universe do not appear to have been bent by a young trickster from Israel.

James M. Alexander (*The Freethinker*).

FIGHT FOUL



LIFE IS REAL

THE THIRTEENTH TRIBE (THE KHAZAR EMPIRE AND ITS HERITAGE) Arthur Koestler Hutchinson, £4.75.

A HANDY-working rule for historians is to ignore the fact that some fifty per cent of the people around at any time are women and about eighty per cent or so are workers. The histories of the Jews are no exception. The general assumption, picked up into phoney theories, is that "the Jews" in the Middle Ages were forced into usury, became the forerunners of capitalism, acquired accordingly the vices of the merchant spirit and anti-semitism was as much an answer to this economic exploitation as it was based on Christianity. (Marx on the Jewish Question is particularly absurd, as in the midst of his materialist conception evidently assumes that the magic ritual of baptism is enough to wash away this).

But consider the Jews in the Middle Ages. In Germany, where they had followed the Romans up the Rhine, they were a tiny community confined to the ghetto which in Germany was the Judengasse - i.e. a street, while the amount of usury they could have engaged in might be very large, it could not have occupied many people. Otherwise there would have been competition, and there was not. The servants, the tradesmen, the smiths, the coiners, whom the moneylender or the early banker employed, were the mass of the street, but even so weren't many.

This background has to be borne in mind when reading Arthur Koestler's book *The Thirteenth Tribe* though it does not form part of his thesis, which is basically that the majority of the "Jews" in the world became so only by past religion conversion, (those of Spanish and Portuguese origin do not come into the theory).

It is assumed by historians that after the total massacres of the Crusades which wiped out the Jewish communities in Germany, there must have been remnants which crossed a hostile Catholic Europe into pagan Poland. No record of this has ever existed. Once there, it is assumed they survived the frequent massacres of both pagan and Christian to become a huge community within both Poland and Russia "the heartland of Jewry," working in petty trades in small farming villages, associated with horse-coping, agriculture, and so on, until the industrial revolution swept them into the cities.

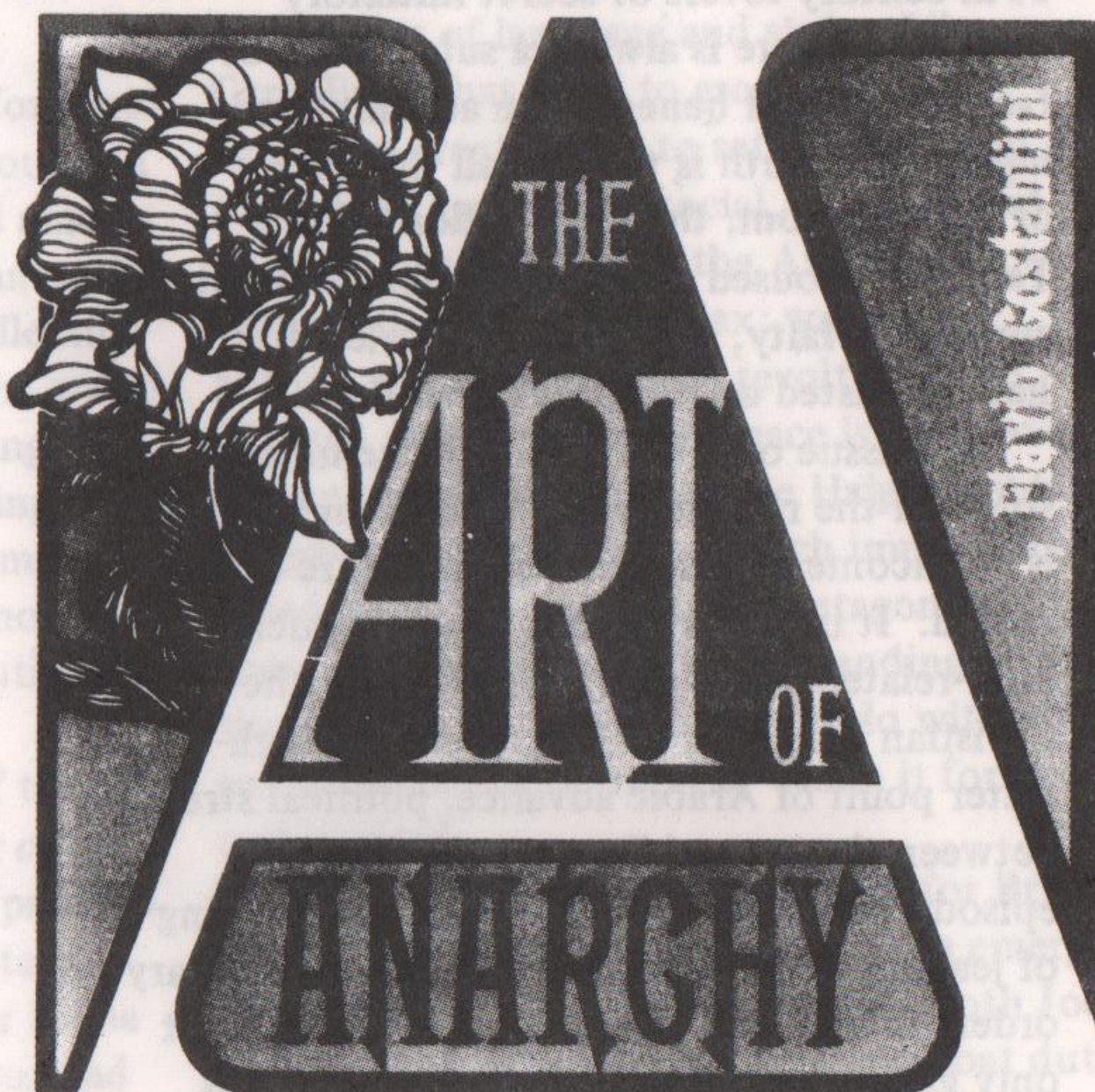
This assumption has no historical basis. The Jewish religion tends to take for granted that all who profess it are of Jewish race and Semitic descent. Therefore it is assumed it is. Reality, Koestler suggests, may be different. It was always known that there existed in the Ukraine a huge Khazar nation. This Khazar empire adopted the Jewish religion because it outgrew its paganism yet wanted to preserve its independence. Adoption of the Christian or Muslim faiths would have entailed a liege position to the Byzantine Empire or the Caliphate.

Koestler described the Khazars - there is nothing original in this research but it has been sadly neglected and in modern nationalist Russia all memoria and historical records are being obliterated.

They held up the advance of the Russians. When, finally, the latter conquered and built the Russian Empire, they wiped out the Khazars. It is Koestler's suggestion, based on the research of others, that the mass of the Khazar people (having been originally converted by their rulers as a matter of course)

became the Ashkenazic Jews of Russia and Poland, and so the ancestors of the majority of world Jewry. Thus they are not a Semitic people at all and Koestler (somewhat naively) thinks that he has therefore taken away from anti-Semitism the major weapon in its armoury. More logically, he argues that his book may be misinterpreted as an attack on the State of Israel, but its right to exist, he says, is not based on the mythological covenant of Abraham with God and is irrespective of what illusions they entertain about their racial origins. "Its right to exist is based on international law - i.e. on the United Nations' decision in 1947 to partition Palestine into an Arab and a Jewish State." Law? Like all other states, it is based on force and fraud. If it had no guns, the United Nations would soon make another legal decision, as it did for General Franco, or for that matter the Soviet Union or every other state.

Albert Meltzer



THE ART OF ANARCHY, Flavio Costantini, £3.00, Cienfuegos Press. (We regret to say that this title, selected by the National Book League as one of the best designed books published in Britain last year, is now out of print. It will be re-printed as soon as the money is available for it.)



(The Sheffield Anarchist)

GLENCOE (75p); CULLODEN (55p); THE HIGHLAND CLEARANCES (75p); MUTINY (£6.90 - Secker & Warburg); John Prebble, Penguin Books.

THE HILLS AND GLENS of the Highlands that now hold only sheep and deer and the detritus of tourists, once provided for the bulk of Scotland's people. This feudal, fiercely militaristic tribal society gave Scotland a monarchy, threw back repeated invaders, from the Romans to the English, and in the end was destroyed by the greed of its leaders, the clan chiefs, for money and power. The hills are empty now, providing perhaps the last solitude in our industrial society, but if their story is known there can be no peace in the experience.



The spectacular scenery of Skye: Marsco and Glen Sligachan

The crime of the Highlanders was to be independent and self-sufficient, to spurn imposed authority, and to rely on their skills against a hostile environment, to provide for their children (or *clann* in the Gaelic). Those qualities around which an alternative establishment has now formed, were to be extirpated and the people who embodied them driven out or cut down. Over a hundred and fifty years the mountains witnessed a concerted attempt at genocide, what the Gaels called *Mi-run mor nan Gall*, the Lowlanders great hatred. The chiefs remain, in London and Edinburgh, but the people are gone. Their history stands and, despite the everyday super-barbarities of our age, there are lessons still for us.

One of the earliest attempts at genocide in modern history took place, by will of the Crown, in 1603. The Clan McGregor was ordered to be hunted down, destroyed like vermin without trial, their lands and possessions forfeit to their killers. For two hundred years the clan was hounded on the face of the earth and, in the adult lifetime of Tom Paine, Edmund Burke and William Wilberforce, the penal acts against the clan were still on the statute book.

In February 1692 there took place a barbarous and treacherous murder which marked the beginning of the destruction of the Highlanders, the Massacre of Glencoe, when the Campbells slaughtered their hosts of 12 days, the MacDonalds. This infamous episode has often been portrayed as the culmination of a tribal feud, whereas the slaughter was ordered by the new King, William of Orange, on a clan who were politically and religiously opposed to the new order. A longstanding quarrel between the Campbells and the MacDonalds provided the vehicle for murder and in the snowy pre-dawn hours of February 13 the Campbells rose from their MacDonald beds in Glencoe to cut down their hosts. There had been killing between the two clans before, but never behind the cloak of friendship. If there is awe and melancholy in the glen today it is only what people have brought to it, knowing its history.

The '45 Rebellion has provided more romantic and inaccurate legend in Highland history than any other. In truth, with their bellies empty, their leaders at odds, their ground ill-chosen, the Highlanders allegiance to their Jacobite Prince, Charlie, was exploded on the moors of Culloden by the canons of the Royal Artillery. There followed months of savage and indiscriminate butchery on the Prince's supporters in the Highlands, the pacification of the hills by Butcher Cumberland, and the flight of the Prince to Skye and then France, from whence he came. The people suffered and were slaughtered in the Rebellion for a cause that was never theirs.

cent of the population, provided the Crown with 65 regiments, lamented, in song and poem, their forced role: 'If I were as I used to be, amongst the hills, I would not mount guard as long as I lived, nor would I stand on parade, nor for the rest of my life would I ever put on a red coat'.

Prebble's books tell the vivid history of the ordinary people, the Highlanders, who at the time, were the wretched of the earth. His writing brings fire to the belly and tears to the eyes. He is objective, but never impartial and, like all fine journalists and historians, his radical statements are the facts.

Ron McKay (*Black Flag*)

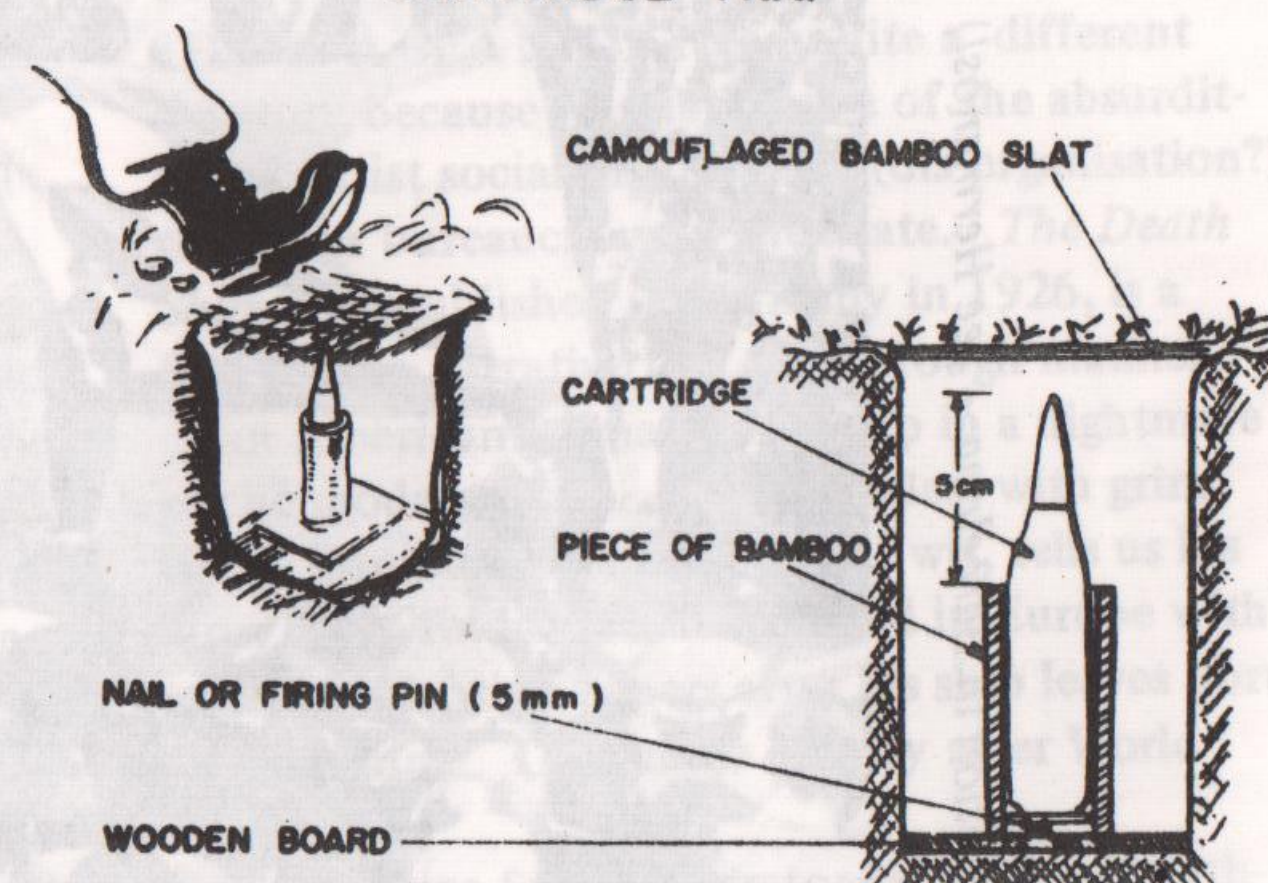
Anarchy in action cont.

excesses of nonsense of the militant liberals and non-volunteers who filled the pages of the old *Anarchy* before they disappeared into Academe.

Though the cover gives a picture of anarchists in action, the book has nothing to do with that at all. The blurb offers it as the "social theory of the alternative society" but it is not that either (the social theory of the alternative society is liberal fascism). What the book is is an honest, though circumscribed, attempt to show how a limited application of anarchist principles may be made within the State preserving some civil rights. It therefore has relevance to many issues of the day, and, while it ignores social change, and therefore, avoids all discussion of a future society - and one suspects (but without proof) the author may have some reservations as to whether that is immediately achievable or not - within those limitations it is a major achievement in the discussion of Anarchism.

(*Black Flag*) * The new series of *Anarchy* adopts a very different attitude.

CARTRIDGE TRAP



In his latest book *Mutiny*, Prebble concludes his saga of the destruction of the Highland clans, examining the part played by the men of the glens in the 18th century British army. The Highlander, contrary to romantic legend, was not a willing conscript. He was often recruited by threat, sold by his chiefs, his pride lashed by the whip and by the lowlanders contempt of his dress and language. Prebble documents the revolt of the Highlanders in uniform, from the Black Watch mutiny at Finchley in 1743 to the revolt of starving Fencibles on Glasgow Green in 1804.

This is a subject which has been ignored by the historians who have preferred to see the Highland soldier as a fierce and romantic savage, assiduously pursuing the cause of Empire. In fact, the Gaelic people who, from three per

FICTION



HERMANOS! William Herrick, Penguin, 40p
TO PORTRAY FICTIONAL events in a fictional setting and remain faithful to both history and art is a difficult and perilous task for any author. On the one hand is the risk of transforming a historical reality into purely romantic nonsense; on the other that of being forced into documentary sterility by the sheer enormity of the subject matter. When successful, however, the device can produce stunning results – as witnessed by the remarkable novels of Victor Serge – both in terms of literature and political comment.

In *Hermanos!*, William Herrick (an American who served in the International Brigade during the Civil War in Spain) attempts to show the significance of the Communist Party's cynicism and betrayal of Spanish revolutionaries, not merely as events which effect history, but as things which shape the lives of ordinary people.

Revolution is ultimately about changing the nature of human existence. In his novel, Herrick sets out to show that the way that change is conducted will determine the end result; that it is not a matter of the end simply justifying the means, but of the means actually deciding what the end will be. If a single theme can be taken as being central to the book, it is spoken in the first chapter: "A man lives like a beast, he becomes a beast". From that point on, the story merely puts flesh on the bones of that statement.

But it is precisely that flesh which saves the novel from becoming just an abstract and second-rate lesson in morality. Chronicled in *Hermanos!* are all the hopes, highs and tragedies which were Spain in revolution and defeat. A strange mixture of war story, romance, brutality, and biting political commentary. The Soviet manipulation of the struggle against Franco, their black-mail (withholding arms) of the Republican government, political infiltration into the volunteer army, and the savage campaign of repression and murder waged against the POUM and the anarchists in Barcelona are all vividly portrayed. So, too, are the beginnings of the libertarian resistance movement – a movement still fighting against the same enemy today when other former champions of the struggle in Spain find it more convenient to mumble about "democracy" into their whisky and soda.

A particular high-spot of the book comes when one of the guerrilla fighters, Nunez, is finally tracked down and captured by the Communists. In an impassioned reproach of his captors' actions Nunez pours forth the full weight of the author's moral argument:

"...I must maintain my individuality or die... Socialism is supposed to free man, not shackle him... You are in the world, you say. Exactly. You manage to be IN the Party, IN the stream of history, IN the world. You are in everything and take responsibility for nothing. Why should you? It is all predetermined. All you can do is help the predetermining process along. It is the PARTIDO, history, the world which dominates your life...dominated by history and manipulated by your PARTIDO – the leader, the vanguard, the bulwark of the future, the engine, God – you lose your identity as a man, you lose your responsibility as a man to other men – to yourself. How can you possibly be blamed for anything if the world's so big and you are so little? "...The world is in me, and I am the world. I am a selfish man, a vain man that when I wish to look into the world's heart, I look into my own. I am responsible for myself, and therefore for the world. I am my brother's keeper – and he had better be mine. And that is the truth COM-PANERO MIO, very unrelative truth. I am beholden to no man – and yet to all. I gaze into my heart and, knowing myself, know all men. UN POCO. A little".

William Herrick is not an anarchist, neither does he possess the same artistic force as his predecessor Serge. But *Hermanos!*, nevertheless, manages to capture the tempo and spirit of a people in revolt in a way that few books can rival.

What distinguishes Herrick's novel from the recent spate of books dealing with Spain is not its historical or political comment of this or that aspect of the Communist betrayal, but the "mightier justification" which Serge suggested for literature – "as a means of expressing to men what most of them live inwardly without being able to express...a testimony to the vast flow of life through us, whose essential aspects we must try to fix for those who come after us".

Phil Ruff (*Black Flag*)

THE GOOD SOLDIER SVEJK, Jaroslav Hasek, Penguin Books, £1.75).

MORE THAN A FEW of us have been waiting for this translation, and at last one of the greatest and funniest anti-war novels has made it into the English language unabridged and unbowdlerised for the first time.

Jaroslav Hasek's classic *The Good Soldier Svejk* (previously translated, abridged and bowdlerised as *The Good Soldier Schweik*) which was widely read and acclaimed (or disclaimed depending upon one's politics and tastes) in Europe after World War I, is now available in a lively translation by Cecil Parrott. As an added treat, 156 of the original drawings (caricatures from the Czech edition) by Josef Lada, the Czech artist and friend of Hasek, have been included in this publication and lend a graphic touch to this very funny novel.

With an episodic imagination and gargantuan sense of humour, Hasek has written an unforgettable satire of the Austrian military bureaucracy, and war in general. Though the author was once an anarchist and part of the libertarian circle in Prague, the main character of the story, Svejk, is not.

Svejk is an *Everyman*, the average conscript caught up in the organised confusion of the military machine. Svejk, who is discharged from the army prior to World War I for patent idiocy, continues to play the role of an idiot upon being conscripted at the outbreak of hostilities in 1914. Clearly and cleverly the sanest character in the novel – though none of his commanding officers who run the war think so – Svejk with cunning double talk and the sweetest innocence conceivable stays one step ahead of the firing squad and every imaginable misadventure.

Skilled as a glib raconteur, gifted with encyclopaedic knowledge, graced with delightfully incisive insight, Svejk has to be met to be believed. If any one point by this fascinating character is to be made in Hasek's novel it is that in war one's own country and countrymen are just as much the enemy as the *declared* enemy. If you have any doubt about about this, pal around with Svejk for a while and bring a sharp sense of humour when you do. You'll need it.

Arthur Whitaker (*Laissez Faire Review*)

THE VIOLENT BRINK, Antony Beevor, John Murray, £3.50 (h/b)

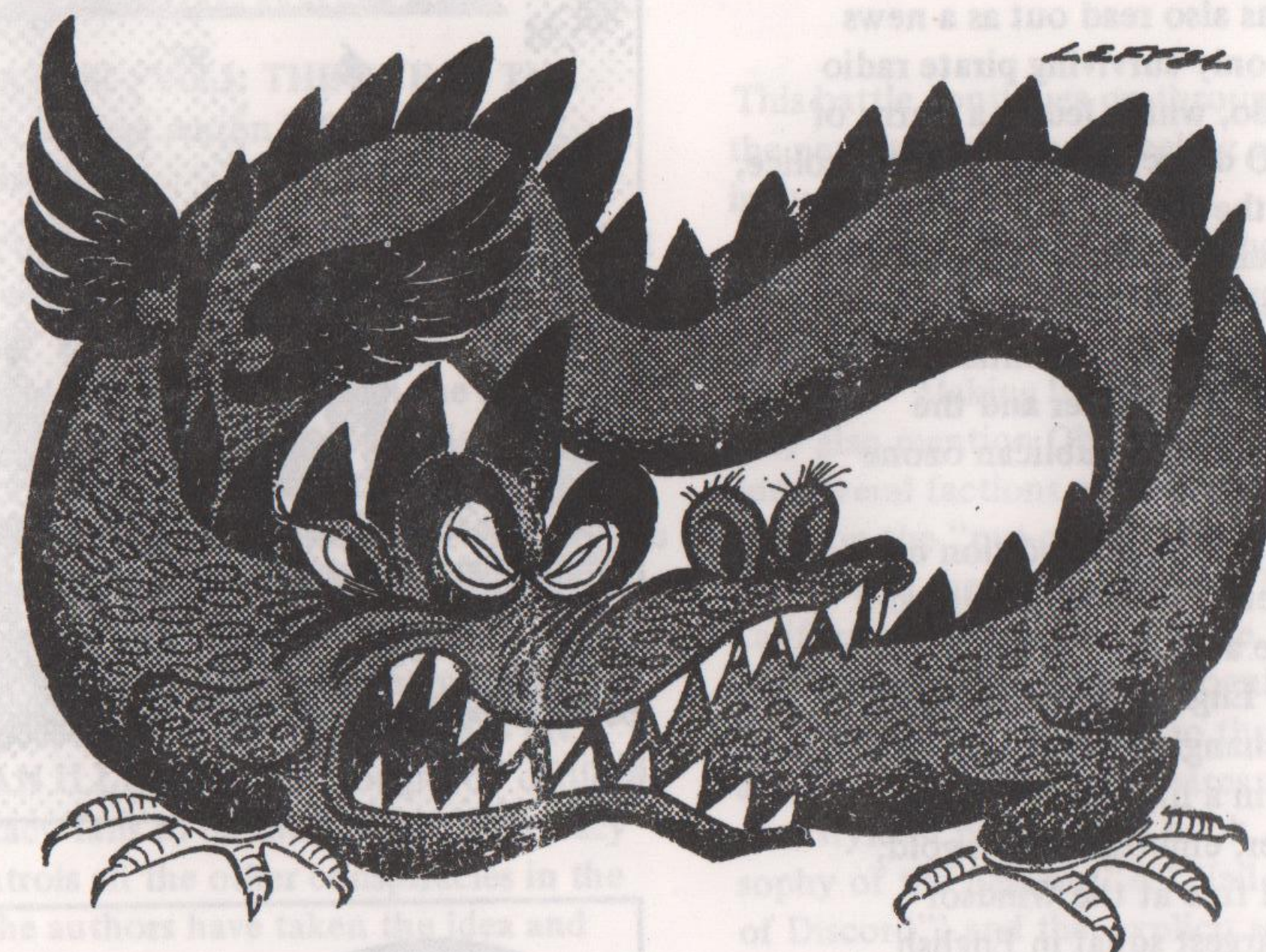
WHAT WOULD HAVE HAPPENED if the Angry Brigade or the First of May Group had been more effective? Taking this as his starting point, and treating the Angry Brigade with its built-in mistakes of procedure, but a greater degree of organisational ability (pre-supposing a great deal of luck and greater support), Antony Beevor's novel takes us to the 'brink' of revolution, transferring events of Paris 1968 to present-day London, but in fact leaves us there, just as Paris did, with a television broadcast to the nation by the Prime Minister.

As a story it is gripping, and the treatment of the revolutionaries, most of them anarchist and closely associated with the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: First of May Group (Mr. Beevor has done his homework), is very sympathetic, which is the most I suppose we can ask of a novelist, but it is doubtful that things could happen the way they do here; or at least if they did escalate in the manner described in the book. This is Antony Beevor's first novel, however, and if he continues to develop the themes he seems to be interested in we may well have a worthy successor to the late Edward Hyams.

S.C. (*Black Flag*).

THE DRAGON and other stories. Yevgeny Zamyatin, Penguin, 45p.

AT A TIME WHEN Solzhenitsyn's collected laundry lists are threatening to become the next monument to martyred revolution and anything vaguely approaching literature has disappeared inside the Lubyanka, this small volume of short stories



has revived my sagging belief that there was once such an animal in Russia as "Revolutionary Literature".

Yevgeny Zamyatin is little known in Europe and completely unknown (by decree) in his native Russia. The only other of his books in English, *WE* – a scathing futuristic satire on the emerging Bolshevik State which inspired the better-known anti-utopias of Aldous Huxley and George Orwell – caused a minor sensation when it first appeared in 1920. Now, with the publication of his short stories (spanning the period 1913-1935) we can see that *WE* was not just a flash in the pan. They confirm him as one of the most important political satirists in modern times. One of the last thinking writers of any talent that Russia has produced

Details of his life are almost as rare as his writings. A member of the Bolsheviks in Tsarist days he was imprisoned in solitary confinement, twice deported, and brought to trial for an anti-militarist novella during the First World War. Dismayed with the actions of the Bolsheviks after the revolution, his opposition to the increasing dictatorship quickly marked him as a target for attacks from the new "orthodoxy" of pseudo-proletarian writers. He was systematically persecuted and harassed, dismissed from editorial posts, ignored by magazines and publishing houses, and finally denounced by his former comrades in the writer's union.

Faced with a choice between renouncing his literary work or bowing to official command, he chose to stand by his ideals. Unexpectedly, in 1929, Stalin agreed to Zamyatin's request to leave Russia (included in this collection) and he lived out the remainder of his life writing, surrounded by poverty, in Paris until his death in 1937.

The stories he left behind him are bitter jabs in the face of authority, orthodoxy and tradition. Zamyatin was a heretic who could never accept the status-quo "...true literature can only exist where it is produced by madmen, heretics, hermits, visionaries, rebels, and sceptics". And where they didn't exist or were killed off he called forth new heretics in his stories.

In an age of servile acceptance to tyranny his characters stand out as question marks; brilliant tongue-in-cheek commentaries on contemporary life, with a peculiar surreal atmosphere attached

to every action. They hold up the blindness and savagery of the new oppressors for all to see and mock. The irreverent mocking of a man who sees the ridiculousness of a human existence without liberty.

P.R. (*Black Flag*)

THE IRON HEEL, Jack London, Journeyman Press, 75p

JACK LONDON'S 1907 book is remembered as a socialist classic which prophesied the coming of fascism. The publishers, even now, having presumably re-read it, not only regard it as prophetic, they also provide a cover of a heel stamping on a placard of Allende.

It was told in the "looking backwards" genre popular at the time in socialist writing – a lost manuscript found 700 years later, 400 years after the Iron Heel had passed away, and which tells of the revolutionary struggles fifteen years after 1907.

The book is not an attempt at prophecy: it is a deliberate exaggeration of the evils of current American capitalism at a time when the trusts were battling for monopoly control. The book also attempts to explain Marx's theory of surplus value and the inevitability of socialism (much of the opening chapters is a sustained argy-bargy on surplus-value). To make the socialist revolution necessary (in view of its presumed inevitability) the Brotherhood of Man is postponed 300 years while the Iron Heel of the Trusts stamp down on the people.

It is typical of London's roots in his time and place that the oligarchy goes to deep-seated and intricate financial trickery to take away the house and property of the hero's father-in-law as a penalty for his social views: the real Iron Heels of the totalitarian states were beyond Jack London's ken, for he could not conceive they could simply take the property and outlaw their opponent.

First to go under the Oligarchy were the small businessmen and the bourgeoisie whose party "The Grangers" was an amalgam of all such parties (including Allende's). What Jack London did not foresee was the rise of fascism, which was the way in which the bourgeoisie in most countries struck back at monopoly capitalism and at the revolution. It was *they* who "ground down the revolutionaries under their heel" and not the trusts; indeed, London, who brushes aside the European war – obviously international socialism was capable of stopping that, has William Randolph Hearst going down fighting gamely against the Trusts' Iron Heel, instead of surviving them tamely, by legislation, while he turned

into the most fervid supporter through the US press of the Iron Heel of fascism, which outpaced by far the Iron Heel of the Trusts.

We cannot blame Jack London for not being fey, armed though he was with a knowledge of surplus-value...but was he a revolutionist? Not in this book. His aversion is the People of the Abyss – when they rise, the disciplined scientific socialists shudder. "They're not our comrades", as "the awful mob, the people of the abyss mad with drink and wrong, up at last band for the blood of their masters" turns up on the scene. They're apparently all white too. London foresaw the "Ghetto", but not that it would change colour as the whites – not just the craft unions as he thought – were bought off. As the heroine rushes by train to the scene of the Chicago Commune, "the very negroes that waited on us knew that something terrible was impending – the lightness of their nature had ebbed out of them; they were slack and absent-minded in their service..." By gosh, it must have been something if they were getting worried...does one see a glimpse of London himself in that she is much more at home as an "international spy" for socialism, mixing among the Iron Heel and the oligarchs, while secretly working for the revolution...rather like a fashionable 'Far West' novelist in: a comfortable ranch?

S.C. (*Time Out*)



JACK LONDON

THE DEATH SHIP, B. Traven, Panther, 50p.

THIS IS A SEA STORY and quite a different sea story because it is about one of the absurdities of statist social organisation (dis-organisation?): the paper bureaucracy of the State. *The Death Ship*, first published in Germany in 1926, is a first-person narrative told in the rough manner of an American seaman caught up in a nightmare of the modern State. Gerard Gales, with grim irony, humour, compassion, and wit, tells us his story as he finds himself stranded in Europe without identification papers after his ship leaves port without him. The time is shortly after World War I.

What begins for the narrator as a series of rather humorous encounters with the local police and bureaucracy of three different countries in attempts to obtain documents of identification,



(POUM demonstration in Barcelona – see *Hermanos!*)

or a return voyage home to the U.S., soon turns into a grim realisation that the State will not only deny one's claims to citizenship if one has no papers, but also deny one's birth if he has no papers to prove he was born.

Upon release from prison in France for not having papers, Gales joins the "death ship" *Yorikke*, the home for a crew of men without documented identification or homeland to call their own, and finds himself assigned to the hell-hold of this derelict ship.

During his grim and gutsy adventures, Gales makes some keen comments on the State and its bureaucracy, war, nationalism, and the new religion of the modern State — patriotism. *The Death Ship* is an ironic story well worth reading. Arthur Whitaker (*Laissez Faire Review*)

A DEATH OUT OF SEASON, Emanuel Litvinov, Michael Joseph, £2.75

WITH THE BACKGROUND of the Sidney Street siege Mr. Litvinoff could hardly go wrong for thrills and suspense. The identity of "Peter the Painter" is, of course, as much a subject for speculation as that of "Jack the Ripper" (now better known as the Royal physician Sir William Gulls) once was; the eventual truth may be only a little less surprising. However Mr. Litvinoff casts "Peter" as a double agent for the Russian secret police and for the revolutionaries, and as Dumas once pointed out, the novelist can always rape history providing he produces children.

As he is intending to continue with his fictional characters and write a trilogy, bringing in the Russian Revolution, it is fortunate for the author that he has totally mixed up his politics. He simply doesn't know what an anarchist is, except that they are supposed to provide the background for "Sidney Street". He therefore cheerfully mixes up Social Revolutionaries (which is what most of his characters appear to be), Social-Democrats of both Bolshevik and Menshevik tendencies, and any other Russian populist movement that appears to be around at the time. They can all come in later as government and opposition in Soviet Russia.

Among his howlers on the Anarchists are Malatesta as a "pacifist" and Rocker as an "impeccable Christian" (Litvinoff really means Aryan, but a lots of his stories come from cleaned-up anti-semitism, which was the real background of the East End of the time). His central theme is impossible for the police or a Tsarist agent to penetrate the jargon-speaking Anarchist movement among the Jewish immigrants of the time. No police agents or detectives could be found who would take the time to learn the language (and there is a lot more to Yiddish jargon than the mere acquirement of a language) and go into a sweatshop to work fifteen hours a day to gain confidence.

Of course police agents of all kinds could penetrate the Social-Revolutionary movement of former students living on remittances from home, none of whom could account for themselves except on trust — or Bolshevik professional revolutionaries with no other way of earning a living but in the Party (Lesson for today). To back his theme, Mr. Litvinoff even speaks — in all seriousness — of "swarthy Welshmen" in the police force taking a "crash course" in Yiddish and Russian to investigate the revolutionaries — look you already, tovarisch bach! It is a pity novelists, and for that matter journalists, could not take a crash course in politics, economics and history. The results would be to make their works less hilarious than rugger-playing Jones the Police turning up at the pants-presser's as just off the boat.

(Black Flag)

THE ABDICATION OF QUEEN ELIZABETH II: THE TRUTH ABOUT MY MOTHER H.R.H. PRINCE CHARLES, Open Head Press, £1.00

Provenance:

LIKE THE letters of Junius, it is an anonymous manifestation: no-one knows who wrote it, printed it or produced it. It first appeared in a crude gestetner form and was reproduced by aficionados. It was also read out as a news item on England's only surviving pirate radio station: Rebel Radio, which led to a flurry of activity by the GPO detector vans, and the police, who cordoned off the street from which the transmission was being made, leading to two arrests and the seizure of a jammed-up tea caddy which they thought contained a transmitter, but the transmitter and the news reader escaped into republican ozone over the roof tops.

It then appeared in a limited edition on hand-made paper, embossed with gold, and was distributed free at Windsor Free Festival, the largest squat in English history (copies of which are now changing hands at £25.00).

It then appeared in a limited edition on hand-made paper, embossed with gold, and was distributed free at the Windsor Free-Festival, the largest squat in English history (copies of which are now changing hands at £25.00).

The Open Head Press felt that it should be made more widely available in view of the lady's compulsive addiction to signing death warrants referred to her from the Privy Council, and snuffing loyal subjects in the West Indies, in view of her grotesque extravagance in relation to her daughter: a failed air hostess and her simpering squaddie bridegroom (cost of wedding: £4 million; cost of house £2 million), and also in view of her rumoured treasons: it is believed that she is one of the largest shareholders in Lonrho, Rhodesia.

The Cornish edition has been faithfully reproduced in paperback in an edition of 500 and is available from Cienfuegos Press.



ILLUMINATUS! Vol.I: THE EYE IN THE PYRAMID, Robert Anton Wilson & Robert Shea, Sphere, 75p

WOULD YOU BE CAUGHT reading a book that opens "It was the year they immanentized the Eschaton"? Devotees of right-wing "in" jokes will recognise this as a take off on the satiric Our People's Underworld button which was, in turn, a take off on Eric Voeglin's anti-Gnostic campaign in the pages of *National Review*. (You may wonder what ancient Christian heresies have to do with current politics or with a libertarian book, but please be patient.) A somewhat less obscure "in" joke in right-wing circles is the BAVARIAN ILLUMINATI, thought by dedicated conspiracy fans to be the Master Conspiracy which controls all the other conspiracies in the world. The authors have taken the idea and elaborated it into a zany, weird, hilarious and satiric three-volume novel about the WORLD'S OLDEST AND MOST SUCCESSFUL CONSPIRACY.

But whether or not you've ever heard of the *Illuminati*, the *Gnostics*, or the *Eschaton*, you'll find the conspiracy web woven in this book fascinating in its intricacies and cleverness. Every conspiracy theory you've ever heard about the *Illuminati* and quite a few you haven't are all tied up together in a wild plot that defies short description. Taking place in modern America, the story pits two secret societies together against one another: *The Illuminati* vs. the *Legion of Dynamic Discord* (who happen to be anarchists).

ILLUMINATUS! Albert Meltzer writes:

The lunatic wing of the authoritarian Right has always delighted in conspiracy theories. Offhand, indeed, it is hard for them to find any other reason why the masses are not perfectly happy with despotism and exploitation. "It's the Freemasons::: "it's all a plot"... the details of the plot have ranged from the Elders of Zion to the Communist world conspiracy now ranking favourite. Taking the more esoteric conspiracy theories of history in deadpan fashion the authors of *Illuminatus* have created a rip-roaring, mind-blowing spoof of the struggle between the two major conspiracies and counter-conspiracies in "history" dating back to Atlantis — that of the authoritarians and the anarchists.

Starting off in apparently orthodox late night TV fashion with the good Jewish-liberal cop tracking down a murder mystery and finding himself up against the conspiracy that governs the world — it goes off in Book I into an acid-type fantasy in which one begins to despair of ever tracing the threads of the narrative together. But by Book II it gradually becomes easier to pick up the pieces as one gets into the occult conspiracies and sees how government has always been a racket through which the elitists have aspired to rule the world, while throughout history the anarchist tendency has tried its damndest to see they didn't succeed. The dolphins, incidentally, are anarchists from way back, and their spokesfish, Howard, is one of the nicest characters in the story.

THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS FICTION AWARD FOR 1977

ILLUMINATUS!

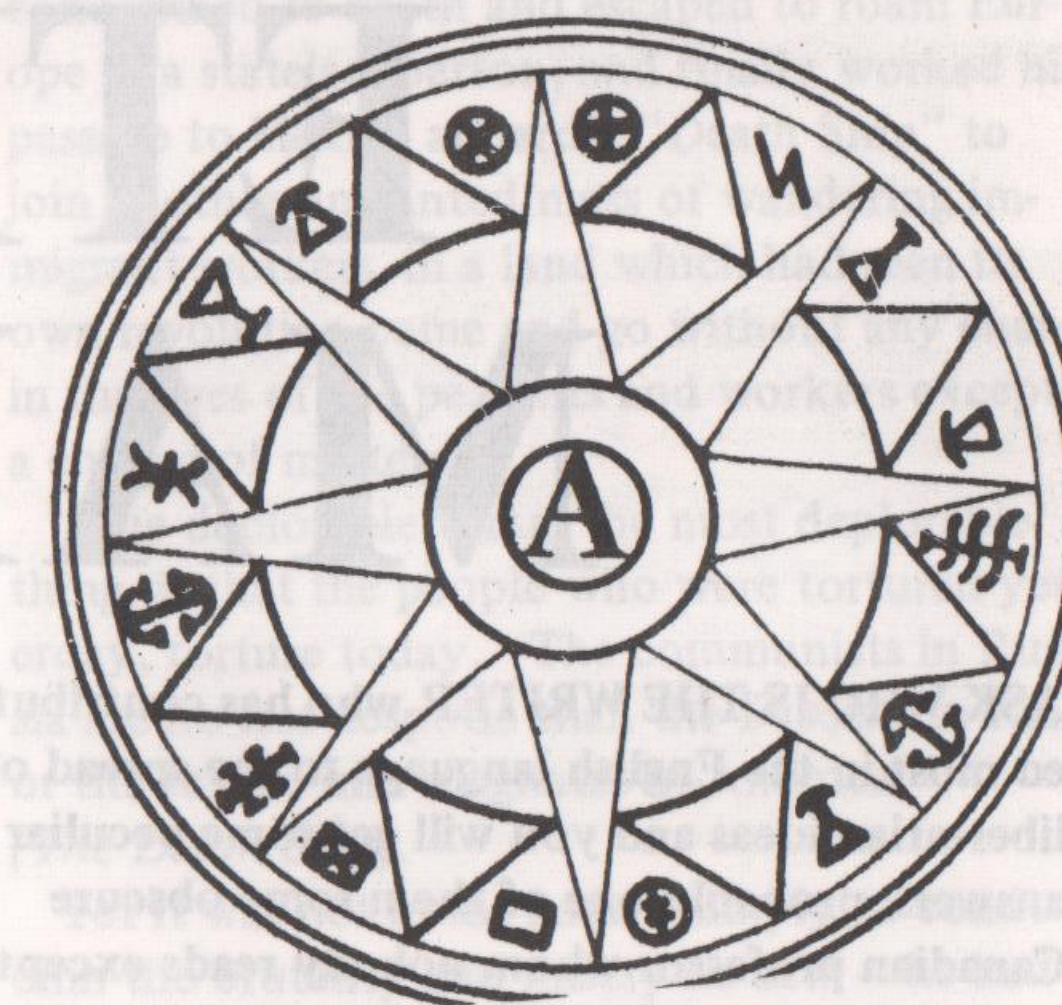
This battle continues on through the pages of the next two volumes, peeling away one conspiracy after another.

Meanwhile, in Vol.I, the authors liberally sprinkle scores of deliciously pungent anti-state, anti-authoritarian comments throughout the dialogue. Making libertarians feel right at home, they also mention Objectivism, libertarianism and several factions of anarchism. They even mention the "put-on" Bavarian Illuminati group founded in the mid 60's at the University of California at Berkeley by some libertarians whose names you might recognise.

Just a word of warning to those with conservative tastes — the abrupt, stream of consciousness style of parts of the book, the wacky philosophy of the *Legion* ("All Hail Eris — Goddess of Discord") and the explicit sex will probably turn you off. On the other hand, if you have a sense of humour, you'll find the book lots of fun.

There's a more serious side to the book, though. Shea and Wilson are communicating libertarian and anarchist ideas — and doing so in what is perhaps the most effective way of all — through satire and humour. They've done such a good job (both are professional writers) that even *Publisher's Weekly* expects it to become a "cult" book. An *Anarchist* "cult" book would be a welcome change. In the meantime I can hardly wait for the next two volumes: *The Golden Apple* and *Leviathan*.

Sharon Presley (*Laissez Faire Review*)



This is a major epic in what one might call parascientific fiction, and it rings the changes on every conspiracy theory in the book (though the ending in Book III is somewhat of a shaggy-dog let-down) and is a superb occult mickeytake which ought to be translated into (or at least annotated) English some day — the American references are as esoteric as the conspiracy.

A reservation of the author's views on anarchism as here presented, which may strike the non-American reader as being deliberate deadpan humour like the Laurel and Hardy interpretation of history which also comes in and is one of the funniest theories yet. They are in earnest about their propagandism of "anarcho-capitalism." The

ILLUMINATUS! Vol.II THE GOLDEN APPLE & Vol. III: LEVIATHAN, Robert Shea & Robert Anton Wilson, Sphere, 75p each.

IS IT REALLY SO ABSURD to think that every American president except Kennedy was a Mason and that every assassin has been a Catholic? Or that the world's foremost philanthropist is head of the Mafia? Or that a pot-smoking Franklin D. Roosevelt is alive and working underground in New York to maintain a general level of boredom in the city? Or that the Chemical Bacteriological Warfare Dept., has leaked a small but apocalyptic sample of its most deadly weapon? Or that a Danneberg-like character who attacks government ships on the high seas in his gigantic super-sophisticated gold submarine is fighting the world's oldest and most successful conspiracy?

Fifteen years ago *Atlas Shrugged* was too extreme, too elaborate, to be believed, but the world has caught up with it. Now *Illuminatus* has the potential for a cult following, certainly among libertarians. As one reviewer said, "What *Lord of the Rings* did for romantics, *Illuminatus* will do for paranoids". It even contains a satirical summary of *Telemachus Sneezed*. If that does not have you withdrawing your sanction you must be a concrete bound, whim-worshipping, right-wing hippy.

Illuminatus tells us everything we've always wanted to know about the Bavarian Illuminati but were afraid to ask. And why shouldn't we? Whether there is a conspiracy or not, the world behaves as though there were.

Aubrey Schwartz (*Laissez Faire Review*)

American Right has always cherished the illusion that enterprise and initiative, without any Government force, can build up wealth. This is the theory of so called "individualism" (which is not so at all) that Kropotkin smashed notably in his pamphlet "Expropriation" (one of his least-known that ought to be more widely circulated). Whereas in England this is the doctrine of the extreme law-and-order party, the hang 'em, flog 'em, jail 'ems, in America — using the same economic gurus like F.A. Hayek — it has traditionally distrusted central government and stood for States' rights (which it has confused with federalism). This right wing illusion has consoled rather than consolidated the revolt against authoritarianism. Just as the middle-class so-called left libertarians were consoled by militant liberalism, which enabled them to decline military conscription and live as free lives as possible but left them guilty about their possessions, this theory consoles those who want to smoke pot and the rest of it but not feel guilty about the way they bought their leisure.

The authors are to a large extent ignorant of traditional revolutionary anarchism. They try to be fair to it, defining anarchism as the "free market" in which all (!) anarchists believe but whereas "right wing" anarchists believe it will involve competition, "left-wing" anarchists think the emphasis will be on co-operation. Thus they are more inclined to "hatred". As they know so little about anarchism/activists whose names they drop — as distinct from "libertarian pioneers"

THE DISPOSSESSED, Ursula Leguin, Panther, 75p

THIS IS A SCIENCE-FICTION novel that will interest libertarians, or even better, a libertarian novel that will interest science-fiction fans.

The scene is another world, Urras (11 light years from Earth), and its moon Annarres. Urras is a world much like our own, rich in natural resources yet divided into antagonistic power blocks, capitalist and "communist". All the action on Urras takes place in A-Io, the leading capitalist nation. Urras's moon Annarres has been settled for 200 years by anarchist colonists, followers of Odo, a female philosopher. It is an arid inhospitable world, the worst kind of place for a libertarian Utopia, given to the Odonians by the Ioti government to defuse a revolt.

The chapters alternate between the adventures of Shevek, an anarchist physicist on Urras, and



URSULA LE GUIN

a flashback biography of his life on Annarres. Shevek goes to Urras, the first Annarresti to do so since the colonisation, in the hope of building contacts between the two worlds and bringing their peoples together again. Naively thinking that he is being welcomed by the Urrasti because of their "pure" scientific interest in his research in temporal physics, he is unaware that the Iotians want to tap his mind to aid in their plans for domination of Urras and neighbouring worlds. Eventually, when he sees through their plans, he seeks refuge with the Iotian anarchists and anarcho-syndicalists and helps them organise a revolt.

This novel really stands out in several ways. It is excellent science-fiction. Its other worlds are complete and convincing, different and alien enough to satisfy the sci-fi fan, yet similar enough to our own world to be believable. The book is very well written — its characters really alive, something that cannot be said of much science-fiction (although it is something that is beginning to change now) and could stand up as well as a novel outside the science-fiction scene.

The chapters about Annarres will be very unsatisfying to those libertarians who like their history sugar-coated, but very thought provoking for libertarians who are interested in the real possibilities and problems of a free society. This is one of the most interesting things about the book, that the Odonian Utopia is not really a utopia; it has great problems. As well as its famines, its dusty, unhealthy climate, a "libertarian" bureaucracy is unconsciously forming unchallenged by most Annarresti. Odonianism/anarchism has become a static theory drummed into children and eventually negating itself into an intolerance for individualism. This intolerance stems from the inhospitable nature of the planet. Self-sacrifice, hard-work, collectivism and a simple and spartan life style are necessary for survival. Even so, the free society has turned out well on the whole. Men and women have total equality and sexism is something from history books. Sex — homo

and hetero — is loving, natural, and free for children and adolescents as well as adults. Money does not exist and there is free access to goods and services. A strong sense of community and a strong social conscience insure that short rations are shared equally. People move easily from one job to another doing what they like to do, but the hard dirty work is shared equally in the same way as the rations. Industry is small scale: "...The gang foreman, a big woman in a smock white with dust, was supervising the pouring of a cast with a loud and splendid flow of language. After that came a small wire factory, a district laundry, a luthier's where musical instruments were made and repaired, the district small-goods distributory, a theatre, a tile works. The activity going on in each place was fascinating and mostly in full view. Children were around the work-places, some involved in the work with the adults, some underfoot making mud pies, some busy with games in the street, one sitting perched up on the roof of the learning centre with her nose deep in a book...No doors were locked, few shut. There were no disguises and no advertisements".

Even language is different. A new language, Pravic, was invented by the original colonists to reflect their philosophy and way of life. "Most Defence work was so boring that it was not called work in Pravic which used the same word for work and play, but kleggich, drudgery". "The singular forms of the possessive pronoun in Pravic were used mostly for emphasis; idiom avoided them. Little children might say "my mother", but very soon they learned to say "the mother". Instead of "my hand hurts", it was "the hand hurts me", and so on. The book is full of little details like this but they do not make it drag and the story holds well together, exciting and readable all the way through.

A. (Solidarity Newsletter)

(Also available are: *The Left Hand of Darkness*, 50p; *The Lathe of Heaven*, 35p; *City of Illusions*, 50p.)

ETHEL MANNIN

ASK WHO IS THE WRITER who has contributed most in the English language to the spread of libertarian ideas and you will get some peculiar answers, probably one of them some obscure Canadian professor whom nobody reads except as prescribed in the University curriculum. You might well get the same answer from Ethel Mannin, but for my money it is she who deserves the maximum credit, and seems to have received none that I know of. She was writing on sex and women's liberation fifty years ago and has introduced anarchist ideas in numerous works of fact and fiction.

Alas, she has committed the major literary sin: her books have been successful, and the higher critics cannot possibly evaluate her.

Dig into the novels of Ethel Mannin and you will find anarchism, the Spanish Revolution, Emma Goldman, women's lib., the colonial struggle, the Arab guerrillas, all dealt with: her factual works include *Women and the Revolution* and many others.

At 75, she has announced she will write no more. The great quality in her novels was a zest for life. She owed a lot to her father, an old-time socialist who kept the faith. The drive for freedom, the resentment of injustice, and also the occasion-

al ideological muddle, (one of her best books was *Christianity or Chaos?*, an oddly titled book for an agnostic talking about purely secular matters) were all very typical of the British working-class background. She was in her way a skilled craftsman, her trade was with words. Now she has retired, her works, of consummate craftsmanship if not great art, are there to be admired.

Thank you, Ethel Mannin.

Albert Meltzer

(Her titles include: *Red Rose*, *The Dark Forest*, *Martha*, *Hunger of the Sea*, *Sounding Brass*, *Pilgrims*, *Green Willow*, *Crescendo*, *Children of the Earth*, *Ragged Banners*, *Linda Shawn*, *Venetian Blinds*, *Men are Unwise*, *Cactus*, *The Pure Flame*, *Women also Dream*, *Rose and Sylvie*, *Darkness my Bride*, *Julie*, *Rolling in the Dew*. Short stories: *Green Figs*, *Dryad*, *The Falconer's Voice*. Travel and Memoirs: *Confessions and Impressions*, *All Experience*, *Forever Wandering*, *South to Samarkand*, *Privileged Spectator*. Child Education: *Commonsense and the Child*, *Commonsense and the Adolescent*. Politics: *Women and the Revolution*. Religion: *Christianity—Or Chaos? Commonsense and Morality*.)

B. TRAVEN: MASTER OF THE REVOLUTIONARY NOVEL

"No example exists where human beings could be oppressed, muzzled and beaten so long that finally they gave up all thought of resistance or rebellion. The less somebody governing a nation is gifted with brains, the more he attempts to make all resistance impossible through measures of brutal force. Even in the most arbitrary dictatorship imaginable, one fifth of the population remains untouched. And this precisely is never the worst part of the population. This one fifth of the population, which he, the dictator, has never been able to reach, causes his downfall."

(The March to Caobaland, Penguin)



B. TRAVEN and ROSA ELENA LUJAN, in the early 1960's.

THE PUZZLE OF "WHO IS B. TRAVEN"? was finally resolved shortly after the writers' death in 1969 when his widow, Rosa Elena Lujan, confirmed that her husband had been the German anarchist Ret Marut. Nothing is known of Marut before 1907 and the original identity of this German anarchist, an enthusiast of Max Stirner who earned his living as an actor and journalist, is still not known — even to his wife! "Ret Marut" was the first of many aliases that Traven was to use.

Marut first arrived in Munich during the autumn of 1915 and in 1917 he began, with Irene Mermeter, to publish the anarchist paper *Der Ziegelbrenner*, "The Brickburner". He played an active part in the German Revolution of 1919 and, together with Erich Muhsam, helped found the Munich "Soviet". In his book *Red Rising in Bavaria* R. Grunberger records that Marut worked at this time in the council's propaganda commission — one of a small group of "Literati" whose job it was to censor the bourgeois press. When General Ep's White Guards attacked Munich on May-Day 1919, Marut was in a coffee-house. While helping to drag the wounded to safety he was identified, arrested and condemned to death. Shortly after he managed to escape from prison and, while still in hiding, managed to publish five more issues of *Der Ziegelbrenner* during his next two years on the run. "Ret Marut" was never seen or heard of again after 1921.

In 1923, an unknown author by the name of "B. Traven" wrote to the editor of *Der Syndikalist*, Augustine Souchy, in Berlin, asking for advice on publishing his stories in Germany. This was the first known appearance of Traven, and the manuscripts that followed his first letter were to spark off the long mystery as to their author's identity. With Souchy's help Traven began to send his manuscripts to Germany in 1924 and in the years between 1925 and 1929 he had five novels and a number of short stories published in that country. When the Nazis came to power Traven's works were banned by the personal order of Herman Goering.

Traven's early attachment to the anarchist writings of Max Stirner found expression in his novels which were translated out of the abstract and strengthened through the author's own experiences and his acute observation of human behaviour. He had taken part in one revolution

and seen it betrayed by "...a socialist president, who is more nationalistic than old man Bismarck ever was..." (*The Death Ship*, Panther); been condemned to death and escaped to roam Europe as a stateless person; and finally worked his passage to Mexico aboard a "Death Ship" to join another unwanted mass of wandering immigrant workers, in a land which had seen its own revolution come and go without any change in the lives of the peasants and workers except a change of masters.

"The deplorable thing, the most deplorable thing, is that the people who were tortured yesterday, torture today. The communists in Russia are no less despotic than the Fascists in Italy or the textile-mill magnates in America." (*The Death Ship*).

Yet it was not in his nature simply to condemn the brutality and misery he saw — he had seen too much of it. For Traven it was the world in which men lived that determined how they acted, and if men were to change they must first change the world. To those today who think that the world can be changed peacefully and equate anarchism with pacifism Traven would have given an ironic smile. Certainly, he had seen revolutions go wrong but he never lost the faith in learning from mistakes and trying again.

"In England, Germany, the U.S.A., everywhere it is the police who do the whipping and the ones in rags who get whipped. And then the people who sit snugly at their well-laden tables are surprised when someone rocks the table, overturns it, and shatters everything to fragments. A bullet wound heals. A cut with a whip never heals. It eats ever more deeply into the flesh, reaches the heart and finally the brain, releasing a cry to make the very earth tremble, a cry of 'Revenge!' " "War is war, and the workers were determined to wage war until they had won not just one battle

but the whole campaign. States at war permit themselves the use of any weapons, so why shouldn't the workers in their war? Workers usually make the mistake of wanting to be regarded as respectable citizens, but no one thinks the better of them for it." (*The Cotton Pickers/Der Wobbly*; Hill & Wang)

In his series of six "Jungle Novels" Traven set out to probe the origins and effects of the Mexican revolution, but never once losing sight of the fact that what was important was that the individual should benefit, and cautioning against the sort of betrayals that had already happened in Mexico, Russia and Germany. "The individual is always over-powered, whenever a minute group of demagogues is possessed of sufficient brutality or mere persuasive power to impose a system upon all other human beings. What the system may be called does not matter in the least." (*The March to Caobaland*, Penguin).

As with all his books, the "Jungle Novels" are full of anarchist dialogue, references to the IWW, anarcho-syndicalism and the atmosphere of revolution. They build slowly through the stages of brutal exploitation in the farms, towns and logging camps deep in the Mexican jungle, to the first violent resistance of the timber workers, until in the final volume, *General from the Jungle* (Hill & Wang), a Zapata-like figure raises guerrilla war against the State. In *Rebellion of the Hanged* (Penguin), one of the characters states "Our war cry is Tierra y Libertad and 'Abajo la dictadura!'", the same slogans used in the Mexican revolution which began in 1910 with an uprising against the dictatorship of Porfirio Diaz. For Traven "...revolutions are made, not only to change systems, but also the mean souls of men". (*Rebellion of the Hanged*) He had no room for compromise. "In a real revolution one either wins or dies. The rest is unimportant." (*The March to Caobaland*).

The Creation of the Sun and the Moon, one of Traven's short stories, uses an Indian legend to convey the same stark reality, strongly reminiscent of Nechaev's *Revolutionary Catechism*.

"...the brave man who is willing to go must be prepared for the greatest sacrifice a man can make. He must leave his wife and children, his father and mother, his friends and his people. Never again to return to the earth. He must wander forever in the sky, shield in one hand, lance in the other, always ready to fight the evil gods. For the gods of darkness will not rest. Again and again they will try to put out the light of the sun, which is their enemy." And later, in *Bridge in the Jungle* (Penguin), Traven, now an exiled revolutionary with a price on his head, asks, "Where is the world? Where is the earth on which I used to live? It has disappeared. Where has mankind gone? I am alone on another planet, from which I can never return to my own people."

At the beginning of 1937, in the midst of the Spanish Civil War, there was a letter from this same Traven to the National Committee of the CNT replying to a request from the syndicalists

Illuminatus! cont.

on whom they are knowledgeable — they cannot even spell correctly; and so feel safer in bringing in as a "typical" anarchist activist, John Dillinger! (There is a superb comic reference to the John Dillinger Died For You Society). In some ways this type of anarcho-aggro (as some call themselves since they are stuck on "the market" rather than on capitalism) is more anarchistic than those we would regard as right wing, and some left wing "anarchists", pacifists, quietists and so on, the Catholic Worker and examples nearer home. But their libertarianism goes just so far as criticism: since they rule out revolution except as rhetoric and apparently think the working class does not exist (everyone buys and sells like the proverbial Chinese laundrymen) they have no idea how to bring about this libertarianism they advocate and so are hooked on science fiction, mysticism and pot when it comes to the nitty gritty and the authors have made these three strains into a superb mickey-taking narrative.

Especially after this book, I am not sure one can deny that some at least of the agorists are anarchists; but they are clearly not what we mean by it. It's a bowdlerisation which will be read by thousands who will (and should) read this odyssey of fun for its own sake. It may be read as an anarchist in-joke, a cult book for the cynical esotericist, a Gulliver's Travels of the acid age or just for laughs; and the secret of what is really hidden in the Pentagon sent me at least into convulsions.

A. Meltzer.

POETRY



Philip Levine was born in 1928 in Detroit where he was educated. After a succession of stupid jobs he left the city for good and moved around various parts of the country before settling in Fresno, California, where he now teaches. Phil is an anarchist and one of the most outstanding poets now writing in North America. His books, none of which have been published yet in the U.K., (published in the U.S. by Atheneum, N.Y.) include: *On the Edge, Not this Pig, Pili's Wall, Red Dust, They Feed They Lion, 1933*, and his latest work *The Names of the Lost*.

MONTJUICH by Philip Levine.

"Hill of Jews," says one, named for a cemetery long gone. "Hill of Jove," says another, and maybe Jove stalked here once or rests now where so many lie who felt God swell the earth and burn along the edges of their breath. Almost seventy years since a troop of cavalry jingled up the silent road, dismounted, and loaded their rifles to deliver the fusillade into the small, soft body of Ferrer, who would not beg God's help. Later, two carpenters came, carrying his pine coffin on their heads,

two men out of movies not yet made, and near dark the body was unchained and fell a last time onto the stones. Four soldiers carried the box, sweating and resting by turns, to where the fresh hole waited, and the world went back to sleep. The sea, still dark as a blind eye, grumbles at dusk, the air deepens and a chill suddenly runs along my back. I have come foolishly bearing red roses for all those whose blood spotted the cold floors of these cells. If I could give a measure of my own for each



The Execution of Francisco Ferrer Barcelona, 13th October 1909. Francisco Ferrer, a Catalan anarchist teacher, was accused, without evidence, of having provoked the disturbances which occurred during the general strike. Arrested and condemned to death, he was shot in the moat of Montjuich castle. (The Art of Anarchy, Flavio Costantini)

endless moment of pain, well, what good would that do? You are asleep, brothers and sisters, and maybe that was all the God of this old hill could give you. It wasn't he who filled your lungs with the power to raise your voices against stone, steel, animal, against the pain exploding in your own skulls,

against the unbreakable walls of the State. No, not he. That was the gift only the dying could hand from one of you to the other, a gift like these roses I fling off into the night. You chose no God but each other, head, belly, groin, heart, you chose the lonely road back down these hills empty handed, breath

steaming in the cold March night, or worse, the wrong roads that led to black earth and the broken seed of your body. The sea spreads below, still as dark and heavy as oil. As I descend step by step a wind picks up and hums through the low trees along the way, like the heavens' last groan or a song being born.

B.Traven: Master of the Revolutionary Novel asking authorisation to translate his works into Spanish. The original work went into exile with the CNT archives. Part of the letter was later published in Mexico by *Solidaridad Obrera*, organ of the CNT in exile. In it Traven not only showed his interest in what was happening in Spain, but his complete adherence to the aims of the CNT.

"I very much want to help you. Although my works have been translated into 17 languages, I find myself without a home and without money; but without doubt I have something which I would gladly put at your service. I have my library, neither large nor luxurious, but what does that matter if it can be useful to the Spanish comrades in time of war? All I have is for you. My presence in Spain is not necessary for you to win the war nor to give you good advice. You don't want a writer, even though he comes from the ranks of the revolutionary workers, to write how you should improve your situation. You have much counsel, more than you need. If, instead of millions of words, you had been sent for each word a 'trimotor' and for each hundred a machine-gun, you would win the war within the year. Comrades, each word said for you without necessity is a lost cartridge for you."

He also alluded to his nationality in the letter, for once coming unusually near to the truth for a man who took delight in mischievously setting false trails as much for their own sake as for the

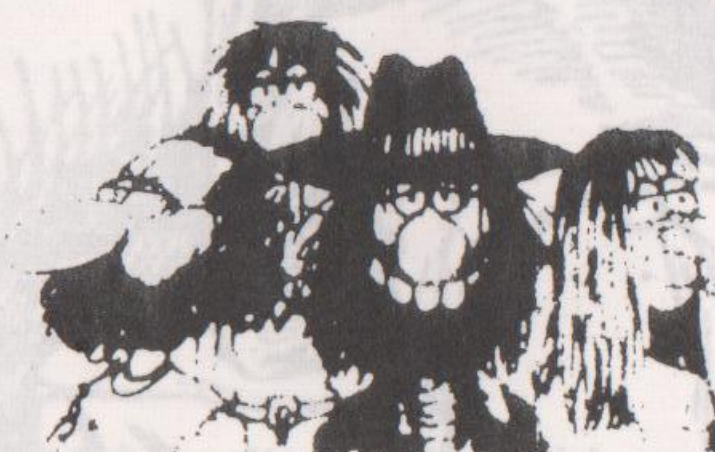
security involved (he was still under sentence of death in Germany). "I am an American and write in English." "Ret Marut" is remembered as a German anarchist, a fact which confused those who first tried to connect the two - Marut the German Spartacist-anarchist and Traven the author who wrote his best works in English and spoke German with a foreign accent. Here again his widow solves the mystery. She first met "Marut" in 1936 when he was working as a photographer under the name Tosvan Torsvan, and later married him as "Hal Crovers" in Mexico in 1957. According to Lujan Marut/Traven/Torsvan/Crovers was born in Chicago in 1890, his parents moving to Germany when he was still a child. She also scotched rumours that Traven had been a Wobbly. He never actually joined the IWW "but he was a sympathiser. He did not want to follow their rules." Traven himself, in a typically impish passage in one of his novels, *The Cotton Pickers*, which features the IWW largely, amongst a story of striking migrant workers in Mexico, writes:

"It's not my fault if men get dissatisfied and want something better. I never say anything to such men. I keep mum, and let others do the talking. So it beats me, everywhere I go people say I'm a Wobbly, a troublemaker, and I assure you, Mr. Pratt, that it is -"

"The whole and unadulterated truth", Mr. Pratt finished the sentence that I'd intended to finish

COBBLERS' AWLS

("cojones")



THE ANGRY BRIGADE, Alan Burns, Quartet Books, 50p

IT IS BECOMING increasingly fashionable these days for academics and professional writers and historians to illustrate their theses with the assistance of the tape-recorded mumbblings of the inarticulate to support their unsubstantiated class-prejudices. This book is described by its publishers as "a deft combination of serious in-depth research and imaginative reconstruction", but not one word of fact emerges from it. (We subsequently learned that the "in-depth research" and information came from a fringe theatre group). The author's "imaginative reconstruction" consists of one specific reference to the blowing-up of the Post Office Tower which, incidentally, was omitted from the police charges which led up to the trial of the "Stoke Newington Eight". In another incident a character, who for some reason is "known to be involved with the Special Branch" and therefore presumably interested in maintaining his cover at that point - only suspected by one girl because of his unpleasant appearance and his sexual aggression, smashes her head in while her cowardly Jewish boyfriend looks on impassively. It turns out he is the one who "allocates tasks in disciplined fashion" and she believes that blowing up Telstar House would "really kick them in the balls" (bring about the downfall of capitalism).

It is highly unlikely that the Angry Brigade thought they would destroy capitalism, but whatever their aims they were successful harbingers of revolution, frightening the ruling-class sufficiently to cast them as 'Public Enemy No.1', and - when a few people were convicted, not of causing any explosions, but of sympathy with the politics of those who did, induced the disgusting apologies for journalists on *The Sun* (who appeared only during the last days of the trial) to describe them as drug-taking schizoid hippies.

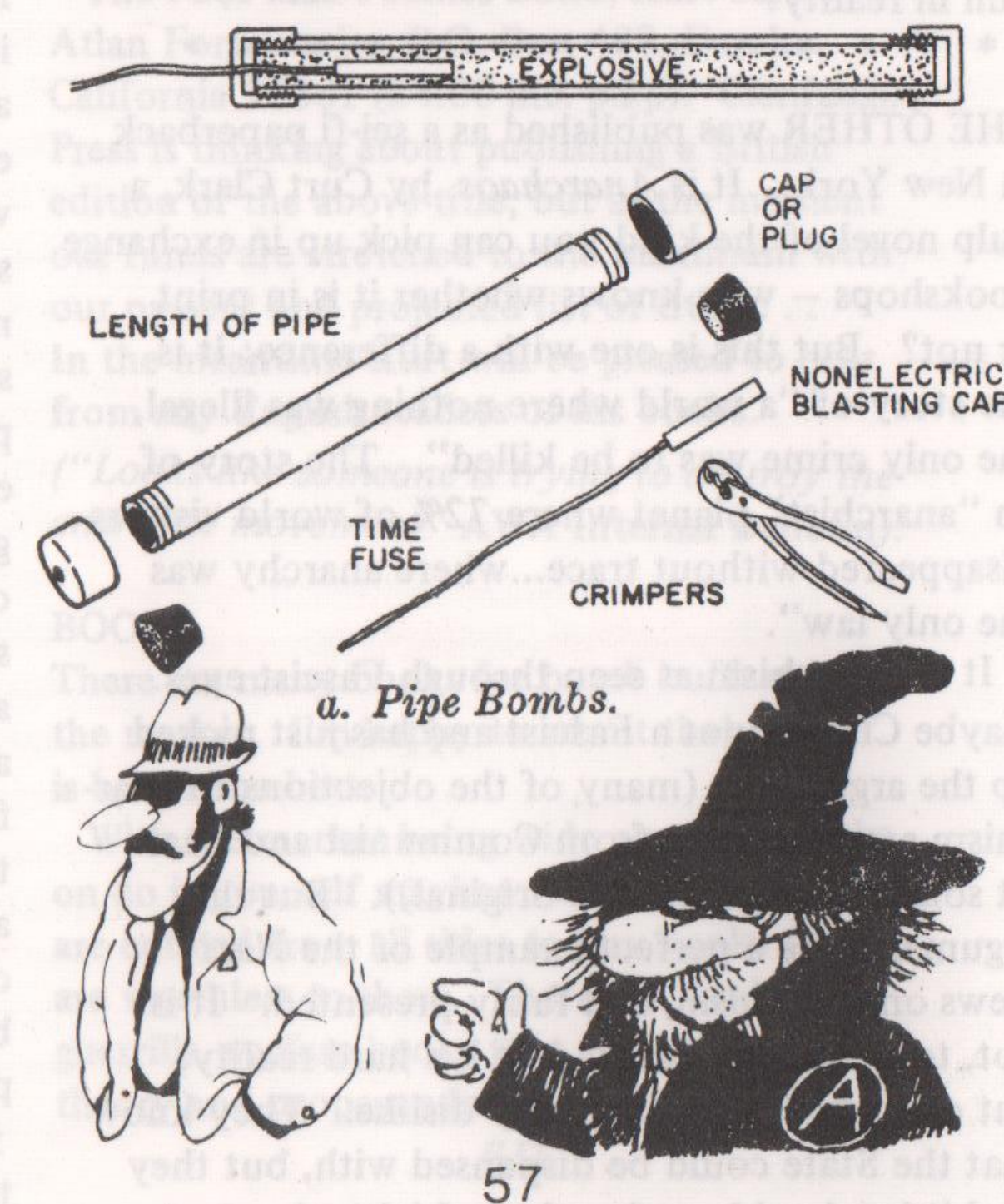
Alan Burns - whose six years at the bar and "research in politics at the time of LSE" allow him to refer to the period "before the anarchists died out" and have one of his characters say "we worked on Maoist precepts" - picks up the *Sun* pieces and a police officer's remark that the AB consisted of several groups and allow him to say, ingeniously, that maybe his doubtful tape-recorded documentary-fictional characters are the ones that got away.

According to Alexander Dumas the novelist is entitled to rape history provided he produces a child; but Mr. Burns, in his fraudulently titled book *The Angry Brigade* and equally fraudulent description of it in the blurb as a "documentary novel", has produced neither a documentary nor a novel. His book is a rambling series of extracts from tape-recordings made with the help of a gullible "left-wing" theatre group, the most improbable and unlikely people on the hippy scene at the time - a homosexual who is "a kind of an

anarchist"; a rich rabbi's grandson; the son of a Catholic Indian businessman, etc... It does not make a novel nor does it have any plot. It refers to nothing remotely resembling the activities of the Angry Brigade nor to what the Stoke Newington Eight trial was about. The jury's refusal to accept a large part of the police evidence no doubt put paid to a number of highly-paid professional commentators' plans to document the trial of "the anarchist conspirators", but Mr. Burns seems quite cheerfully to have picked up the pieces and present them in place of a novel.

But since the book is neither fact nor fiction, let alone the "masterly blend" it is claimed to be, neither a novel or documentary, let alone a "deft combination" - what is it? It is, in fact, a propaganda piece, financially supported, in part at least, by the Arts Council, characterising the Angry Brigade as the stereotype "underground" hippy freak with which the establishment would like to associate it. Mr. Burns, who on his own admission has never done a hard day's work in his life - "as a novelist, playwright and lawyer" - wants to portray those who rebel against the Establishment not as workers, but as professional agitators who work, live, and play in a social vacuum outside, and unaffected by, the framework of industrial, social and economic conflict produced by capitalism. It is a classic propagandist technique that those who oppose the State must in some way be outside society and working for some ulterior motive. By associating the name Angry Brigade with "drop-outs" at their most caricaturable, he endeavours to supplement the *Sun* type image; to show the revolutionaries as something apart from the working-class. But propaganda should be given away, not sold.

If an author wrote a novel concerning a group of upper-class opium smoking "drop-outs" and presented it as "The Luddites" (or "Molly Maguires") it could not stand as historical fiction but on its merits as a novel. Such merits Mr Burns does not possess. He tries to cover his efforts under the mantle of the "documentary novel", but although it may not be actionable under the Trades Description Act, he should be careful not to let his publishers apply adjectives like "mindless" to those whose politics they oppose. Stuart Christie (*Time Out*)



THE WEATHERMAN GUY, Jon Burmeister, Sphere, 65p

FOLLOWING IN THE WAKE of the Angry Brigade, the evil Karen and her "Weathermen Provisionals", helped by the IRA and FLQ, travel to London to blow up the Houses of Parliament whilst they are being opened by the Queen. They are joined by "an ex-Angry Brigadier. He fell out with them because he maintained that they were not prepared to go far enough, which will surprise you when you see him because he looks so mild. "Don't be fooled, he's shit hot".

It reads more like an essay written for a police entrance examination in basic English than a proper thriller.

"I don't understand the revolutionary mind", says one of the policemen tracking the conspirators down, "I know what motivates her. She wants to change the world with TNT. What I can't understand is how she got like that". A detective explains, "Mostly it happens at University".

Whilst raiding the flat of one of the suspected bombers who works as a dustman, the police are aghast to see books on history, poetry and existentialism on his bookshelf, "...Deep reader for a dustman". "Some bloody dustman", cries the other cop, "Look at this one, *THE FLOOD-GATES OF ANARCHY*". (Also by Sphere!).

Burmeister's modern day gunpowder plot is simply badly written propaganda, trotting forward the tired old conspiracy view of history in which a small group of revolutionaries - the drugged children of the bourgeoisie, working out their frustrations - declare war on society. A SINGLE MONSTROUS ACT (K. Benton, Macmillan, £3.50), however, has the theme of the misled Karen (not an *evil* one this time - the originality of the man!) under the influence of her thoroughly bad egg professor Thaxton who plans to blow up the Houses of Parliament whilst they are being opened by the Queen. This is like an essay marked down as implausible in the said entry examination (by Inspector Roy Creamer). The theme (after all it is fiction) is a Revolutionary Front which unites the IMG, the IS and the WRP into one Trotskyist organisation with the support of some, but apparently not all, Maoists. Blowing up the gashouse would get all the students out and strong car worker support (unless bought off by a deal).

The "Front" (sic) does however draw the line somewhere. "...It has done a great deal to co-ordinate the activities of the ultra left-wing movements" says the cop. "Not all of them", replies the dumb Karen. "We don't try to attract the anarchists". "You'd be surprised how many of them read the R.P. News". Shudders. But the real force behind the "Front" is the Soviet secret intelligence which decides, rather too intelligently, that they stand a better chance with the Trotskyists than with the Stalinists, though where it gets them (removing our beloved Queen whom all their wives put on their best hats to meet) it is hard to see.

The wickedness of the Trotskyists and the sinister people who manoeuvre them is hard to guy (strangling babies, etc.), but it is curious that the supreme wickedness as Mr Benton sees it is using a nuclear bomb which will not only blow up the houses of Parliament, but render them uninhabitable for countless generations because of fall-out. He does not see why people reacted so strongly to dropping the bomb on Hiroshima, however.

SNIPES SPINSTER, Jeff Nuttall, Calder & Boyars, £1.95

APPARENTLY JEFF NUTTALL wanted to "kiss goodbye" to the image he created in *Bomb Cult* (Cont. on page 62)

THE LIE FACTORY



The following article is not exactly a book review — the books are unobtainable as far as we know — but it is a history as to how the “case against anarchism”, as it were, is manufactured.

LEAN MEN by Ralph Bates was written in July 1934 and is now long out of print (it was a two-volume Penguin in 1938 and is now quite rare). The book deals with workers in Barcelona in the last days of the monarchy. Inevitably, it deals largely with “the fierce internecine struggle between the workers adhering to the CNT, the revolutionary syndicalist movement in which the dominating philosophy was Anarchism, and the minority belonging to the UGT, the constitutional socialist organisation of trade-unions whose principal strength was in Madrid and the Biscayan provinces”.

The UGT was “forever pleading for co-operation with the employers...and had even entered the Council of State set up by the dictatorship”. The CNT though was “ceaselessly and with magnificent spirit battling against their employers”. That is the setting of the book. But there is one snag. The hero, yes, hero! of the book is a Comintern agent, sent to intervene in the struggle, create a Communist Party out of nothing, and to destroy the main workers organisation. The author, Ralph Bates, glamourises and clearly identifies with the (English) hero — there are some parallels with his life.

In this well-written, but deceitful book there are to be found most of the lies that were levelled against the CNT up to this day, interspersed with some historic facts little known here then, or now. The patience and level-headedness of the fictional Comintern agent makes sad reading when one recalls George Orwell’s account of how these same agents came to fruition in this same setting.

The main argument used by Mr. Charing (the Comintern agent) and clearly underlined by Ralph Bates, is the pacifist one also used by the social democrats and apparently by the Stalinists too when it suited their purpose. The anarchists are responsible for the fights between police and workers (as if the Spanish police ever needed an excuse for repression), and the “guilt rests upon the consciences of those evil teachers who deluded the workers with impossible doctrines”. They “fastened their hold” upon the syndicates (which the CP would never do!) “and drew the pistol in the struggle...if we strike back against the State we demean ourselves, we become anarchists.. we give excuse for fresh opposition...” (Difficult to see, then, how they differed from the UGT. But it barely existed in Barcelona).

This theme, that the anarchists are violent men and provoke oppression by the police, is reiterated

ed; and, though the socialists are condemned for their collaboration, it is emphasised that the militancy of the anarchists is harmful to the best interests of the workers. The Moscow cell tries to control and to smash the unions: “an attack was projected in an editorial appointment on *Solidarid Obrera*, the anarcho-syndicalist daily, shortly to emerge from compulsory retirement. It really appeared as if the tempo of the movement was getting too fast, it might even have to be retarded a little”. (plus ca change..!) “It was good Bolshevism never to let enthusiasm outrun practical necessity. Everything should be held back until it was vitally necessary or perfectly opportune”.

How did anarchism “this sad business” begin? Here we have the Comintern agent’s explanation: “The workers, desperate in their misery, accepted the first doctrine of revolt that came their way, seizing upon it, believing it, thinking it, dreaming it, in sorrow and anguish, pining for a nobler order of society. That doctrine was anarchism. ‘Let us destroy all law for it is weighted against us. Let us raze the State to the ground for it is the servant of kings and priests and capitalists. Let us acknowledge no man master, no bonds, no moralities, for no man is good enough to be master, nor do the workers need bonds’. This was the dream”.

The dream had to be destroyed for clearly this could not apply to the law and order of the omnipotent State with its new masters, its new bonds and moralities — that was the aim that kept the Comintern man going! Ralph Bates portrays him as an idealist and an altruist. Then read *Homage to Catalonia* or Victor Serge and see him in reality!

* * * * *

THE OTHER was published as a sci-fi paperback in New York. It is *Anarchaos* by Curt Clark, a pulp novel of the kind you can pick up in exchange bookshops — who knows whether it is in print or not? But this is one with a difference: it is the story of “a world where nothing was illegal, the only crime was to be killed”. The story of an “anarchist” planet where 72% of world visitors disappeared without trace...where anarchy was the only law”.

It is Anarchism as seen through Fascist eyes. Maybe Clark is not a Fascist and has just picked up the arguments (many of the objections to anarchism are picked up from Communist and Fascist sources and treated as original). But the arguments are a perfect example of the Nazi views on anarchism, and fairly presented. It is not, to them, “a dream”. It is a hard reality, but one which they intensely dislike. They know that the State could be dispensed with, but they find it intolerable and perhaps frightening to

live without authority above them.

The doctrines of Bakunin which had slept for “several centuries in well-earned oblivion” were resurrected by Anarchaos. Anarchism called upon the “noblest elements of human nature as the bedrock of society — a call which is itself noble, but not entirely realistic”. “The first generation on Anarchaos didn’t do too badly.. but of course they had been trained on other worlds and understood discipline and group effort, these two hallmarks of government” but the second generation “growing up with no influence but anarchism” hived off into “syndicates which ran the factories, and the farms, the schools, and transport systems” according to the naive ideas of the anarchists, at which point the “off worlders” moved in, bearing a remarkable likeness to none other than the Elders of Zion from an earlier attempt at science fiction and without anyone realising it. The “syndicates.. were quietly and unofficially taken over by foreign corporations and soon the economic - if not the political - structure of Anarchaos was in the hands of profit-seekers who directed operations from grand offices light years away...for Anarchaos is a rich world...trapping and mining are the two primary occupations, the former done by rugged individualists out in the wilds, the latter done by slaves captured by roaming press gangs and sold to the mining syndicates”.

This lasted 87 years “the longest-running planet-wide mad-house in the history of the human race” until the hero finally manages to blow up the invisible government and let the rest of the planet stew in its own juice and finally collapse.

By the use of fictional cover, artful and malicious accusation can be made without any justification, which pass into acceptance — sometimes as if they were really fact (for years people quoted William Golding’s *Lord of the Flies* as if that were enough to disprove the possibility of a free society). Such an “off-world” dictatorship could not possibly exist in a free society. The very reason governments came into existence in the first place was in order to enable “slaves to be captured by roaming press-gangs”. That is the stuff of government. “The State began with the crack of the slave-driver’s whip”. It would be impossible to divorce the economic from the political so that the exploiters (not expressly designated as capitalists, perhaps the author is thinking of financiers with its more sinister connotations to the fascist mind) could not exist and penetrate the free unions, but have no powers of enforcement for there was no political structure to back them up! This caricature of life on the planet “Anarchaos” would be absurd but for one thing: it is the classic Nazi type objection to anarchism and it has been passed off, with

(Cont. on page 62)

ANARCHIST ALTERNATIVES TO N.A.T.O.

KURT SAXON, editor and publisher of *The Survivor*, *The Poor Man’s James Bond*, *Fireworks and Explosives Like Granddad Used to Make*, *Granddad’s Wonderful Book of Chemistry*, *How to Cut Your Foodbill in Half or More*, and *Medicines Like Granddad Used to Make*, gives us a guide to books on the subject of survival. His own book *The Poor Man’s James Bond*, is well illustrated with diagrams, photographs, and a crystal-clear (and funny) explanation of all the chemical and mechanical processes required for survival in the event of gang-warfare, invasion, open repression, military coup, nuclear war, famine, super-inflation, or the plain old collapse of society as we know it. Alarmists and Trotskyists the world over have been promising disasters such as these for years now, but has it ever occurred to you that they might be right? Let us just hope that their timing is out!

“The thought of violence is unpleasant to all decent people. Yet, if you want to survive the worst you must at least imagine the very worst. That worst would be starving marauders looting and pillaging their way across the land with insane abandon. People you consider average and friendly today may become desperate and vicious later on. You can’t expect the foolish ones who have bet their all on the Ford Motor Company to switch to your way of thinking in time to survive with dignity. Nor can you expect them to starve quietly or be content with whatever small surplus your commune might be able to spare.” According to *Anarchism Lancastrium* “We have lived for centuries in civilisation rooted in obedience. If the Russians came tomorrow at 8.15 a.m. . . by midday you’d have people clapping them in the streets . . . by three you’d have citizens helping to load other citizens on three-ton trucks . . . and on the 9 o’clock news there’d be some well-known personality oozing assurances that it’s all for the best . . .”

If you prepare to survive, you deserve to survive. As gentle as you may be, you cannot be in favour of the improvident looters or invading gangsters surviving at the expense of your children. Besides, their survival would only be temporary anyway. They wouldn’t utilise your methane convertors, organic gardens, tools, books, etc. After destroying you and your family they would vandalise your operation, grab up whatever food was handy and move on (remember General Lister!!).

Your lack of resistance would contribute only to the loss of your knowledge to the next generation. But with the right amount of the right kind of resistance you could pass on your knowledge to future generations. *The Poor Man’s James Bond* could lead to a future commune or self-managed workshop being named after you! Who knows?

Apart from all that, it is a fun book for the here and now. It is the undisputed leader in the field of improvised weaponry, kitchen chemistry, cottage industry, etc. It is a digest of the best tricks of militants and activists throughout the world — economical, safe, crafty. You can rout enemies even without hurting them and, if you’re short of roubles, there’s even a section on forgery.

With a copy of *The Poor Man’s James Bond* you and your friends will be as secure as anyone can hope to be in the event of the collapse of civilisation. Contents include: How to make a home-made still; Tear Gas; Explosives; Ignitors (chemical delay and electrical); Evading pursuit; People’s grenades; Flame throwers; Poisons; Home-made shotguns; Pipe-guns; How to beat a metal detector; Arson by electronics, etc.”

As Kurt Saxon explains in his introduction to the book: “It is bad to poison your fellow man (page 19), blow him up, shoot him, or otherwise disturb his tranquility. It is also uncouth to counterfeit your nation’s currency (page 48), and it is tacky to destroy property as instructed in ‘Arson by Electronics’ (page 61). But some people are just naturally crude and selfish and will, in a fit of pique, act in many ways considered unkind. YOU, of course, are one of the Great Pumpkin’s loftiest creations, so we are safe in putting this book in your hands. It is your responsibility, then, to be aware of the many ways bad people can be harmful when they are angry and generally out of sorts. Also, in the event that our country is invaded by the Foreign Devils it is up to you to destroy them with speed and vigour. Or, and perish the thought, if our country should fall to the enemy within, I expect you to do your duty. It is your right to share with our enemies the knowledge of this wonderful book.”

The Poor Man’s James Bond, Kurt Saxon, Atlan Formularies, P.O. Box 438, Eureka, California 95501 (£4.00 inc. p&p). Cienfuegos Press is thinking about publishing a British edition of the above title, but at the moment our funds are stretched to the maximum with our present and projected list of titles . . . In the meantime Kurt will be pleased to hear from any English readers of his books. (“Looks like someone is trying to destroy the anarchist movement” AWA Internal Bulletin).

BOOKS

There are many books for bomb buffs on the market. I’m happy to admit that mine is by far the best.

With the market being wide open for books on do it yourself mayhem, interested parties are enticed from all sides to buy books that are worthless to them. There is a wealth of guerrilla warfare books that are just dull theory and propaganda.

The only book I would recommend on theory is *150 Questions for a Guerrilla* by General Alberto Bayo. It can be bought for \$2.00 from Paladin Press, P.O. Box 1307, Colo. 80302. It is well written and interesting and has diagrams on bombs, most of which have been reproduced in *Anarchist Cookbook*. Most of the other books on the subject are garbage.

Minutemen types encouraged a rash of Army Manuals that have proved worthless or dangerous to civilians. Descriptions of them sound great but even the best are lacking in clarity. They were issued to military personnel with the understanding that their contents would be taught by an expert. When a civilian gets hold of it he finds that the best parts are vague or even wrong. This doesn’t bother the soldier because he has an instructor to clarify the vague parts and correct errors.

The civilian, however, seldom has a qualified instructor so he usually doesn’t try the best projects or if he does, he is in danger of injury or death.

A case in point is *Special Forces Handbook ST 31-180*. It sells for as high as \$5.00. On page 111-33 there is a diagram of a tin can grenade. The idea is sound but the casting in which the powder goes looks like a toilet paper tube and there is no capping shown for the ends of the tube.

This makes it look like the tube is simply a partition to separate the gunpowder from the scrap metal. Gunpowder must be tightly confined to explode.

The tube would have to be much thicker and stronger and should be shown properly in the diagram and capped at both ends. If the diagram were to be followed strictly there would be a thrilling puff of smoke and that’s about all.

A real dog for bomb buffs is *German Explosive Ordnance* vol. 1. Advertised glowingly as “The big one” and selling for \$12.95, this mess is nothing but factory machined ordnance and impossible to duplicate without a super machine shop and government backing.

The same goes for *Firearm Silencers*. Even *Booby Traps* is 90% machined switches, etc.

If a person has an elaborate machine shop and a good military background many Army Manuals are fine. But to an untrained civilian with few tools they are a big disappointment.

Of course if you have a certain kind of Army gun or access to certain military goodies a book on your ordnance is essential. But if it’s improvised gadgetry you’re interested in, save your money.

Army Manuals are copyrighted and I have all that apply to this field. I have unashamedly lifted all the gadgets you would find practical.

The most ridiculous Army Manual I have, which is advertised as being useful to Militants is *Evasion and Escape*. I bought it with the

WHATEVER HAPPENED TO THE UNIVERSE?



THE RECENT death of Professor Werner Heisenberg renewed interest in his great contribution to science. Almost alone of the physicists at work during the last war, he played no part in the development of the atom bomb. Indeed there is some evidence that he may have deliberately directed German research away from such a project. It was remarkable that the BBC failed to mention in an obituary Heisenberg's one great piece of objective thinking which had added to our understanding of the universe. The author of this controversial article considers the Uncertainty Principle with all its implications, to be one of the outstanding examples of original scientific advance of the 20th century. If the behaviour of sub-atomic particles is unpredictable then causation is negated.

"Punch, sir" an eminent Victorian is alleged to have said, on buttonholing the editor of that illustrious journal in his club, "is not what it used to be." "No," replied the editor, adding *sotto voce*, "And it never was either." This could be said almost to apply to the picture of the universe as presented in the early twentieth century and accepted for so long by so many freethinkers. The late Victorians were great "tidy-uppers"; they liked everything in its proper place and accounted for. So an orderly little universe with just 92 elements neatly and mathematically positioned in the periodic table and with atoms like a miniature solar system composed of solid billiard-ball particles forever whirling around each other seemed to be an ideal representation of the universe. True, there were a few gaps, some unexplained phenomena, an unaccounted for energy source, and some of the sums didn't come out quite right; but never mind, all would be corrected, given time.

The fact that this orderly arranged concept of the cosmos, though materialistic and "scientifically" explained, was akin to the theological idea of a god-created universe seems to have escaped some atheists with a corresponding inability to accept fresh knowledge that invalidates the old billiard-ball universe for fear of "letting God in by the back door." We too have our fundamentalists! Those who cling to a desire for the over-simplified explanations and neatly ordered patterns yet reject the implications that this thought process can lead back to seeking a creator of this apparent order are similar to the religionists who postulate eternity — but only at one end.

This is not to say that all nineteenth-century scientific thinking was at fault. Within the limits imposed by the equipment and research materials then available, they achieved the first real break-through in beginning to understand the nature of the universe for nearly two thousand years. This was not a triumph of science or of scientists but of the scientific method through empirical observation — a very different thing. Attacks on "science", in itself a vague abstraction as being responsible for the ills of present-day society, or the wholesale blaming of scientists for pollution or the H-bomb arise from a tendency to view them as the high priests of a new religion. To equate the often

unwarranted dogmatic statements of individual scientists with Papal pronouncements, or to impose a blanketing condemnation of the scientific method because of the unethical use of technology, is very loose thinking indeed.

Re-Emergence of Scientific Thinking.

Some criticism, however, can be made of those nineteenth-century writers who with enthusiastic over-optimism thought the solution to all problems would be achieved through science. They believed this, because for the first time in centuries objective thinking was back where it had been in the ancient world just prior to the Christian era. Before the intellectual black-out imposed by Christianity, the civilised world was beginning to have a rational scientific understanding of the universe. More important still, it was on the threshold of a technological revolution. Lacking economic pressures or great energy needs this empirical approach existed largely in a cultural vacuum. The availability of abundant manpower through the system of slavery could satisfy to a great extent the needs of society, thereby inhibiting any desire for industrial development.

These early proto-scientists could only operate in a state of isolation. The experiments of men like Thales and attempts at industrial mass-production methods were not related to the prevailing economy, and therefore passed into oblivion. So, too, did some surprisingly modern ideas about the evolution of life and speculations by Democritus on a theory of the atomic structure of matter. These early examples of true scientific enquiry were stillborn because it was mainly a case of a quest for knowledge for its own sake, entirely divorced from a society still dominated by king and priest. Lacking the dynamic urge to take them that one vital step further towards practical application, ideas were forgotten — only to re-emerge in the eighteenth century. But this time there were different pressures at work, the results of which remain with us to this day.

A *Daily Mail* headline in the summer of 1919 announced: "Hun Professor Catches Light Bending," and the universe of Newtonian physics with its solid spherical atoms and 92 immutable elements vanished forever. With the advent of fresh facts, the neat little parcel became irretrievably untied at last. The



subsequent proving of the validity of Einstein's theories of relativity led directly on to the discovery of the positron, the meson, quanta, Heisenberg's Uncertainty Principle, the expanding universe, quasars, pulsars "black holes" — and the H-bomb.

The problem that all this poses for the rationalist is the extent to which this new not so solid view of the universe invalidates the materialist case. Have metaphysics superseded the physical world after all? In some respects we ourselves are at fault in not always accepting the logical conclusions of our ideology. If we really accept evolution, for instance, not as something that occurred in the remote past, but as a continuing process, why shouldn't it apply not only to living matter but to the universe itself? Surely an expanding universe, expanding into space and time is not metaphysical jargon but part of evolutionary change. There is nothing that smacks of the supernatural or theology in this, nor does it weaken the materialist position in any way.

Physics and Metaphysics

When Professor Heisenberg's work on the theory of indeterminacy (or uncertainty, or randomness) to explain the strange behaviour of sub-atomic particles in the nucleus of the atom was expounded, another scientist made an unfortunate observation. In an attempt to bring the idea down to the level of a lay public, the phrase was used that "... it would seem almost as if electrons were possessed of a freewill in the way they behave." This somewhat loose analogy was immediately seized upon by some free-thinkers to the effect that scientists were now talking about atoms having free-will. As a result the acceptance in secular circles of Heisenberg's quite rationalist proposition was damned — and by the very people who, in other fields, put forward randomness or chance patterns of occurrence to explain evolutionary principles in the universe!

Properly evaluated, every one of the recent discoveries in physics and cosmology only confirm the materialist case. The (so-called) Laws of Nature have not been repealed or even modified. In a very real sense they never existed — as laws. The term served a useful purpose merely as a working hypothesis in a limited space and time scale. Certain assumptions appear to work here and now according to observations man has made of his environment during a relatively short period. There is no indication that they apply universally or eternally. All we can assume is that some rules appear to operate in the universe at its present stage of evolution.

One of the difficulties we face is mankind's love of mysteries. If there isn't one, then

WITCHCRAFT

IF HITLER had been successful in exterminating the Jews, future generations would scoff at the idea they existed dismissing as credulous tales that the Red Sea could be crossed by the waters dividing or that a pact could be made with God... thus proving the Jews were only a myth. On the same lines, the Church was so successful in extermination of the witches, that people now believe they never existed and were fairy tales, confusing claims actually not made by the witches themselves, with the people making them. But the witches never made the fantastic claims now associated with the word witchcraft; these were made about them by their persecutors.

The Church so persecuted the practice of the ancient religion — wise-craft — which was basically ethical, non-superstitious and based on the accumulation of folk experience, that they not only all but wiped out, but created a caricature in the name of persecution. The caricature has been copied over and over again and forms the basis of Sunday newspaper features to this day. The people practising occult arts — having a rare old time working off their sexual urges in the name of superstition — usually copy the clerical caricature (reading the Lord's Prayer backwards etc) which obviously post-dates the introduction of the Church, whereas genuine witchcraft pre-dates it. Some now copy the newspaper caricature.

There is a revival of interest in mythology and the occult for the reason that orthodoxy is breaking down. Religion, like every other established orthodoxy, is breaking down with the breakdown of old values. But deliberate mystification preceded — and helped to cause — the rise of the centralised Church and State. This is somewhat different from that form of esotericism which sought to explain mysteries rather than to create them.

It is noticeable that witchcraft, after it had ceased to become the national religion because the state had imposed the Church, became a people's science; when State science imposed itself, it pushed out women from the practice of medicine and it took three centuries for them to get back in, and then not on equal terms.

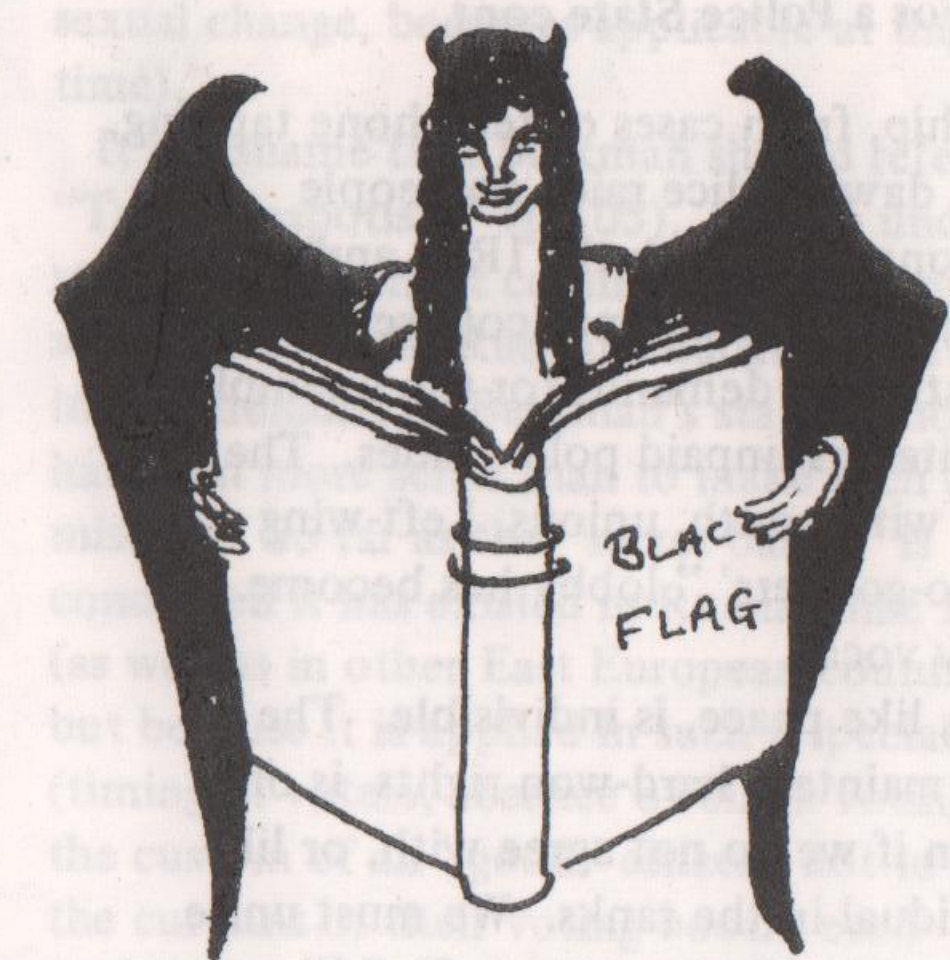
The wiseacres will dismiss genuine witchcraft as bunkum, but treat religious beliefs with respect. Yet in fact the witches never spoke of anything that was not earthly and based on practical tradition and this is why it survived as a healing art and why the Church caricature spoke of "ugly old women" as the prototype — a significant expression coming from what was in fact a union of single men. Orthodox religion, on the contrary made the earth's story into an inexplicable mystery which depended entirely on credulity.

One must smile at the Sabbath journalists who are assigned the task of exposing 'devil practices' one week because some people are re-enacting the anti-witchcraft caricature and the next week have the job of "startling disclosures" such as crucifixes shedding blood or ghosts having to be exorcised from council houses. One can also smile at the enormous growth industry of cults and mythology and back-to-nature cults. But all this is not to say that there never was a

rational belief nor that the traditions of the people were to be distrusted; folklore provides more history than the academics.

There is also a pointer for us in the history of witchcraft. Is it possible that the caricature of anarchism presented by the persecutors might one day become a norm? — that people naturally rebelling against the State might turn not to anarchism itself, but to anarchism as presented by its detractors?

Hermes Trismegistus.



GEOMANCY: The lost knowledge of the past

GEOMANCY is a study and practice, which in former times was world-wide. The divination of centres of energy on the surface of the earth, Geomancy involved the placing of human artifacts, especially buildings, in special positions where their fullest potential could be realised. Until recently in Europe, the ancient engineering which modified the landscape was scarcely realised. The puritan creed of progress, taken over and accentuated by Darwin and Marx, was held as absolute truth, any evidence to the contrary being suppressed with the utmost vigour. Consequently, although the evidence of ancient people's ability was abundant, the archaic remains were ignored, dismissed as chance, glossed over and demolished to make way for more factories.

Ancient legends and folklore attest to the power believed to be available from certain special places. Great care was taken in finding these places, and, once divined, they were protected and cared for by various devices. The fertility of the planet was said to be dependant upon the maintenance of such places, an attribute which was appropriated by whatever religion was then in the ascendant. Despite this incidental association with religion (which led to its suppression in Europe and China) Geomancy's essence transcends dogma. Just as electricians use the same principle and circuits under "Fascist," "Communist," or "Democratic" regimes, so Geomancers used the same principles under Islam, Christianity or Hinduism.

Certain enlightened people, unhindered by the shackles of academic thought, examined anew the ancient monuments coming up with the startling conclusion that they were deliberately placed, according to schemata determined by a lost branch of knowledge and expertise. Such researchers as W.H. Black, Alfred Watkins, Katherine Maltwood and Josef Heinsch demonstrated various aspects of this art — alignments of sites, geometrical arrangements and the layout of vast figures in the roads and boundaries of large areas.

Naturally, the academic world did not take kindly to such heretical thoughts, and, to this day, anything remotely connected with Geomancy is taboo. An acquaintance of mine, then a student at Cambridge University, once mentioned to his tutor the book 'The Old Straight Track' by A. Watkins. He was told that if he wanted to get his degree, he must never mention it again. Being associated with "The Occult" because of its rejection by Archaeology, Geomancy has been dismissed as 'superstition.' The divination of sites often by the same method used today by dowsers, whose unquestioned abilities earn many of them a good living, is undoubtedly mixed up with a certain amount of what would now be given the pejorative meaning of 'superstition.' However, just because Geomancy has accumulated a related set of superstitious practices, it does not mean that the basic idea is unsound, or that there is nothing valuable left which can be stripped of the 'superstition' and reused today.

The barrier to this is that certain entrenched organisations, such as the Universities, see it as their duty to prevent not just the practice but also the study of Geomancy. They myth of unbroken, direct ascent from the depths of stone-age savagery to the Olympian heights of the Twentieth Century (in which 75,000,000+ have died in wars), is the groundbase from which their doctrinaire edifice starts. Remove this, and the justification for most of their acts is swept away. If they are disproved, then their whole work is rendered invalid. The study of numerous obscure subjects is financed and encouraged by the same Universities which refuse to touch anything to do with Geomancy.

The (up to then) respected archaeologist T.C. Lethbridge was hounded out of Cambridge University when he rediscovered the ancient chalk-cut hill figures at Wandlebury to the south of Cambridge. He used methods which were standard archaeological practice, but, because of his interest in extrasensory perception and dowsing, his discoveries were held by his academic rivals to be spurious,

Blueprint For a Police State cont.

for censorship, fresh cases of telephone tapping, spectacular dawn police raids on people totally unconnected with the IRA, and snide attacks on juries and defence counsel? There have been strident demands for the unemployed to be recruited as unpaid police aides. The "get tough with youth, unions, Left-wing MPs and 'do-gooders'" lobby has become increasingly vocal.

Freedom, like peace, is indivisible. The struggle to maintain hard-won rights is one fight — even if we do not agree with, or like every individual in the ranks. We must unite on the same side, like it or not. Civil liberty has enough enemies without assistance from anyone labelling himself progressive. The blueprint for the imposition of a police state seems to be ready. All it awaits is a leader with credibility. Let us all beware, for *Quis custodiet ipsos custodes* still applies.

James M. Alexander (*The Freethinker*).

(The above article was written before and in ignorance of Tony Bunyan's book "The Political Police in Britain".)



Another victim of the Brazilian police "Death Squads"

The Lie Factory cont.

the type of objection by Ralph Bates and many others, as factual.

So far as the average journalist is concerned, Bakunin might well sleep in "deserved oblivion"; they pick up their ideas of anarchism from dime novels and Comintern agents. All this fiction is put over as if it were recorded fact. You have only to pick up a daily paper to see for yourself that journalists do not take their ideas about anarchism from the books reviewed in their papers, or even from the reviews themselves. But they will gladly accept the caricature from State agents. At present, in its neurotic obsession with the State, the German Government is labelling as "Anarchist" not only all resistance in Germany, but anything that moves. The world's journalists are tamely obliged to pick this up from German State propaganda, by edit-

orial order in some cases, from sheer lack of having anything read anything else in others.

A.M. (*Black Flag*)

Cobblers' Awls cont.

ure for which one can hardly blame him. Nuttle tells a pretentious slight story of a jazz musician who wants to assassinate "The Man" and he works into it what he thinks he knows about "the left". God knows it's easy enough to write a Calder-Boyers story (recipe: slowness to fit with maximum price, incomprehensibility with a bit of effin and blindin' and a compulsory reference to the author's homosexuality even if untrue).

The theme is the absurdity of the "far left" with all those different names, just fancy! (I could for-

give Nuttl much but for the fact that in a snide and and palpably false reference to myself he mis-spells my name...the libel itself is nothing, as Sarah Bernhardt could have explained to him).

Nuttl had but a brief glimpse of the anarchist movement: he writes of the CND as if it were the anarchist movement! As I recall he quivered on the edge of the latter, afraid of police spies whom he saw everywhere (recognisable by their short hair and clean collars). He writes of someone — presumably a false name but possibly recognisable — that "he claims to have been a boyhood friend of Stuart Christie... His biggest claim to distinction is that he discovered the military explosives that were to be stolen for the activities of the Angry Brigade. Authors like this — spies you need?

A.M. (*Black Flag*)

Whatever Happened to the Universe? cont.

somebody is sure to invent a few. So many philosophers, in attempting to interpret scientific facts try to find reasons for, or purpose behind them, forgetting that the only purpose in the universe is that which we create in adapting and utilising the environment to our needs. It is this error about purpose that has led to many unwarrantable assumptions in attempting to give a mystical tinge to new ideas and fresh discoveries. This nostalgia for a supernatural explanation (like the mystical perambulations of Eddington and Jeans — "God is a mathematician") and the mental gyrations of philosophers, were ably disposed of at the time by our own writers. Perhaps some of us should read again Chapman Cohen on *God and the Universe*, or Susan Stebbings' brilliant *Thinking to Some Purpose and Philosophy and the Philosophers*. The Apple Still Falls to Earth.

The so-called "crisis" in physics of recent years would appear upon due examination to be but a crisis in the mind. This manifests itself in a failure to comprehend the changes in thinking that new knowledge has brought with a resultant refuge in a mystical or supernatural solution as a substitute for a rational

approach. In the attempt to reconcile both the old and the new views of the universe, much heart-searching has been caused some secularists by the "steady-state" or "big-bang" controversy. While neither proposition can be proved with finality, all the evidence that we have at present must lean towards accepting the latter as more tolerable. Why it should be thought that the idea of a changeless static cosmos continuing indefinitely is more acceptable than that a critical point is reached where a sudden change in structure occurs, escapes me. The steady-state theory has overtones of a supernatural order, a god-ordained and instituted system perfect and eternal.

If we presume a "big-bang" initiating the universe as it now exists this is in line with well-known phenomena like pressure building up in a boiler until it suddenly bursts, or mounting current in electrical equipment reaching the stage where it blows a fuse. Or, more significantly, in the world of physics the bombardment of sub-atomic particles reaching the critical point of a nuclear explosion. Similar sudden changes in the state of matter are qualitative as well as quantitative, as Heisenberg so brilliantly showed, but this change does not presuppose the introduction

of any para-physical elements. It is merely an alteration in the structure of matter, wherein different rules operate. These natural occurrences do not presuppose a creator to press the button or throw a switch.

Similarly, there is nothing metaphysical in the concept of anti-matter, or of black holes in space. True, they are only theoretical; we do not know if they exist. But they do possibly account for the final disposal of the incredible amount of energy continually being produced in interstellar space. What happens to it? We just don't know, but the idea of it being transformed under conditions where both matter and energy cease to exist (as we understand these terms in the universe as it appears to us here and now) seems to me a perfectly rational explanation.

Let us have no fears about the truth of our atheistic position. Nothing in the latest scientific thought on the nature of the universe should lead us to suppose there is any danger of god hovering about somewhere, trying to creep back into the scheme of things via the back door. The universe remains a thoroughly material structure, but some of our notions about it have to be amended.

James M. Alexander (*The Freethinker*).



The Russian Tragedy cont.

solidarity to bring about an anti-authoritarian revolution.

"Literary prostitution" (p8). This phrase best defines the bourgeois interpretation of the Russian or Chinese Revolution. Western capitalism has used two main arguments to justify its actions: in the case of the "Cold War" it fell back on the propaganda that communism meant the destruction of individual freedom, corruption, and general chaos, and that it, at least, had the support of the electorate. On the other hand, however, it argued that in the sphere of economic relations communism was synonymous with serious concern for military and industrial development and, in keeping with the policies of de-Stalinisation, a steady progress towards democratisation. This progress, however, remains closely linked to the increase in the output of coal and steel tonnage, television sets, and the publication of this or that cultural work. At this level it is quite clear that the capitalist technocrats use the same sauce for their propaganda as their communist colleagues.

The standard of living of the working class, both industrial and agricultural; the degree of power and political control which they can exert; the privileges which they never acquire — none of these things are ever brought into consideration, which is not surprising really inasmuch as liberty, capitalism's equality, consists in voting once every four or five years. When one applies the criteria of average production to Francoism for the years 1931-1935, and the average production

for 1975, we find an increase of 21.3% in wheat, rice, 40.5%; oranges, 86.3%; coal, 17.3%; cement, 16 times more; steel, 18 times more, and 28 times more in electricity production. In the case of Francoist Spain both the capitalists and marxists are in agreement to ignore these figures, even though they correspond perfectly with their propaganda! The so-called progress of Francoist Spain, the Soviet Union and China, however, brings few advantages to the working-class in those countries, and the lack of hospitals and new schools only serves to confirm Marx's thesis that poverty and exploitation of the wage-earning class cannot go beyond a certain point, their lives must not be endangered (for who then would do the work — the bosses?).

Berkman draws the lessons he considers fundamental from the betrayed revolution, but it is doubtful if this is really possible as the experiences are very difficult to communicate to popular movements (e.g. the Popular Front and the manipulation of the bigger parties and the Right — Spain, 1936; Chile, 1976). The propaganda of the Communist Party in the East-European countries in the years 1944-1946 simply repeated that of the transitory period 1917-1919 in Russia. If today "Eurocommunism" (as opposed to East-European Communism) re-affirms its criticism against the anarchists, there is no difference between that of today and that of fifty years ago.

Apart from his analysis of the destructive nature of Marxism, the lessons which Berkman offers us are drawn mostly from the Kronstadt rebellion: "A rebellion that localises itself (...) is inevitably doomed to defeat" (p.105). There can be no inhibition or reservation within the revolution (which doesn't mean to say that everything, such as economic and

sexual change, becomes applicable at the same time).

It is a shame that Berkman should refer to "Tartar despotism" (p.105). It is an understandable comment coming from someone with a traditional Russian education, but an internationalist of Berkman's stature should have had more sense than to make such a mistake. So far as the "secret ballot" is concerned it has existed in Russia since 1936 (as well as in other East European countries), but because it is applied in such a special way (timing of voters, absence of blank voting papers, the custom of all "good" citizens not to draw the curtains of their voting booth, etc.) nothing has changed.

The democratic reforms which have taken place, including those of western capitalism as well as State capitalism, do not impinge on the basic force of Power, even though they may appear to diminish it. How can there be any dwindling of this Power when it is accompanied by consumerism? The way forward for the East-European countries is, without any shadow of a doubt, to follow the path blazed years ago by Yugoslavia. This idea is not just confined to members of the C.P. hierarchy, but it is also echoed by dissidents such as Sajoroff and others.

Not only does anarchism demonstrate the dynamism of its analysis in both the Russian and Spanish Revolutions (see Vernon Richard's book *Lessons of the Spanish Revolution*), but also its capacity for constructive ideas as exemplified in the Makhnovist movement and the industrial and agricultural self-managed collectives in Spain, 1936. Berkman's book is indispensable and should be read with careful consideration.

Frank Mintz.



Anarchist Alternatives to NATO cont.

notion that it gave general principles on hiding out and evading the authorities. This book, though, is about what to do once you have escaped from a North Korean POW camp. Actually, it tells you how to make your way to South Korea. This is an unlikely goal for a militant on the run in Tunbridge Wells.

In about the same category are the Military wilderness survival manuals. I have them all and none of them are as practical for Americans as the *Boy Scout Manual* and *Explorer Scout Manual* from Sears. I recommend both of them highly.

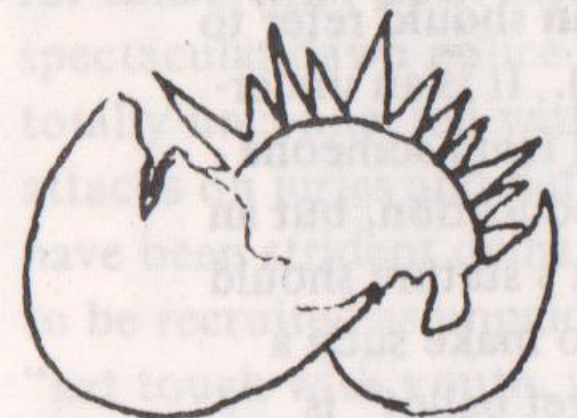
A word of caution concerning mail order book firms. Some of them say on their brochures that their books are restricted to Police, Firemen and Military Personnel. This is a paranoid cop-out. They will sell you any book even if you write your order on a paper sack with a crayon. Nonetheless, they should be avoided. If they say their books are sold only to authority types, they have absolutely no reason to withhold their name lists from the authorities.

Other books I recommend are: *Explosives and Bomb Disposal Guide*, Lenz. \$10.00, 300 pages. This book is actually a sort of bomb thrower's bible. It has dozens of easy to follow diagrams of homemade bombs, booby traps, timing devices and a wealth of terrorist tricks. Order through any book store or buy directly from Charles Thomas, Bannerstone House, 310-327 East Lawrence Avenue, Springfield, Illinois, 62703, USA. *Dupont Blasters' Handbook*, \$6.00, 525 pages. This manual gives the professional step-by-step instructions for the use and handling of all the different types of dynamite and blasting accessories. Order through any bookshop or from the Sales Development Section, Explosives Dept., E.I. du Pont de Nemours & Co., Wilmington, Delaware, 19898, USA. (*The Poor Man's James Bond*, Kurt Saxon)

Fireworks & Explosives like Granddad Used to Make, Kurt Saxon



CNT: APPEAL TO THE GENERATIONS



The publication of our Confederation organ, CNT, which brings new life to this new era, marks a decisive guidepost in the process of bridging the generation gap between the battle-scarred veterans of so many social struggles and the young fighters who support our new unions and federation today.

The men and women all around us in the CNT today are well aware that they belong to an organisation which promoted one of the great revolutionary hopes of this tragic twentieth century, since our unions also contain fighters who have battled on the barricades, for the collectives, on the front, and in the underground resistance movement.

From this past experience we know that our present organisational dimensions are still far from what the Confederation will encompass. Yet our revolutionary aspirations are still the same.

From what the CNT has meant in the history of the working class of this country and the entire world, we also know that our present situation is temporary, very different from what the Confederation will be in very short order. When the working masses of the new generation will have seen for themselves enough of the electoral deceptions and demagoguery of every political party, each of which only aims to perpetuate the governmental mandate in its own way, it will be the end of the present "democratic" illusions and of the glamour bestowed on those parties by their persecution under Franco totalitarianism, obscuring the recollections of their own reformist or authoritarian roots.

The labour movement must recover its total independence, and the struggle for its goals of emancipation can no longer be delegated to political and bureaucratic intermediaries. This experience is being forged in our present struggles — and anarchosyndicalist activity and propaganda are playing an increasing role in shaping it.

When the day comes for the social transformations which workers long for, the revolutionary syndicalism of which the CNT is the historic representative will again be the liberating impetus of direct action, unconquerable by the garrisons of reaction now crouching in the anterooms of power.

CNT NATIONAL COMMITTEE.

Money for the CNT appeal should be sent via Black Flag here in Orkney.. All contributions should be clearly marked CNT.

GEOMANCY — THE LOST KNOWLEDGE cont.

and he was hounded out. To this day, his Wandlebury work is scorned, and his excavations, owned by the laughably-named 'Cambridge Preservation Society,' have been progressively neglected and destroyed.

Another, comparable, reaction, with more unscrupulous undertones, is the fate of a bequest left by Katherine Maltwood, discoverer of a vast series of figures, visible only from the air, near Glastonbury. Her interesting finds, a series of effigies of the signs of the zodiac, noticed by local aviators in the 1920s, were fully documented in a number of books. When she died in 1961, she left £42,000 to the Royal Society of Arts in order to further her work. This was untouched until 1969, when the society decided to give out £1000 a year to those engaged in archaeological research in Somerset. Since then the money has been allocated to archaeological societies and members of

universities who openly scorn the research done by Maltwood. On the panel of archaeologists who allocate the funds is Professor Glyn Daniel, who is on record as calling Maltwood's researches, carried on over a 25 year period, as nonsense. Those interested in continuing her research have applied on numerous occasions for the money, but to no avail, the climate prevailing being determined solely by academic orthodoxy.

The establishment archaeologists, however, are old men, rapidly declining. When they have gone, perhaps a more enlightened outlook will take over. Unfortunately, it is certain that when geomancy is studied in the universities in the future, the early workers and the researches of bodies like the Institute of Geomantic Research and the Research into Lost Knowledge Organisation will, being 'unofficial' be ignored or plagiarised. Its strength, at present, is in its diversity, being supported, not by taxation or grants, but

by the individuals who believe the research is essential.

Select Bibliography on Geomancy

M. Bahrend: *The Landscape Geometry of Southern Britain*, I.G.R. Occasional Paper No. 1 Bar Hill 1975.

W.H. Black: *Pioneer Geomantic Researcher* Institute of Geomantic Research, Occasional Paper No. 4, Bar Hill, 1976.

F. Htiching: *Earth Magic*, Cassell, London '76.

K. Maltwood: *Glastonbury's Temple of the Stars*, James Clark, London, 1964.

J. Michell: *Earth Spirit*, Thames & Hudson, London, 1975.

N. Pennick: *Geomancy*, Cokayne, Cambridge 1973.

N. Pennick & R. Lord: *Terrestrial Zodiacs in Britain: Nuthampstead and Pendle*, Institute of Geomantic Research, Bar Hill, 1976.

A. Watkins: *The Old Straight Track*, Methuen, London, 1925.

Nigel Pennick

that the moment revolution becomes possible it will be too late to prepare for it, and that meantime some must prepare for it NOW by setting forward armed resistance to the State. "We're in the beginning of the first stage, 'cause revolutionaries are going to make a lot of mistakes. A lot of us are going to get killed, like Johnathan Jackson did. Who would have thought the pigs would sacrifice a judge rather than turn a few convicts loose? But, in fact, the only way they're going to develop a more flexible fighting tool is by learning from their mistakes, you know. You got a theory, put it into practise. If it fucks up, the next people have learned something... It's a period of trial and error, a period of making fatal mistakes, and a lot of people are going to get killed, a lot of dedicated people killed by making dumb mistakes. But it's a very necessary period so that we can get rid of this dogmatic bullshit and formulate our own strategy for a revolution in this country. Improvising seems the wisest thing to do..." (Joe Remiro).

Henry Black.

THIS SOLDIER STILL AT WAR cont.

stood S.L.A. action and it is to Bryan's credit that he calmly explores the reasons behind Foster's death, bringing much to light which the S.L.A.'s "revolutionary" critics either were not aware of at the time or have since chosen to ignore. But it is for the kidnapping of Patty Hearst and the subsequent food programme (carried out after Remiro and Little were arrested) that the S.L.A. is best remembered, and which was responsible for seizing the attention of the world press.

By far the most disturbing thing to emerge from the S.L.A. story was not what they did but the ambivalence and open hostility with which their actions were met by the "radical community" of the American left. Sadly it is not a phenomenon which is confined to America. Bill Harris summed up the problem bluntly: "Many of us have been bold enough to intellectualise about the revolution, but far too chickenshit to get down and help make it." If, as critics of armed resistance suggest, urban guerrillas are "isolated" it is because "legal" revolution-

aries have made them so by shameful denunciations and attacks rivaling even those of the State. "As far as we're concerned," Russ Little says in the book, "the new left is dead. We think that another stage is coming on, a period of spontaneous, serious revolutionary activity. It takes more than handing out leaflets... People are tired of these guys getting up and sayin' they're revolutionaries. They're just not serious... As far as armed struggle is concerned, they support it in Vietnam, in Mozambique, somewhere else in the world. Just don't come around us... The cowards have two lines: if something is unsuccessful it is adventurist. If it is successful, it is a government conspiracy to bring down the heat on them. They talk, talk, talk, and wonder why no one listens to them except their white politico buddies. They're hypocritical liberals, counter-revolutionary punks who spout leftist rhetoric when they're absolutely sure nothing will come of it."

Such pronouncements echo the basic motivating concept behind earlier resistance groups in Europe, like the 1st of May Group, Angry Brigade, and Red Army Fraction —

Cienfuegos Press Bookservice

The enormous number of books published every year in the English language makes it a physical and economic impossibility for us to stock even a fraction of them. However, we can supply most of the titles commented upon in the *Review* (with the exception of *The Poor Man's James Bond* — owing to the speed with which it keeps disappearing from stock and the length of time bulk supplies take in coming from the U.S. — which should be ordered direct from Kurt). With a little more time we can obtain most books currently in print throughout the world (provided you can give us the name of the publisher!). If there is a particular title you want — or think that we should stock — but which is not included in the following list, please let us know and we will order it. Also, please remember that every title you order through our bookservice brings us that much closer to publishing a new anarchist title! The following is a partial list of the books we like to keep in stock:—

ANARCHISM AND RELATED INTEREST — The Anarchists in London, 1935-1955: A memoir of anarchist activity from the mid-thirties to the present day, Albert Meltzer, £1.00; The Russian Tragedy, Alexander Berkman, £1.50, £4.00 h/b; The International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement: A study of the origin and developments of the revolutionary anarchist movement in Europe 1945-73 with particular reference to the First of May Group and the Angry Brigade, Albert Meltzer, £1.35; Man! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry, and commentaries, (ed.) Marcus Graham, £3.25, £7.00 h/b; Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary, Antonio Tellez, £2.35 (a history of the clandestine anarchist resistance movement in Francoist Spain, 1945-60); The Floodgates of Anarchy, Christie & Meltzer, 50p, £1.30 h/b; The Wilhelmshaven Revolt: A chapter of the revolutionary movement in the German Navy 1918-19, Ernst Schneider (Icarus), 45p; Peter Kropotkin: His Federalist Ideas, Camillo Berneri, 30p; Marxism and a Free Society, Marcus Graham, 20p (an anarchist reply to Isaac Deutscher's address on "Socialist Man" with particular reference to the Minutes of the First International and the sabotaging of the Hague Congress by the Marx clique); The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book, (ed.) Albert Meltzer, 95p (over 200 questions on the highways and byways of anarchism); The Unknown Revolution, Volume, £3.25; History of the Makhnovist Movement, Arshinoff, £2.35; The Anarchists in the Russian Revolution, Avrich, £1.35; Collectives in the Spanish Revolution, Gaston Leval, £2.00; The Anarchist Collectives, Sam Dolgoff, £2.50; Ethics, Peter Kropotkin, £2.75; The Essential Kropotkin, Capouya & Thomkins, £2.95; Fields, Factories and Workshops Tomorrow, Kropotkin (ed. Ward), £1.95; The State: Its Historic Role, Kropotkin, 20p; Hungary '56, Anderson, £1.00; Anarchy & Order, Herbert Read, £1.50; Neither East Nor West, Marie-Louise Berneri, 50p; Bibliografia di Bakunin, Rose, £3.25; Bakunin & Nechaev, Paul Avrich, 20p; God & the State, Bakunin, 35p; Bakunin, A. Masters, £5.95; What is Property?, Proudhon, £2.50 (h/b excellent value); Proudhon, Woodcock, £2.95; Prison Memoirs of an Anarchist, Berkman, £2.95; The Valpreda Papers, Pietro Valpreda, £6.00; The Origins of Modern Leftism, Gombin, 60p; A Primer of Libertarian Education, Spring, £2.50; The Politics of Obedience, de la Boetie, £1.50; Anarchism and Anarcho-Syndicalism, Rocker, 20p; Anarchy, Malatesta, 25p; A.B.C. of Anarchism, Berkman, 50p; Anarchism & the National Liberation Struggle, Bonanno, 15p; State Socialism & other Essays, Ben. Tucker, 50p; The Political Police in Britain, Tony Bunyan, £2.95, £4.95 h/b; The Military Industrial Complex, Lens, 85p; The Failure of the Sexual Revolution, Frankl, £2.50; The Spanish Civil War, Thomas, £3.50; The Spanish Labyrinth, Brenan, £2.40; An Enquiry Concerning Political Justice, Godwin, £2.25; Rights of Man, Paine, 75p; American Power & the New Mandarins, Chomsky, 40p; Zapata & the Mexican Revolution, Womack, £1.25; Invergordon '31, Barry Duncan, £1.00; The Inevitable Revolution, Tolstoy, 30p; This Soldier Still at War, John Bryan, £4.95 (the highly sympathetic story of Joe Remiro and the S.L.A.); The Japanese Anarchists, Phil Billingsley, 30p; Handlist of Anarchist & Related Titles at the University of Stirling, Sherington, 30p; The Story of the Irish Citizen Army, O'Casey, £1.00 (the Americanisation of Sacco and Vanzetti); Civil War in West Virginia, Winthrop D. Lane, £1.20 (the story of industrial conflict in the coal mines); Merrie England, Nunquam, £1.20; The Ragged Trousered Philanthropists, Tressell, 90p; The History Book, £3.25 (a history of the common people in cartoon format); On the Nature and Uses of Sabotage, Veblen, 45p; Castaways of Plenty, W.E. Hawkins, 90p (a parable of our times); A Dream of John Ball, William Morris, 75p; Facing the Chair, John Dos Passos, £1.20 (the Americanisation of Sacco & Vanzetti).

GENERAL INTEREST — Cults of Unreason, Evans, 75p (an examination of recent cults based on pseudo-scientific rationality which attempts to fit technology to religious-like beliefs such as Scientology, Flying Saucer cults, alpha-wave feedback churches and the Eastern mystical sects); The Old Straight Track, Watkins, £1.25; Earth in Upheaval, 80p; Worlds in Collision, £1.25, Ages in Chaos, 75p, Emanuel Velikovsky; The Highland Clearances, 75p, Glencoe, 90p, Culloden, 90p, Mutiny, £6.95, John Prebble; Kings Depart, Watt, £1.00; To the Finland Station, Wilson, 80p; Codeword Direktor, Gray, 65p (highly recommended account of the Red Orchestra, the C.P. Resistance/Espionage organisation in occupied Europe); CIA Diary, P. Agee, 95p; The Lusitania, Simpson, 75p (how the British set up the sinking of the Lusitania to bring America into World War 1); Seaman's Voice, George Foulser, 80p; Surrealism, Herbert Read, £1.95; Sanday: A Picture of a Northern Isle, Cormack, 35p.

FICTION — Illuminatus! (Vols. I, II, & III (when available), Robert Shea & Robert Anton Wilson, 75p each; Traven titles: The Death Ship, 50p; March to Caobaland, 35p; The Rebellion of the Hanged, 30p; The Treasure of the Sierra Madre, 40p; Government, £2.35; The Carreta, £1.50; March to the Monteria, £2.00; General from the Jungle, £1.50; The Cotton Pickers (Der Wobbly), £2.35; The Bridge in the Jungle, 50p; The Night Visitor & other Stories, £2.35; Hermanos!, Herrick, 40p; Animal Farm, Orwell, 50p; 1984, Orwell, 50p; Homage to Catalonia, Orwell, 60p; Days of Hope, Allen, 75p; A Child of the Jago, Morrison, 35p; The Fixer, Bernard Malamud, 80p; The Violent Brink, Beevor, £3.50 (novel based on anarchist First of May Group); The Grapes of Wrath, Steinbeck, 95p; The Price, Newman, 60p; The Big Sleep, Chandler, 60p; Fontamara, Silone, 85p; Blitzfreeze, 60p; Reign of Hell, 65p, SS General, 65p, Assignment Gestapo, 65p, Liquidate Paris, 65p, March Battalion, 65p, Comrades of War, 65p, Wheels of Terror, 65p, The Legion of the Damned, 65p, Sven Hassel; All Quiet on the Western Front, Remarque, 50p; The Good Soldier Svejk, £1.75; The Mask of Cthulhu, Derleth, 60p; The Trail of Cthulhu, Derleth, 75p; Horror in the Museum, Lovecraft, 50p; Horror in the Burying Ground, Lovecraft, 60p; The Tomb & other Tales, Lovecraft, 40p; The Shattered Room, Lovecraft, 40p; The Haunted of the Dark, Lovecraft, 35p; Lurker at the Threshold, Lovecraft & Derleth, 35p; The Dispossessed, Ursula LeGuin, 75p; The Left Hand of Darkness, LeGuin, 50p; The Mote in God's Eye, Larry Niven, 60p; Orbit Unlimited, Poul Anderson, 60p; Beyond This Horizon, Henlein, 40p, etc.

CHILDREN'S BOOKS — Most of the so-called progressive children's books are absolute rubbish. We'll try and do something on this subject in time for the next issue of the *Review*. In the meantime here are a few which we found to be reasonable and liked by most kids: The Weirdstone of Brisingham, Garner, 50p; The Moon of Gomrath, Garner, 50p; Red Shift, Garner, 45p; When Hitler Stole Pink Rabbit, Kerr, 30p; Baba and Mr. Big, Palmer, 45p; Family from One End Street, Garnett, 40p; Baby Animal ABC, Broomfield, 50p; The Man Whose Mother Was a Pirate, Mahy, 50p; Tombs of Atuan, LeGuin, 45p; Wizard of Earthsea, LeGuin, 50p; The Wind in the Willows, K. Graham, 45p; Asterix & the Roman Agent, Asterix the Gladiator, Asterix at the Olympic Games, Asterix in the Big Fight, Asterix in Switzerland, Asterix in Britain, Goscinny, 50p each; Peter in the Land of Musical Instruments, Robitsek, £1.00; Peter in the Land of Musical Theory, Robitsek, £1.00; Charlie & the Chocolate Factory, 40p, Charlie & the Great Glass Elevator, 40p, Jack & the Giant Peach, 60p, Fantastic Mr. Fox, 40p, Magic Finger, 30p, Roald Dahl; Beastly Boys and Ghastly Girls, Cole, 40p; Meg's Eggs, Nicoll, 50p; A Book of Milliganimals, Spike Milligan, 30p, Benjamin the True, Paley, £1.50, etc., etc...

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