

THE STAMMHEIM DEATHS

to the demands of the prisoners and preferred to let the prisoners starve to death. The Federal Solicitor General Kurt Rehmann, said "I know that the population is not at all interested if these people go on hunger and thirst strike. The population wants these people to be hit hard just as hard as they have earned with their brutal deeds." And in answer to the question "And what if a prisoner dies?" Rehmann said "that is always a bad thing, but it would be the consequence which has been made clear to them and their lawyers and which is clear to them. The conditions of imprisonment don't justify such a strike; they are doing very well considering the circumstances."⁷⁴

Shortly before Schleyer's kidnapping, the CDU/CSU wanted to bring in a proposal to legally regulate this matter, a law to prohibit force feeding of prisoners on a hunger strike. This would turn the only instrument that the prisoners have to fight against their isolation imprisonment into extermination as the "final solution" to the problem.

If there are no more political prisoners there can be no more attempts at liberating them. This was clearly expressed by the well-known and influential German historian, Golo Mann, in a news programme on television the evening before the deaths at Stammheim were discovered: "The moment can come in which one must turn those terrorists sentenced on grounds of murder, which one has in his control into hostages by depriving them of the laws of peace and placing them under martial law." (October 17, 1977, in "Panorama.")

Why Now?

The deaths of the prisoners at Stammheim badly damaged the image of West Germany. Thus, it seems illogical that murder with these negative political consequences just when West Germany could be basking in the glory of the greatest political, military and propaganda triumph over "terrorism" the triumph of Mogadishu. But it must not be forgotten, that if prisoners are to be murdered, it must be made to look like suicide or an accident. An accident with these prisoners would have been totally unbelievable, especially under the conditions in the Stammheim prison. If a "suicide" is to solve the problem, then there has to be some plausible motive. A motive in this case exists, of course – the failure of the liberation attempt. However, one must not forget that these prisoners never before attempted to commit suicide inspite of several such liberation attempts in the past five years.

Not only must there be a motive for "suicide," the "suicide" must cause as little political reaction as possible – both at home and abroad. What better time could have been picked for such "suicides" than one where West Germany was plonked all over the world for the "Bütz" action in Mogadishu? What could have served better to overshadow these "suicides" at Stammheim?

The reaction at home was minimal not only due to the "triumph" in Mogadishu, but also to the months of constant propaganda

in the mass media against "terrorism". In fact the doings at Stammheim have led to more, rather than less, support of governmental policies. The reaction abroad was somewhat negative, at least in some countries, but this would provide some measure of revenge for past failures.

During the summer of 1967, while the agency's special ops experts were assisting the Bolivian army in hunting down Guevara... It was only a matter of time until Che would be run to ground."⁷⁵

... And this was also the case with Carlos

Mariátegui:

In early October, 1969, the CIA learned through a secret agent that a group of radicals was about to hijack a plane in Brazil and escape to Cuba. The intelligence was forwarded to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia and from there sent on an "eyes only" basis to Henry Kissinger at the White House and top officials of the State Department, the Defense Department and the National Security Agency. Within a few days, on October 8th, the same radical identified in the CIA report commandedeered at gunpoint a Brazilian commercial airline with 49 people aboard, and after a refueling stop in Guyana, forced the pilot to fly to Havana. Neither the CIA nor the other agencies of the U.S. Government which had advance warning of the radicals' plans moved to stop the crime from being committed, although at that time the official policy of the United States – as enunciated by the President – was to take all possible measures to stamp out serial piracy.

Afterwards, when officials of the State Department questioned their colleagues in the CIA on why preventive measures had not been taken to abort the hijacking, the agency's clandestine operators delayed more than a month before responding. During the interim, security forces in Brazil succeeded in breaking up that country's principal revolutionary group and killing its leader, Carlos Mariátegui. Shortly after the revolutionary leader's death on November 4, the CIA informally passed word back to the State Department noting that if any action had been taken to stop the October skyjacking, the agency's penetration of the radical movement might have been exposed and Mariátegui's organisation could not have been destroyed. While it was never quite clear whether the agent who alerted the clandestine operators to the hijacking had also fingered Mariátegui, that was the impression the CIA tried to convey to the State Department.⁷⁶

These are just two of many such cases. But from these two examples, it is clear that the CIA works together with the secret services and the governments of other countries in order to destroy revolutionary movements. The CIA has stations in almost all countries; "the German station was (and is) the CIA's largest in the world."⁷⁷

Is not a co-operative effort between the CIA and the German government and/or the German secret services to destroy a part of the German revolutionary movement – namely the guerrilla – within the realm of the possible?

Co-operation between the German, British and Somalian governments and secret services

their failure – until Guevara exposed himself. In so doing he presented himself to the CIA as an inviting target; his capture or death would provide some measure of revenge for past failures.

During the summer of 1967, while the agency's special ops experts were assisting the Bolivian army in hunting down Guevara... It was only a matter of time until Che would be run to ground."⁷⁵

... And this was also the case with Carlos

Mariátegui:

In early October, 1969, the CIA learned through a secret agent that a group of radicals was about to hijack a plane in Brazil and escape to Cuba. The intelligence was forwarded to CIA headquarters in Langley, Virginia and from there sent on an "eyes only" basis to Henry Kissinger at the White House and top officials of the State Department, the Defense Department and the National Security Agency. Within a few days, on October 8th, the same radical identified in the CIA report commandedeered at gunpoint a Brazilian commercial airline with 49 people aboard, and after a refueling stop in Guyana, forced the pilot to fly to Havana. Neither the CIA nor the other agencies of the U.S. Government which had advance warning of the radicals' plans moved to stop the crime from being committed, although at that time the official policy of the United States – as enunciated by the President – was to take all possible measures to stamp out serial piracy.

Afterwards, when officials of the State Department questioned their colleagues in the CIA on why preventive measures had not been taken to abort the hijacking, the agency's clandestine operators delayed more than a month before responding. During the interim, security forces in Brazil succeeded in breaking up that country's principal revolutionary group and killing its leader, Carlos Mariátegui. Shortly after the revolutionary leader's death on November 4, the CIA informally passed word back to the State Department noting that if any action had been taken to stop the October skyjacking, the agency's penetration of the radical movement might have been exposed and Mariátegui's organisation could not have been destroyed. While it was never quite clear whether the agent who alerted the clandestine operators to the hijacking had also fingered Mariátegui, that was the impression the CIA tried to convey to the State Department.⁷⁶

These are just two of many such cases. But from these two examples, it is clear that the CIA works together with the secret services and the governments of other countries in order to destroy revolutionary movements. The CIA has stations in almost all countries; "the German station was (and is) the CIA's largest in the world."⁷⁷

Is not a co-operative effort between the CIA and the German government and/or the German secret services to destroy a part of the German revolutionary movement – namely the guerrilla – within the realm of the possible?

Co-operation between the German, British and Somalian governments and secret services

THE STAMMHEIM DEATHS

- in the manoeuvre in Mogadishu was officially stated. "Two members of the British Special Air Service, who were, among other things, engaged in fighting terror in Northern Ireland, were also active in freeing the hostages in Mogadishu."⁸⁰ Perhaps the co-operation went further than officially stated.
- It would be just as difficult to prove that the CIA or any other secret service took part in the murders at Stammheim as it would be to prove that a murder took place at all at Stammheim. But if the deaths at Stammheim weren't suicides, then the involvement of the CIA is very likely since there is no doubt that the RAF actions were directed against U.S. imperialism, that the prisoners who died at Stammheim were responsible for the attacks on U.S. military buildings in 1972 and that secret service agencies in Germany controlled by, built up by and dependent on the CIA, would never have been able to carry out such an action without the knowledge of the CIA at least. The decision for such a specific action would not be made at a government level but in the secret service agency itself. It is clear, however, that such a decision, should it have been made, could not have taken place without the general consent of the government, a consent which might have been given long before, even if only in the form of passive consent.

REFERENCES

1. *Die Welt* (October 19, 1977)
2. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 19, 1977)
3. *Westfälische Rundschau* (October 19, 1977)
4. *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 19, 1977)
5. W. Schwerdt, *Rechtsmedizin für Mediziner und Juristen* (Deutscher Ärzte-Verlag, Köln-Löwenich, 1975), p.70.
6. Otto Schily, in a speech on November 4, 1977, Bochum.
7. Jutta Bahr-Jendres, in a press conference with the lawyers: Otto Schily, Hans-Heinz Heldmann, Jutta Bahr-Jendres, Helmut Funke, P.H. Bakker-Shut, Axel Azzola on October 19, 1977 Bonn.
8. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 19, 1977)
9. *Bild* (October 19, 1977)
10. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 19, 1977)
11. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 17, 1977)
12. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (November 15, 1977)
13. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 26, 1977)
14. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 21, 1977)
15. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 23, 1977)
16. *Der Spiegel* Nr. 44 (October 24, 1977) p.17.
17. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 27, 1977)
18. *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 27, 1977)
19. Otto Schily, in a speech on November 4, 1977, Bochum.
20. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (March 18, 1977)
21. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (November 4, 1977)
22. *Stern Magazin* Nr. 50 (December 1, 1977), p.22.
23. *Die Welt* (October 19, 1977)
24. *Stern Magazin* Nr. 50 (December 1, 1977), p.22.
25. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 20, 1977).
26. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 2, 1977)
27. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 27, 1977)
28. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 27, 1977)
29. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (November 12, 1977)
30. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (November 22, 1977)
31. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (November 23, 1977)
32. *Stern Magazin* Nr. 50 (December 1, 1977), p.24.
33. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (November 24, 1977)
34. *Arbeiterkampf* Jg. 7 Nr. 118 (November 28, 1977) p.8.
35. *Westfälische Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 20, 1977)
36. *Informations-Dienst* Nr. 201 (October 29, 1977) p.4.
37. *Spiegel* Nr. 44 (October 24, 1977) p.16.
38. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 19, 1977)
39. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (October 19, 1977)
40. *Spiegel* Nr. 44 (October 24, 1977) p.17.
41. *Spiegel* Nr. 44 (October 24, 1977) p.17.
42. *Arbeiterkampf* Jg. 7 Nr. 116 (October 31, 1977) p.7.
43. *Ibid.*, p.7.
44. *Ibid.*, p.7.
45. *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* (October 19, 1977)
46. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (November 4, 1977)
47. *Stern Magazin* Nr. 49 (November 24, 1977) p.146.
48. *Frankfurter Rundschau* (November 4, 1977)
49. *Informations-Dienst* Nr. 202 (November 5, 1977) p.4-5.
50. *Westdeutsche Allgemeine Zeitung* (December 6, 1977)

POETRY

At Fascist Hands
(In Memory of Andreas Baader)

At fascist hands
not your own,
in those chill hours
before another dawn
broke your spirit more,
you faced death
grim with knowledge
grown futile
through harrowing years
of lost freedom
that none but mystics,
mad saints
and your martyred comrades
could ever know
what evil forebodings
your murder signifies.
If my heart
now swollen

with terrorist tears
could lay its sorrow
at yours and Ulrike's
hallowed graves,
truths undefined
with papal hypocrisy
would hijack even heaven,
holding God hostage
to release your soul.
Let karma wait,
a world
of imprisoned minds
needs anarchy now.

Edward Woods.



RASPEENSS
IMPRISONED TORTURED

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 126

CLIFFORD HARPER



IN BAADER
RED MURDERED

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 127

CLIFFORD HARPER

ADVERTISEMENT

IF YOU MISSED AUSCHWITZ, YOU'LL LOVE

STAMMHEIM

A FASCINATING NEW GAME FROM THE MAKERS OF "KAPPLER'S ESCAPE"

unger
riker dies
ead two
laces

38. Meinhof autopsy
report indicates rape &
murder — go to jail do
not pass Go. Do not
collect £200.

39. Gunpowder traces
on Baader's right hand.
Baader left handed. Take
three "Plausible Explan-
ation" cards.

40. New facts come to
light. Take two "Plausi-
ble Explanation" cards.
41. Irmgard Moller
denies suicide attempt.
Go back ten places or
arrange new suicide
within two throws.



A SECTION FROM STAMMHEIM

- The game you can't lose — you make the laws: change or break them when you want
- Special Sensory Deprivation Kit in each pack Be the first on your block
- Scale replica of Stammheim complete with guards and victims. Every feature faithfully reproduced
- Victims completely isolated and subject to closed circuit T.V. surveillance — gives you a real advantage
- Loaded dice in special Skivertex case
- Genuine press release kit — helps you think up your own clichés. Also contains special pre-prepared diagrammatic charts.

- Each pack contains a set of special "Plausible Explanation" cards. As soon as each player has double-dealt himself/herself three of these cards they must offer the other players a plausible explanation of the contradictory facts outlined on the cards. This explanation is immediately fed through a series of miniaturised computers which reproduce it in the form of further "Plausible Explanation" cards. Players must keep a straight face and must not accuse political opponents of lying.

OPTIONAL EXTRAS

** Colour video tape of actual suicides
— See the Reds get it in the comfort
of your own home
£2.75

** Set of anonymous letters to prominent
left-wing intellectuals complete
with over 50 addresses
£1.20

tick here

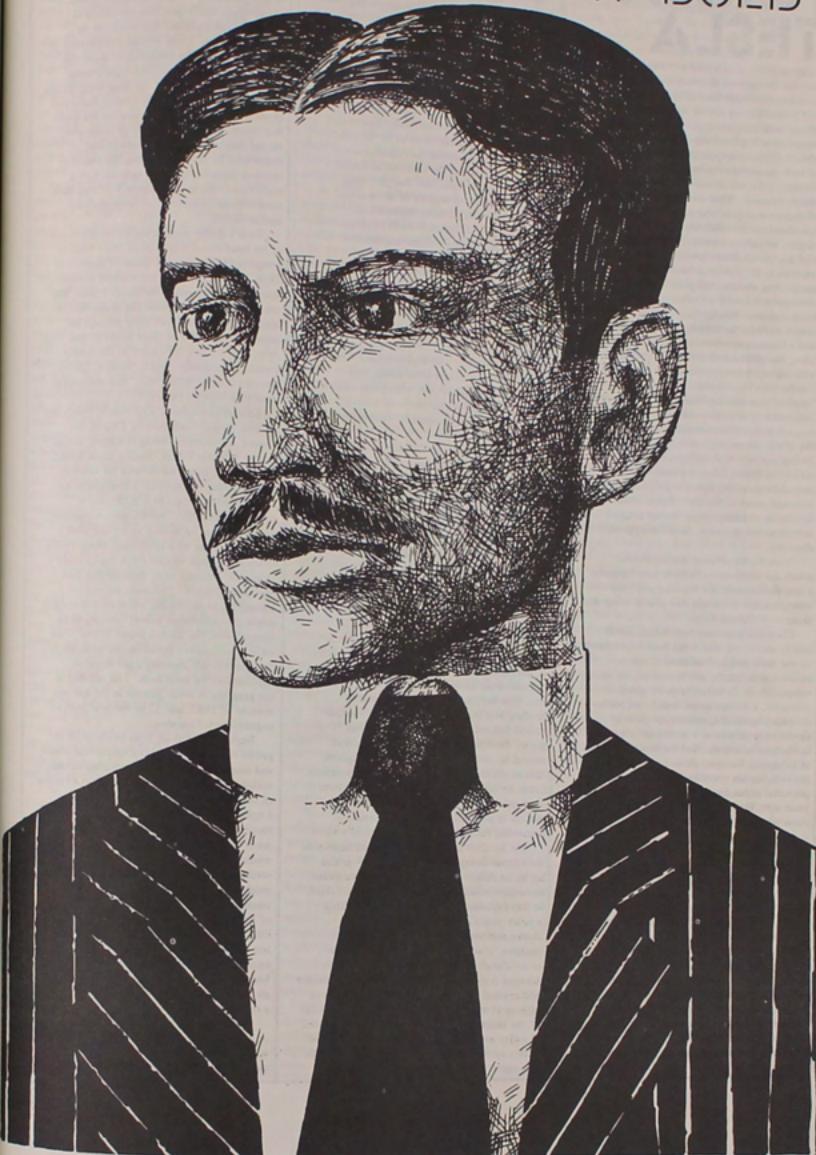
JAMES PRINCE

A Liberal Democracy (Ltd.) Game

Available from
all branches of World Governments Ltd.
or eventually
through the Law and Order Group

SPECIAL OFFER CLOSES MAY 1st 1978
Order STAMMHEIM before above date and
receive absolutely free an unused copy of
the U.N. Charter of Human Rights
+ slightly soiled copy of *Paine's
Rights of Man*

A NAME ON A LIGHT BULB



NIKOLA TESLA

Early in 1977, after a year or more of abnormal weather throughout the northern hemisphere, it was revealed that Canada since July 1976 had been receiving almost daily a series of strange and immensely powerful signals which were emanating from the USSR. These abnormal transmissions, it was suggested, were of such paroxysmal intensity that they were disrupting the whole weather pattern of North America. What could be the purpose of such extravagant transmissions? They interfered considerably with marine communications to such an extent that both the British and the United States governments sent protests to the Soviet authorities. Using three monitoring stations, the government of Canada attempted to locate the source of the transmissions. Finally they tracked down the source to Riga, the former capital of Latvia, and a formal protest was made. Some time later, the USSR admitted that experiments with high-frequency radio bands had been conducted. Shortly afterwards, the massive 'blanket' transmissions ceased, and they were replaced by short bursts lasting only 20 to 30 seconds a day. But that was not the end of the affair. At ten o'clock in the morning of December 24th Montreal time, the receiving station on Prince Edward Island suddenly received a powerful signal originating several thousand miles to the east. Then, about an hour later, the same signal, but at a higher intensity, was detected, from the opposite direction.

These highly unusual transmissions, which are yet to be explained, have triggered a renewed interest in a scientist and innovator who promised the world free power – but was thwarted – Nikola Tesla.

There is a popularly-held belief, albeit totally erroneous, which has been engendered by the mass media, that fame is totally equated with worth. On this false scale of values, Nikola Tesla has been relegated to obscurity, a strange name found on Czechoslovakian lightbulbs, an obscure piece of electrical apparatus or a technical unit used in electronics jargon. Not for him the fame of Edison or Marconi, those names of great renown, but his contribution and the potential of his discoveries, even today, 35 years after his death, is recognised only by those who take more than a passing interest in such matters.

Nikola Tesla was born on 9th July 1856 in the village of Smiljan in what is now Yugoslavia. Although pressured by his clergyman father to follow him into the church, the young Tesla insisted on a career in engineering, encouraged by his mother, who, despite her illiteracy was well known in her local community as an inventor of domestic labour-saving devices.

After attending the Polytechnic school at Graz, Tesla went to university at Prague, where he studied and mastered several foreign languages in order that he could read the foreign technical literature. In that way he became proficient in English, French and Italian in addition to his native Serbian and German, which was the official language of

the Austro-Hungarian Empire. Finishing at Prague in 1880, he did a post graduate course in Budapest, where he studied alternating current. On leaving Budapest, he went to work for a telephone company in Paris, where he worked with direct current dynamos and motors, which he improved with new regulating and control devices.

The early 1880s were the infant years of electric power and supply. Siemens had demonstrated the first electrically powered tram at the Berlin Exhibition of 1879, and Magnus Volk had opened his experimental electric railway along the seafront in Brighton in 1883. Electric light, too, was just being demonstrated as the wonder of the age, and experimenters like Edison, Reckenzau, Holroyd Smith, Binko and scores of others were pursuing finance and recognition for their projects in the field of electricity. However, at that period direct current was almost universally believed to be the only practical medium for generating, transmitting and applying electricity for heating, lighting and power. Unfortunately, with direct current, losses in transmission by resistance in the cables were so great that a power plant was needed for every square mile served, and losses at the end of the line meant that light bulbs near the power station were several times brighter than comparable ones at the other end of the section.

Technically, the use of direct current, derived from the early experiments of Faraday and others using battery rather than generated power, was a costly and illogical system in that all electricity produced by generation must by its nature be alternating current. To transform this to direct current requires a considerable loss of power. Furthermore, when it is applied to produce mechanical energy, it must be transformed by the commutator of the electric motor, thus effectively returning it to alternating current. To Tesla's mind, this was nonsense, the logical application being the elimination of the commutation of both motor and generator, and the transmission of alternating current. However, nobody had ever built an ac motor, so Tesla thought it out. One day, in February 1882, whilst strolling in a Budapest park with a classmate named Szigetti, he suddenly blurted out "I've got it! Now watch me reverse it!" At that second he had visualised a rotating magnetic field as the answer to the commutator problem. Later, he refined and detailed a whole system of ac generation and transmission, with ac motors to produce power, and dreamed of harnessing the free energy of the world's water.

The incident in a park in Budapest highlights the extraordinary talent of Tesla. His genius lay in his ability to visualise in complete detail inventions which had no precedent. As a child, he had experienced strange visions, reaching a point where it was difficult for him to distinguish between the inner and outer realities. If someone said to him the name of an object, he would actually see it before his eyes, a capability which had to be suppressed and applied until he could produce scenes and objects at will. Those readers with a knowledge of the practices of ritual magicians like Aleister Crowley and Austin Spare will see the parallel with a system of mind-training not yet dead in the occult traditions of the West. This is not

to suggest in any way that Tesla was originally a practitioner of the occult arts, merely that he spontaneously evolved a parallel system of visualisation which gave him the ability to transcend the mundane knowledge of his contemporaries. These mental powers have, of course, attracted the attention of those who believe everything is directed from another planet, preferably Venus. In their world picture, Tesla, if not actually an alien being, was a tool of their incomprehensible plans for the world. But this is merely the fantasy of those who, having rejected religion because of the discoveries of Science, transfer the source of creation from God, who is now dead, to a super-controller at his console, a mortal, alien, authoritarian in place of an immortal alien a future.

Tesla's ability to produce an invention out of his head stood him in good stead when he emigrated to the United States of America in 1884. Although it was not without setbacks that Tesla progressed. He visited Edison, who was at the time engaged in the promotion of his electric incandescent lamp through his pioneer installation at Pearl Street in New York. After expounding his theory of alternating current transmission and utilisation, Edison dismissed Tesla, telling him "You are wasting your time on that theory."

Like all immigrants' experience, Tesla's was initially harsh. Dismissed by Edison, the 'expert', he made his living at digging ditches for the Western Union. During lunch breaks, Tesla related to his workmates his visionary schemes, and, fortunately, a foreman of his team introduced him to A.K. Brown, a company executive. Brown and an associate decided to put up money to try out Tesla's theories, setting up a laboratory where Tesla's complete system was set up as a pilot study – generator, transformers, transmission lines, motors and lights. However, when Tesla attempted to patent the whole system under a single comprehensive patent covering all its components, the United States Patent Office refused to approve the all-in-one application, bureaucratically insisting upon separate applications for each item. This resulted in the granting of seven patents in the last two months of 1887, and 22 in the next year, an unprecedented number.

During this period, Tesla began to hit the public consciousness with a spectacular lecture and demonstration of his alternating current system, both single and polyphase, at a meeting of the American Institute of Electrical Engineers. The limitations on transmission of electric power by means of the conventional wires had been removed at a stroke. One would imagine that Tesla's inventions, revolutionary as they were, would have been received with open arms by the industrial magnates. Not a bit of it. The massive cartel of the electrical industry, the Edison-General Electric organisation were committed to the less efficient systems using wires. Instantaneously, their total investment would have become obsolete. Tesla, genius, the talk of electrical engineering circles, was stuck without a customer for his breakthrough.

But in the capitalist 'marketplace' beloved of businessmen, there are always opportunists willing to back ideas which might bring down their rivals. George Westinghouse, inventor

of the train airbrake, offered to take up Tesla's system of alternating current generation, giving him a million dollars plus a royalty of a dollar a horsepower. Tesla immediately signed over half of the fee to his backer who had originally financed his research. Westinghouse's financier later wormed their way out of the dollar-per-horsepower agreement, and Tesla relinquished the royalties which would have given him a comfortable life. The Westinghouse system applied across the US soon showed its superiority, forcing the Edison concern to come cap in hand for a license to use Tesla's system, which Edison had dismissed as without a future.

All that has gone before is part of the mainstream history of electrical engineering. More relevant to the modern age and the powers which control or hope to control it are the inventions and applications which Tesla pioneered but which, for various reasons, are suppressed or ignored.

As early as 1890, the year the first electrically-powered underground railway was opened in London, Tesla was experimenting with radio, and by the time of the 1893 Columbian Exposition in Chicago he had demonstrated a vacuum-tube radio for voice and music. But, in the usual manner of history Marconi is credited with the invention, et al... In 1898, Tesla demonstrated at the original Madison Square Gardens, New York, the first radio controlled boat ever made. It was a showstopper, but, perhaps owing to its theatrical presentation, it remained an oddity until weapons systems became a multi-billion dollar industry during the 1940s. Indeed, the military, then far less aware technologically than in the post-Pneumonic age, seem to have ignored its potential, which is surprising considering that the USA was about to involve itself in a war against Spain. True, the Sperry Gyroscope Company did use Tesla's radio control mechanism in an experiment with an Army Air Corps aircraft twenty years after Tesla demonstrated it, but the idea was soon scrapped among the debris of defence contracts.

Radio control is with us. It is used every second of the day on the ground, in the air, in space. In this, Tesla was a precursor of the modern era. Why have his other inventions, then, gone ignored?

Conventional schooling being what it is, the later experiments of Tesla will not have been taught to the majority of readers, who may even find them incredible.

Tesla, in addition to being the pioneer of ac current generation and transmission, and the first person to demonstrate radio control of a vehicle, was uniquely placed to investigate the uncharted realms of high voltage and high frequency. Once, when studying slow mechanical or physical vibrations, he caused a virtual earthquake in the vicinity of his laboratory. His mechanical oscillator, approaching the natural vibrational resonance of the building itself, threatened to shake the building to pieces. Furniture in a Police Station over a block away began to shake and dance about, to the consternation of the occupants. Their spiritual successors now use the principle in the 'skew box' anti-riot weapon.

His investigations of high voltage, high frequency transmission led Tesla to construct the world's most powerful radio transmitter

on a mountain near Colorado Springs. Around the base of a 200 foot high mast was built a 75 foot diameter air-core transformer. Using power from a generating station a few miles away, Tesla created the first artificial lightning. Bolts a hundred feet in length leapt from the yard wide copper bulb at the top of the mast, producing voltages of 100 000 000, unequalled until the 1940s. The power plant was burnt out by the first experiment, but undaunted by this minor setback, Tesla had it rebuilt. Finally, he was able to transmit power without wires for a distance of 26 miles, at which distance he successfully lit a bank of 200 incandescent lamps – totalling 10 kilowatts.

By 1894, Tesla's patent monies had been consumed by this visionary project. As nothing further was forthcoming, Tesla packed up and returned to New York. In June 1900, after months of rewriting at the behest of the editor, Robert Underwood Johnson wrote an article entitled 'The Problem of Increasing Human Energy' which appeared in the *Century Magazine*. It created a sensation when it was published. It would create a sensation now, but the themes of depletion of fossil fuel, solar and wind power's potential, remote sensing of objects etc., would now be considered nothing special. His transmission of power, and its generation, if applied today, would transform the world. However, the article's main impact was to elevate Tesla to the status of a tame speaker who could grace the salons of the wealthy in New York and Newport. Prominent matrons tried to palm off their daughters on him, but he rejected all offers – his work came first.

One of the readers of Tesla's article was John Pierpont Morgan, who had financed the General Electric Company in its days. Considering it a good business venture, he decided to underwrite Tesla's experiments on wireless electrical transmission. From this finance arose the 'world-wide wireless tower' on Long Island. A massive lattice-work structure 200 feet in height was topped by a 100 foot diameter hemisphere. The architect Stanford White helped design the structure free of charge. Tesla himself committed daily to the construction site from his rooms in the old Waldorf-Astoria hotel in 34th Street, first by tram to the East 34th Street ferry, thence by paddlesteamer to Long Island City and by train on the Long Island Railroad to Shoreham. The railway's dining car service prepared special meals for him so that his work would proceed smoothly.

When the basic structure of brick was completed, Tesla moved his laboratories there. Whilst construction proceeded, he issued a prophetic brochure of the future. In 1904, he predicted that radio would provide the following services (at a period when telegraphy was restricted to Marconi dot-dash Morse signals): Telegraph communication; News broadcasting; Stock market quotations; Aids to navigation; Entertainment; Music broadcasting; Accurate time service; Facsimile transmission; Telephoto and Teleprinter services.

Although all these services were to materialise in the next forty years, Tesla suffered a severe setback when Morgan suddenly decided to withdraw his financial support. This was made all the more

inexplicable by the nearness of completion of Tesla's tower. During the lunacy which has become known as the First World War, the tower was destroyed on orders from the government, as it was claimed that it jeopardised the safety of the USA. Considering that aviation was then scarcely capable of a one-way flight across the Atlantic, it is hardly credible that it could have been demolished on so flimsy a pretext, but demolished it was. After vain attempts to pull it down by means of cables, the base was dynamited and it fell, intact, onto its side. Like the Colossus of Rhodes, it was gradually dismantled over a protracted period.

In later years are shrouded in a measure of obscurity, his greatest inventions having been devised before the turn of the century. In 1912, he was awarded, jointly with Edison, a Nobel Prize. He refused it, owing some believe, to his dislike of Edison, others to his dislike of honour. In 1917, accepted the Edison medal, after initially refusing it. Having no family, continued to inhabit hotels, and to work on various projects, including radar (1917) and a revolutionary design of turbine. Like that other famous denizen of hotels, Howard Hughes, Tesla became a virtual recluse, giving occasional prophetic (and occult) statements to those pressmen actually having the good fortune to penetrate his sanctum. He was granted, in recognition of his services to science, a pension of 7200 dollars per annum by the government of Yugoslavia in 1936. He received this until his death in 1943, at the age of 87.

Tesla had a great affection for pigeons, and his pasting is marked by an anecdote concerning them. Every day, Tesla went to feed the pigeons outside the Library. Those which were sick or injured he would take back to his hotel with him and look after them until they were well again. The gold-plated telephone beside his bed, over which he was granted a universal right to talk to anyone in the world without charge, was the roost of his favourite pigeon. "When she dies, I die," he prophesied. In January 1943, his favourite pigeon paid him her last visit. He claimed he knew that she was dying from a message transmitted to him by a brilliant beam of light from her eyes. On January 15th 1943, over a thousand of New York's elite gathered at the Cathedral of St. John the Divine to attend his funeral. Even there, the unworlly nature of Tesla again manifested itself. Numerous pressmen photographed the flag-draped coffin in its ecclesiastical setting. The coffin and its attendant Yugoslav guards were blurred on every negative exposed, even though the rest of the building was in perfect focus. The phenomenon had never been explained. No photographs of Tesla's funeral were ever released.

The life of Tesla can be seen as the progress of a genius who took the wrong turning at some point and degenerated into a harmless pigeon-loving crank, obsessed by cleanliness and the occult. His funeral can be dismissed as a formal tribute to a near-forgotten has-been, where the photographers forgot to focus their cameras properly. Doubtless this interpretation has some validity. However, it cannot be without reason that the government of the United States impounded the entire contents

of his safe. Today, thirty-five years later, nothing is known of the documents which may have been found there.

Since his death, little publicly-announced work has been carried out on his principles. About fifteen years ago, the transport authorities in Moscow attempted to transmit power to a 'wireless' trolleybus, but the experiments were stopped after a while. Fusion power atomic physicists are now experimenting with the possibilities of ball lightning, which Tesla produced at Colorado Springs as early as 1899. Whilst the claim of fusion power is for safe energy (unlike the hideous and irreversible consequences of the plutonium economy), there is doubtless a military application to ball lightning which is the real attraction for the funds. Let us recall that in 1934, Tesla announced to the world that he had perfected a death-ray. Whilst that may seem a fantasy in the tradition of Flash Gordon's trip to Mars, Tesla was serious about it, and offered it to Britain's military machine. It was rejected. Nowadays, such offers are rarely refused, as evidenced by the absurdly large budgets allocated to maniacal projects to kill others.

Until they are tired out in a fair manner, many of Tesla's inventions cannot be evaluated. What is disturbing about Tesla is the way many of his inventions, which promise unlimited free power to all (whether they can pay for it or not!), have been deliberately ignored by the powers that be. In the United States, for instance, there was an organised movement across the nation to delete all Tesla data from libraries which commenced shortly after his death in 1943. The impact of free power upon the hierarchical organisation of society whether capitalist or 'communist' would be revolutionary. Tesla postulated that the electro static condition of the whole planet could be disturbed, setting up standing waves on its whole surface by exciting it with high frequency power and then taking off power anywhere that the wave amplitude was present. This system would enable anyone to obtain energy directly from the ground, to power anything electric.

This is too much like freedom for those who would be our masters. Imagine power anywhere without recourse to meters, inspectors, bills and licences. Why, it would enable people to get the free energy of the planet without having to pay someone for the 'privilege'. Once this principle was established, then, by logical extension, people would want to apply it to other manifestations of the wealth of the world - property. Such a facility would certainly have massive repercussions far beyond that of putting the oil companies and electricity supply utilities in financial strain. It would demonstrate the fundamental tyranny which is exercised every time the wealth of this planet of which we are all inhabitants is appropriated for the exclusive use or administration of an elite. Just as Edison's backers would not countenance the use of Tesla's superior ac system because they were committed to another, inferior, system, so the fundamental changes which would be brought about by free power would be effected by the suppression of the ideas of Nikola Tesla today.

Nigel Pennick

INSIDE THE BELLY OF THE AMERIKAN DREAM

EMILY HARRIS

There's a question that pops up a lot in relation to Bill and me: other white revolutionaries who come from middle class backgrounds:

'Why do the kids who had "everything" denounce the social order that gave them the opportunity of a fine life?' become revolutionaries? Obviously the non-white middle class isn't considered a part of the American mainstream, so resistance from the midst of its ranks does not pose the shock or surprise and therefore does not require the explanation that this intent from the midst of the white mainstream seems to fear, yes, but shock, no.

Most of us have questions about the specifics of a person's past - their experiences, changes, turning points, growth. People's lives are fascinating because of all the patterns common threads of development that are there to share and learn from. But the persistent asking of this question worded the way it often is, represents a lot more than the desire to exchange experiences; the question implies several things:

1. That people like Bill and me must be giving up a lot to become revolutionaries and, given the opportunities offered by our race and class privilege, we have more to lose than we have to gain.

2. That revolution cannot possibly be in the self-interests of white people from the middle class.

3. Therefore, we are a strange phenomenon and must only be acting in the interests of someone else besides ourselves, or else we must have made some horrible mistake and will recognise the error of our ways eventually.

Since I would strongly disagree with all three of these implications, I must have a real difference in perspective of what constitutes a life with "everything" - I contend that the vast majority of us don't have any such thing now whether we're middle class or poor, white or non-white, male or female, and attaining that kind of life for all of us is in fact a revolutionary aspiration and is definitely in our self-interests.

What could be further from the truth than the assumption that the white middle class should have no real complaints with society the way it stands - that we get "everything" we need out of life and more. Assumptions like this are the mainstay of the Amerikan

dream, but certainly not the reality. The white middle class isn't made up of the folks who populate advertisements on TV - the slick, well-scrubbed forever smiling, and comfortable old-Amerikan. The middle class is that amorphous grouping mostly made up of people who struggled and worked hard to maintain a lifestyle which secures basic material needs (like food, housing, clothing) and includes the hope if not always the reality of those things which have been defined by our culture as opportunities, pleasurable extras, symbols of status, comfort and security. If the Amerikan dream held water, the middle class should be satisfied,

But scrape away the surface and you see that their situation is not characterised by real contentment, but rather passivity, escapism, cynicism and real discontent at the emptiness of our lives which attempt to substitute form for substance and lack any real quality or meaning. The material benefits that certain individuals and groups enjoy because of their race, class or sex exist for sure, but they are plastic crumb, camouflage, to divert us from the actual needs of human beings - needs which are considered to be revolutionary in a society such as ours. Even more significant, these paltry and superficial benefits can be realised only at the expense of other people - through domination and manipulation of one form or another. The life of folk who consider themselves to be middle class hangs in tenuous balance between two conflicting elements:

1. The real deprivation of their lives, and 2. Their assigned role as the mainstay of the American dream, the buffer zone between rich and poor and the main pillar of support for ruling class interests.

It is this lack of quality in our lives - the meaninglessness, the alienation, the enslavement to the consumer flea market, the education that leads nowhere but the treadmill - that breeds the revolutionary potential among members of the white middle class; that allows them to see through the bits and pieces of privilege that have been carefully parcellled out to them and gain a sense of their own oppression buried as it is under the cultural and social junkpile. Whether we're poor and/or middle class, we're not living no matter how hard we try to hide behind the facade of the mainstream - we're just existing, and our failure to be satisfied is not some individual failing within ourselves but rather an indication that something is intrinsically wrong with society. And the poverty of each of our lives is intimately related to the poverty in every other person's life - the roots are the same.

Are we, as revolutionaries, struggling only to create a social order that will allow us to feed, house, and clothe ourselves? Are we fighting just so everyone can be assured work as a cog in a machine in order to put food in their mouths instead of being unemployed and starving? We've got to insure our basic survival needs for sure but I hope we don't intend to hold that up as the entire scope of

our aspirations. We're revolutionaries because we see the need to struggle for a quality of life that takes into account psychological needs as well as material ones - a full, complete existence that involves change and development of the whole cultural, social and economic framework. Our oppression will have only taken on a new colour if we limit our goals to the material needs of survival - we will still be slaves. To recognise the real levels of oppression experienced by so many of us is to also drive home once again the reality that we constitute a vast majority and those who reap benefits from the present situation are only the smallest minority of people in this country. Yet the logic of all this gets lost in the predominant feeling that revolutionaries whose blood had its original roots in the white middle class are really abnormalities, and all kinds of theories are offered as explanations: parents too permissive, just out for thrills, youthful idealism, rebellion against their parents, drug induced crazies, a misplaced do-gooder/missionary mentality. All this is used to reinforce the idea that folk like Bill and me are very strange fruit for the middle class tree to produce and some individual reason, unique to each of us, must be found to explain it as a phenomenon and to cob it of its very volatile social significance. The only cause-effect relationships that make any sense - the analysis of the realities of everyday life - are too dangerous because these explanations undermine and agitate against attempts to fight the middle class pacified. When society sees discontent, resistance, opposition from those it has put significant efforts into buying off cheap, then it can negate this revolutionary spark only by turning the revolutionaries themselves into fiendish monsters in the public eye. Revolution cannot be destroyed - it can only be discouraged by wiping out people's sense of any future alternatives and by trying to undermine the solidarity people experience by identifying and sharing with each other.

This transformation of revolutionaries into fearful monsters for middle American indoctrination, isn't too difficult when the "tribes" are the poor, the cultural and social minorities, the non-white because the white middle class has been indoctrinated not to identify with these segments of the population anyway - has in fact been conditioned to hate them and fear them already. But resistance and discontent among those whose lives grew out of the mainstream - that is dangerous indeed. Afterall, the shell of pacification is very thin and easily cracked and who can break through it better than those who have been enclosed within its phoney myths and have now emerged from behind their blenders to begin to deal with the world as it really is.

So every explanation is offered except the one that really makes any sense - white middle class folks become revolutionaries because, far from having lived the American dream, they know just how hollow it really is. Their lives are shallow, alienated, ripped off, meaningless, robotised, plastic and dehumanised. The real differences between their oppression and that of others who may suffer on more levels is only in terms of degree and form. None of us are free; none of us are in control of our lives, and we never will be under the

present social order. Revolution is in the interests of those who are oppressed on many levels and in many ways. Some folks have a little longer lease but a lease just the same. Those of us who recognise this and stand up against the forces who hold the other end of the lease are fulfilling our own natural instincts. We are a composite of several different levels of awareness. First is the awareness of ourselves as human beings who live in a wasteland that fails to give us what we need so desperately to survive materially and psychologically; second is the realisation that there's a lot of folks who are in the same boat to greater or lesser degree - placing our own experiences in a social context; third is the understanding of the alternatives - growing from the present reality to that we have a potential to create; and fourth is the discovery of the means to move toward and build these alternatives.

But even some segments of the left through their practice demonstrate that they also believe that certain white revolutionaries are an abnormality and they ignore our existence as if we have no right to fight back in the way we have chosen. Yet according to this racist thinking, it's okay if Third World people take a similar route because of the rationale that they're so much more oppressed and thus are justified in resisting their chains by any means necessary. This assumes that whites who demonstrate a similar resistance are not justified and are over-reacting, ignorant, adventurist or doing it for someone else besides themselves - that they should stand back and let those who are the most oppressed take the risks on the front lines. Of course much of this is not stated outright; otherwise common sense would expose its absurdity. But the attitudes are prevalent nonetheless in the inconsistent and opportunistic way that some struggles and individuals are tokenistically supported while others are totally ignored or denounced when in fact the parallels between those which are supported and those which are denounced are far greater than the differences. The contradiction is most clear among those who offer verbal support to Third World political prisoners on trial or imprisoned for political acts against the state while withholding support completely from white political prisoners like Russ and Joe, Marilyn Buck, Karl Armstrong, Susan Saxe, Cam Bishop, Ed Mead and the two of us.

The battle of who's more oppressed than who - which race, class, sex, group or combination thereof - is counter-productive as far as I'm concerned. Our objective is to understand all the roots and current manifestations of all forms of oppression; then we use this to catalyse a response to this oppression based on a balance between self-interests and collective interest. The threat we pose to the status quo will bring some of us under attack. And if we do not offer consistent support/defence to out most progressive elements when they come under attack, then our numbers will be forever depleted and we will be giving the forces of fascism a free rein to pick our people off one at a time with little or no risk of opposition.

Emily Harris.

POETRY

What to do with your cock in Prison

well
if you're smart
you'll check it in at the front gate
when you come here
pick it up
if you leave

but if you're gonna be here for a long time man
you'd just better keep it
may wanna stick it down some punk's throat
up somebody's ass
or you can fuck your mattress filled with raw liver
or you can fuck your hand
or the pillow
but don't stick it between the bars
'cause it'll get stuck
and you may never get back out
sound sick
maybe but i hear folks without food
eat their own kids
besides
you'll need something to piss blood with
and you'll piss plenty of blood

(excerpt) Daniel L. Klauck.

PIMPERNEL HOWARD AND THE ANARCHIST

"Pimpernel Smith," wh'ch is even today occasionally seen on television, was hardly one of the best f'lms made by the late Leslie Howard, partly because the scriptwriters could offer only such masterpieces of dialogue, English in their understatement rather than German, as 'Were the eggs fresh for breakfast?' uttered by a (I am not inventing this) S.S.

Commandant to the inmates of a concentration camp, in order to impress an overseas visitor. A supernumerary actor, not a professional as it happened, was instructed to answer 'Yes, Herr Kommandant!' with so went the instructions, all courtesy but a sardonic gleam in his eye.

At the same time, Mr. Howard, who was director and principal actor, almost engaged with that supernumerary in an even more melodramatic plot to end the war suddenly by the assassination of the German Chancellor.

In 1940 the Germans were apparently winning the war and the real life plot into which Mr. Howard accidentally strayed was somewhat more melodramatic than the scenario of the film he was making. There was no audience, no applause, and the wrong player took the curtain call.

Leslie Howard was identified in the public eye with what is perhaps best described as the Romantic Theory of Opposites: a kinepolitical theory that whatever is utterly opposed to a country's social and economic tradition must be romantic. This enables a nostalgic quality

of sweet defeat in all historical struggles, despite the difficulty of supplying an unanachronistic Happy Ending, except possibly to those characters most immediately concerned, with whom alone the audience is supposed to be interested.

Thus a film dealing with the English Civil War would naturally glamourise the Cavaliers, whom one might imagine to be the underdogs of the day; for the romantic novelist, indeed King Rupert II, actually of Bavaria, might well be ruling England, and this would equally go for American writers though drawing the line at High Toryism where their own revolution was concerned. Nevertheless, that is why there could not be a romantic film about Washington, and one about Lincoln must be cut short by the civil war. "Gone With The Wind" follows a well-trod pattern, which confirmed Leslie Howard as the leader of the acting school I have designated as the Romantic Theory of Opposites; the same line of country as he explored in the film version of Baroness Orczy's "Scarlet Pimpernel."

Few people outside the French insane asylums or the French Royalist Party could wish to see the Bourbons back in France (in even narrower circle wanted them back in Spain). But as it is plain they are utterly defeated in France, audiences will accept the fact of the noble martyrs going to the tumbrils and one wonders what the good Bonaparts managed to spend almost her whole life in Paris a bare life-span after the events she purported to describe.

The theory collapsed under the weight of the Nazi regime – nothing could make the Nazis look romantic – at least so far, though some have come near trying and in the future, no doubt, this will be achieved. But Howard wanted to make a film opposing Nazism when it wasn't defeated. It was difficult enough, as the British film industry of the time was notoriously right-wing, and even those who had come from Germany had no intention of opposing Nazis where it was not actively opposing them, indeed, they had mostly left for that reason. Howard didn't get his way until the war broke out, and in a way "Pimpernel Smith" was his excuse for "The Scarlet Pimpernel" much as Mr. Riah was Dickens' apology for Fagin. The Scarlet Pimpernel snatched noblemen from the tumbrils of the avenging revolutionaries; Mr. Pimpernel Smith snatched political prisoners from the Nazis (but it might as well have been from the avenging noblemen after Waterloo, or the Versailles years of terror after the Commune).

The only problem was who were the revolutionaries imprisoned by the Nazis supposed to be? It did not ring true to say they were Democrats, because while the Democrats might be, and sometimes were, political prisoners, none of them had done very much in the way of opposing Nazism; and as the film had been held up until the war, so far as the Communists were concerned they were by then allied to Germany through the Nazi-Comintern Pact. The original script had made them Liberals, as a desperate attempt ever Zionists, Catholics, and Socialists – finally in the revised script they became Anarchists. It was this purely accidental introduction of Anarchists into the script

that led to Mr. Howard's first glimpse of revolutionary politics.

For some reason – it is impossible at this distance of time to say why, except for the perversity of film directors who insist on a real elephant being taken to India or real Pyramids being taken to Egypt because the existing ones weren't photogenic (this happened under Gabriel Pascal) – Mr. Howard insisted on having a real Anarchist to play the supernumerary part of the Anarchist political prisoner. He was not satisfied, unlike newspaper editors, with the ham actor's idea of an anarchist. And who else, he may have felt, could be sarcastic enough when asked in a concentration camp if the eggs were fresh for breakfast?

A —, as I suppose I had better call him because he is still living and won't thank me for mentioning him, was not an actor; at the moment of which I am writing he was a shop steward for NATKE which is as near to the dramatic heights as one was likely to get for extra roles during wartime. On the first day he and Howard had a long conversation in the canton about Spanish Anarchism and the latter's interest in the life of Francisco Ferrer as a slim subject. The imagination boggles as to what might have been the result; even a wholly sympathetic television play, years later, on Spanish Anarchism confused him with bandit-leader Jose Ferrer and suggested he had been shot by "the Fascists."

This was not to be; but from the conversation came the first revelation to Howard that there had been two or three anarchist attempts to assassinate Hitler already, and one was almost on the point of success when war broke out.

It is a bit too soon to tell the full details of the plot; for one thing, I cannot be at all sure that the Statute of Limitations would protect A —, from the consequences of being involved in what was clearly a murder attempt on the head of a friendly state; even if it later became unfriendly. However, it was well modelled on Booth's assassination of Lincoln, deliberately so, as nobody would expect an identical plan to be contemplated, particularly since the Nazi police were less likely to suspect a point of identity between Abraham Lincoln and Adolf Hitler. Hitler was to be shot from the opera stage, I think it was in the third act of Lohengrin at which point he became assumed to be well in the grip of musical emotions.

The opera company, almost all of whom were in the plot, spent two years attracting the patronage of leading Nazis waiting the moment. Their political affinities were various, though it may well be taken there were no supporters of the Third Reich among them; but at least three were Anarchists from way back and one the daughter of one of the workers' council delegates executed after the defeat of the Munich Commune.

She was to fire the fatal shot, and to disappear through a concealed trap door, used for transformation scenes, and dash out to a waiting car. In case that failed, there was a stick of dynamite in a bouquet which she was to throw at the Führer. All that remained was the time, the place and the unlived one to coincide, when Herr Hitler took preference to the "Merry Widow," not to be construed

as distaste to his usually beloved Wagner, possibly because of the scene in which the girl thrust their behinds at the audience provocatively.

"It would make a better plot than this Pimpernel thing," sighed Howard.

"It was all so carefully planned . . ." sighed A —. "But for the war breaking out . . . I was to go along in the car to take her to France . . ."

"It could still be done," said Howard, "You could get the help of the British Secret Service."

The other looked at him pityingly. The matter dropped so far as he was concerned, but Howard did contact the Secret Service.

In regard to another plot on Hitler's life, with which Anarchists were concerned, the Secret Service had come in on it; it proved disastrous. People like Howard simply could not conceive that there was an international police loyalty which overrode national considerations; A — had experience of it. A few weeks later he got a letter from Howard saying that he had contacted "the people about whom I was speaking" and that he "could get something going" when he came back from a trip. A — whether he should see Howard or not; he had not revealed any names and he was by no means assured he should. The problem was resolved for him, because the trip that Leslie Howard took was to Lisbon, and his plane was shot down.

The official Government story was that German agents had mistaken Leslie Howard for Winston Churchill, could hardly convince even a casting director let alone a script writer.

So far as I know, there were four attempts on Hitler's life in which German Anarchists were concerned; this was the one that might have been successful, though it lost all the chances (there was another in which Spanish Anarchists were concerned which aimed at removing Hitler and Franco in one go at their train meeting).

It has merely contributed to the unfavorable image given to the Anarchists in Germany as people who would commit the most unspeakable atrocities, which are understood to ones concentrating on the Head of State.

Towards the end of the war, when Germany was obviously losing and Hitler was the one barrier against surrendering, some German generals and aristocrats – notorious for their armed attacks on the workers – had a little bomb plot of their own which supporters of the Third Reich were involved. This has been the subject of innumerable books and films, and the German State today glamours its action as an example of "anti-Nazism". The Anarchists on the other hand have for the most part preferred to say nothing at all about these actions of their which (many claim) give the movement a "bad image."

Didn't somebody say in some connection that life was a comedy to those who think, a tragedy to those who feel?

A.M.



BOOK REVIEWS

BEGINNINGS

How It All Began: the personal account of a West German Urban Guerrilla, Bommi Baumann, Pulp Press, Vancouver, 121 pp, pb £2.35.

On November 24th, 1975 a special task force of 40 policemen armed with sub-machine guns raided the premises of Munich publishers, Tirkont Verlag. Their aim was to seize the entire stock of *Wie Alles Anfangt* (*How It All Began*), and the raid was followed by similar confiscations from other left bookshops, throughout West Germany. The prosecutions which stemmed from these seizures are still continuing today, and the book itself has probably received a much wider readership than the original publishers could have hoped for.

New editions were published in Germany, sponsored by some 380 people and groups, and translations into other languages were rapidly prepared. This English language edition was preceded by translations in French, Danish, Greek, Swedish, Dutch and Italian.

After such a build-up, the book falls a little flat in several ways, because it doesn't (perhaps couldn't) match the preconceptions, or begin to provide answers to the many questions that surround the concept of urban guerrilla warfare. Still, Michael (Bommi) Baumann's intention wasn't to provide any kind of manual for the would-be guerrilla, but simply to tell his story, which he hopes will be "understood as one among many, as my contribution, how I see the thing now, from the experiences I've had and the way I've digested them," so that others can understand why people take the road of armed struggle . . .

Briefly, Michael's story is one of a working class youth who grew into adulthood and political consciousness through the counterculture, the sexual revolution, dope, rock 'n' roll and via the anti-Vietnam war demonstrations of the later 1960s. He was a founding member of the 2nd June Movement, one of the two largest urban guerrilla groups in West Germany, and although he left that organisation in 1972 he is still on the run.

There is considerable confusion among many people as to the nature of the 2nd June Movement. This has been caused partly by the fact that some 2nd June members later joined the Red Army Fraction, which has always operated separately from 2nd June, even though there has been a degree of sympathy between the two. The Red Army Fraction (RAF) has always been Marxist in its orientation, and it grew out of a particular analysis of West German society, whereas the 2nd June Movement evolved in response to a series of events, and reflected a kind of instinctive gut-level anarchism. Bommi's book should help to make the difference clearer.

Armed struggle is a difficult nettle to grasp, because most people are only able to discuss it in the abstract. As a result we are all forced to rely almost solely on the mass media for information, and the guerrilla can become over-

romanticised, and obtain a larger-than-life image, something the establishment is quite willing to foster because it limits the number of people who might be prepared to act. Alternatively, the guerrilla can be made into the scapegoat of the left: an excuse for doing nothing because it brings down repression.

Many of the real issues that surround the dilemma of armed actions remain un-discussed, partly because people are too busy defending principled positions, or argue that the time is not yet "right". Other people criticise many of the obvious drawbacks associated with guerrilla activity, yet pose no alternatives of any kind. Most frequent of these is the argument that armed actions and clandestine groups "substitute" themselves for the mass actions of the working class, yet those people who put forward this idea are often those who advocate a need for a revolutionary organisation to "lead" the working class.

This point is one of several considered in *How It All Began*. Bommi relates this argument to his own experience, but concludes that it is important for individuals to do what is right for them. "That's how a thing gets followers; if there's someone who stands completely behind his thing, he's the one who'll attract people, gather them together."

One of the basic reasons for the disagreements that exist around the issue of guerrilla warfare are that people fail to understand the different types of armed struggle, confusing terrorism with guerrilla warfare, and armed struggle with insurrection. Guerrilla warfare is a strategy for revolution, but it is one that relies upon force of arms, and subjugates other revolutionaries to a military strategy. Armed struggle provides an alternative to guerrilla warfare, in which armed actions complement the social struggle. The first relies on an extent on trained cadres, and must out of necessity eventually generate structures which are authoritarian to some degree. The latter differs in that individuals and groups use force as a tactic to extend her or his activities.

The 2nd June Movement attempted a transition from armed struggle to guerrilla warfare, patterning its activities on the Black Panthers, but making the crucial mistake of not realising that the Panthers had a large black community within which to operate, but 2nd June hadn't anything comparable. With the transition came illegality, and with illegality came a separation from the milieu that spawned them originally. They began to lose touch with the very people that they relied upon for support, something that was even more marked with the RAF, whose links with the "alternative society" were much more tenuous.

How It All Began makes a number of criticisms directed towards both the 2nd June Movement and the RAF. Specifically noting the way in which their actions became less related to the "movement" and its struggles as time went by. In particular he believes the RAF fell into the trap of measuring its success by the reactions of the press, so much so that "their only justification comes through the media. They establish themselves only by those means." A weakness that could prove to be fatal.

Bommi's book has its lighter sides as well, recalling for example, how bombs were transported through police road blocks in a brightly painted car that had written in big letters on the back "Careful, Dynamite Transporter!!", with the result that the vehicle was just waved by.

The easy-to-read, conversational style of writing is deceptive, because it isn't an easy to read book by any means - it raises too many questions to be simply a good read. Yet, if you are serious in your revolutionary aspirations, you will need to read this book, partly because it destroys the myths that have grown up around the figure of the urban guerrilla, partly because we can all learn a little from *Wie Alles Anfangt*. I had expected much more from this book, because I was (I admit) expecting something with greater clarity, less muddled in its approach, but on reflection, I'm glad that Bommi's book is exactly as it is, right down to the sexist slang he often uses, because through the flippancy, along with the explanations and analysis, and the recollections, shines the humanity of the urban guerrilla, and that, after all, is what it's about.

Paul Wilson

(3rd) WORLD REVOLUTION

Cambodia Year Zero, Francois Ponchaud, Penguin, 1978, 240 pp, 55p. The Cambodian Concentration Camp.

"Everything we have built, we have done with our own hands. With our hands we can do anything!"

Khiell Samphan, leader of Angkar (Khmer Rouge organisation, single party) speech to commemorate the 2nd anniversary of the birth of "Democratic Kampuchea" (formerly Cambodia).

"Come rain or come wind, whether you are in good health or bad, in daytime as in night, without fail and without complaint, you must do what Angkar orders."

Two Years of Barbarism in the name of Socialism.

After the fall of Phnom Penh on 17 April 1975, marking the victory of the Khmer nationalists over the Lon Nol regime installed by the Americans five years earlier, a heavy silence descended upon what was going on inside Cambodia: embassies were shut down, foreign observers and journalists were turned away . . . Only some rare items of information from refugees escaping to Thailand or Vietnam began to chip away at this silence by revealing the barbarism to which the "conquerors of American imperialism" had resorted. Francois Ponchaud's book entitled *Cambodia - The Year Zero* which was issued at the beginning of this year (July 1977) brings the first comprehensive picture of this barbarism or "national reconstruction" - a particularly bloody one at the hands of the Khmer Rouge.

The fact that the author of the book is a priest and French to boot, in no way lays the documents produced and their translations open to question, even if, at times, his overall critique does not go beyond the liberals' or bourgeois humanists'; thus, he identifies the action of Khmer Rouge as a revolutionary undertaking "the most radical ever carried

If Cambodia does indeed export 250,000 tonnes of rice this year as the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ieng Sary recently asserted (see *Le Monde*, 17/18 April 1977) it will be the outcome of militarising the labour of some five to six million men and women in harness for "the hard tasks of the battle for

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 136

BOOK REVIEWS

out in so short a space of time," and not as the installation of state capitalism for he denounces in essence, the anti-democratic nature of Angkar's ideology and methods without appreciating it as the product of the decadence of the capitalist system as a whole. Ponchaud spent ten years in Cambodia as a member of the Foreign Missions Society of Paris, and during the last years of war, he headed a panel for translations into the Khmer language. The book is organised around four basic elements:

Deportations

In the same day they made their entrance into Phnom Penh (17 April 1975) and on the pretext that American reprisal bombing was imminent, the Khmer Rouge, moving from house to house, forced the populace (two and a half million) to leave the town. The deportations were beginning: "People living in the northern part of the town were forced to head north, those in the southern part had to choose but to move southwards, and those living in the west moved westwards: with a single objective - to get out of the town into the countryside by the shortest route" (Chapter One: "The Glorious April 17th, page 20). The following day Phnom Penh was practically empty and the victors were looting shops, tossing all consumer items like fridges, televisions and tinned foods, into the streets . . . in the days that followed hundreds who had taken refuge in the French embassy had to leave it under pressure from the Khmer Rouge and join the rest of the population in the countryside. No means of "cleaning out" every part of the city in a systematic manner was overlooked: water was cut off, to prevent survival, and electricity also. There weren't many to take part, inside the former capital, in the three days of "popular rejoicing" (J) decreed on 24th April to celebrate "the glorious victory of 17th April and the extraordinary revolution of Kampuchea"!!! Soon, the only ones left in Phnom Penh were the Khmer Rouge and their families - 20,000 people.

The deportations, which also affected all other towns, villages, and even isolated farms, culminated in the first great slaughter of the civilian population: for the most part, the sick, the old and the children could not withstand the trials of the enforced migration especially the intense heat in that season of the year. Though they came up with various arguments (such as the existence of an imperialist plot, the need to mop up all resistance from the old regime's supporters, their inability to assure supplies to the towns) to account for these deportations, the Khmer Rouge were in fact launching the construction of an agrarian national society, with an ideological veneer of a return to a bucolic "golden age" predating Angkor Wat. The prospect of this "green paradise" to come compensates for the immense sacrifices imposed day in, day out. Behind the peculiarly Khmer verbiage, the reality of this construction is nothing new: historically, falling back on the resources of one country alone, autarchy and the methods that follow on from it, have already been put into practice by fascist regimes (Germany, Italy) and by State capitalist ones (Russia, China). One again this economic tendency is evidence of the decadence of the capitalist system, which assumes more and more barbarous forms in which to continue man's exploitation of his fellow man, the ultimate solution being to concentrate all power in the hands of the State.

Between September and December 1975, the implementation of labour planning required new deportations of the population, which were even more murderous than their predecessors.

Massacres

In an interview in the Thai newspaper *Prachachart* of June 10th 1976, a Khmer Rouge official was critical of the Vietnamese method of "re-education", saying that it was "very slow" taking "lots of time to weed out the counter-revolutionaries from the good." The reporter with the newspaper wound up the interview as follows:

"The Khmer method does not require a large personnel, there's no burden to bear because they have all been shovelled out of the towns. If we may use the comparison, the Khmers have adopted the method that consists of upsetting the basket and all the apples it contains then they pick out only those which they are completely satisfied with, and put them back into the basket. But the Vietnamese did not upset the basket, and they picked out only the rotten apples. Their method is expensive in terms of time, much more so than the method *rououewy* [sic] the Khmers." (See Chapter 3: "The Apple Cart Upset" p.63).

The physical elimination of the cadres of the Lon Nol regime proceeded along with the elimination of their wives and children. On radio, in meetings, slogans such as "it is not enough to prune a bad plant, it must be uprooted," or "their line must be wiped out down to the very least of them," keep recurring at the theme, as an incitement to "vacuum cleaning." Prince Sihanouk, who joined forces with the Khmer Rouge after his overthrow by Lon Nol in 1970 and who was the diplomatic representative of FUNK and GRUNK in Peking, has been "swept aside," along with his supporters; there has been no news of Sihanouk since April 1976 and he has been eliminated from the history of Cambodia as rewritten by the Khmer Rouge. Oddly enough, he had foretold his fate, confiding: "They will spit me out like a cherry-stone."

Apart from this sort of repression there has been countless summary executions of workers. To track down those discontent with the work in progress, as much as from outside, the Khmer Rouge have been schooling children for spying and informing. The reasons behind the executions are not always clear, but they are justified come what may. "Better to kill an innocent than leave one enemy alive." In the final analysis, all who are not won over to the Angkar Organisation's ideology without nostalgia for the old regime can be annihilated in accordance with the formula, "There is nothing to be gained in letting them live and nothing to be lost in eliminating them!"

Forced Labour

"The Revolution has won: we must work and go on working to rebuild the country."

Forest uprooted to increase the arable surface, new crops planted (maize, manioc, yams, potatoes), great road and river works, intensive labour in the paddy fields . . . The deportee population is worked to the point of physical exhaustion and death, for to forced labour are added chronic under-nourishment and the lack of even basic sanitary facilities.

BOOK REVIEWS

The author quotes the statement of a former student on the work done by the young people of his group between July and September 1975. "On account of rain, we could not dig the ground using hoes, so we had to break up the ground with ploughs. As we had no oxen, we formed a party of eight men to draw the plough. Several of my comrades, exhausted by this toll, began to cough up blood and died." (p.78).

Then he points out the length of time they were working: "Up at 5 to the sound of a gong; breakfast of rice soup before setting out for work, sometimes quite far away, at 6: short break or march back to the village about 11 for rice husks and something to eat. Back working from 2 p.m. until 5 p.m., or depending where we were, up to 5.30 or 6 p.m. Very frequently, in Koh Thom (south of Phnom Penh) and west of Kratie, in Kauk Thlok (Kompong Thom) near Takhmau, in Varin (west of Siemreap) and other places, night work was assigned, going on until 8 p.m. or 11 p.m.; while the moon was full, work was done by the light of the moon, and where there was no moon, by the light of enormous braziers." (pages 78,79).

Should the workers have failed to fill the production norms set them, their already meagre food was cut even further. After that if they could not make up the difference, they are tried and condemned: execution on these grounds swelled the numbers already referred to, in connection with the widespread repression.

From the beginning of 1976 onwards, the Khmer Rouge divided work into categories: one category, co-operatives and State farms which are the lasting bases of production; the other the "yards" (Karthan) where the bulk of the deportee population is conscripted into "great works." According to F. Ponchaud the radio made an extensive report on the latter on 11 March 1976. "Democratic Kampuchea is one huge workshop, where one is, the beehive of the People. The people, young and old, men and women, from all the co-operatives are enthusiastically constructing dykes for the paddy fields. In Chireng, Siemreap province, close to 20,000 people are part of the assault actively fighting to build dykes in untiring revolutionary dynamism." (see Chapter 6: "An Army At Work" p.122).

Work has been militarised. The author quotes from a man describing the organisation of the workshop to which he had been mobilised: "At district level (damban) a cadres committee was formed, which assumed responsibility for the workshop as a whole. In each ward (srok) a cadre committee was established, then, in the workshop, another cadre committee for the "teams," "groups," "sections," "companies," "battalions" and "regiments," right up to "division." There are also the group and team presidents who watch over the morale of the workers . . . In the Angkor Borei workshop, Takeo province, the workforce was "allocated scientifically": 80% building dams, 10% building canals and dykes, 10% making tools, preparing food and dispensing medical aid." (see p.124).

"Khmer Revolution": State Capitalism Installed.

The primitive accumulation of the Khmer nation's capital is carried on, as we have just

seen, amid deportations, summary executions and forced labour. The quest for "economic independence" in the imperialist age cannot but assume the form of State capitalism which, in the name of socialism, intensifies the over-exploitation of the workers. This quest leads to a re-shuffle of the system, not to real development in productive forces, which renders any notion of independence illusory.

In the preamble to the Constitution of Democratic Kampuchea (the Constitution promulgated on 5th January 1976) we find the State capitalist objectives spelled out clearly alongside an egalitarian phrasology: "In conformity with the fundamental aspirations of the people, workers, peasants, the army and the cadres the object of the revolution is to implement, within our territorial integrity, and in a society where happiness, equality, justice, a true democracy without rich or poor, without an exploited class or exploited class prevail, a society in which the whole people live in harmony and grand national union and share as one being in the work of production, to build up and defend the country all together." (see pages 98/99).

The tell-tale signs that State capitalism is being introduced are several:

- The cult of the Single Party (Angkar) whose promotion and extension is the task of the Radio, using the tones of religion: "thanks to Angkar, every day is a celebration"; "thanks to Angkar, the rice is good"; "we must give thanks to Angkar which has been so good to us and delivered us from slavery . . . which has breathed life once again into the soul of the nation." There are also 12 "revolutionary" (!) commands to be learned of and put into practice. All this tends to displace the old religions of Cambodia (Buddhism, Islam, Christianity).

- Military conscription into a "people's army" leads to the militarisation of labour and ensures maximum control of all activity in the country. "The army links arms with the people to transform the country into a patchwork blanket of paddy fields to help the crop yield." "In one hand, the soldier holds a weapon, in the other, a spade . . . or a sickle."

- Ideological conditioning in which an extremely extensive bombardment of minds works on the consciousness by means of a newly formed vocabulary thoroughly suited to the objectives of the "Khmer Revolution." Thus economic achievements are presented as many victories with avalanches of figures, statistics and technical data: "victory over flooding"; "victory over the elements"; "victory over nature"; "a new victory for the building up of the country."

And so also . . . , a whole new vocabulary based on "youth," meaning "the war" has come into use: "male combatants," "female combatants," "comrade-fighter," "young-man-fighter," "fighter-solidarity," "combat-a-civity" "strategic cultures" . . . Listening to the radio and even going by the refugee's statements one would think that only fighting-men work, or that all workers are fighting-men." (p.139).

The level of consciousness is shown by dropping one's name (everybody keeps only the last syllable of their forename, with the prefix "met" meaning comrade), in the

manipulation of children from their earliest years, (children between 6 and 12 years form "children's groups" with the 3-sided leadership copied from their elders), by the ban on the use of all foreign languages, by the conversion of culture into a weapon at the expense of disposal of national production . . .

In this country which after years of imperialist war has become one vast concentration camp, the society which is being created is strangely reminiscent of the one George Orwell portrayed in his superb political fiction '1984.' Cambodian state capitalism has no reason to feel envious of its predecessors: it is a further stage in the deepening of the barbarism to which capitalism as a whole subjects humanity: the socialism which only the working class of the world can establish will be made through the destruction of capitalism in its "private," as well as its "state" forms!

National Liberation: Counter Revolutionary Struggles.

The young micro-bourgeoisies who now aspire to an independent existence, do not just quiver with impatience only out of their lust for freedom, for they also promise themselves the rapture which for so long has been denied them; to strangle, with their own hands, the mortal enemy, the revolutionary proletariat - a function that, up to the present, they have been forced to leave to the rigid machine of a foreign dominator "Rosa Luxemburg" Fragment on War, the national question and Revolution.

Yet again, with the Cambodian case, we can assess the consequences, the anti-proletarian consequences of natural Liberation struggles.

From 1967-1968, the many shades of "leftists" (Trotskysts, Maoists, etc) have organised large-scale backing for these struggles, in the name of their "anti-imperialist" nature. Throughout countless marches they wished victory of FUNK and GRUNK just as ardently as to the Vietnamese NLF! In leaflets handed out at these demonstrations the revolutionaries already were emphasising the fact that "the proletariat has nothing to gain and everything to lose through these national liberation struggles." In fact, in this era of capitalist decadence, not only is the establishment of a new State no longer a guarantee of real economic development, but the struggle to set it up cannot but fit into the scheme of rivalries between the large imperialist camps. In this way, the "anti-imperialist" struggle of "the peoples of Indo China" were dependent on Russian and Chinese imperialism! As for the nationalist organisations, which the leftists dub "progressive," or even "revolutionary," are the backbone today of the new class rule: the Single Party's bureaucracy blossoms with the installation of State capitalism. As Rosa Luxemburg put it in the quotation above and as is illustrated by the evolution of "Democratic Kampuchea," these young State bourgeois take their pleasure (and their profits!) in ferocious over-exploitation of the agricultural and industrial workers. So the leftists bear their share of responsibility for the displacement of class struggle onto the terrain of "National Liberation" and the massacres of the proletariat that ensue, during and after the so-called "Liberation." As such, they must be denounced

BOOK REVIEWS

as active agents of counter-revolution. If we are going to grasp the counter-revolutionary character of national liberation struggles since the turn of the century, we need to have a clear understanding of the capitalist system and its tendency towards State capitalism.

(Translated by Paul Sharkey)

Revolution in the Third World: Myths and Prospects, Gerard Chaliand, Harvester Press, £6.95.

European civilisation has yet to come to terms with the import of its savage onslaught against the rest of the world during the period that an Indian historian calls "the Vasco de Gama era" of world history. At one time, the liberal imperialist faith could be expressed in such words as:

"It is clearly seen that to our beloved land Great Britain has been assigned the high mission of manufacturing for her sister nations. Our kin beyond the sea shall send to us in our ship their cotton from the Mississippi valley. India shall contribute its jute. Russia its hemp and flax, and ironstone for our factories and workshops, our skilled mechanics and artificers the necessary machinery to weave these materials into fine cloth for the nations; all shall be fashioned by us and made fit for men. Our ships, which reach us laden with raw materials, shall return to all parts of the earth laden. This exchange of raw materials for finished products under the decrees of nature makes each nation the servant of the other and proclaims the brotherhood of man. Peace and good will shall reign upon the earth, one nation after another must follow our example and free exchange of commodities shall everywhere prevail. Their ports shall open wide as ours are open for their raw materials."

Similar ideas resonate through the modern intellectual history of the West. A century later the anonymous commentator cited above, Lord Frederick Lugard, one of the architects of Britain's African empire, wrote that "the partition of Africa was, as we all recognise, due primarily to the economic necessity of increasing the supplies of raw materials and foods to meet the needs of the industrialised nations of Europe." In the mid-twentieth century, it is "the menace of Communism" that must be overcome so that the industrial societies can fulfill their "high mission." A prestigious study group of the American National Planning Association and Woodrow Wilson Foundation explains that the primary threat of communism is the economic transformation of the Communist powers "in ways which reduce their willingness and ability to complement the industrial economies of the West." Communism thus violates "the decrees of nature."

The "West" is the "first world," the "first world" from which the "second world" has irreversibly separated, and which now struggles to ensure that the "third world" does not pursue the same intolerable course. The "West" includes Japan, which for unique historical reasons was able to escape the tentacles of empire and develop as an industrial society. It is organised by the United States and the international corporations that are primarily based in the United States and that

rely ultimately on the military power of the American state to ensure their interests and security. When the elaborate mechanism of subversion or raw military power is let loose to defeat a challenge to "the decrees of nature," imperial apologists still proclaim "the brotherhood of man," and speak without shame, of the "defence of liberty and democracy."

The rhetoric changes of course, when oil producing states attain the capability to invest in the industrial societies which, in the natural order, are the masters of global society. Then it is suddenly discovered that it is intolerable for the nation's patrimony to be sold to foreigners. Just as the British lost their enthusiasm for liberal economic doctrine when their industry could no longer dominate world markets, so American intellectuals discover that the nation's resources and vital institutions must be protected from foreign intrusion, though its scale is minuscule as compared with the much-lauded American economic intervention elsewhere. They are re-learning what their predecessors knew, as they fashioned the protectionist doctrines that contributed to the growth of an industrial society in the United States. But the lesson cannot be generalised. The United States must maintain its independence and global authority. Revolutionary nationalism, which threatens to extricate some third world society from the US-dominated global economy, is an intolerable affront to civilised values and must be crushed, for the benefit of mankind. As in the past, liberal doctrine is to be extolled insofar as it contributes to the hegemony of the natural rulers. Under other conditions, it is to be rejected with contempt. And the mailed fist is raised, and if needed brought down with crushing force, where autonomous development threatens.

The "decrees of nature," as proclaimed by the ideologists of modern state capitalism and enforced by the military power of the industrial societies, condemn the great majority to privation and servitude. It is inevitable that such a social and economic order will be challenged in innumerable and often unpredictable ways. The United States emerged from the Second World War with prospects to be the sole authority and "stabiliser" of international society. It has been compelled to accept a "bipolar world" organised by two superpowers in the spirit of "detente." But only one of these superpowers is to be "really super." As Henry Kissinger has explained, there must be a "penalty for intraterritory" if the party in detente forgoes the rules, though there will be no interference as it exercises its brutal rule over its imperial domains. Within the far more extensive American-dominated system, other powers may pursue their local interests. "Regional groupings supported by the United States will have to take over major responsibility for their immediate areas, with the United States being concerned more with the overall framework of order than with the management of every regional enterprise" in the "stable and creative world order" that Kissinger envisages. Others are scarcely less plain-spoken about the matter, but one can hardly expect such a system to endure for long, and severe conflict may erupt among

the industrial societies of the "free world" as the price of American hegemony proves unacceptable.

The immediate challenge, however, is posed by movements of revolutionary nationalism in the third world, movements that struggle for a measure of independence, for development based on internal needs, for modernisation and social welfare. Internal documents reveal the fear of top American policy planners that such movements, once independence is gained, may carry out successful programmes of modernisation and development. Their "ideological successes" may cause "the rot to spread," as passive and suppressed populations elsewhere try to emulate the model they present. Such fears motivated the American aggression against South Vietnam, spilling over to the rest of Indochina. There is no doubt that they persist and will remain a driving force in the years that lie ahead.

The struggle to prevent economic transformation that will reduce the willingness or ability of underdeveloped societies to complement the industrial economies of the West" is sure to remain a major theme of world history in the coming period, as it has been in the recent past. What is the nature of these third world movements? Why have many failed, and a few succeeded? What are their aims, their class basis, the cultural and historical features that shape their programmes and determine their destiny? What kind of social order may emerge, and what lessons do their successes and failures offer to the industrial societies themselves, in particular, to those who are committed to the social and economic transformation of the industrial societies? These are some of the questions addressed in Gerard Chaliand's fascinating study. For many years, he has investigated and reported on the revolutionary movements of Africa, Southeast Asia, Latin America and the Middle East. His achievement is remarkable and unique. Combining sympathetic concern with critical detachment, he has been able to attain an intimate familiarity with the movements that he has investigated, often at first-hand, and a sensible appreciation of the social and cultural conditions in which they have developed. His direct accounts have been invaluable, and his commentary and analysis have been perceptive and enlightening.

As a student of comparative revolutionary movements, he has no peer, to my knowledge. The present work summarises and extends these studies and places them in their general historical context. It is an important contribution to the understanding of contemporary history.

Noam Chomsky,
(The above piece was the introduction to the French edition of Chaliand's book).

Mutinies: 1917-1920, Dave Lamb, Illustrated, pictorial wrappers, 36pp, 12 x 8½. Solidarity (Oxford & London) 50p.

Dave Lamb here beams a searchlight into neglected corners to reveal secrets largely unknown and certainly worth gathering and amplifying into one thesis. Exploiting locally issued recent as well as earlier memoirs, histories and contemporary reports he presents in some detail astounding tales of major

revolts in the British armed services as the Kaiser war neared its end.

Two factors sparked off mutinies in locations quite distant in time and place. The first was inefficient demobilisation, combined, in some cases, with news of long postponement as Generals planned the policies of occupied territories. Later, the war of intervention against Red Russia fomented wide unrest and more mutiny from troops forced to take part in further war against former allies for whom they felt sympathy not hatred. The latter could be said to be political to some extent, but the others were spontaneous outbreaks of revulsion to continuing senseless killing, ghastly trenches and unspeakable conditions in transit base camps for war-weary reeling, wounded and raw recruit alike.

The ordinary man in uniform in the war was over once the November 1918 Armistice had been signed and he could accept no reason to keep him from going home. The War Office had other ideas. A million men were wanted as occupying armies and to make battle against the partly established Russian revolutionaries and hit them mainly from the Arctic and Black Sea. Lloyd George and others in the Government were less keen on keeping the armies up to strength since the votes of the people were important but the militarists intrigued with Winston Churchill even though his mad Dardanelles fiasco had prolonged and almost lost the war.

In the end the people won, for pawns in uniform came to life and refused to move as their officers demanded even at the risk and indeed at the cost in some cases of their lives. By firing squad or the hand guns of officers many so-called deserters had died throughout the war but following these final large scale mutinies even though courts martial levied many death sentences these were mostly commuted afterwards. The mood of the men was too dangerous for such drastic penalty to be executed unless, as seems to have happened sometimes, it could be carried out in secret. In the end the free-thinking Canadians and Anzacs and even the normally obedient flag waving English and other home troops en masse were able to force conciliatory reaction from the authorities. Conditions were ameliorated, demob speeded up, ships and troops withdrawn from Russian terrain.

The RAF at Biggin Hill near London staged their own mutiny in 1919 over camp conditions and wage concessions. Lamb deals with the Royal Navy and Russian campaign too briefly considering the historical importance of the latter and the wide unrest in H.M. ships about beatiful conditions and tremendous differences between food and accommodation for officers and the lower deck as well as the rigid discipline and federalistic protocol existing. Certainly complaints could be made singly. The standard question resulted: "Have you discussed this with anyone else?" On the reply "yes" the complainant was charged with mutiny! If "no" he was branded as a troublemaker since no one else had backed him up. If any did make similar complaint that was tantamount to having had discussions and so too meant mutiny! As Hitler-war seamen have testified these rules and conditions were still in force until recent times. Lamb ends by appealing for further

reminiscences. I do hope some reply. Perhaps younger relatives or friends will seek out to record the memories of their elders before its too late. The Imperial War Services Museum (and no doubt others such as the Greenwich Maritime Museum) have already gathered diaries and personal accounts of war experiences whilst official material may be consulted in the Public Record Office. It does seem that what the latter gets depends upon the whims of destroying-angel officers - but that is another question! This preliminary report is well worth its 50p but I hope the author continues his delving and eventually produces a full book on his subject.

BARRY DUNCAN.

Outlaws, Kenneth Ulyatt, Pelican Books, 75p.

An oft-repeated cliché is the western film. Goodly inevitably shoots baddy after baddy temporarily gets the upper hand. And such it was in the real west, except that goody wasn't so good and baddy wasn't much different. Everyone knows the name, so the outlaws who appear in this book are like old friends - Jesse James, Sam Bass, Billy the Kid, and the rest rise again from the grave and live once more their famed exploits. Ulyatt approaches the outlaws in a matter-of-fact manner, scarcely noting their actions as anything more than actions, unlike the hysteria which their present-day emulators receive from a rabid press.

The aftermath of a bloody civil war which ravaged the land forced some into outlawry. Guerrilla fighters, who had fought on the losing side, were hunted down after the war. Some guerrilla bands even fought each other for territory and spoils. The Missouri guerrillas were refused amnesty at the end of the war (shades of Vietnam?) and were thus automatically outlaws rather than merely ex-soldiers of a defeated army. Some stayed in the wilderness, living the best way they could by theft and extortion. Others who returned did so only to find that their families, homes and livelihoods had been annihilated by the war.

At the end of the war, Jesse James and five others of the guerrilla fighters with whom he had spent the war rode into Lexington under a white flag. They were met by a hail of bullets, and James was severely wounded. The Marshal of Lexington believed James to be mortally injured, and let him go home to die. Such are the quirks of fate. James recovered, and lived to be one of the greatest of all the outlaws of the west. When the James-Younger gang was finally captured, Jesse James was shot in the head. The rest, 27 of them, died or were incarcerated for lengthy periods, seven being killed by gunfire, three being assassinated by their own companions, three being lynched and two committing suicide. Nine served long sentences in prison. Only Frank James escaped, having surrendered soon after Jesse's death and pleaded for sympathy to the southerners on the Jury at his trial. He was freed, only to become, in his declining years, almost an exhibit in a travelling wild west show, travelling a land which had outgrown the outlaws.

The outlaws are a romantic part of a tragic and violent period of the history of the United States. During the period 1861-1890 occurred a civil war and numerous other

wars waged against the native inhabitants by the victorious federal government. The frontier provided a haven of refuge from the areas which had already attained statehood and this had the full panoply of law and order enforcement agencies. The outlaws were able to continue their guerrilla war against the state, but for themselves and not for an opposing state.

Surprisingly there is never a trace of political motivation in the exploits of the outlaws. Unlike their parallel, the Ku Klux Klan, the outlaws were ad hoc groups of individuals whose sole aim was survival in an environment hostile both physically and politically. When the time came to suppress the outlaws, it was done with swiftness and efficiency. Those who survived were even able, like Frank James, to write memoirs and travel in a peep-show as an heroic relic of a bygone era. Had they been political, the gallows would have invariably been their destination, and, like later anarchist martyrs, their cause and name would not be widely celebrated in myth and film. As symbols of resistance, their charisma lingers to this day. Sarcely a week passes without some tale or other of the west's outlaws being trotted out in the form of an old Hollywood movie on TV. Anarchists, despite their sometimes parallel lives and deaths, are not the stuff of which Hollywood makes myths and money.

NIGEL PENNICK.

JUAN GOMEZ CASAS: *Historia del anarcosindicalismo* (XYZ, Madrid, 1968, 284pp). At this make-or-break juncture in the CNT's work of reconstruction it is useful to recommend the reading of Gomez Casas' book (he is at present national secretary of the CNT), first published 1968, for a better understanding of the history of Spanish anarchosyndicalism and what its potential could be for the immediate future.

As Jose Luis Rubio says in the prologue: "For many young people, workers as well as students, it will come as a stimulating revelation . . . The Confederate labour movement in Spain could count upon the broadest support and highest revolutionary potential. But it failed. As a result, there is a need to scrutinise the steps taken by the movement, from the early days as recounted by Anselmo Lorenzo, up to the May events in 1937, to search out the roots of that failure and learn from them. . . . Many are of the opinion that the revolutionary radicalism of the Internationalists first of all, and the Confederationists later on, ruled out a democratic Republican formula as a possibility in Spain, thereby helping to perpetuate the backward looking oligarchy. But, on the other hand, others are of the opinion that to have gone along with compromises would have led to a bourgeois republic with tame labour unions integrated into the capitalist system. The debate is not over yet."

Indeed, the debate is not over yet. But we believe that a reading of this book furnishes positive key factors in an answer to this important debate, at least at the personal level. And furthermore that it has a fresh and fundamental relevance for the future of the Spanish people.

OCTAVIO ALBEROLA.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 140

WHAT'S LEFT?

The Left in Britain 1956-1968, Edited by David Widgery, Penguin, £4.00.

This Penguin book, disguised as a Peregrine book to excuse the price, is a £5.00-page annotated anthology or documentary history of the left in this country during the twelve years from the dual crisis of Hungary and Suez to the confused echoes of the French "events"; but it is not what most readers may expect, being not so much about the usual history of "the left" as about the extreme left or Marxist left of various kinds of "New Left."

David Widgery is one of the bright young men who joined the newest New Left during the 1960s, working both for Trotskyist papers such as *Socialist Worker* and for underground paper such as *Oz*. His view of the left excludes anything politically or culturally orthodox, anything connected with the Labour Party or the Communist Party, with either rational reform or serious scholarship, and barely includes us: groups as the Independent Labour Party, the Socialist Party of Great Britain, or the Workers' Revolutionary Party (or the Socialist Labour League). His version of divided Marxism does allow some kind of opening towards the libertarian left - accepting Solidarity on almost equal terms, acknowledging the claims of syndicalism, and admitting the existence of anarchism. He is himself the incarnation of an unlikely object - a nice Trotskyist.

But his book shows strong bias right from the start: literally - from the cover, where the Communist Hammer and Sickle consuming a Union Jack is itself being consumed by a Trotskyist Fourth International brand of Hammer and Sickle, or from the dedication, to the memory of Victor Serge, who is described as "Syndicalist, Bolshevik, Trotskyist" conveniently omitting the first stage of his political career as a leading member of the individualist wing of the French anarchist movement, for which he spent five years in jail. There is also a curious bias in the choice of period - from a date which was marked by simultaneous crises in Conservative Imperialism and Communist Imperialism, rather than by any event in what Widgery or we would think of as the left, to a date which was marked by a peak in, rather than the end of, a process, and which Widgery actually ignores when he gets there. But there is a lot more to *The Left in Britain* than bias, and it is worth considering at some length.

Widgery begins the book with a very personal foreword, which gives an unconvincing account of its origins and adds an unfortunate amount of confusion about its subject. The phrases "the Left" and "the far Left," "the revolutionary Left," "the working-class movement," "the post-war working class," "the modern revolutionary workers' movement" and "the modern socialist movement" are all used in a couple of pages with no attempt to explain how they are related to each other or to the various individuals and organisations who fill the rest of the book.

There follows a list of Acknowledgements, CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 141

which is more interesting than usual, if only for the strange statements which Widgery has had to include: "E.P. Thompson wishes to state that his political position remains, in general, that of the *May Day Manifesto* (1968), and that he is in radical disagreement with the selection and interpretation of the recent history of the Left presented in this book." "Laurie Flynn, Colin Barker, and Bob Rowthorn have asked to register that they have developed their positions from those extracts republished here." Nothing from John Saville, Brian Behan, Bob Potter, Peter Fryer, Lawrence Daly, Martin Grainger, Peggy Duff, Michael Kidron, Paul Foot, Alasdair MacIntyre, Tom Hillier, Sheila Rowthorn, and the other contributors who have also changed their views - indeed the whole book is based on people changing their views, a point which is illustrated again and again but which seems to have missed the editor.

Then there is a long Introduction by Peter Sedgwick which was first published in an abridged version in the *New Statesman* on 13 September 1974. Sedgwick comes from an older generation than Widgery, but he is similarly a supple (rather than subtle) intellectual in the *International Socialist* movement. He is always highly stimulating, but he also is highly sectarian, and his essay is unbalanced that it upsets the book before it has properly begun. When it first appeared the *New Statesman* published a letter by Brian P. Borcham: "Peter Sedgwick has performed no mean feat in managing to avoid . . . all mention of the vital contributions made by either the Committee of 100 or the Anarchist movement. His weary catalogue of failings vindicates only too clearly the Anarchist argument against the well-intentioned authoritarian not only of the Labour Party but the whole range of sectarian power-seekers and thwarted Lenins who seem to have learned nothing. As long as these utopians persist in looking to any sect, group, party or élite for their salvation, and refuse to recognise the contradictions inherent in their basic philosophy of freedom through power, the longer we can expect to be reading superficial post mortems like Peter Sedgwick's." (20 September 1974).

Sedgwick's essay is now twice as long as it was then, but it is no different in character. When he begins to approach either non-CND unilateralism or non-Marxist revolutionism he always draws back rather than endanger his Leninist position. His main preoccupation is to emphasise the IS contribution and to reinforce the IS position, and everything else is subordinated to that.

The same is true, though to a lesser degree, of Widgery's own work. He states in his Foreword that the "political ideas which underlie the socialist sub-scholarship are owed largely to Tony Cliff, Mike Kidron and Nigel Harris and their theoretical and editorial work in the IS journal, though I ought to add this book in no way represents official International Socialism policies." He adds that "I have made the best effort I am capable of to be non-sectarian," he makes friendly gestures to many tendencies both inside the Marxist tradition and outside it on the left, he is well known for his contacts with the "underground" and with several libertarian tendencies,

and he includes several items from this area. Nevertheless he remains committed to a Marxist approach in general and to the IS line (or lines) in particular, and these pervade the whole book.

The main of the book consists of eight sections, each containing an essay by Widgery followed by a series of contributions by other writers, mostly reprinted from the left-wing press. "The Double Exposure: Suez and Hungary" covers two episodes which between them began the process covered by the whole book, and includes items by Edward Thompson, John Saville, Brian Behan, Bob Potter, Peter Fryer, Lawrence Daly and Tony Cliff. The flavour is entirely ex-Communist and mainly Trotskyist, and quite unrepresentative of the left at that time.

"Don't You Hear The Hi-Bombs Thunder?" covers the nuclear disarmament movement, and includes Alex Comfort's speech at the CND inaugural meeting in 1958, the description by "Martin Grainger" of the first Aldermaston March in 1958, the Solidarity Committee of 100 statement, *Against All Bombs* which was distributed in Moscow in 1962 (and is wrongly attributed to Ken Weller), Edward Thompson and John Saville on the movement at its beginning, Peggy Duff on the movement at its end, and Michael Kidron giving the IS line in the middle.

"The Two-New Lefts" consists entirely of an essay by Peter Sedgwick, first published in *International Socialism* in 1964; giving a sectarian account of the "Old New Left" which produced *Universities and Left Review* and the *New Reasoner* from 1956 to 1959 and then *New Left* from 1960 to 1962, and of the very different group which produced *NLR* from 1962 onwards. The subject is quite interesting, but either too unimportant to spend a whole chapter on or else too important to give a twelve-year-old treatment.

"That Was The Affluence That Was" covers the industrial struggle from 1956 to the fall of the Conservative Government in 1964, and includes some Trotskyist material on strikes and also one good Solidarity item (Ken Weller on Fords). "Let's Go With Labour" covers the Labour Government from 1964 to 1970, and includes some more Trotskyist material on Labour "ebtzials" and another good Solidarity item on the King Hill homeless hostel struggle. "Freeze, Squeeze, Then Prod" covers the industrial struggle under the Labour Government, and includes some good material from militants involved in strikes and yet more Trotskyist material.

"Make One, Two, Three Balls-Ups" covers the student movement, and includes much Marxist and some libertarian material. "1968" covers the culmination of the process covered by the whole book, and includes an extraordinary jumble of materials which is justified by the muddle of the subject. Widgery says: "1968 was a particularly unruly year to write about. It defies all attempts to be tidied away. I have instead tried to give a sense of its messiness by using memories, reminiscences, diaries, bits from capitalist and socialist papers, accounts of events and leaflets." The resulting confusion includes a few interesting minor items and also a few major documents - from the Solidarity pamphlet *Paris: May 1968* (variously attributed to both "Martin

BOOK REVIEWS

Granger" and "Maurice Brinton" though it was in fact unsigned and Christopher Pallis hadn't used the former name for years), Geoff Richman's pamphlet on the Vietnam Solidarity Campaign *End of a Tropic* (1969), Sheila Rowbotham's *Black Dwarf* article on militant women (1969), and Tony Mahoney's *Idiot International* obituary of the Arbour Square squat (1970). (The dates show that this section of the book goes well beyond its official period). One curious item is extracted from Jim Hugson's report of the 1969 anarchist summer camp, which is a gratifyingly irrelevant insult for the only explicitly anarchist contribution in the book.

The main body of the book ends with a tedious interview I did with Tony Cliff for *Idiot International* in 1970. It wasn't worth doing, it wasn't worth printing then, and it isn't worth reprinting now.

The general level of all this material is unashamedly uneven. There are well over 100 separate items, of which many are interesting or at least revealing, but too many are boring or even pointless. The selection of items is often perverse, and the editorial commentary is often peculiar. Widgery became involved in the events he describes only towards the close of the period, and his introductions begin by being clinically derivative and end by being intensely personal. In either case, he is unreliable both about hard facts (where he has always been accident-prone) and about the more flexible business of interpretation. Every knowledgeable reader will find different things to challenge – such as the description of the Trotskyist Newsletter in the late 1950s as "a fine piece of working class journalism with a fresh and honest voice," or the claim that "there was real evidence of the rebirth of Marxism in the events in Paris and Prague" – but I shall concentrate on the section I know most about.

The introduction to the nuclear disarmament section is particularly bad and deserves detailed criticism. Widgery opens with the silly remark, "The Campaign for Nuclear Disarmament was born not with a bang but with a whimper," and he follows with a patronising dismissal of everything which happened before then: "People rejecting nuclear weapons on principle had been unsuccessfully pestering around for at least ten years before the campaign took off in 1958" – the peace movement may have been unsuccessful before 1958, as the nuclear disarmament movement was after 1958 (after all we still have nuclear weapons today), but it was not a matter of pestering around. Widgery should do some homework. He describes *Peace News* as "a vegetarian tabloid with a Quaker emphasis on active witness," which is funny but untrue. He refers to "the rather limp pacifist tradition of the thirties," which is just untrue. He quotes the PPU pledge wrongfully, which is unimportant but unnecessary, and is typical of his whole treatment of pacifism.

Widgery improves when he gets on to the actual unilateralist movement, but he still doesn't know much about it. He mentions the interesting point that many of the audience at the CND inaugural meeting in 1958 demonstrated in Downing Street, but not the more significant point that they staged the first

recorded spontaneous sit-down in Britain. He says that "within weeks of its foundation, CND had found the perfect vehicle" in the Aldermaston March; but the first Aldermaston March was organised not by CND but by an independent ad hoc direct action committee, and only after it proved successful did CND take it over and turn it back to front from 1959 onwards. He says that "the Direct Action Committee had soon parted company with CND"; but DAC was formed before CND was never part of it, and eventually merged with the Committee of 100. Widgery is generally so much interested in the relationship of the nuclear disarmament movement with the labour movement that he overlooks the true nature of the divisions within the nuclear disarmament movement itself.

The account of the Committee of 100 is very poor. Widgery says that "the nearest it came to capturing mass opinion within CND was during Peter Cadogan's 'March Must Decide' campaign on the 1963 Aldermaston," and then adds that this ended with the Metropolitan Police and the CND marshals "boxing the most suspect marchers in a complete cordon and collectively frogmarching them through central London." The crucial factor at Easter 1963 was of course the Spies for Peace rather than the Committee of 100 or Peter Cadogan's campaign, and the march ended quite differently from Widgery's description (see *Freedom*, 20 April 1963 – reprinted in *Forces of Order*).

As for the Spies for Peace, Widgery gives the following description of the RSC-6 demonstration during the march: "When the Spies for Peace march eventually arrived at the Littlewick Green secret bomb shelter, having broken through barbed wire and fences to get to it, it immediately, despite a fine speech by Bob Rowthorn and a lot of Glaswegian cursing about middle-class liberals, proceeded to sit down like several hundred large soft mushrooms, in clumps around the entrance, and wait until a force of police arrived." The demonstration was not at Littlewick Green, but at Warren Row; the demonstrators did not break through barbed wire and fences, because there was none of the former and gaps in the latter; they did not sit down immediately, but went as fast as they could before doing so; they did not wait for the police, because there was already a large force with dogs around and inside the shelter; Widgery's speech may have been fine, but most contributions to unilateralist debate from Marxist intellectuals it was ignorant and irrelevant. (See the same issue of *Freedom*, also reprinted). In fact Widgery doesn't know what happened at Easter 1963, and if he couldn't bother to read contemporary accounts or consult reliable eye-witnesses he should have kept his mouth shut.

But Widgery is right in his view of the function of the Committee of 100 in the nuclear disarmament movement and of the militants in the Committee of 100, as pioneers in the theory and practice of confrontation, if only he had attempted to develop or illustrate it. Instead he dismisses the doings of the late 1960s with a series of epigrams, spoilt by yet more errors and omissions. He includes "Anarchy among those who 'had ethical objections'" to the Vietnamese demonstrations in

1968, which is just stupid, since *Anarchy* had no editorial line about demonstrations. He says that "the Committee's independent initiatives . . . were over by 1964," which is just nonsense, since they continued until the end of 1967. He leaves out such freelance actions outside the Committee control but still inside Committee tradition as the Red Square demonstration in 1962, Greek Week in 1963, the Brighton Church demonstration in 1966, and the Greek Embassy demonstration in 1967, and he fails to understand the painful transition from the Committee to the student movement in 1967 and 1968.

The last 100 pages of the book are taken up by a useful Chronology of events (compiled by Dave Phillips, and best on industrial troubles) a Glossary of organisations and publications, a rich Bibliography, and a poor Index.

The glossary is uneven in coverage, like the whole book, but rather more reliable in treatment (it has been checked by more outsiders). There are still several mistakes and misunderstandings, including the following in entries of libertarian interest. In the entry on *Anarchy*, it is called "the anarchist pocket review" brilliantly edited by Colin Ward from 1961 to 1970 which pioneered many ideas on education, architecture and art which were to become Leftist commonplaces by the late 1960s;" apart from the curious put-down of calling a standard octavo magazine a "pocket review," limiting its scope to only three of its dozens of topics, and suggesting that its arguments have become accepted – if it was so good, why not? include some of it in the body of the book?

In the entry on the Angry Brigade, the name is said to have been adopted "in late sixties" though it was invented at the end of 1970. In the entry on *Black Flag*, Albert Melzer is described as "veteran anarchist, boxer and auto-destructive artist;" the last of the three points looks like the result of confusion with Gustav Metzger, who was with Ralph Schoeman the main founder of the Committee of 100 in 1960. In the same entry Widgery mentions that members of the Anarchist Black Cross "have been singled out particularly for police attention," and describes the fates of Pinielli in Italy and Rauch in Germany – but what about the inclusion of Stuart Christie in the Angry Brigade Affair?

The entry on *Cudlton's Cosmopolitan Review* is absurdly incomplete. In the entry on *Freedom* there is a reference to the "Socialist Worker's Federation" which is obviously meant to be the Syndicalist Workers Federation – hence the cross reference from the SWF to *Fr. edn.* The entry on *Heatwave* mentions only Chris Gray and not Charles Radcliffe. There is an entry on "Situationalism" rather than Situationism, and indeed Widgery seems to be very unsure about both the terminology and the ideology of the movement.

The entry on Solidarity calls its basic statement "What We Stand For" rather than *As We See It* (1967), and doesn't mention the interesting supplement to it, *As We Don't See It* (1972).

The bibliography is very detailed and worth careful study – something which was evidently missing from its preparation, at least in the

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 142

BOOK REVIEWS

actions on the nuclear disarmament movement and the history of anarchism. In the former for example, Frank Parkin's thesis *Middle Class Radicalism* (1968), which is a sociological analysis of CND, is described as follows: "Parkin's retrospective study of constituency Labour Parties is a . . . canny reconstruction of the battles the ebbed and flowed in Labour wards" – which bears no relation to the content of the book. L.J. McFarlane's *Political Quarterly* article "Disobedience and the Bomb" (1966) is called an "interesting academic survey" – which misses its ignorance and inaccuracy. Peggy Duff's autobiography *Left, Left, Left* (1971) is described as "lively reading, although portraying herself as more revolutionary in intention than she was in reality" – which misses the deadness and dishonesty of the book. For some reason Widgery still uses it as a reliable source – as he also does with such fantasies as Brian Behan's *With Bread Expanded* (1964) and Jeff Nutall's *Bomb Culture* (1968).

Bertrand Russell's memorandum of Ralph Schoeman is credited only to *Black Dwarf*, where it was indeed first published in 1970, rather than the *New Statesman*, where it reached far more readers, or Ronald Clark's book *The Life of Bertrand Russell* (1975), where it is most easily read now. The special report in *Anarchy* 29 called "The Spies for Peace Story" was published separately as a pamphlet called *Resistance Shall Grow* (1963) and did not include "an insi-je's account of the Spies of Peace Action," that appeared three years later as a pamphlet called *The Spies For Peace. Their Story Told At Last* (1966). My NLR article "Damned Fools in Utopia" (1962) did not represent "the Committee of 100 at its most melodramatic."

Widgery should read *Peace News* from 1960 to 1962. There is a ludicrous claim that "the mood of Aldermaston is best conveyed in David Mercer's TV trilogy *The Generations . . . and Mike Horovitz's pioneering poetry magazine *New Departure*!" – Widgery should read *Peace News* and *Sanity* for Easter 1959-1967.*

As for literature on anarchism, Widgery includes among "accounts by participants in the post-war anarchist movement" George Woodcock's study of Herbert Read, which is fair enough – except that he calls it *The Source and the Stream* rather than *Herbert Read. The Stream and the Source* (1972). He then includes in the same category Ethel Mannin's novel *Comrade O'Comrade* (1947), which he calls a "fictitious account of the 1945 split in the AFB" – when it is in fact a critical account of the British left nearly ten years earlier, at the beginning of the Spanish Civil War. And he even includes in the same category Marie Louise Berneri's *Journey Through Utopia* (1950) – when it has nothing to do with the anarchist movement but is a survey of literary utopias up to Aldous Huxley's *Brave New World* (1932)!

Jeremy Westall's article "What's Wrong With Freedom?" (*new Anarchy* 12) is described as "a cheerful personal reminiscence of eminent anarchist" – when it is one of the most miserable articles ever printed in the anarchist press. Martin Rowe's article "Working for the (Underground) Man" is

credited to *Open Secret* 2 (1970) when it actually appeared in *Inside Story* 2 (1972).

There are plenty of other peculiarities in the bibliography. The survey of the literature on the French "events" of 1968 gives as the only anarchist item the Cohn-Bendit's book *Obsolete Communism: The Left Wing Alternative*. The only mention of literature on the housing movement is a reference to two issues of *Anarchy* (23 and 83 – but not 97 or 102), so the several items on the struggle of tenants, homeless people and squatters during the 1960s which are scattered through the book are never put into a proper context; quite apart from coverage in *Anarchy and Freedom*, there has been significant material in *Solidarity* and other libertarian papers, and the libertarian contribution is essential to any understanding of this phenomenon. So, in one way and another, *The Left in Britain* is a mess. But the good things about the book are that it exists at all and that there is so much of it. In the absence of any other reasonably comprehensive account of modern leftism in this country, Widgery's huge collection of first-hand material must welcome, even if it argues somewhat as much as agreement. It is easy to say the job should have been done better; the important thing to say is that it has been done at all – and that it managed to escape the severe cuts in Penguin's publishing programme, though only at the cost of a long delay which made the book out of date even before it appeared and of a high price which puts it out of reach of most normal readers.

Thus Widgery's commentaries may be eccentric and unreliable, but they are also interesting and entertaining. The items reprinted in the various sections may be oddly chosen and badly presented, but they are often worth re-reading and hard to get hold of. For example, it is good to have Alex Comfort's speech at the CND inaugural meeting (even if it is dated three years early), Christopher Pallis's account of the First Aldermaston March (even if he is still disguised under an old pseudonym), the Committee of 100 leaflet distributed inside Russia (even if there is nothing about what happened), the description of the King Hill demonstration during the Earth Day (even if the King Hill struggle is not explained), Tony Mahoney's account of the Arbour Square squat (even if the beginnings of the squatting movement are not described), and so on. The final judgment must be that the book should be read if you can get hold of it, but that it should be shaken well before use.

(*Freedom*) Nicolas Walter
ANTICS
Teleforo Tajeuel: El M.I.L., Puig Antich y Ior G.A.R.I. (Ruedo Ibérico, Paris 1977, 141pp)
What we have here is no essay in bandwagon-jumping. Far from it. This is a serious study (compiled as a university thesis and duly approved as such) written in a readable style and with a clear-cut ideological outlook.

Disheartened and disenchanted by the time spent in militancy in either trotskyst-maoist type groups, or in a trade union group under the thumb of the C.P., an assortment of

militants came together on a common platform of workers' autonomy.

They came from three sources: a group abroad, another workers' group, and finally a theoretical group. After having promoted the important G.O.A. (Grupos Obreros Autonomos – Autonomous Workers' Groups) in Barcelona province, the comrades of what was to become the M.I.L. were among those who participated in the famous Harry Walker affair.

Between 17 December 1970 and 15 February 1971, the 470 employees of the Solex multinational mounted a strike – which they lost. The strike was exemplary: there was a united committee answerable to free workers' assemblies, a rejection of political manipulation, and a public denunciation of the chicanery of the C.P. and of a trotskyst group.

The members of the future M.I.L. were impressed by such a *matut* approach. With wishful thinking (they believed) that the Spanish proletariat had matured enough to move on to the next stage, and organise itself in genuine workers' councils . . ."

(p.26) At the same time, working on the basis of an analysis by a Marxist of the Bordighist school, they imagined the world crisis to be on the verge of breaking out. (p.45).

The M.I.L. (sometimes as the *Movimiento Ibérico de Liberación* – Iberian Liberation Movement, and others as the *Movimiento Internacional Libertario* – International Libertarian Movement) made itself known in two ways. Expropriation of fun's and robberies (the author sees overtones of Leninist tactics in this (pp.42-43), but in our opinion they are rather more in the tradition of Durruti and his comrades, or Sabate and Faciàs). Simultaneously it launched the underground publishers "May 1937", taking as its symbol the events in May 1937 when the workers from the collectives, the rank and file of anarcho-syndicats, fought back victoriously against the bourgeois-Stalinist reaction. Under their imprint appeared material like Clíçia's *Lenin y la revolución rusa* (Lenin and the Russian Revolution), Berneri's *Entre la revolución y las trincheras* (Twixt the Revolution and the Trenches), Balazs's *What Will Follow Capitalism?* and Pannekoek's *Workers' Councils in Germany*.

In a prologue to Berner's book, the M.I.L. states that "If the revolution is to be guaranteed it is not enough for the workers to be armed, and the bourgeoisie expropriated. It is necessary for the capitalist State to be destroyed, root and branch, and for the masses to organise a system of their own. They must be able to combat the ideas put forward by Stalinist and reformist leaders every as steadfastly as they assail capitalist personages and the leaders of the bourgeois parties." (p.47). Responsibility for hold-ups was claimed in leaflets calling for libertarian communism and workers' councils.

What's more, in its first and only congress held in August 1973, the M.I.L. decided to dissolve itself, to renounce all ideology and devote itself to the practice of revolution. This, as shown in an appendix on it, was also the course followed by the First of May Group.

However the climate of isolation and the

tightening-up of the repression led to the deaths of a number of activists. This was followed by a number of harsh sentences, especially the death sentence pronounced against Puig Antich, to be carried out by the *garrot vil*. (In Spain – as in the Middle Ages – execution takes two forms. Death by shooting, as a mark of "respect," like with the communist Julian Grimau in 1963 – and the garroting or death by slow strangulation for malefactors, like the anarchist Granados and Delgado, also in 1963).

The M.I.L.L. itself looked for no special solidarity and sought no quarter. Intensification of the struggle to destroy the system that spawns repression is the best way of showing the solidarity of revolutionaries with prisoners.¹⁰

In any event, a solidarity committee was formed in Barcelona only after a defence committee had been set up – and with difficulty for even a number of French and Spanish anarchists refused to show any solidarity with "gangsters" – in France. When the sentence¹¹ – death was made public on 1 March 1974, the best all the political groups (ranging from the Catalans through to the C.P. and the Maoists and Trotskyists) could come up with was a proposal that a demonstration be held in the cemetery.

On 2 March 1974 when Puig Antich was executed, there were demonstrations and strikes in Barcelona's biggest factories and示威 throughout Spain as a whole. But, yet again, political groups were to display their opportunism by referring to Puig Antich as an "anti-fascist" hero, while the M.I.L.L. and Puig Antich had always been clear that they were "anti-capitalist."

The latter part of the book describes the creation of the G.A.R.I. (*Grupo de Acción Revolucionaria Internacional* – International Revolutionary Action Group) as active solidarity (through bombings) with revolutionary activists.

For the first time ever in France such national institutions as the catholic shrine of Lourdes and the *Tou de la France* tree were denounced as "base, commercial" things and became targets for bombers.

The group's most spectacular success was the abduction of the director of the Bank of Bilbao, intended to influence another judgment of M.I.L.L. members, since almost all of the ransom money is still in the kidnapper's hands, even though four co-traitors are still being held.

This sober and illuminating book – which supplies a lot of documents and leaves the reader free to reach his or her own conclusions – closes with a brief but interesting bibliography.

Frank Mintz,

PARTISANS

Partisans of Freedom, William O. Reichert, Bowlin Green Popular Press, Bowlin Green, Ohio 1976, \$25.00, 590pp.

Reichert's book is the first attempt at a comprehensive history of American anarchism. Unlike earlier histories, Reichert tries to cover both individualistic and communist anarchism,

and both native and immigrant anarchist. Unfortunately, it is not done very well. One can understand why it does not really cover the past twenty or thirty years; but it is much more difficult to fathom the conscious decision not to explore the earliest days.

The undertaking itself is an ambitious one and Reichert devotes nearly six hundred pages to the effort. His biggest problem rests in organisation. The book virtually ignores the first two centuries of Europeanised America, arbitrarily beginning around 1830 with only token bows to a few earlier figures such as Tom Paine. Reichert is aware of Eunice Schuster's excellent *Native American Anarchism* (the mentions it on page viii) but apparently makes no use of her research and neglects to include her pioneering work in his self-titled bibliography. Consequently, not only are striking figures such as Anne Hutchinson and Roger Williams absent from this history of American anarchism, but Reichert is sadly weak in his grasp of the crucial importance of religious motivation to American anarchism. When placed beside Schuster's work or Lewis Perry's very stimulating studies of the anti-slavery movement¹² a religious informed anarchism, Reichert's book pales by comparison.

This lack of grounding and depth is further complicated by the occasional absence of even a simple sense of chronology. To be sure, we move from one personality to the next in roughly chronological sequence, although the section of Yiddish and German immigrant anarchism comes under "Anarchism in the Twentieth Century." Worse, there is no real sense of development or decline and no substantive analysis as to why such ebbs and flows might occur. Even such common and obligatory notions as the "frontier thesis" are lacking.

The focus is on personalities. Reichert does hover close to being ready to say a lot of interesting things, particularly about the similarities of both individualistic and communist anarchism and the shared ground of both the exclusively pacifist anarchist and the one who would not rule out violence. His statement (on page 2) that "the question of the deliberate employment of violence and revolutionary force is not a meaningful categorical definition (sic) and will not be used to choose between the various anarchist groups in this study" promises a fresh view, although the matter is never dealt with in sufficient depth. Likewise, he comes close to some insights as to the relationship between liberalism and anarchism but again he never probes deeply enough to hold and challenge the reader. He too quickly hops off to yet another character sketch. The issues are slighted for these personality sketches and then the failure to even place some in some analytic context gives the work a more scattered atmosphere that it can withstand. One gets the impression that, despite its length, the book was bundled off to an impatient publisher from a first draft.

This impression is strengthened by the horrendous proof reading (if any). There are literally scores of grammatical errors, with

an apparently idiosyncratic use of the comma in at least the first portion of the book, and dozens of mis-spellings of proper names and other words. Thus, Joseph Labadie is about 60% of the time spelled as Labadie, Hannah Arendt loses the last letter of her first name, Captain Michael Schack becomes (usually) Schack, David Thoreau Wicks is sometimes Weick, Winstanley is misspelled somewhere (I couldn't find him in the index when I wanted to go back and remind myself of the exact way it was rendered). We also encounter "Louie Bundenz" and "Murray Rothard," and find something somewhere of "purient" interest.

More seriously, Reichert gratuitously repeats the odd suggestion of the unreliable Max Nomad that Alexander Berkman was killed by his companion Emmy Eckstein, a point which is not even suggested by any shred of abundant evidence and which other more serious scholars such as Richard Drinnon, whose work just barely acknowledged, let alone contempt (I will guess). I'm also curious as to where Reichert got the idea that Rudolph Schnaubelt was an *agent provocateur*. And is it really true that Voltaire DeClyre was Dyer D. Lum's niece?

All of this is not to say that the book doesn't have some merits. Reichert has a good feel for anarchistism, and this shines through now and again when he adds his own comments. He tends on occasion to lack a sharp sense of discrimination, though, and seems to be trying to find traces of anarchism in practically everyone – which could be a valid argument if developed properly but which here just seems too ebullient an approach. Reichert appears to be trying to lay claim to too many famous figures as at least partial anarchists; he also has a tendency to rather gushingly describe too many of these people as "one of the greatest of all the American anarchists." That very phrase, it seems to me, cropped up about ten or eleven times. One last criticism: his style too often leaves one feeling that he is a little too tentative and uncertain in his judgments. There are at least a dozen times when he evaluates someone with what I can "if . . . then" conclusion (e.g., "If Goodman filled a special niche in the hall of fame of the Resistance that sprang up in America during the Vietnam War, it was for the kind of clear libertarian thought . . .")

If this review seems excessively critical, it is probably because I expected so much from another review I had read and then a glance at the table of contents. I read through the whole book with the feeling that something was missing: having to plod through because there was no thread holding it all together, keeping it moving. And after I finished, I felt left down and a little angry that this opportunity had been muffed by someone who had obviously done most of the necessary research and had a publisher behind him. The \$25.00 price is one last reason I can't really recommend this book, it's not good history, and it lacks even entertainment or readability as redeeming features.

Bill Nowlin.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 144

BOOK REVIEWS

treachery another.

Aspirations

"In reality, the ideal of anarchism, far from democracy to aristocracy universalised to its logical end, is much nearer to aristocracy than to the masses. It is a highly purified" (Prologue, p.30). "I have brought the history of anarchism to an end in the year 1939. The date is chosen deliberately; it marks the real death in Spain of the anarchist movement which Bakunin founded two generations before." And: "How right they were (the reformists) – and how wrong the anarchists – in purely material terms, has been shown by the radical change in character of modern capitalism, which has led to a remarkable broadening in the standard of living and the scope of leisure in the Western world, and also to the appearance of the welfare state with its insidious dulling of the edge of resentment." (Epilogue pp.443, 447).

A point mentioned in the book which is worthy of discussion, is whether or not economic freedom is essential for political freedom, since both are possibly interdependent or even the same thing.

"But freedom is not pure anarchy. We are

not free if we are dropped in the middle of walls

and bars on the non-existent windows."

In such a place you would become a slave of anyone who could supply you with water, and a free man as soon as you could acquire your own.

The author tends to equate political and economic control by ignoring the "political" side of politics. He says that government and the state, in anything like their present form, will play no part in his perfect society, but which here just seems too ebullient an approach. Reichert appears to be trying to lay claim to too many famous figures as at least partial anarchists; he also has a tendency to rather gushingly describe too many of these people as "one of the greatest of all the American anarchists."

That very phrase, it seems to me, cropped up about ten or eleven times. One last criticism: his style too often leaves one feeling that he is a little too tentative and uncertain in his judgments. There are at least a dozen times when he evaluates someone with what I can "if . . . then" conclusion (e.g., "If Goodman filled a special niche in the hall of fame of the Resistance that sprang up in America during the Vietnam War, it was for the kind of clear libertarian thought . . .")

However, that last note apart, this is a very convincing and important book to anarchists, and should be available in all libraries. The threat that Science poses to freedom must be recognised and the gauntlet picked up by all those who desire freedom.

"There is only one solution that I can see.

It is to remove the control of science and technology from those who alone can finance its development and to vest its control in the people."

Paul R. Buckland.

Anarchism, George Woodcock, Penguin, 497pp, £1.25.

Being in possession of the first United States edition of this book, from 1962, we can easily see just how faithful the author has been to his original text, notes, bibliography and index, adding only a post script of 11½ pages in 1973. We shall go on to comment on this great innovation shortly. But first let us have a look at the oh-so-formidable text that has required no amendment since 1962.

One possible explanation for the author's intellectual stagnation may be found in Woodcock's political transformation from the anarchist of the 40s to today's mandarin in Canada. Now, change is one thing.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 145

do the many battles in favour of Sacco and Vanzetti and their significance in the context of the United States' democratic fascism, deserve a mention.

The postscript from July 1973 is like the book, and although, after the book was first published, anarchism was, as far as Woodcock was concerned, nearly dead, it "has emerged again, rejuvenated." He says he foresaw this possibility in his 1962 book, but in fact, he is surely confusing that with his anarchist book of 1944. For Woodcock, the present situation is due to "a scholarly interest" (p.456) and to a "growing political faith among young people and especially among intellectuals and students." (p.457). So, "the new libertarianism is essentially a revolt – not of the underprivileged – but of the privileged who have seen the futility of affluence as a goal." (p.462) and Woodcock tells us that where anarchism is firmly rooted in the people is in India with the movements of Vinoba Bhave and Jayaprakash Narayan. An odd way of looking at things!

Autonomous Struggles

First, scholarly interest, not only in anarchism movement, dates back to the end of the nineteenth century, and the reason is readily understandable: *it is the duty of the university to supply the State with the cultural and philosophical justification for smashing or corrupting anti-exploitation theories*. In Italy, Lombroso discovered that all anarchists have a congenital, wicked tendency towards crime; in France, Victor Basch saw them as religious persons without a god. Lenin takes more or less the same line when he – and with him, all authoritarian marxists – makes a distinction between the lumpen, scum anarchists and the wise, intelligent anarchists, who are unconscious marxists.

Second, to reduce the new libertarianism to the student or intellectual world is stupid. Hungary in 1956, Czechoslovakia in 1968, France that same year, and China in April 1976 (see the paper *Minus 7*) are clear indications that all workers – whether their work be physical, manual or intellectual – feel fed up with hierarchy, and the permanence of the same rulers. If anarchism were only a fad, a moral posture for intellectuals, why millions of people pursuing its goals? To take a clear-cut example – I am not familiar with the situation in India, but I cannot see anarchism where Woodcock locates it – the autonomous struggles in Italy, the rebirth of the CNT in Spain, the numerous groups in many countries, and, above all, the great wave of anti-dogmatism, opposition to caste and decision-making from above, that is rising in Eastern Europe and China, and on a lesser scale in Western Europe, are proving that the Woodcock of 1944 was right.

Omision of Sources

It is time now, for us to point out that the quotations in favour of anarchism, come from *Anarchy or Chaos* (Freedom Press, 1944, 124pp) by . . . George Woodcock, at that time an anarchist. Woodcock's evolving along the lines of a growing adaptation to a society which he once believed was corrupt certainly goes a long way to explain his aggressive attitude to anarchism.

Declaring in favour of unconditional pacifism, Woodcock doubts the anarchist terrorists "criminals," which shows up the absence of a serious approach in his investigation generally; though what he owes to Max Nettlau (the anarchist historian) may be greater than his words indicate on account of the systematic omission of sources.

This blinkered pacifism leads Woodcock

to ignore the Italian theoretician Galleani, the Argentine movement as a whole, the social struggles in the United States (the struggles at the turn of the century are utterly ignored) and the roles of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman appear inconsequential. Nor

Frank Mintz.

0.

odd

w.

A VERY CROOKED ROAD

The Italian Road to Socialism (An interview by Eric Hobsbawm with Giorgio Napolitano of the Italian Communist Party), Journeyman Press, London 1977, £12.95.

We must begin by pointing out the brazen superficiality of the English publishers in their choice of title, for the Italian edition is entitled *Conversations on the C.P. of Italy* – a rather less general subject.

One would have been satisfied to read a genuine dialogue with a certain aggressiveness in the questioning so as to assess the strength of the reply. Instead, here we have a discussion between militants of the same ideological faith: "We have not talked very much about Marx because, as you are aware, we are Marxists" (p.93). And, what is more serious, we are really witnessing a mutual masturbation session (intellectually, of course) each an admirer of the other, content with simplistic, hollow questioning: when Hobsbawm seemingly teases with a question as to whether the Italian C.P. is mutating into social-democracy (p.28), or if all it wanted was a Swedish-style regime (p.48), or if Leninism is not at issue (p.98), the responses, which add nothing to our knowledge, are very curt (29 lines on page 1 and page 3).

Doubts

Those few interesting points that do slip out bring no comment from Hobsbawm: when Napolitano concedes that he and young intellectuals of his generation regarded Togliatti with "idolatry," and that "total identification with the socialist world (...) drove us to some mistaken attitudes" (p.22), one is taken aback that there is no allusion to the rigged trials against the Jewish doctors in the USSR, various groups of London's "British spies" in Hungary, Bulgaria, etc. How can one make the leap from blind, utter sectarianism to serious criticism without personal or collective trauma? How can one fail to call into question an organisational structure which still claims, as it did before, to be democratic and flexible ... from the top down!!!

As if it were a small matter, there is no rational – or Marxist – criterion for a critique of the USSR at first sight: it's just a matter of each C.P. being autonomous which the USSR would deny (p.31), but at the same time Napolitano says that "the analysis made at that time (1956) of the phenomenon of Stalinism or the Stalinist period is highly debatable" (p.86), and as we know that the average age of a member of the Russian central committee is about 65 and the present leadership were Stalinists we might have our doubts here, too, and wonder if the whole system is not rotten.

But Napolitano-Hobsbawm passes over this pernicious nonsense. According to them it is absurd to regard "the Soviet reality as a police state." "Nor can we accept that the international role of the Soviet Union in the struggle against imperialism and for peace be ignored or denied." (p.87)

Disquieting

Why, with the Yugoslav communist State before their very noses, did it take the Italian communists until the 20th Congress in 1956 to recognise the obvious? Taken together with Italian communists' non-comprehension of the *Il Manifesto* group and the extraparliamentary left, one can foresee the same old sectarianism as before.

To top it off, there is a disquieting misrepresentation of certain elements in Italian politics: no mention of Gramsci's sectarianism, nor of Togliatti's past as a gunman (he was beyond a shadow of a doubt behind the murder of the Italian anarchist C. Berneri in Barcelona in 1937), let alone the period of "the hand of friendship" between 1944 and 1947 which amounted to leaving some of the anarchist political prisoners Mussolini had already detained in their cells. Eurocommunism will be a step in the right direction, but what a lot of it contains!

Frank Mintz.

Miklos Haraszti: *A Worker in a Workers' State* (Piece-rates in Hungary), Penguin, London 1977, 175pp.

The author is a Hungarian sociologist – an intellectual owing to his education to the regime – who began working in a mill shop and, for our benefit, recreates his impressions and the working atmosphere. Any worker could come up with a better summary, but I can stress a few points.

The workers are on piece-work, but the setters and the foremen do their utmost to hold up work and under-assess it. They are the bosses' accomplices (p.31). Pay is assessed according to a norm that maintains the exploitation. "They fix a norm, but take good care that I am forced to surpass it by making sure that even one hundred per cent performance is not enough to live on." (p.40).

The atmosphere is tense and nervous stress manifests itself in the destruction of a machine (p.51), but the overseers usually take on an indulgent view, no doubt because the workers are tightly controlled through meetings for discussion of the Plan and the functioning of the factory. That is the plural form "we" for the workers. "Indeed," as if the workers were in control or were the bosses, and "we" want is the keynote of propaganda ... (pp.72, 73).

A demand that salary scale be shortened is seen as wrong-headed and they fight "against vulgar egalitarianism" (p.91). There's no interest in unions, (p.94). And demands are pointless for the labour code anticipates everything and the workers is overruled, or else it is couched in such terms that our author, the worker-sociologist, cannot make head nor tail of it (pp.95-96). And the finishing touch: "any hope of solidarity is excluded by the simple, daily experience that white-collar workers do lighter work and accomplish less." (p.76). Sure, the cost of living does go up and wages stagnate (p.59), but the workers are restricted to it and go on devoting themselves to football, beer, motorcycles, the house and the TV" (p.65).

The tiny Spanish group, who had tried to infiltrate the POUM and whom the notorious Felix Morrow held up as the epitome of Bolshevik Leninism, had a bitter pill to swallow when it found itself not only entirely taken over by the G.P.U., but asked to collaborate with Franco in the liquidation of the workers' movement with its know-how as well as know-how. Little wonder that this group, which had all been sincere (State)

BOOK REVIEWS

them out, but also to create them." (p.143).

This book was written in Hungary for publication there – and the editor of a sociological review agreed to the publication – but the author was prosecuted for "incitement to subversion." Haraszti answered: "My aim was to produce a constructive critique. I described the situation in the shop faithfully, without making generalisations from it to the industry or the country as a whole. Certainly I criticised piece-work, but it is not a fundamental socialist institution. It is not a socialist institution at all; it is a capitalist institution." (p.161,162). That was in 1973; it seems that the author was some months in jail and had to pay a big fine. Now, at the end of 1977, he is being expelled from his homeland by the authorities.

So the title of the book is an obvious attempt to make it palatable to capitalism, irrespective of Bool's foreword (the author is "as unwelcome on our side as on theirs") and the translator's note about a legal edition of this book in the Eastern bloc. Why didn't they keep the title "Piece-work" adding "in Hungary and many other places"? But it's worth reading all the same.

Frank Mintz.

The G.P.U. in the Trotskyist Movement, Georges Vereeken, New Park, £3.00.

Most of the Trotskyite groupings are making a great fuss about the "Healeyes" revealing that the Fourth International was riddled with Stalinist agents and that these agents kid Trotsky himself. It shows, great intellectual courage for a Trotskyist to make these revelations, for the Fourth International was Trotsky's own creation, and while it may be well inter-factional jealousy that causes one section of the Trotskyist movement to expose its antecedents, it doesn't in fact expose the whole spurious nature of Trotskyism as a political tendency.

Georges Vereeken gives an account in this book of the work of the G.P.U. inside the European Trotskyist movement, and in particular how its small Spanish section was involved in the murder of Leon Trotsky in Mexico in 1940. The facts as presented by Vereeken are as remorseless as the logic which he tries to evade. It suited Stalin to let Trotsky go; and he left Russia in the style of a great prince after years as part of the bureaucratic leadership under Stalin after the death of Lenin. He needed him abysmally as a symbol of opposition to assist in the building of a legend of a beleaguered Soviet Union. Stalin needed the identification of the opposition Bolsheviks, in order to smash them, as they would undermine the real revolutionary opposition yet could be relied on ultimately to capitulate. When Stalin chose the Hitler alliance, Trotsky became superfluous and had to be destroyed.

The tiny Spanish group, who had tried to infiltrate the POUM and whom the notorious Felix Morrow held up as the epitome of Bolshevik Leninism, had a bitter pill to swallow when it found itself not only entirely taken over by the G.P.U., but asked to collaborate with Franco in the liquidation of the workers' movement with its know-how as well as know-how. Little wonder that this group, which had all been sincere (State)

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 146

BOOK REVIEWS

communists of one variety or another, opted for the less personal treason of the assassination of their leader.

This is not brought out by Vereeken who goes at showing the relation of the Fourth International with Nazi agents – yet G.P.U. agents, whose penetration he admits, were working together with the Nazis in 1940. But it is a painstaking account of the decade of State Communism and the Trotskyist movement in particular.

It must have been a bitter ironic last thought of Trotsky that he was struck down by the party he created. Trotsky only thought in terms of intrigue and conspiracy for all his public utterances about working class organisation: like the cuckoo that lays eggs in other birds' nests, he could only envisage the seizure of power at its sources; that he was assassinated by his own supporters was entirely appropriate. That is not meant sarcastically. To the end the Fourth International has remained "Trotky's supporters" and even those like Marc Zborowski who became directly Moscow agents, never refuted Trotsky's theories or denied his mentality. Few could understand this mentality but other Trotskyists; they did not cease to call Hosanna even when they were crucifying their Master.

I. Spick.

Santiago Carrillo: *Eurocommunism and the State*, London, Lawrence and Wishart, 1977, 172pp, £2.75.

Fernando Claudin: *L'Eurocommunisme*, Paris, Maspero, 1977, 151 pp.

Since both of these books were published at the same time neither author takes any account of the other. And, without a shadow of a doubt, a more readable and serious of the two is the study by Claudin. Carrillo's book is, frankly, poor.

Claudin is a veteran of the Spanish Communist Party – his association with it dates back to the civil war – and in 1964 he was expelled from the central committee and the party on account of his advocacy of a policy, part of which (only part) Carrillo advocates today.

The opening chapter, entitled "Capitalist crisis and socialist alternative" is a short one, emphasising the importance (but not the inevitability) of the current crisis, and especially the role of the C.P., whether in Italy, France or Spain in that it might provide a novel and different solution which would be a hopeful sign for the world, East as well as West.

The chapter that follows it, "Eurocommunism and Moscow" is likewise a short one. But the author is bolder in his statements: "Those who see in Eurocommunism only a new tactical exercise, a front hiding the continuing manipulation by Moscow, are mistaken." (p.31) I personally was not convinced by the arguments Claudin goes on to bolster his statement with. What is beyond dispute is that as far as Claudin is concerned, "the concept of dictatorship of the proletariat loses what democratic implications it had in Marx, to be transformed into a formula, a mystification for the dictatorship of the new class over the proletariat."

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 147

BOOK REVIEWS

In the Stalin tradition

In contrast to Claudin's position, which refuses to see socialism in the Eastern bloc, one notes that Eurocommunism – although critical – never questions the claim that in the East the workers have been liberated¹ from capitalism and exploitation. And Claudin's historical instance is persuasive: there was not a murmur of criticism, in the Stalinist period, when Krushchev sent in the army to crush the rebellion by the Hungarian workers in 1956. The first sign of criticism came in 1961 from the Italian C.P., a criticism that was to take on a more explicit form in 1964 with Togliatti's political testament on centrism as opposed to Trotskyism.

What is more, not in France in 1968, nor in Italy in 1969, nor today have the Italian and French and Spanish C.P.s amended the blinkered intolerance, sectarianism and slander (in the Stalinist tradition) deployed against anarchists or the leftist opposition.

On the other hand, one notes how the three parties came to adopt stands more and more opposed to the USSR and the Eastern bloc on well-defined and specific issues: the intervention in Czechoslovakia in 1968, the expulsion of dissident intellectuals and the abuse of psychiatry. So Claudin points out that the three parties "allege on the one hand that socialism is inseparable from freedom and democracy; and on the other, they persist in referring to the regimes of the Eastern bloc as 'socialists'."

"The coercive apparatuses of the State" asserts that world war is not a possibility, so "how can the State apparatuses be transformed democratically?" ... In this respect, May 1968 in France was an interesting experience. At the outset, the forces of public order operated with brutality; but in the course of the struggle, these forces resisted their being used by authority as a repressive instrument against the people. A series of standstills was taken in the professional police unions which protested against being used by the authorities and showed a wish not to confront the people. Some moments of wavering also occurred within the army." (p.52). Not only is all this cant sheer lies, but today the situation is even worse: there are more trigger-happy policemen, and when they do protest, it is not about being involved in political acts – such as breaking up demonstrations – but rather about not getting enough money from the Ministry of the Interior.

This is proof of Claudin's blinkered inability to respond normally to reality. But all the other chapters are every bit as silly, or more so. On the army (pp.57-76) Carrillo avoids mentioning the fact that the arms industry is the mainstay of modern nations' exports and influence, Spain included. So even if discipline today is more sophisticated it is still discipline from above, and a sector of industry is, in the event of unrest, indirectly placed under the jurisdiction of the military. And why not mention all the laws that give the army the power to intervene against strikers?

Crude Defence

Having drawn a distinction (less clearly than Claudin) between the socialists' countries and social democracy Carrillo pronounces: "The only thing which should be banished from a society which is profoundly democratic, is terrorism and physical violence as an instrument of political action, and the use of libel and slander against individuals or groups." (pp. 98-99). But the problem is that Carrillo does not apply this sentence to his own case (see what he has to say about May 1968, self-management in Spain in 1936, and May 1937

author's definition of himself raises a small problem, because since 1936 at least, Carrillo (who was born in 1916) has been a political leader appointed, paid, fed, housed, washed and so on, by an organisation. So, going by Carrillo's 40-plus years as a mandarin of the Spanish C.P., the reader has a right to expect a good knowledge of politics and of analysis.

Banalities

If the first part, "The State versus Society," is brief and short and contains no surprises, the second is very interesting: it is entitled "The ideological apparatuses of the State." What will Carrillo, this top militant with his experience of Moscow and the underground struggle have to say?

There follows a series of topics, generalities, and banalities on religion, education and the family, the law, and the media. Even at the level of any college or school magazine, or boycout meeting, problems like the value of work, hierarchy, control from below, relations between the sexes, sex-pairing, are discussed and raised, but they seem to have escaped the notice of Carrillo.

"The coercive apparatuses of the State" asserts that world war is not a possibility, so "how can the State apparatuses be transformed democratically?" ... In this respect, May 1968 in France was an interesting experience. At the outset, the forces of public order operated with brutality; but in the course of the struggle, these forces resisted their being used by authority as a repressive instrument against the people. A series of standstills was taken in the professional police unions which protested against being used by the authorities and showed a wish not to confront the people. Some moments of wavering also occurred within the army." (p.52). Not only is all this cant sheer lies, but today the situation is even worse: there are more trigger-happy policemen, and when they do protest, it is not about being involved in political acts – such as breaking up demonstrations – but rather about not getting enough money from the Ministry of the Interior.

This is proof of Claudin's blinkered inability to respond normally to reality. But all the other chapters are every bit as silly, or more so. On the army (pp.57-76) Carrillo avoids mentioning the fact that the arms industry is the mainstay of modern nations' exports and influence, Spain included. So even if discipline today is more sophisticated it is still discipline from above, and a sector of industry is, in the event of unrest, indirectly placed under the jurisdiction of the military. And why not mention all the laws that give the army the power to intervene against strikers?

Todd

Although Claudin criticises social-democracy which rests upon some statements by Engels in 1895 (introduction to *The Class Struggles in France* concerning the fate of violent revolutions and the need for a parliamentary struggle under capitalism, he himself takes a very similar line. Of course, as far as he is concerned, the essential difference is this: the communist party must abandon its claim to be the guiding light of the working class and the sole representative of marxism. Only then, says Claudin, will a democratic socialist road be a possibility.

10.

The French C.P.'s recent policy of retreat from its alliance with the socialist party partly defeats Claudin's hopes: for, with the legislative elections so near at hand, with a possibility of success, who but Moscow could derive benefit from the defeat of the left and the maintenance of the "status quo" in France?

Carrillo who refers to himself as a "Marxist political worker" (p.41) sets out an analysis of advanced capitalist society and the role of the State, as well as the prospects for socialists, all of course, seen from a Marxist angle. The

10.

Todd

BOOK REVIEWS

Poland: 1970 - 71, Capitalism and class struggle,
Informations Correspondence Ouvrière,
Black and Red, Detroit, 117 pp. £1.00.

This slim paperback is one of the most important books published during 1977. It attempts to provide a detailed analysis, from a libertarian perspective, of the spontaneous insurrection in Poland during the winter of 1970-71, when following massive price increases announced by the government only a few days before Christmas, workers in most large cities went on strike. Party and government offices were fire-bombed, there was hand-to-hand fighting in the streets, and for several days Poland hesitated on the brink of total revolution, until finally the state regained control.

Poland 1970-71 traces the development of that struggle, vividly reconstructing the events from contemporary eye-witness accounts, and examining the way in which workers attempted to establish councils on the shop floor. The strengths, weaknesses and composition of the workers' councils are described, along with the power struggles that took place within the occupied factories and the councils themselves. Aspects of the councils that were strengths at the start of the strike, often became liabilities later, as the new political regime attempted to quell the movement by "integrating themselves into it and by granting it some kind of supervised authority."

Details of ambiguity in the nature of organisations thrown up in struggle, and in the demands made by the workers provide a useful note of caution. The Central Workers' Committee, for example, quickly became simultaneously "an organ of struggle set up and propelled by actions of the rank and file as well as an organism for controlling the struggle . . .". State Socialist countries lack many of the mediating mechanisms that exist to contain dissent in the capitalist world, and as a result even small disputes have the potential to flare-up suddenly. Because they lack "suitable channels" the authorities tend to utilise the forms of organisation created by the workers, to contain revolt.

In spite of their many shortcomings the workers' councils represented such a powerful revolutionary movement that the power of the state was temporarily neutralised. Within a few days the situation was dramatically polarised. The party, and its armed police force controlled the political apparatus, its buildings and the streets. The workers controlled the productive plants, but although they were inside occupied factories they were not working, they had formed workers' committees, but these did not grow into new organs of self-management. Instead they only made demands, and sought to be recognised as representative organs, as negotiators with the rulers, and as a result they restored the very power which their existence as class organisations fundamentally opposed:

The paralysis of the state – the political power of the government and party challenged by the social power of organised workers – lasted for several weeks. The longer it lasted the more likely the authorities were to fall victim to dissension within their own ranks. Numerous concessions were made – price

rises withdrawn, pay increases doled out, the establishment of token "councils" by the state – all made with the one intention of getting the workers to give up the strike and start production, so that once again the "normal" relationships that flow automatically from the productive processes would be re-established.

One important point that the book fails to take up is the non-intervention of the Russians. Certainly they were in close contact with Gomulka as he fought to retain power, and yet they failed to intervene even though the situation was in many respects more critical than in Czechoslovakia during 1968. One answer may be found in the consistent revolutionary tradition that has characterised Poland for the last 150 years – a people prepared to fight for their liberty are always handled more cautiously than those who are cowed by force.

Workers' Councils have long been deified on the libertarian left, and this book serves as a timely reminder of the dangers inherent in all forms of organisation. When the momentum of revolution slackens the state and capital will not shrink from using the workers' own organisations as a medium for recuperation.

The lessons of Poland are clear: once the revolution is contained in any way (not just by national boundaries as the authors state) then it fails. If we learn from the failures of others, we can also learn from their achievements, and the Polish workers have provided convincing proof that the working class is capable of spontaneous self-organisation on a massive scale, and this fact clearly refutes the need for "revolutionary vanguards" and leaders.

What happened during the insurrection of seven years ago is made more relevant by the widespread rioting that occurred under similar circumstances during the summer of 1976, but it is unfortunate that there has been such a large time lag between the events and the publication of this book. In spite of that, Black and Red deserve congratulating for nurturing the English edition, and Lorraine Perlman deserves equal praise for her fine job of translating. M.E.

FACT OR FANCY?

Letters of Insurgents, Sophia Nachalo & Yarostan Vochek, Black & Red, Detroit, 1976, 831pp, £3.00.

A postscript at the back of this book makes the claim that the letters which comprise this book, are in fact part of a real life correspondence between two people, but the length and content refute this. Not that it matters, because the purpose of the book is to examine the flowering of a revolution and the events that lead up to the end of that revolution, explaining mistakes through the words and actions of its participants.

The author(s) purpose results in a well-written book that makes a lot of extremely valid points, but the creation of the characters and the format of the book don't always work to best advantage, and sometimes the text seems to be almost nothing except propaganda for a libertarian viewpoint. That said, the book is well worth reading, and passing on...

Who Owns Scotland? John McEwan, Edinburgh University Student Publications Board, £1.50.

When the Highlands and Islands Development Board was set up to revitalise the broad and barren sweeps of Britain's most under-developed region it was invested with the power of compulsory purchase. This was an admission, if any was needed, that private capital and land ownership had failed to provide a livelihood or a future for the people of the highlands. The Board was greeted by the Lairds of the glens as an instrument of communism. Thirteen years later the board has not once used its nationalisation option, has not taken even one acre of the neglected land into public ownership.

John McEwan has 90 years on the land, born at Fortingall in Perthshire, the son of an estate worker, growing up on highland estates before beginning work as a forester. In 1947 he started work on what was to provide a crucial spur to his life's work, the Census of Woodlands. "The census was the highest condemnation of land management by private enterprise that has ever been produced. We were able to prove that 64 per cent of what was called woodland was, in fact, producing nothing. The people who owned it were quite happy if they had a gun dog."

In 1971, then in his eighties, John McEwan produced a booklet, *Acrescope of PERTHSHIRE*, which measured the land holdings by private individuals in that county. From that, and using boundary maps produced by Aberdeen University geographer Roger Millman, he went on to plot the areas, county by county, of Scotland's largest estates. His analysis, a shaming indictment not only of the knicker-bockered buffoons who own it but of successive governments who have failed to take control, or even to measure the size, of private land holdings, is the invaluable book which was published at the end of last year.

The total area of Scotland is 19,068,807 acres with about 12,000,000 of these acres divided up among 1739 estates. John McEwan enumerates them all, and gives ownership details for holdings of 5000 acres and above. Way out in front in acreage is the Duke of Buccleuch, who owns 277,000 acres, and who has described McEwan's book as a "joke" and people who adhere to the notion of public land ownership and development of the highlands as "cranks."

In an age when development agencies, of the capitalist and communist worlds, agree that the improvement of under-developed rural areas cannot be achieved as long as the ownership of the prime resource, land, is under the control of a minute section of the total population, Buccleuch is the cranky view. His interest, of course, is that the acres lie empty for the enjoyment of a rich few in the pursuit of the grouse, trout and stag.

John McEwan's book is his legacy to those who come after, to those who will take over the land, wherever it is situated, from the few for the benefit of many. Now 90, he may not live to see it, but John McEwan has provided a stimulus, not in a cry of rage (although this book is fiercely passionate), but in a dissection of the avo'ice of the sons of the Clearances, whose neglect is still driving the people from the land.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Counter Revolution in Ireland, Van der Straeten & Daufay, Black & Red, Detroit, 1974, 75cents.

So here I am sitting at home in beautiful Belfast when the 'phone goes and its my little orange anarch chum ringing from the Okneys. And straight away I know the provocative fucker is up to something. Have I got a copy of Van der Straeten & Daufay's pamphlet, he asks, knowing full well that I've better things to do with my time than to read such garbage. Anyway, how about a review of it and, if by any remote chance, you don't like it, make the review a critical assessment of the fish situation etc., etc. Now I am not conned so easily. I am pissed off with trying to explain to confused Brits about why, like it or not, as libertarians they should support the Provos. There's a fucking war going on here, but you probably wouldn't know anything about that! Anyway, back to this atrocious bit of guano, viz *The Counter Revolution in Ireland* that I have, for some obscure reason been asked to comment upon.

It's 48 pages of counter revolutionary rubbish with some ludicrous illustrations. I mean, this was first published in *Les Temps Modernes* in June 1972 and, for some idiotic reason Black and Red chose to reprint it in 1974. It purports to be a crypto Marxist interpretation of 'recent' Irish history, so why do we have illustrations which include a design for a fairytale, a carved head representing the river Bann, an 18th century Irish landscape and a picture of St. Patrick throwing a bell at demons? Don't ask me, ask our two co-authors.

And their 'theories'? Well, first of all Marx was wrong when he told Engels that "The English working class will never achieve anything until it has got rid of Ireland. The ear must be applied in Ireland. That is why the Irish question is so important for the socialist movement in general." Now this is a position widely held by all kind of English socialists and revolutionary tourists who come to visit us in sunny Belfast and, by and large, it is fairly sound. Not according to Van der Straeten and Daufay, who claim that "the Irish question lost its relevance as the epicentre of an eventual proletarian revolution which shifted from England to Germany." Consequently James Connolly and the Irish Citizen Army, perhaps one of the most significant revolutionary developments in Europe in the 20th century are "irrelevant and wrong." Connolly, we are told, wasn't a socialist! The ICA should never have existed in the nationalist struggle and quickly fell back to a nationalist position, preparing themselves for a civil war against Ulster. This last rewriting of history is so blatantly dishonest that one can almost smell the gall of these two armchair academics who, one doubts, have ever set foot in Ireland, let alone been involved in the war in the North. They go on to state categorically that "in any case the 1916 revolt cannot be included among the great struggles of the European proletariat between 1918-1923." (sic) Sinn Fein, they go on to claim "since 1922 has never represented anything more than the extremist fringe of nationalist

impotence. They have never recognised that nationalism as a social force died definitively one Easter day in 1916 in Dublin, drowned in the blood of the last battalions of the disintegrating proletariat."

They go on to make a series of predictions, as are inept as Marx himself. Try a few of these for size:— "The referendum of May 10th 1972 revealed that the IRA is nothing more than an empty facade." (It just also happens to have been by far the most effective urban guerrilla group in Europe this century. Despite massive military intervention, concentration camps, torture etc., they are as strong as ever and still based in the working class ghetto). As I write, news has just come in that the C/O of the South Armagh troops, ex SAS man Lieutenant General Ian Corden-Lloyd, a well known and hated figure, has just been shot out of the sky in his helicopter by the local IRA unit with an M60. He is now recovering in the morgue with the rest of his imperialist chum.)

Another oafcast, Billy Hill of the Loyalist Association of Workers is a most dangerous extremist and a force to be reckoned with. Bill Hill was shot and wounded by fellow Loyalists several years ago and is now a beaten docket. He is not involved in politics or parliamentary affairs. He was always a paper tiger.

Mike Farrell is denounced as a reactionary. In his place they would like to see Farnon O'Kane. This gentleman, who was thrown out of the early PD for being a "two nations once again" Stalinist wanker, is now engaged in trying to get the British Labour Party to take over and revive the moribund and reactionary N.I. Labour Party. This is understandable, for Van der Straeten and Daufay offer this as their considered solution for the Irish problem. "For the proletariat the best constitutional solution would be to simultaneously eliminate Stormont, (we already have!) the Republic, the frontier, (we call it the Border), and to replace them with a federation with English capitalism." Some revolutionaries these boys, eh?

Oh Shit! I'm bored with this. Who needs it! Give my head peace and let us get on with the revolution here without the "advice" of half baked pseudo intellectual wankers. OK?

Douglas Dornan

society which "has agreed to permit its citizens to differ about the society's objectives, and the function of the state . . ." Erroneously, Walker believes that the authoritarian creeds of Fascism and Communism are the "children of crisis" and that the "role of totalitarians in a plural society is a lonely one. Britain is historically accustomed to one form or another of coalition government, which is the essence of pluralism."

In the light of this happy interpretation of the powerful class, Fascism as practised by Sir Oswald Mosley and his imitators is contrasted. Although the chapter dealing with this is titled 'The Fascist Tradition in Britain,' the treatment of Fascism and its spiritual predecessors (which one might suppose could be traced back to the deportation of black freed slaves *en masse* to Sierra Leone in 1787) is superficial before Sir Oswald wears his picketed cropped head. Apart from a desultory mention of the British Fascists, the background of Mosley is very scanty. Briefly, Walker deals with the activities of the Mosleyites before and after World War II, the antics of Arnold Leese (whose House published Britons books), and the genesis of Colin Jordan and John Tyndall. Such organisations as the Union Movement, British National Party, Radical Preservation Society and other smaller groups are outlined, with Jordan's role at the Notting Hill race riots put in perspective. However, Walker, presumably not having attended the 1962 Jordan Nazi meeting in Trafalgar Square, gives a distorted picture of the event.

As one who was standing quite near the front of the crowd on that day, it seems to me that the Nazis themselves stage-managed a riot. The loudspeakers Jordan and Tyndall used were connected up to a tape recorded on which a general pandemonium was recorded, including periodic chants of "raus, raus raus." This was obvious on the several occasions that the wires were deliberately cut by anti-Nazis, and the chanting and hubbub abruptly stopped. Far from the crowd of Jewish people rushing the plinth, a police officer stopped Jordan's speeches. The tiny Nazi contingent was flushed after they had climbed off the plinth, and their banners were torn up. How Walker knows that the people who rushed the platform were Jews, Communists and CND members surprises me. It is as ridiculous as the Nazis who claim that all their opponents are Jewish.

This riot and the bigger ones which in that year finally stopped Mosley from speaking (he used to be billed as 'The Voice they cannot silence') are believed by Walker to have led to a regrouping of the right into less overt political action, culminating in the formation of the NF.

The history of the NF from 1967 is recounted with some detail, though the talk of electoral percentages must seem farcical to anarchists and even the ruling parties who operate on a system of winner takes all. Such percentages are part of the propaganda which is put out by the NF and its supporters. Walker and people like him are taken in by the Goebelian claims that membership and votes are growing, that there is a parallel between the NF and Britain now and Hitlerism and Germany then. People who think this

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 150

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 151

£1.10.
ir
1
es Todd

o
elow,

BOOK REVIEWS

way display a childlike faith in the good offices of the establishment. When Hitler rose to power, there was no Monarchy, the landowners had lost their power and the army was small and looking for a patron to enlarge it. Today in Britain, the establishment is in the driving seat, with a strong army whose loyalty is unquestioned. To believe that should the NF become a threat to the establishment in time of civil disorder the government of the day would not immediately suppress it is naive. With the experience of eight years of civil war in Northern Ireland behind it, the army would doubtless be used against anyone, left or right, black or white, who was deemed by the government of the day to be a threat.

In the context of so-called Liberal Democracy, Walker's analysis of the NF is tolerable. From an anarchist viewpoint, it is a naive document of the belief that life is ruled by the ballot box once in a while, and the 'electoral respectability' of the NF merely proves that they have the money to propagandise and put up candidates, who promptly lose their deposits. To end on a quote from the introduction: "I fear that the NF is reasonably well equipped to take advantage of whatever political opportunities that future may yet offer them." True, but I fear Rhodes Boyson, Margaret Thatcher, James Callaghan and Wedgewood Benn all the more because they have a better chance of becoming the authoritarian rulers of a police state than either John Tyndall or Mr Kingsley-Read.

Nigel Pennick.

Hitler's War, David Irving, Hodder & Stoughton, £9.95.

At present there is a growing interest in Hitler. For many he is a figure in history as remote as Bismarck, Lloyd George or Napoleon, and as vaguely understood. For some he is the epitome of all that is evil in politics, being justifiably associated with anti-Semitism, tyranny and the one party state. His political police force, the Gestapo and the abbreviated title of his party, Nazi, are both political swear words. Nazi does jar the ear of an English speaker, which is coincidental as in German it means nothing more sinister than "little Ignaz," or the equivalent of Jiminy, which we would find it difficult to imagine inspiring the venom that the word Nazi did and does. What always seems to be lacking in an assessment of Hitler is the human aspect. After all, even if we are considering the worst and most evil human of all time, and I at least am reluctant to make such judgments, he was also a human being and thus subject to many of humanity's common failings. This is not to argue that Hitler was not evil; rather to establish that he was not simply an unadulterated kernel of high powered 22 carat evil. He was also, at least, a man with a bad stomach and a fondness for cream cakes, a lifelong vegetarian, a non-smoker and total abstainer, except for a short period when he hoped to cure his insomnia by secretly drinking two bottles of beer before going to bed. He stopped doing this because he was more afraid of putting on weight than he was of sleeping. This is but one of his health problems and during the war his health got progressively worse. Indeed by 1941 he cut

a pitiful figure. He was 52 years old and living in a shed in a swamp and suffering from dysentery and stomach pains. Later he moved out of the swamp to a new bunker, this time a concrete pre-fabricated one. He slept, when his insomnia allowed, on a camp bed. He suffered a brain inflammation which led to severe headaches and a tremor in his left arm and leg of such severity that when he spoke to anybody he would brace his leg against a rigid object. His medical needs were met by a Dr Morel, a shadowy, unscrupulous figure of doubtful competence who would only prescribe for Hitler those medicines and drugs which were manufactured by the firm in which he developed a controlling interest. These prescriptions included some tablets to ease Hitler's stomach pains which were so successful that he would take them indiscriminately, unaware that they were strychine based and that uncontrollable consumption could endanger his life. But he survived, and his repeated survival became the basis of his conviction that Providence would ensure that he would fulfill his mission for Germany. This wilful self-deception is another interesting and essentially human characteristic, and it was so strong that it endured to the last. Even as the allied armies approached Berlin Hitler continued to insist that preparations for a counter-offensive be made and that German scientists were just about to perfect a dramatic new weapon which would win the war for Germany. Other odd touches that point up Hitler's idiosyncratic nature are his regular breakfast of a glass of milk and a crushed apple, and his refusal after Rommel's death to sign the obituary. This was because it had been discovered that Rommel, the German military hero, had been approached by the July 20th plotters and had agreed to serve under them if their attempt to kill Hitler and establish a new regime were to prove successful. Hitler considered this to be akin to treason. Rommel's part and he was so concerned with honesty that he would not put his name to a eulogistic obituary. One can surely say that this reluctance was odd in a man willing to countenance and order the amount of destruction and the number of deaths that Hitler did. There is also much to ponder in Hitler's life regarding the use of political power and the extent to which he conformed to established patterns. He early established the Nazi party as his personal fief and developed the cult of his leadership. In the early days the growth in support for the Nazi party was based largely on Hitler as a political leader. He responded to a feeling in the German people and was able through a combination of good political organisation and a brilliant oratorical gift to establish his national credibility as a political figure and the credibility of the Nazi party as the basis of a government of Germany. This came about both because of Hitler's skills in politics and his rabble rousing and because, to a large extent, he was saying what people wanted to hear. This enabled him to establish himself as a national figure at a time when liberal democratic leaders and measures were proving inadequate to the needs of the time. This achievement seems to me to be a considerable one, though it is often neglected, probably because it is difficult for liberal or

marxist ideologists to explain. Clearly the glib answer that Hitler came to power without ever gaining a majority vote of the electorate is principally a way of avoiding an examination of how he did come to power.

As well as these political skills: perhaps the most important other factor in Hitler's rise to power was the SA led by Ernst Rohm. The Nazi party had built up this organisation as a gang of political thugs who could intimidate any opposition and gain control of the streets of the major cities of Germany for the Nazis. Because this organisation gave the Nazi party control of the streets and enabled it to crush working class opposition it was the factor which drew in a good deal of Hitler's large scale financial support. But the SA was notoriously homosexual, not only in the sense that the boy scouts and rugby clubs are homosexual, but also in that Rohm and many of its top brass used its recruiting agencies and hierarchy to procure sexual partners. Further Rohm saw the SA as the repository of true national socialism and he was bitterly critical of Hitler for neglecting many of his old comrades when he had achieved power. At this time Hitler was consolidating his political base and it was clear that his quest for political respectability could only be hampered by Rohm and the SA. Their homosexuality antagonised the church and much conservative opinion and their putative function antagonised the police and the army. So to secure the support of these sections Hitler destroyed Rohm and the SA in the famous night of the long knives in 1934, giving an unusually early confirmation of one of the "iron laws of history" that revolutions devour their own.

A further point that one can ponder on the nature and extent of political power can be seen in two minor incidents during the war. Hitler had been dictator of Germany for over 10 years and had exercised an extensive personal power, insisting on making a large proportion of even the less important decisions himself. He ordered that the development work on the planned Heinkel 707 plane be directed to making it into a fighter-bomber, or a plane built as a fighter with a bomb carrying capacity, but with manoeuvrability and speed as its main assets. When the prototype was ready for a test flight Hitler went to see it and found that it had been built with a high altitude bomber with a low maximum speed - a neat example of an order being turned into its opposite by the faceless bureaucracy needed to run a state and a military machine.

Towards the end of the war, as the Allied armies advanced through the low countries towards Germany Hitler decided to launch the Ardennes counter-offensive. The intention was to break through the Allied line and cut it off in an encircling movement. This was essentially a simple military operation requiring relatively little preparation and not involving inordinate numbers of personnel. But the military had become so bureaucratised by this time that the planned date of launching the attack had to be postponed because the preparations had not been completed.

But of course these examples of the relative powerlessness of a supreme dictator and his adherence to established patterns of political power do not represent a denial that Hitler's regime did much that was evil and

BOOK REVIEWS

barbaric in Germany in the 1930s and internationally up to 1945. In his book David Irving does not seek to justify Hitler's monstrous regime. The book has been attacked by an outraged British press on many counts. Irving was attacked for alleging that Hitler had no knowledge of the extermination of the Jews and should not therefore be blamed for it. But what he says is that as the Russian army progressed across eastern Europe Hitler advised Himmler to halt the extermination programme and evacuate the camps. He also advised that such steps as possible be taken to conceal the purpose for which the camps had been used, which one must conclude was a vain hope. This does not seem to me to be an attempt to persuade us that Hitler was guiltless regarding the programme to exterminate the Jews. A parallel consideration that living presents is that during the war Hitler concerned himself almost exclusively with matters relating to the war. Domestic administration of Germany and her occupied areas was left in the hands of his old party collaborators, especially Goebbels and Himmler. Hitler's lack of direct interest in the progress of the Final Solution due to pre-occupations elsewhere cannot be fairly presented as an attempt to absolve him of blame. It seems to me that one of the reasons for the hostility to Irving's book is the prevalence of Churchill worship in this country, and its epidemic among journalists. For his discussion of the war in the air Irving gives the comparative tonnage of bombs dropped by the RAF in Germany and by the Luftwaffe on Britain, a comparison which does nothing to boost Churchill's humanitarian image. Also in this connection is the decision of the British air chief under Churchill's leadership to shun the bombing attack on Germany's industrial base and to adopt a strategy of area bombing of the civilian population, which was pursued from March 1942 onwards.

At the height of the war on the eastern front Stalin pressed for an early invasion of Western Europe to establish Germany's long fated front conflict, and the "by take some of the strain away from the Russian army" Irving maintains that Churchill, though at this time unable to start the invasion, agreed to step up the bombing of Germany in the hope that German air strength would be withdrawn from Russia in order to undertake retaliatory bombing of Britain. The deliberate provocation of the bombing of British cities by a British Prime Minister does seem a rather cynical move even if the Prime Minister in question is Churchill, and maybe the suggestion that he could do such things upset his more sycophantic admirers. Churchill himself seemed more embarrassed at being Stalin as an ally, as well he may have been in view of his long standing and fanatical hostility to Communism. He justified the alliance somewhat plaintively with the observation "If Hitler invaded Hell I would make at least a favourable reference to the devil in the House of Commons."

The inter war period was one which seemed to demand extreme measures, culminating as it did in a world war and the dropping of 200 atomic bombs on Japan. A liberal

democratic system had proved unworkable in Germany up to 1933 and it could be argued that Hitler's regime was the only one possible for Germany at that time. During the 1930s Hitler prepared Germany for war, locked up and tortured many thousands of opponents and started the "Final Solution" of the Jewish problem, and Stalin supervised the destruction of the Bolshevik old guard as well as a series of grotesque show trials. Britain and America, together with all major industrial countries, underwent mass unemployment and an economic depression that left millions hungry and without hope. Mussolini's regime in Italy continued to imprison opponents and engaged in monstrous colonial wars. But under Hitler Germany enjoyed full employment and relative prosperity. In Russia industrial development and production developed apace. In Britain and America a level of political freedom was maintained. And in Italy the trains ran on time. It's all a matter of comparison, and anyone is entitled to take a view that any one ruler was more or less evil, or even more or less benevolent than any other. The view that a study of the period and of Hitler's role in it will not sustain is that he was the sole repository of all that was evil in the politics of the 1930s.

Of course he was both an evil and vicious regime. But so were the regimes of Mussolini, Churchill, Stalin, Roosevelt, Chamberlain, etc., etc. I take the view that Hitler was less evil than he is generally believed to have been, but that the others were more so.

Peter Miller.

Beyond Freedom and Dignity, B.F. Skinner, Pelican, 80p.

Psychology is one of those subjects in which pseudo-intellectuals flourish. There are half a dozen or more 'schools' of psychological thought, all of which have different reasons for explaining why they don't know anything about people.

Much of psychology is the science of making up new words for old concepts. However, giving names helps in discussion of the subject and psychologists can go some way to finding out how people are similar and different, by categorising and generalising.

As said above, the concepts may be old, and Skinner's book may not tell some people anything they couldn't have worked out for themselves, but wouldn't because they haven't observed people enough in the right way.

Anyway, what Skinner is saying is that assuming a person's personality is a product of nothing other than his genetic make up and his social background, then changing that person's environment will change his way of thinking.

If a man is a product of his environment and we must change the environment in order to change man's actions, then man is nothing more than a mindless extension of the environment and nature and that can never be free of natural constraints. Our environment is controlled!

"Behaviour can be changed by changing the conditions of which it is a function." Psychological control is much more subtle

and effective than normal political control, by violence. If you tell people there is gold over the hill, and they rush off, you are controlling them just as much as if you had held a gun to all their heads and ordered them back.

One person can control others by aversive control such as threat of punishment, or by non-aversive controls such as rewards for certain behaviour. The former is obvious and easily fought, but the latter is quite the reverse. Most of the population are bidden into respect for authority by their so-called high standard of living.

A key word, in Skinner's view, is conditioning. For example: If a group of people deliberately ignore a certain person whenever he is at the left side of the room, and make him the centre of conversation when he is at the right side of the room, in a short time that person will spend all the time at the right side of the room. Each time he goes to the right side he is reinforced to go there, and he will become conditioned to stay there. It works. And not only that, the person being conditioned doesn't realise what is happening. Try it!

Unfortunately politicians and such, don't limit themselves to such control over such trivialities and we are conditioned without knowing, all the time, in various ways, not least by the media.

But conditioning can work both ways. If the police manage to break up a demonstration by violence or the threat of it, their success is reinforcing and they will tend to use the same tactics again.

Skinner constantly refers to the 'literature of freedom' (which you can decide for yourselves as to what he means by that) saying that it made mistakes in various ways and has not succeeded in freeing the people, and showing why. Assuming he's right then we need look no further than this book for the reasons why repression exists and revolutions fall.

Slight alterations could make this book either an instruction booklet for fascism or anarchism. In one case you know how to repress, in the other you know how to avoid repression and to combat it.

Perhaps if this book were called the science of repression more people would read it.

"The misuse of a technology of behaviour is a serious matter, but we can guard against it best by looking not at punitive controllers but at the contingencies under which they control."

Paul R. Buckland,

BOOK REVIEWS

Pyramids of sacrifice: political ethics and social change. Peter L. Berger, Pelican, 1977, 272pp, 90p.

Penguin appear to be fond of publishing books which give the appearance of having something important to say, but on closer examination turn out to be superficial. "The Radical Soap Opera" is a typical example, and this is another, and the fact cannot really be hidden by either the attempt at objectivity or the sociological jargon that spatter the pages.

The author seeks to outline his argument in "twenty-five theses" at the start of the text. First of these (and the others flow from this one) is that "the world is divided into two ideological camps. The adherents of each tell us with great assurance where we're at and what we should do about it. We should not believe any of them." Fair enough, but he goes on: "Underlying the major ideological models for social change (including Third World Developments) are two powerful myths – the myth of growth and the myth of revolution. Both myths must be debunked."

To an extent, I'm prepared to go along with those assertions: after all, the results of unrestrained pursuit for growth are immediately apparent to all of us, and I'm in favour of debunking all myths about revolution, if only to clear the decks so we can get on with the real thing. But wait, Peter L. Berger doesn't really know what he is talking about. His view of revolution, is as something taken up by "intellectuals"; socialism is something that is at odds with liberty of the individual; the notion of individual freedom is something peculiar only to the western tradition, as is the right not to starve while others live off the fat of the land.

Basically Berger makes some very good points, but they're so mixed up with a load of codswallop, that they get completely devalued. His attitude to revolution is a good example – he seems capable of seeing solely in terms of insurrection, and the clashing of governments. While it's true that he does recognise that a change of government doesn't include the widespread and creative nature of self-organisation that to anarchists would be the litmus test of revolution.

If you haven't anything better to read, you might get something out of this, but you'd do far better to grab hold of a back issue of *Undercurrents or Returgence*.

Vorricht: Anarchist Ein Leben für die Freiheit (Danger: Anarchist a life for freedom)
Hermann Lüchterhand GmbH & Co KG, 1977 p/b, DM 16.80.

In summer 1977 Augustin Souchy the famous German anarchist published his memoirs called **Vorricht: Anarchist Ein Leben für die Freiheit**. Souchy was born in 1892, the son of a socialist democrat in Rzecow (today part of Poland) and was very nearly confronted with Socialist ideas. In his youth he worked with the Socialist Bund and made the acquaintance of Gustav Landauer, who was murdered at the end of the Munich council-republic.

He refused to serve in the German army during the First World War and fled to Scandinavia where he was imprisoned, often being deported from one country to the other.

In 1920 Souchy, as Secretary of the FAUD

(Free Workers Union of Germany), was delegated to attend the Second Congress of the Communist International. He received a private audience with Lenin who tried to cure him from his infantile disease of "Anarchism."

During his stay in Russia he also had the chance to meet many Russian anarchists like Kropotkin and others who were killed in later years. He travelled through the Ukraine and from his experiences in Russia, wrote a book called "Wie lebt der Russische Bauern und Arbeiter Heute" ("How the Russian Peasant and Worker Live Today"). Upon returning to Germany he built up the International Workers' Association whose secretary he became together with Schapiro and Rocker. With Hitler's seizure of power he fled to France.

In 1936, two weeks before the Spanish Civil War broke out, he went to Spain to explore the prerevolutionary situation. He became a member of the CNT, was appointed head of the foreign information committee and travelled to foreign countries to report on the achievements of the Spanish Revolution. Souchy supported the power-sharing of the anarchists with the communists in the Madrid government; a view he still holds today and for which he is strongly criticised.

Shortly before the defeat of the Spanish Republic, Souchy fled to France and was imprisoned by the French authorities. He escaped the Nazi occupation and emigrated to Mexico where he stayed for nearly 20 years. He toured South America and many other countries like Israel, Madagascar and Ethiopia as representative of the International Labour Office (ILO) and published many books like "Entre campesinos y generales" ("Between Peasants and Generals") in which he describes all his experiences, analyses them and draws his lessons. All his travels were directed by his concern for Liberty, Justice and common welfare. He himself prefers the word democracy to the most perfect dictatorship.

Souchy's book contains many names, facts and events from the past that are informative, but as a basis to act on, his experiences are not relevant to the anarchist movement today. It seems that he reports many events as a bystander and sometimes the anarchist point of view is missing.

One fault of his memoirs is that they do not deal with the present anarchist movement. For him, anarchism is something to strive for, but since the forties he's obviously been more engaged in state than in anarchist organisations.

Notwithstanding all these faults, his book is of great value and worth reading; it will be instructive for many anarchists because it reveals much unknown history.

From all his experiences Souchy draws the following conclusions: 1. Individual violence is no means for the achievement of a free society. Collective violence is unavoidable in revolutions but restricted in its effects. 2. A victorious social revolution may distribute justly all existing riches in a grandiose gesture amongst all, but does not necessarily guarantee common wealth for all times. 3. Dictatorships erected in the name of communism abolished the political liberties achieved in the last century, but the prior propagated equality failed to appear.

In his outlook he pleads for peaceful

confrontation – the nonviolent arrangement of conflicts between generations and different social, economic and ethnic groups are spiritually fructifying, creatively developing and brings mankind forward. In this sense his striving for freedom from domination is aimed at the erection of a nonviolent order instead of one organised around violence.

Paul Zimmerman

Ni Dieu Ni Maitre, Anthologie historique du mouvement anarchiste, 1965.
L'Anarchisme, De la doctrine à l'action, Collection "Idées," No.89. Daniel Guérin, (1965).

After the two disappointing anthologies of anarchist writings from the United States – *The Anarchists* (1964) edited by Irving Louis Horowitz, and *Pattern of Anarchy* (1966) edited by Leonard Kninerman and Lewis Perry, it is pleasant to come to *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*, a "historical anthology of the anarchist movement". We are told that it was produced "by the staff of Editions de Delphes with the help of Daniel Guérin;" the staff are the Nataf brothers who are connected with the excellent anarchist monthly *Noir et Rouge*, and Guérin is a veteran socialist who became an anarchist. Quite simply, they show how the job should be done: the book is very large (nearly 700 pages), very well produced, very expensive and very valuable.

Ni Dieu Ni Maitre was published to commemorate the centenary of Proudhon's death in 1865, and it covers the century from the appearance of *What Is Property?* (in which Proudhon became the first person to call himself an anarchist) in 1840 to the defeat of militant anarchism in Spain in 1939. After a short preface and a note on the Proudhon centenary by Guérin, there are more than 150 passages divided into ten sections: Proudhon and the 1848 Revolution; Bakunin and the First International; Max Stirner; the Jura Federation and the anarchist congresses; Kropotkin, Malatesta; the French movement from the 1871 Commune to the rise of syndicalism; Makhno and the Ukrainian movement during the Russian Revolution and Civil War; the Kronstadt rising; and the Spanish movement from the end of the First World War to the end of the Civil War. The passages included, says Guérin, are "either unpublished, or unobtainable, or kept in the dark by a conspiracy of silence." They are also unmistakably anarchist – there is no confusion with liberalism on one side or with nihilism on the other. The result is a faithful picture from the inside of what the anarchist movement has meant to most anarchists for most of its existence and, for anyone who can read French, by far the best single book on anarchism ever published.

It is however, possible to quarrel with the selection of passages and with the general approach to the movement. Proudhon may have been the first writer who accepted the name of anarchist, but he was hardly the first who was one. If Godwin is to be excluded because he was only a philosophical anarchist and was not involved in any kind of movement, there should still surely be room for some of those con-mixaries and predecessors of Proudhon who were concerned with the practical as well as theoretical applications of

BOOK REVIEWS

anarchism – Bellegarrigue and Coquerdy (there is one short passage from Dejacque) or Varlet and Roux in France, for example, and Hodgkin and Winstanley or even John Ball in England. It is good to be reminded of Proudhon's importance, but it would be a pity to get the impression that he invented anarchism; he and Bakunin – also important but surely not *that* important – together take up nearly half the book, which really does seem too much.

Similarly, the only individualist anarchist quoted is Max Stirner, but he was hardly the only one, and he was too very much a philosophical anarchist – if indeed he was strictly speaking an anarchist at all. He is described as a "solitary rebel", but there have been plenty of other individualists who write things still worth reading – Godwin, Shelley and Wilde in Britain, Warren, Andrews, Spooner and Tucker in the United States, Libertad and Armand in France, Chorny in Russia, Martucci in Italy – and it would have been interesting to have something from some of them. Even "Saint Max" gets only 15 pages, which at less than 3 per cent seems a rather meagre return for a small but still vigorous variety of anarchist thought.

There is plenty of Kropotkin, as one would expect, but it is rather oddly chosen. There are two essays and three extracts from his first collection, *Paroles d'un Révolté*, and two letters and two descriptions of him during his last years; but there are only three short extracts from the lecture, *Anarchy: Its Philosophy and Ideal* (which incidentally did not appear in *Paroles d'un Révolté* as stated, but was given in 1896, eleven years after the collection was published), to represent the whole period between his imprisonment in France in 1883 and his return to Russia in 1917. It was after all during this time (while he was living in this country) that he produced the bulk of his most characteristic and original work: the later collections – *The Conquest of Bread*, *Fabrics, Factories and Workshops*; *Mutual Aid* – many important pamphlets – *The Philosophy of Anarchism*, *Anarchism in Socialist Evolution*, *The State: Its Historic Role*, *Organised Vengeance Called Justice* – and a constant stream of articles in English, French and Russian. It is true that these are often better known and more easily available than some of the items included, but the truth is that his message is distorted; while the passages included are certainly worth reading, they give little indication why Kropotkin should be by far the most widely read of all anarchist writers. It is really time that there was a proper edition of Kropotkin's political works so that we didn't have to rely on old pamphlets, expensive second-hand books or reprints and occasional anthologies to find out what he said.

No one could object to the representation of Malatesta, but it is a pity to have no other Italian passages, unless one counts Cafiero's Swiss lecture *Anarchy and Communism* (which is incidentally dated 1889 instead of 1880). In the same way no one could object to the emphasis on the Russian and Spanish revolutions and civil wars, and the passages chosen give excellent pictures in both cases, but it would have been valuable to have something on the similar episodes in Germany and Italy just after

the First World War, or on some of the more significant events in, say, the United States, Latin America, China, Japan, or even Britain.

It could be objected that there is an overwhelming preponderance of passages originally written in French, but it must be accepted that this is reasonable for a book published in France, and it must be added that most important anarchist writings have probably been in French and that anarchism was largely a French movement at least up to the First World War. Even so, it seems rather extreme to include passages from any native-born British or American anarchist at all.

A more general objection is that the selection of passages shows a consistent bias towards activism, and the more intellectual, theoretical and philosophical approach to anarchism is almost completely ignored. This is the result partly of excluding English-speaking anarchists, who have been especially prone to argue at some distance from real life, but mainly of deciding at an early stage in the planning of the anthology to concentrate on anarchist writings which deal with practical problems; and the bias does seem reasonable when one remembers that most histories and anthologies of anarchism have one in the opposite direction, and sometimes lose sight of the actual anarchist movement altogether. There is a similar bias towards revolution, and the more moderate, pragmatic and reformist approach to anarchism is almost completely omitted as well. This is the result of similar factors, but in this case the bias seems less reasonable when it is so often forgotten that there is a wide middle ground between the extremes of philosophical inactivism and revolutionary activism.

But all these objections are overridden by the general authority of this book – the voluminous record of a rehabilitation hearing, as Guérin puts it, "bound in black cloth like a bible." It is a unique collection in which "individual texts from the hands of the pioneers of anarchism alternate with collective documents," and in which one finds at last a genuinely serious and knowledgeable record of what the anarchist movement is about.

Every reader who is an anarchist must be impressed by the work which Guérin and the Nataf brothers have done for the cause of anarchism, and must also be fascinated by the material they have rescued from oblivion – masses of documents relating to Proudhon's part in the 1848 Revolution and to Bakunin's part in the First International and the 1870 Lyon rising, extracts from Max Stirner's writings on education (1842), the Manifesto of the Sixteen Workers of the Seine and Proudhon's letter about it (1864), some of the remarkable studies produced in the anarchist international during the 1870s and 1880s by Guillaume, de Paep, Schwitzguébel, and Kropotkin (under the pseudonym of Levashov), the letter from the terrorist Henry to the governor of the Conciergerie prison (1894). Pelloeuvre's call to the anarchists to join the trade unions (1895), some of Pouget's infallible articles, extracts from the proceedings of the 1907 International Anarchist Congress, the International Anarchist Manifesto against the First World War (1915), Kropotkin's letter from Russia to the workers of Western Europe (1920), Emma Goldman's

description of Kropotkin's last days and his funeral (1921), and then more masses of documents relating to the anarchist parts in the Russian and Spanish revolutions.

And every reader who is not an anarchist must surely be astonished at the richness of anarchist thought at its best over a century, and must surely be convinced by Guérin's conclusion "that the constructive ideas of anarchism are still alive, that, provided they are re-examined and passed through a screen, they can help contemporary socialist thought to take a new step forward." By any standards, *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre* is an extraordinary achievement, and it is particularly encouraging to see it coming from within the anarchist movement; it would be interesting to know what kind of circulation it has had in France, despite its high price, and what kind of effect it has had on its readers.

L'Anarchisme is very different in scale, being a small (less than 200 pages) and rather badly produced paperback which was also published in France in 1965. But it is very cheap and is in fact very valuable. It is a quick look at the anarchist movement "from doctrine to action," and once more it shows how the job should be done.

L'Anarchisme is divided into three parts – "The Basic Ideas of Anarchism," "In Search of the Future Society," and "Anarchism in Revolutionary Practice" – with a brief preface and conclusion. In the preface, Guérin notes the recent revival of interest in anarchism, and mentions the current books and articles about it, but he thinks "it is not certain that this literary effort will really be effective." He points out that anarchists have always been bad at publicity, and that the characteristic rejection of leaders and dogmas has led not only to wide variation among the ideas of anarchist writers but also to a vague impression of what anarchist ideas are about at all. But he insists that, "despite its contradictions, despite its doctrinal disputes which are all too often about false problems, we are dealing with a collection of sufficiently homogeneous conceptions." He sees Max Stirner on one side and Proudhon and Bakunin on the other as being not all that far apart, Kropotkin and Malatesta as deviating slightly from the true mainstream of anarchist thought, and the terrorists as differing from most anarchists only in their means and not in their main assumptions.

He disclaims any intention of writing a full history of bibliography of anarchism, suggesting that most books on the subject have in fact sacrificed coherence to completeness. Nor has he paid much attention to the biographies of anarchist leaders, remarking that most of the best known were anyway anarchists only for certain parts of their careers – Proudhon not at the beginning or end of his life, Bakunin not until the last ten years of his, Kropotkin not at the beginning or end of his either and often not in his scientific work even when he was an anarchist in politics. The pln. of the first two parts of the book is therefore not the usual chronological narrative of individuals or organisations, but an analytical survey of the things which Guérin thinks essential to anarchist doctrine. The third part, which takes

BOOK REVIEWS

up about half the space, is a historical survey of the anarchist movement from the end of the First International to the end of the Spanish Civil War. The whole book is perhaps the best short introduction to anarchism in existence.

Guerin begins with "questions of vocabulary" — an introduction to the Greek word anarch, its traditional use (or misuse), its defiant appropriation by Proudhon, the various qualifications made by those who followed Proudhon in calling themselves anarchists (federalism, mutualism, collectivism, communism), and its relationship with such words as libertarianism and socialism. He then turns through the characteristic features of anarchism — the emotional rebellion, the horror of the state, the hostility to bourgeois democracy, the criticism of authoritarian socialism, the contrasting sources of political energy (the individual and the masses) the rejection of utopianism, the insistence on organisation, self-management (the French word, *autogestion*, is really better), free exchange, free competition, planning, complete socialisation of property, workers' control, the commune, free competition, planning, complete socialisation of property, workers' control, the commune, free administration, public services, federalism, internationalism, anti-colonialism — giving in each section a clear and concise account of what the idea has meant to anarchists, with useful quotations from appropriate writers and referents to appropriate events. The writers and events mentioned repeat the bias of *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre* — most of the quotations come from Proudhon and Bakunin, and most of the events concern the European labour movement — but they are always apt and illuminating. It would be easy to think of other anarchist preoccupations, but it would be difficult to get a better choice into a smaller space.

The third part of the book is in effect a historical appendix not to *L'Anarchisme* but also to *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*. Guerin is interested not so much in the drama of the anarchist movement itself as in the part it has played on the wider stage of the revolutionary labour movement. This gives his narrative a unity and urgency which are absent from most histories of anarchism. Thus he condemns the deviations towards adventurism and terrorism on one side and towards utopianism and scientism on the other not because they violated the pure truth of anarchist theory but because they alienated the masses from the practical importance of libertarian action, and gave the Social Democrats and the Communists a walk-over. And he praises the anarchists who went into the syndicalist movement, despite the dangers they risked for the anarchist movement, because they were trying to put libertarian ideas into practice in the harsh environment of the day-to-day struggle of ordinary people.

There is a predictable emphasis on the Russian and Spanish revolutions and civil wars, and the pictures in both cases are as excellent as in *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*. In between there is a brief chapter on the Italian workers' councils, just after the First World War, with an emphasis on Gramsci which might be expected in a Marxist account but is refreshing in an anarchist one.

In his conclusion Guerin goes beyond the time limit of the end of the Spanish Civil War, and gives the examples of recent Yugoslav and Algerian experiments in workers' control of industry to support his argument for the continuing — or rather, increasing — relevance of anarchism. They make sense in terms of the detailed organisation of factory work which is his main concern, but hardly in terms of the wider life of the community; it is surely a Marxist fallacy that the mode of production determines the nature of society as a whole. Although Guerin is well aware of the authoritarian features of the Communist regime in Yugoslavia and the "Socialist" regime in Algeria (and of the regimes in Russia and Cuba, which he also mentions), his concentration on such examples at the expense of all the others could have chosen tends to blunt his important point that anarchism is directly related to the problems of modern society, and to etc. — when the feeling that in many ways his position is still a form of libertarian Marxism rather than of anarchist anarchism.

Guerin rightly attacks such "real" historians of anarchism as Jean Maltron, George Woodcock and James Joll for saying that the anarchist movement, however excellent it may have been in the past, is now dead and belongs only to the past. He will have none of this, and repeats the message of *Ni Dieu Ni Maitre*: "Constructive anarchism, which found in most accomplished expression in the writings of Bakunin, relies on organisation, self-discipline, integration, a centralisation which is not coercive but federal. It depends on large-scale modern industry, on modern technology, on the modern proletariat, on internationalism on a world scale." To this challenging note, this challenging book ends. It is a remarkable message to find in a cheap paperback produced for a mass market; again, it would be interesting to know what kind of circulation it got in France, with its low price and what kind of effect it has had on its readers.

To sum up, these two books are the expression of an original and exciting view of anarchism, and they are also exactly the sort of book we should have in English. We certainly have some lessons to learn from the French about propaganda as well as about insurrection.

(Expanded from *Anarchy*) Nicolas Walter
1 Guerin was born in 1904, and during the 1930s was a leader of the "Revolutionary Left" in the Socialist Party and, when it was expelled, of the "Workers and Peasants Socialist Party", a Trotskyist group which collapsed after the fall of France. He was an important Marxist writer of a more or less Trotskyist variety — on the French Revolution, Fascism, colonialism and racism — but for a time he attempted a synthesis between Marxism and anarchism, and he finally turned to a syndicalist form of anarchism. He is also a well-known poet and dramatist, and was one of the "121" who signed the famous manifesto against the Algerian war in 1960.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 156

BOOK REVIEWS



REASON AND ORDER

Cults of Unreason — a penetrating look at today's more bizarre beliefs, Dr. Christopher Evans, Panther, 75s.

The subtitle of this interesting book might lead the unwary to imagine that it deals with the church, monarchy or government. However, a quick glance at the garish pop-art cover shows what appear to be Astartean priests worshipping a levitated flying saucer. Don't let this put you off — it isn't all about the Aetherius society in contact with Jesus on Venus, though they get a brief section. Basically, Christopher Evans deals with four cults of unreason — Scientology, UFO freaks, Black boxes and oriental magi or commen, depending on your point of view.

To the anti-authoritarian, the section on Scientology, or the "Science Fiction Religion" is the most rewarding. It outlines the rise to (financial) power and prominence of a cult born out of the mind of a once-celebrated author of Sci-Fi, Lafayette Ron Hubbard. Although Evans does not mention it, Hubbard's connection with what is broadly termed the occult began with a weird incident where he and a friend supposedly attempted to recreate the incarnation of Iblis, an occult figure of great power, in a baby by means of a process developed by none other than the late great Aleister Crowley. To Crowley's credit, he dismissed Hubbard and his friend Parsons as utterly mad.

Unfortunately, a sibyl by the great occult maja did not deflate the aspirations of Hubbard. He was an extremely successful author, dealing mainly in the 1940s brand of technological wizardry sci-fi, but also in the genre of the Western, where he wrote under the pseudonym of ... wait for it! Winchester Remington Colt! His genesis as maja began in the pages of *Astounding Science Fiction* (later to be renamed *Analogy*). John Campbell Jr., the editor started it all in the April 1939 issue of *Astounding*. The following announcement heralded the beginning of a cult which was later to be

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 157

rechristened "church". "... We are carrying a 16,000 word article 'Dianetics' ... an introduction to a new science, by L. Ron Hubbard. It is, I assure you, in full and absolute sincerity, one of the most important articles ever published ... This is no wild theory. It is not mysticism ... I have observed it in action, and used the techniques myself."

The May issue, about which the above was enlightening, was a complete sell-out, almost on publication day. Ron Hubbard claimed that he had made a dramatic breakthrough in psychotherapy. So effective were his methods, he claimed, that individuals could, with a few hours of "auditing" his jargon for treatment (which the orthodox medicine could not touch,

The article was rapidly written up into a book entitled: *Dianetics: the modern science of mental health*, (Shades of Mary Baker Eddy and Christian Science, so-called). Thousands bought the book, and thousands flocked to the new guru to be audited. Of course, auditing was an expensive business, but the result, if attained, was enticing: a state of "clear". People who reached this condition, so Hubbard claimed, could recall anything to mind, remember previous lives, regenerate teeth etc. etc. Needless to say, "clears" who were exhibited, although capable of these extraordinary feats, were of such spiritual development that they didn't need to show others how it could be done.

A harmless cult, preying on the fantasies of the gullible, one might say? See what you think after this extract from the pen of the master: "One sees with some sadness that more than three quarters of the world's population will become subject to the remaining quarter as a natural consequence about which we can do nothing." Shades of Crowley's dictum: "The Slaves Shall Serve!" The above statement of authoritarian principles comes from a bizarre book *History of Man*, where Hubbard's sci-fi fantasies run riot to masquerade as the history of the world. It commences "This is a cold-blooded and factual account of your last sixty trillion years" ... huff said.

After a stupid business failure in which Hubbard signed away the name Dianetics for money, he started up its successor — Scientology. Evans has a frightening account of the power which Hubbard's henchmen exercised in the organisation. After various brushes with the authorities in Australia and the USA, Hubbard conceived the plan of setting up his own fleet of ships (with himself as Commodore, naturally) to sail the oceans without let or hindrance of national laws and customs.

In Scientological jargon, there are three possible sources of success or failure — ethics, admin and tech. Of these three, ethics are held to be the most important. Now, just as the Church has its dogma, the 39 articles, the creed etc., and as Maoism or Nazism have their own dogmas which must be obeyed and believed by "true followers", so ethics is to Scientology. Ethics Officers were established by Hubbard to be a sort of secret police within the org. (organisation — note the Sci-Fi abbreviations, more suited to Dan Dare than a religion.) The Ethics Officers, dressed in fascist-style uniform of high boots and peaked caps strike fear into so-called "suppressives" —

those who do not or cannot conform to the maze of rules and observances which make up Scientology.

Whilst the non-Scientologist would laugh at such patent absurdity, the Scientologist, fed on promises of superhuman perfect and not wishing to admit that considerable sums of money have been wasted, knuckles under to the regimes devised by these latter-day gestapo. Evans describes in detail the ranks or states of O.Kness which plague the would-be "clear." A sliding scale of success or failure exists: The state of Affluence is the best usually achieved. Power is above this, but it is rarely gained, and it brings with it valuable gifts from the Org. Affluence gives special pay bonuses and free razors and bath soap for the men and free pay and bathe, wear decent clothes and have hair-dos.

Now comes the interesting, and tiresomely predictable part — those who are not in Normal Operation or above — the I-imperialist of Scientology. Immediately below normal is Emergency. Here, the unfortunate are deprived of their lunch hour and are forced to do overtime without pay. Below Emergency is Danger. These people are prohibited from bathing, wearing make-up or having lunch-hours. They are also made to work at night. Below this is Non-Existence, reminiscent of Orwell's 1984. These personnel are compelled to wear old clothes which they may not change, in addition to the prohibitions imposed on the previous grade.

Astonishingly, there are even lower grades, reminiscent of the mediaeval hierarchy of hell. Liability forces the miscreant to eat only stale bread and drink water. Doubt (even lower) persons are compelled to wear a pair of handcuffs on the left wrist, and they can be locked up on the promises, or cast overboard from the Org. ships. Scientological literature claims they are fished out again. Below this are Enemy and Treason. The last category means that the person is "fair game" and "may be tricked, sued or lied to or destroyed."

Such regulations, claim the Scientologists, were relaxed in 1970, but can tell? Even if they were, they still demonstrate the authoritarian fanaticism which powers this strange religion of science fiction.

UFOS

£1.10.

UFOS have been media fodder since 1947, when the first one was described as such. In the 1950s, powered by fear of the USSR and China, and taking into account the bizarre aerial inventions which number among Hitler's secret weapons (rockets, jets, helicopters, etc.), the USA government sponsored research into UFOS lest they be Russian aircraft carrying atomic weapons.

Onto this bandwagon climbed Adamski, who met a Venusian, and Andy Sinatra, the Mystical Barber of Brooklyn, who communicated with Venus through a headress attached to his barber's chair. In Britain, supposedly a country less given to such things (but in reality loving every bit of them), a strange society emerged during that period.

Called the Aetherius Society, it was founded by the still-extant George King in March 1954 when washing up the dishes in his bedsit in Maida Vale in London. Suddenly a voice boomed

...
the
&
the
&
the
&

£1.10.

our
u
al

Giles Todd

nio

Mellow,

BOOK REVIEWS

out from nowhere "Prepare yourself. You are to become the voice of Interplanetary Parliament." He dropped a plate.

Although he later claimed, in the light of its implausibility, that he never heard the voice, he set up the Aetherius Society to act as a channel for these messages from Venus (as usual!) after a man in spotless white robes (as usual!) walked through the door of his room to give him instructions eight days later. From a small start in the Caxton Hall which about 30 attended, King has built up the Society to a worldwide membership of perhaps thousands. His position is a clairvoyant medium, who carries the message from Master Aetherius or Mars Section 6.

In 1955, he claimed that the Master Jesus was alive and living on Venus. At 800 degrees centigrade in an atmosphere of sulphuric acid? Bravo! Jesus later manifested himself weekly at Caxton Hall.

Black Boxes are another 'cell of unreason' which once had vogue. Their exponents claim all manner of wonderful healing effects, which may take place via psychosomatic effects on believers. What they have in common with the previous 'holly masters' is their expense which enables their exponents to travel the world without having to work for their living, whilst adulstated by wealthy occult groups an 'mass media'.

While they remain in the sphere of private enterprise, anarchists need not fear these sometimes harmless capers. If they should ever become the tool of governments, as did various magical theories become the cornerstone of Nazi cosmology, then the threat is dire indeed. One can sneer at the stupidity and gullibility of a person in Liability in the Scientologists; yet if it became a method of government, then the worst excesses of Auschwitz would be just round the ethereal corner. Nigel Pennick.

Crammer's Godly Order: The Destruction of Catholicism through Liturgical Change, Michael Davies, Augustine Publishing Co., Devon, (Britons Publishing Co.), 1976, £1.50.

"... three key topics will be examined, God willing, in three separate books. The present, the first of the three, deals only with the Protestant Revolution... The second will deal with the Second Vatican Council, and the third with the Liturgical changes which have followed that Council..."

(Author's introduction).

It is Michael Davies' belief that recent rapprochement between the Roman Catholic Church and the Church of England has been bought at the price of confusion, ambiguity, and suppression of unresolved differences as regards essential doctrinal.

In this first volume of a study designed to defend the Catholic Church against creeping Protestantism, Michael Davies elaborates the doctrinal differences which originally separated Continental and English Reformers, as well as the teachings of the Mass (Communion or Lord's Supper) and the consequent differences in the views of the priesthood, or, as Protestants would prefer, the ministry.

There can be no doubt that Davies is scrupulously fair and detached in his account of the Protestant reforms or, as he puts it, revolution. He makes the essential variances in the Catholic doctrine of Transubstantiation in the Mass and the sacrificial nature of the

offering of the bread and wine by the priest, plainly repudiated by Luther, Zwingli, Calvin and Cranmer as architect of the Book of Common Prayer, - crystal clear. Despite its Catholic origins and intentions, it is worthy of recommendation, ironically enough, as an exposition of Protestant teaching on the Eucharist.

The fundamental question is this: are the sacraments of the Church symbolic of God's relationship to man and of the grace He gives to mankind, or are they special means whereby that grace can be conveyed and which are the only means of grace to those who have had the opportunity to avail themselves of the means. And from this is the Church the conscious community of Christians or is it a Noah's Ark without which, with its priests and ceremonies, salvation is impossible - at least to those who have had the opportunity to climb aboard. In each case, the predominance of Catholic teaching favours the latter of the two possibilities, with all that means in elevating the status and power of the Church as an institution and the moral coercion which bishops and priests can exert.

There are, of course, many on the liberal wing of the Catholic Church whose emphasis is on the Word of God as experienced in life rather than within the peculiar observances of ecclesiastical ceremony. "An example would be *Man Becoming* by F. Gregory Baum". But Davies presents the essential differences since the Reformation very clearly.

Geoff Charlton.

Catholic Terror Today, Avro Manhattan, Paravision Publications, London, 1969, 60p. "This book has been criticised, condemned, bashed, mutilated, destroyed and even burned as frequently as it has been quoted, reproduced and praised in many parts of the world..."

So begins the Foreword to this extraordinary work which lifts the lid off the role of the Vatican and the Catholic Church in some of the most terrifying and diabolical political events of the twentieth century. Some of the themes and arenas are familiar: Vatican, Malta and the Cold War; others, such as the rise of Fascist Catholicism in the inter-war period, readers may have not even heard of. Yet, taking documented evidence "... kept in the archives of the Yugoslav Government, of the Orthodox Church, of the United Nations and of the official institutions..." (p.ii) as well as his own "astonishing of witnesses, Manhattan portrays a Fascist State involved in many crimes which horrified even the German Nazis, crimes which had the full backing and participation of the institutionalised Catholic Church at every level. Croatian fascists were often led and organised by priests of the Church and the network of facilities and intelligence provided by the Church speeded the formation of a fanatically Catholic and Nationalist Croatia. This regime persecuted non-Catholic elements - Jews and Serbs and the Orthodox Church - to the point of mass "conversion" through the gun, or mass murder, slowly in unspeakable concentration camps or quickly in mass graves dug with their own labour.

Key figures in the rise of the Croatian State were Ante Pavelic, supported in turn by Mussolini and by Hitler, and Archbishop Stepinac, head of the hierarchy of Catholic Croatia. With the help of terrorist elements, the Ustashi, they built and administered a State which forcibly "converted" or eliminated all non-Catholic and non-Croat elements in the population. A leader of the "Crusaders" wrote:

"God, who directs the destiny of nations and controls the hearts of Kings, has given us Ante Pavelic and moved the leader of a friendly and allied people, Adolf Hitler, to use his victorious troops to disperse our oppressors and enable us to create an Independent State of Croatia. Glory be to God, our gratitude to Adolf Hitler, and infinite loyalty to chief Ante Pavelic..." (p.21).

Pavelic, condemned to death in France because of his involvement in the assassination of King Alexander of Yugoslavia by Ustashi terrorists, was now head of the Croatian Fascist unknown duke now appointed to be King of Croatia, the Duke of Spoleto, Ante Pavelic was himself received by the Pope for a long and private audience. Thus the Pope avoided welcoming the King of a new Fascist State by one day - at a time when millions of Catholics were involved in fighting Fascism - 18 May, 1941.

During the war Nazi troops were posted in Croatia for some time and they were horrified at the Ustashi atrocities. They set up special commissions to investigate them and the Orthodox Serbian Church appealed to the German General Dunkelman to intervene and put an end to what was going on. After the Nazis withdrew, however, the Ustashi redoubled the persecutions and massacres, unthindered by the Government. Victims were hammered to death, burned and even crucified. Throughout their campaign, Catholic Religious Orders supported the Ustashi, hiding terrorists, printing presses and weaponry. Dr. Sarić, Bishop of Sarajevo, encouraged clergy to join the Ustashi and:

"... employ revolutionary methods to the service of truth..." as it was "...unworthy of the disciples of Christ to think that the struggle could be conducted with gloves on..." (p.55).

Finally, Dr. Milos Sekulich gave details of what was going on to London. The trip included many ports of call and was financed by the Yugoslav Government in exile in London. It was almost abortive, in that a Catholic Cross Minister, in charge of finances, withdrew expenses when Sekulich was in Lagos. Only the generosity of the Czechoslovak manager of Bata in Lagos allowed him to carry on.

The documents originally submitted to the Nazi forces in Serbia, to General Schroeder and his successor General Dunkelman, came with Dr. Sekulich to London. They began as follows:

"... the persecution of the Orthodox Serbs started from the very beginning of the existence of the Independent State of Croatia. Following the departure of the German and Italian occupying troops (in 1944) persecution, plunder, torture of the Serbs, which until they had been checked, turned into a veritable pogrom, directed at a complete extermination of the Orthodox Serbian people... As a result of such policy, thousands of Serbs were taken to concentration camps, Orthodox

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 158

BOOK REVIEWS

priests and their families were arrested, the birth, marriage and death registers of the Orthodox Church were handed over to the Catholic diocesan authorities, Orthodox Churches were destroyed, monasteries plundered, and the Serbian people forced to abandon Orthodox religion and adopt Catholicism. We are sorry to have to relate that in all these misdeeds, the Catholic clergy also participated... We estimate that, so far, (August 8, 1941), the number of people killed surpasses 180,000."

There was a concerted effort among Catholic commentators for years afterwards to deny totally, or at least to play down, the accounts of the atrocities. The Yugoslav Government in exile itself was attempting to unite Serbs, Croats and Slovenes against Hitler and Mussolini and their preparations for war, and so they kept the news quiet. But on 3 January, 1942, the *News Chronicle* published an account under the heading: "186,000 Die in Serb Terror" giving examples of the detailed accounts of individual murders and massacres. There were protests on both sides of the Atlantic, but the story that Dr. Sekulich was a Gestapo agent was continual... spread (despite the fact that Leopold Amery, Minister of State for India and a right-hand man of Winston Churchill's, received him immediately upon his arrival in London). Not least influential among the detractors was the American Slovene and Catholic Left-Winger, Louis Adamic, but even he had to admit that the massacres had occurred, but insisted:

"... the massacres were not perpetrated

by the Croatian people, but by the Ustashi"

(p.76). He could not bring himself to accept

the full horror of what had happened. And,

throughout, the Catholic press in Croatia

supported the Ustashi, carrying Ante Pavelic's

portrait and describing the work of the Ustashi

at the retribution of God.

Why then, did the Vatican not intervene in any way with what was occurring? Why, in fact, did Fascist Croatia receive its whole-hearted support? Here we enter the realm of the whole overall strategy of the foreign policy of the Vatican during the time of Pope Pius XII. Pope Pius XII was a politically motivated man whose ambition was the destruction of Communism and the conversion of the USSR to Catholicism. After World War II he supported Italian, Spanish and German Fascism and after World War II he supported the "hawks" in American foreign affairs. He was bitterly disappointed that Hitler did not destroy Russia and hoped that nuclear "Reichsmanship" - even, perhaps, a Third World War - would eventually wipe out Communism as a world force. A man ready to declare that God worked special miracles for him - that he had been granted a repetition of the vision of the sun episode associated with the appearance of the Virgin Mary to Portuguese children in 1917, the cult of Our Lady of Fatima - and that Jesus Christ himself had paid him a visit during an illness - incidents published with full Papal authority and approval in the Vatican press - did not hesitate to carry the whole world to the brink of nuclear war for the sake of his own religious imperialism. The Cult of Fatima - originally dismissed as delusion by the Portuguese clergy but taken up and affirmed

by Rome - involved a prophecy of the conversion of Russia. Several times over Pius XII reaffirmed its significance as his anti-Communist campaign wavered. In 1946, the crowned before half a million pilgrims. Pope Pius XII addressed the crowd by radio: "Be ready!" he warned. "There can be no neutrals. Never step back. Line up as a crusader!" (p.107). In 1947 the Cold War began. The Pope sent a statue of Our Lady of Fatima on a pilgrimage around the world. It finished up in the Church of Foreign Diplomats in Moscow, "to wait for the imminent liberation of Soviet Russia." (p.107).

Before he died, Pope Pius XI had written a special Encyclical in which he condemned Hitler and Mussolini and their preparations for war. It was due to be read on 12 February, 1939, but he died on the 10th. Cardinal Pacelli, about to become Pius XII, saw to it that its contents never became public. From this time onward an unrelenting right-wing and hard-line political programme was followed by the Vatican until Pius XII's death in October 1958. It was the work of Pope John XXIII to break the links of the Vatican with this hysterical anti-Communist policy. Cardinal Spellman, Minister Vicar of the Armed Forces of the USA and close contact with the Catholic lobby in Washington and the Pentagon was one of the first to fall from favour. Even after this, with John Foster Dulles as US Secretary of State and Alan Dulles, his brother, as head of the CIA, the Vatican/CIA "cold war" attitude was maintained for some time, viz the U2 Spy Plane episode that wrecked President Eisenhower's Summit Meeting with the Russians in 1960, a deliberate spanner thrown into the works of peace.

Beside genocide and nuclear warmongering the involvement of the Vatican in such matters as the elections in Malta, the censorship of books, birth control and abortion issues and irresponsible statements by individual Catholic politicians, not to mention Catholic influence in the mass media, may seem of small account, although the practice of instructing Catholics how to vote, often of peril of excommunication, must be mentioned in connection with many European countries and, in particular, with the Maltese elections of 1962. The Vatican involvement in Catholic persecution of non-Catholics and non-Christians in South Vietnam under the corrupt government of President Diem, himself a fanatical Catholic, must also be mentioned. Manhattan's book documents them all. What emerges is a terrifying record of what institutionalised authoritarianism does to men of suitable fanatical character reach the top of the pyramid. The Nazification of the Catholic Church under Pius XII is only an extreme example of a danger that is with us forever, in every religious political organisation that glorifies power.

Geoff Charlton.

To Represent Our Saviour as "that Great Cock" (Kirkup - Gay News) Is Not Blasphemy but Eternal and Christian Orthodoxy (Furnished with Irrefutable Illustrative Proofs). Radical Traditionalist Paper No. 4, £1.00.

Blasphemy is primarily an offence against orthodoxy... It is the statement of views which

oppose the authoritarianism of the entrenched established hierarchies of religion. It is an act of disobedience.

Now disobedience is held to be the greatest of crimes. Pope Leo XIII is reported to have stated "Disobedience is a greater sin than murder, unchastity, theft and dishonesty." It undermines authority, which isolated instances of the other four offences do not. It is in this context that the now-celebrated poem in *Gay News* is seen. On the heels of the most ludicrous prosecution for decades comes a lengthily-titled pamphlet consciously in the style of eighteenth-century scurrilous lampoons and broadsheets.

John Michell, an author well known for his defences of ancient orthodoxies and divers works on geomancy and strange phenomena, presents us with a defence of Kirkup's poem in the form of a short dissertation on the phallic origin of religious emblems, Christ especially. Michell supports Kirkup's view of Christ's *Great Cock* with one reservation: that Christ was not attributed with possessing a great cock; but that he was depicted as a "big cock". Plate one of this lavishly-illustrated work is a reproduction of a 1786 engraving from *The Worship of Priapus* by Richard Payne Knight. It is of a "celebrated bronze in the Vatican, which has the male organs placed upon the head of a cock, the emblem of the sun, and which is supported by the neck and shoulders of a man." On the pedestal of this strange chimera is the Greek inscription which translated reads "The Saviour of the World".

Michell demonstrates how the Christian hierarchy has transformed the generative, sexual imagery associated with Christ, into the "gentle Jesus" cults of the modern churches. "To conceal this fact (i.e. the Great Cock), to promote the big lie in the matter of religion, Christianity has deployed every force at its command, its book-burners, heresy hunters, missionaries, witch-finders, inquisitionists, right-minded pig-heads, policemen and judges, all for the purpose of selling an image of Our Saviour which is the exact opposite of the vision of the first Christians."

The plates, of which there are twelve, are the "irrefutable proof" of Michell's thesis. A number of them show the cross bearing the male organ being "adored" by a woman, reproductions of drawings by the nineteenth-century blasphemous artist Felicien Rops and Martin van Maele. These, along with a number of other little-seen pictures demonstrate the universal application of phallicism. It is the suppression of this fundamental part of human nature which is the basis for the Christian ethic - the guilt generated by unnatural abstinence is channelled back to reinforce the worship of authority.

As a defence of Kirkup's meek poem, Michell's paper is not a success. Indeed, the connection between *Gay News* and the illustrations reproduced here is non-existent. Michell, indeed, himself denies the solely sexual imagery of the illustrations - he sees them as representations of the dual powers, proceeding from one source, that govern the Universe. As an alternative view of the origin of Christianity, the fountain of so many crimes against humanity, it is an amusing and valuable document.

Nigel Pennick.

BOOK REVIEWS

COSMIC PROFITS

Cosmic Trigger: Final Secret of the Illuminati, Robert Anton Wilson, And/Or Press, Berkeley, California, £3.50.

Paranoia is an unfortunate state of mind, and those who subscribe to the multiple ramifications of the 57 varieties of conspiracy theories tend to suffer more than most from that complaint. Robert Anton Wilson, co-author of the monumental *Illuminatus!* trilogy has put together a factual (?) account of the events leading to the Illuminations revealed in *Iluminati!* and present volume.

The key to varying revelations is the use of the now-prohibited drug, LSD, which, during the early 1960s, until its prohibition in October 1966, was readily available to those foohardy or courageous enough to experiment with its mind-expanding properties. Wilson, like thousands of others, was such a voyager in inner space, and, with the ancient wisdom of the occult, he pieced together and amazing web of intrigue, synchronicity and paranoia linking the assassination of John Kennedy with miracles, the number 23, UFOs, ancient secret society members and external life.

The early 60s were years which produced what amounts to a new consciousness – now reabsorbed into the mainstream of life and altering it ever so slightly. LSD produced the new awareness which ended with additional repression from the government after the anti-Vietnam riots of the end of the decade. However, in the period which terminated with the banning of LSD and its consequent criminalisation of its exponents, many new insights emerged. Materialism in its orthodox authoritarian guise was openly questioned from a non-religious viewpoint. 'Crank' sciences, which had largely grown up after World War 2, were discussed. Other ways of examining reality were explored.

Various threads seem to run through apparently disconnected events. The number 23, first noted by the author William Burroughs in the early 60s as connected with unfortunate incidents and people on the fringes of the Illuminati (if they exist), has been documented everywhere since, *Iluminatus* bristles with such numerological coincidences.

And even in 1978, the number continues its connections in the shape of a house number where the busted LSD manufacturers had a laboratory. And, like Wilson, they were connected with the much-prosecuted LSD psychologist Timothy Leary. The principle behind these coincidences, so Wilson postulates, is the fundamental interconnectedness of all events in space and time.

Aleister Crowley is an enigmatic man. He probably cultivated this side of his personality in order to confuse people like me who write about him over thirty years after his demise. *Cosmic Trigger*, being that kind of work, links Crowley, magician extraordinary, with the star Sirius, from which various people in the ancient astronauts school of prehistory believe they came to instruct humanity with civilisation. Needless to say, I reject this authoritarian myth as atheist religion which believes that

the human race is not fit to control its own affairs, needing a super-scholarmaster, once God, but now a spaceman, to accomplish the master plan for the world.

In the period in question, the dada-anarchist creed of Discordianism was formulated: Convictions cause convicts. Whatever you believe imprisons you. Kerry Thornley, later to be connected with the inconclusive investigations into the shooting of President Kennedy, was editor of an anarchist journal, the *New Libertarian*, which put forth the pacifist-anarchist viewpoint. He had served in the Marines with Lee Harvey Oswald, and got into the investigation out of that connection. Thornley and Gregory Hill invented the religion of Discordianism, which Wilson used in the *Iluminatus!* books, in 1958. It is based on the worship of the Greek goddess of chaos and confusion, Eris, and has certain aspects in common with Zen Buddhism, which was the 'in' thing with the beatniks of the late 50s. Discordianism is in direct contradiction with the monotheistic mono-theory of western thought, where a model true in all cases is assumed to exist which describes everything.

Wilson's interest in conspiracy theories led him to assist the invention of many such conspiracies which were disseminated via the underground press in the late 60s. This involved the placing of almost every prominent character, Nixon, themselves, Crowley etc., as members of the Illuminati. This technique is the common one of confusing the authorities by using a name which is then taken up by others who are totally unconnected with the originals who used that name. Red Brigades, 2nd July Groups, Front for the Liberation of East Anglia, etc., have been used by various probably disengaged persons in their revolutionary actions. So with the Illuminati. Whether such people exist is probably irrelevant. That people believe them to exist and act upon events is all that is required. Paranoia of such kinds exists concerning the Freemasons. I have recently come across some straight ritual magic as practised by the Church of England, with invocation rituals – connected with the freemasons to boot. Wilson relates the seemingly absurd connections of magic and freemasonry with Kennedy and scientific endeavour.

Cal Tech was founded at 33° of latitude, partially as the result of the work of the aerospace engineer and occultist Jack Parsons, a disciple of Aleister Crowley and former friend of L. Ron Hubbard, founder of Scientology.

John F. Kennedy was assassinated at 33° of latitude and Cape Kennedy, where the moon rockets were launched, is at 33°. The first man on the moon, Neil Armstrong, is a 33° freemason. Coincidence? Wilson thinks perhaps, and that is the creed of discordianism speaking.

After reading this book, paranoid will find their whole experience reinforced with vibes from Sirius. Anarchists will see it as an individual-mind-expanding vision whose hopes are high that all will be all right; someday, despite the present. Of course, one could dismiss it all as a conspiracy put out by the Illuminati to convince us all that they don't really exist.

Nigel Pennick.

Keeping Score on our Modern Prophets, by Kurt Saxon, Atlan Formularies, Eureka, Calif. £2.35.

Kurt Saxon is best known for his *Survivor*.

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 160

publications, the epitome of United States rugged individualism and self-reliance tinged with a leavening of Vigilante homespun philosophy. In *Modern Prophets* he attacks the supposed psychics and seers who inhabit the pages and screens of the American mass-media. Their fame, he claims, rests upon nothing more than a sham recounting of the few successful and often not very clever prophecies which have come to pass. Four years of predictions of the most popular modern prophets are collated and analysed by Saxon who blasts them to pieces with the facts. In fact, very few of the key prophecies of Jeane Dixon (Saxon's main target), Joseph de Louise, 'Akashan,' Maurice Woodruff, Edward Sneedker etc., etc. materialised, despite the fact that a large proportion of them were unless trivia such as the fate of Princess Anne, Jackie Kennedy, Liz Taylor, Peter Sellers, Richard Nixon, Frank Sinatra and other showbiz personalities, which are of little importance anyway.

There are several echelons of psychic seers, and it is those who claim divine guidance that come in for Saxon's stick. To claim divine guidance is not a passport to perfection – far from it. After all, Hitler claimed that he was 'doing the Lord's Work,' and doubtless inquisitions and witch-hunters like Matthew Hopkins, the Witchfinder General also believed in the god-given infallibility of their cause. One such is Jeane Dixon. At the age of eight, she was told by a gipsy fortune teller that she was the proud possessor of the gift of prophecy. Her good fortune in later years in marrying a Chevy dealer who went to Washington D.C. and met a lot of politicians (who also believe they are divinely ordained) stood her in good stead to become one of the leading seers of the United States establishment. Year after year, she churned out predictions hot off the hotline from God, coming up with such world-shattering prognostications as: 'Johnny Cash to disappear mysteriously; or Dustin Hoffman to win more fame and success; or the economy to improve... thanks, Jeez, for those important messages!'

Saxon writes 'If the Creator actually wanted such messages delivered to us through a prophet, then that prophet would speak true 100% of the time. There would be no margin for error in the message and there would be no question of its source any more than one would question the source of a Western Union telegram.'

Out of 1075 contestants allowed 5 prophecies each in a *National Enquirer* prediction competition, there were only 11½ right forecasts, about 1 correct for every 450 prophecies. Of Saxon's professionals, who were not in the contest, the success rate was about 1 in 10. At first sight this would tend to corroborate the seer's claims, but an alternative, and most prosaic solution seems more likely, that of the prophet's greater ability to make educated guesses with respect to the trends.

In the past, seers like Nostradamus made prophecies which were incomprehensible to the people of the day, further garbling occurring because the Inquisition's irons, boots and racks were never far away to toss a converted Jew into the flames along with his books. Whether Nostradamus saw the future

BOOK REVIEWS

or not is and always will be a matter of opinion. Materialists will believe that it is not possible to see that which has not occurred, whilst those with open minds will at least countenance the possibility of such a process.

In modern times, writers like Jules Verne, H.G. Wells and others have foreseen the path of technical civilisation and explained it in educated terms to an educated audience. The rambling prophecies and insane outpourings of demented seers born of ignorance and trance are of a different order. They may misinterpret the facts and deliver them as something quite different from the 'messages' which they believe are receiving from the Cosmos, UFOs, God etc. Saxon places the Jackie Onassis type 'prophecies' in the latter category. He believes that psychic power is merely a normal talent possessed by many, and that when a seer like Jeane Dixon claims paranormal divine messages, this is a delusion which should be treated with scorn.

Saxon himself recounts his own encounters with the psychic world, having been in the Rosicrucians and reconstructed his 'past lives.'

When he got bored with the Rosicrucians, he entered the 'Aghast Temple of Wisdom,' which rapidly proved to be phoney. After that, flying saucer freaks, about which the usual pell-mell tales emerge.

Anton La Vey is a Satanist, and to him next turned Saxon. Los Angeles Satanism, however, he found to be composed mainly of sex freaks who weren't into real black magic, and so he moved on to the Scientologists. Elsewhere we have written a review of *Cults of Heaven* which deals with this science-fiction religion. Saxon mildly criticises this hyper-authoritarian creed whose members seem to get less out of it than would a member of the Nazi Party or the Roman Catholic Church would out of their chosen professions.

Although he has been through all these creeds, Saxon retains a healthy scepticism towards them. His expose of Bible Bandits as he so quaintly terms them, is masterly. Bible Bandits are those people who quote the bible in order to obtain divine endorsement of their chosen views (perhaps there are some quotations favourable to Anarchism – they'd confound the Jehovah's Witnesses the next time they knock on your door!) Unfortunately, some who use the Bible do not even bother to quote it correctly, and are good aunt sallies for Saxon's wide-ranging knowledge of this pernicious book.

In a like vein, he finally returns to Jeane Dixon. In the same way that folklore attributes successes to those who had nothing to do with them, so Dixon has predictions which the never made attributed to her. Like the adulated demagogue, her failures are glossed over whilst her successes are publicised. A final lunacy, which puts most of the soothsayers theories in a nutshell: Watergate. A water gate is a gate by water. In 1970s parlance it means a political scandal in which a president of the United States got caught for a change. Dixon claimed that Watergate was predicted in the Bible in the eighth chapter of Nehemiah. Unfortunately, in Nehemiah (if anyone should really care) there were also references to the sheep gate, the fish gate, the dung gate, the valley gate, the fountain gate, the horse gate as well as the water gate. But

such is the power of self-delusion that Jeane Dixon 'predicted Watergate', and as an added bonus used the Bible.

Kurt Saxon's output is not restricted to put-downs of fraudulent soothsayers and mystics. He is editor of a surprisingly complex monthly paper, *The Survivor*, which is a sort of post-apocalyptic Whole Earth Catalogue, but with the emphasis on self-reliance. Each month *The Survivor* gives practical details, with diagrams, on self-reliance in self-defence, power manufacture, windmills, firearms, antiblur devices, chemicals and other necessities of post-industrial civilisation life. Details of still making for your own alcohol (or teax gas!), steam cars, or survival electronics via with reprints of nineteenth century survival in the construction of an era of American rugged individualism – the colonisation of the West. Whilst politically individualist (especially the 'how to set up your own motorcycle gang' pieces), the information gleaned from numerous disparate sources by Saxon is of the highest importance.

As companion to *The Survivor*, Atlan has also produced three *Granddad* books, on chemistry, medicines and explosives. Most revolutionary is *Fireworks and Explosives Like Granddad Used to Make*. Again, the format is new material plus reprints of earlier years. To quote from the introduction: "Dick's Encyclopedia of Practical Recipes and Processes was first published in 1872. It details methods for making everything from deadly poisons to high explosives, narcotics, shoe polish, all the most popular patent medicines of the day and ketchup. When that book was published, most of those who would misuse its information were in prison or nuthouses. The rational, law-abiding person was trusted with no end of potentially dangerous materials... As more people were born into our society who were mentally defective, or just naturally stupid or irresponsible, many wonderful things were made illegal..."

This is the strength and weakness of Saxon's credo. While he encourages the 'responsible' to make firearms, explosives and medicines, he blames the authoritarianism of the government upon people's increasing stupidity. Stupid perhaps to accept the authoritarian edicts of the gangsters called the government, but the theory of 'mimimal brain damage' to which Kurt Saxon subscribes, i.e. the increasing fall in average intelligence, smacks of elitist philosophy. Such a viewpoint tends to justify actions of the authorities as a protective shield against natural stupidity, as one might shield a toddler from a fire.

However, these criticisms aside, the actual information contained in *Granddad's Wonderful Book of Chemistry, Fireworks and Explosives Like Granddad Used to Make and Medicines Like Granddad Used to Make* is a useful tool to against elitist restriction of information. Amazing quantities of useful information are packed between the covers of these volumes, though much of the medical information, being taken directly from the nineteenth century, is of the leeches and lancet nature.

The Survivor is the spiritual successor, if not politically, then structurally, of the old 1960s underground press. The survival in the

forthcoming wilderness aspect exactly echoes the intention of the Underground Press's manifesto of 1967 to prepare the people for the wilderness. The tone of *The Survivor* is not whether, but when the collapse comes, an increasingly-held opinion found not only in ecological and anarchist periodicals, but even now in the Nazi publications, of *White Power*, Socialist White People's Party, successors to George Lincoln Rockwell's American Nazi Party. If the collapse comes, anarchists would be better placed if they have read and understood such survivalist publications. As people who do not rely upon leaders, or the random instructions of others, they are better placed than most.

Nigel Pennick.

Fireworks & Explosives Like Granddad Used to Make is now published as part of the new edition of *The Poor Man's James Bond* (£6.50 + 50p ppd) and bound editions of Vol. 1 & Vol. 2 of *The Survivor* (£5.00 each + 50p ppd) can be obtained through Cientfuegos Press Bookservice.

State Secrets and Freemasonry & the Vatican, Vicente Leon de Poncin; *Grand Orient Freemasonry Unmasked*: as the secret power behind Communism, Monsignor George F. Dillon, D.D., *Christian by Degrees*, Walton Hannah. All published by Britons Publishing Co.

Authoritarian views of the world, indeed of the whole universe, are tempered by underlying beliefs in a guiding principle of order. Whether this order be classified as the Will of God, Destiny or Historical Necessity, it is seen as a progressive ordering of events towards a final goal – world domination, the Kingdom of Heaven or whatever. Authoritarian creeds throughout history have viewed the world in their own terms and this has usually involved the belief that their opponents were part of a cosmic conspiracy against them. Christian fanatics believed that their opponents were agents of the Devil, carrying out his master plan to thwart the Will of God. An estimated nine million unfortunate women and men were done to death in the most hideous fashions over the centuries as a result of this myth.

From these theories, in which the world is conceived as a struggle between two opposing principles of order, have been born the twin modern authoritarian creeds. Call them what you will, 'Marxist' or 'fascist,' left and right – no epithets truly express the nature of these systems – what they have in common is the ingrained belief in their correctness and an equally ingrained belief that a world conspiracy exists solely to destroy them. Their very faith in their own infallibility renders impossible the admission that they are themselves to blame for the systems' failures. They know that fascism or Marxism or Christianity are perfect in themselves, and it follows that: any failures or setbacks must originate outside.

Perhaps one of the most notorious hoaxes of all time (if one excludes the resurrection) was perpetrated, it is believed, by the Russian Czarist secret police – *The Protocols of the Learned Elders of Zion*. This book may be counted as the definitive exposition of the

BOOK REVIEWS

idea of world Jewish domination, and as such has a lot to answer for. In 1918, the Britons Publishing Company was set up in London to publish the book and others in the same vein. Common to the *Elders of Zion*, many such works posit the assumption that all powers and forces which act against the Christian World Order, the Monarchy, Britishness, etc., are part and parcel of a coherent and organised plot, often involving the Freemasons, always the Jews, to overthrow the *status quo* in order to set up a quite different order in the world.

Although fascism as such was only in embryo when the *Elders of Zion* was published, soon the ideas contained in it enabled authors with an occult view of world events to amalgamate the theory with political and economic ideas, with results only too well known to us all. The final result is National Socialism, which encapsulates the whole mystico-political syndrome in a sometimes coherent framework. The whole gamut of "conspirators" is attacked — Jews, Freemasons, Anarchists, Communists, Jehovah's Witnesses, Jesuits, Gypsies — are all seen as agents of subversion under the control of a sinister master plan.

The whole theory is manifested in several books from Britons Publishing, which purport to deal with the relationships between the Freemasons, Jewish interests, revolution and power politics. The earliest of the books dealt with here is *Grand Orient Freemasonry Unmasked*, which was originally published in 1885 as *The War of Antichrist with the Church and Christian Civilization*. A fancy title book of the hyperauthoritarian Pope Leo XIII, *Grand Orient Freemasonry* is an archetypal example of the conspiracy theory in action. Its author, Mr. Dillon, traces the supposed history of Freemasonry through its alleged members and their influence on history, producing atheist revolution against Christian stability. The foreword of the current edition, by Dennis Fahey C.S.Sp., is more extreme than the book which it followed, having had another 60 years of development beyond it. Fahey's essay is in some ways more illuminating than the book itself, being a classical Christian anti-Semitic tract. Of the Jewish people he writes "On account of their racial pride they refused to accept that there could be any higher life than their national life and they would not hear of the non-Jewish nations entering into the Kingdom of the Mystical Body on the same level as themselves. The Crucifixion of our Lord on Calvary was . . . the public rejection by the Jewish nation of the Divine programme for order in the world . . ." and "The Jewish nation is a *non secret* organised naturalistic force, that is to say, its naturalistic opposition to the Mystical Body of Christ is openly proclaimed. Freemasonry, the organised naturalistic force acting in subordination to and in conjunction with the Jewish nation, is a *secret society* . . ." There is no hiding here what the intentions of Britons Publishing is. The book itself is somewhat less explicit, though it carries the same intention.

The theory is that the Jews, having spurned God's gift of Jesus, and hence having rejected the Kingdom of Heaven, decided to set up their own temporal kingdom over the peoples of the world. With this in mind, they worked

secretly through the medium of the Freemasons, Dillon writes "A Portuguese Jew, named Martinez Pasquals, was the first to introduce Illuminism into the Lodge of Lyons, and his system was afterwards perfected in wickedness by Saint Martin, from whom French Illuminism took its name. Illuminism meant the extreme extent of immorality, Atheism, anarchy, levelling and bloodshed, to which the principles of Masonry could be carried. It meant a universal conspiracy against the Church and established order." Here, in a nutshell, is the theory. As any movement viewed in authoritarian eyes must have a leader or architect, so here, Adam Weishaupt is that kingpin. Professor of Canon Law at Munich university, Weishaupt, we would be led to believe, shaped the modern world more than Isaac Newton or Charles Darwin. Dillon: "Had Weishaupt not lived, Masonry may have ceased to be a power after the reaction consequent on the first French Revolution. He gave it a form and a character which caused it to outlive that reaction, to erupt it to the present day, and . . . will cause it to advance until its final conflict with Christianity must determine whether Christ or Satan shall reign on this earth to the end." Fanatical ravings, one might assume. And so they are, with one proviso: their impact. Whilst not wishing to set up my own conspiracy theory with regard to this book, it may be pointed out that much ill has come of such ideas. After treating with Voltaire, the French Revolution (caused, of course by the Freemasons), Napoleon and Bismarck, all under the control of, if not actually, Freemasons, Dillon has the shrewdness not to fall into the trap that Communism is a deliberate creation of masonry, as some authors have done. One of his myriad quotes expresses admirably the whole ethos behind the conspiracy myth: "No one can read English or European history from the period of memorandum onward (Henry VI) without realising that to that history there has been an inner side not cognised or treated by academic historians . . . but to that current one must look for the secret Masonic science, and to its projection . . . modern speculative Masonry" (W.Wilmhurst, *Masonic Initiation*). Poncin sees this occult world in action even now: ". . . the whole of Africa is the prize; Communism and Freemasonry are playing a satanic gamble for it . . ." (quoting a Monseigneur Perraudin, himself quoted in the Catholic review *Verbe*, July-August 1961). "Freemasons as a whole are not Communists; nevertheless, everywhere, Freemasonry has prepared the ground for the coming and triumph of Communism . . ." (Poncin himself, for a change). According to him, and of interest to Anarchists, the Spanish Revolution was caused by the Freemasons. In another long quote, this time from *Le Figaro* of March 2nd 1931, the Masonic theory enters an even more grotesque phase. After attacking the fascist Primo de Rivera for being too lax with the suppression of Freemasonry, we get the following gem: "In 1928, knowing that he (Rivera) was being secretly combated by the sect, which on the other side of the Pyrenees has a particularly uncompromising revolutionary spirit (we have but to recall the Masonic Anarchist [sic, N.P.] Ferrer, who was truly typical of the Spanish Mason) he ordered

of Rome wants "one form, one compulsory belief, one language and one rite for Nordic men, Levantines, Niggers, Chinese and Eskimos." Other writers of the right take a less forthright view of the Catholic Church and its relations with world conspiracies.

Vicomte Leon de Poncin is yet another author in this vein published by Britons. Author of such seminal works as *Judaism and the Vatican* and *The Secret Powers behind Revolution*, de Poncin's thesis is a more political one than the Christian approaches of the previous two authors mentioned. Poncin's method is to use numerous quotations from varied sources throughout his works, thus lending them an air of authenticity. Unfortunately, and quite deliberately, we neither know the context of the quotations nor their primary sources, as many are bald statements which most likely are just opinion, for example: "Freemasonry is the permanent personification of the Revolution; it constitutes a sort of society in reverse whose aim is to exercise an occult lordship upon society as we know it, and whose sole raison d'être consists in waging war against God and His Church" (Pope Leo XIII, 19/3/1902), or "The Masonic coat-of-arms still used by the Grand Lodge of England is undoubtedly of Jewish design" (Nesta Webster, *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*).

In common with right-wing anti-masonic tradition, de Poncin believes that the Freemasons were responsible for the French Revolution and the ideas which led to the development of Communism, whilst he has the shrewdness not to fall into the trap that Communism is a deliberate creation of masonry, as some authors have done. One of his myriad quotes expresses admirably the whole ethos behind the conspiracy myth: "There are terrible societies which are unquestionably connected with, and governed by, the dark directory, which now, as at all times since the days of Weishaupt, rules the secret societies of the world."

Christian by Degrees, from the same publishing house, is of much more recent origin, representing the Christian orthodox anti-masonic stance. It is interesting in that it exposes much of the mumbo-jumbo which passes for masonic ritual, but as its main thesis is that Freemasonry is essentially non-Christian and as such is a threat to the Church, it is of little interest to anarchists.

It is surprising to consider that the almost totally separate systems of orthodox Catholic Christianity and Nazism both have so much in common when it comes to choosing scapegoats and conspirators. The Christians blame the Jews for having rejected the saviour, whilst the Nazis blame the Jews for a religion which preaches their world domination. Both fear the Jews, and their supposed dupes, for threatening their "rightful" domination of the globe. Certain aspects of Nazism, as exemplified by the writings of Rosenberg, transfer this to the church in the same manner that the Jewish "plot" is transferred to the Freemasons by other writers. In *Der Mythus des 20. Jahrhunderts*, Rosenberg writes that the Church

BOOK REVIEWS

investigations to be made at the headquarters of the Grand Orient of Madrid . . ." This, the writer went on to explain, led to the downfall of that odious regime and the formation of the Republic which was to be crushed by the heel of Franco, who, on his deathbed gave that the Freemasons and the Jews were to blame.

That such a libel of Ferrer is published without comment, indeed, as corroboration of the evidence presented by de Poncin is a gross indictment of the rest of the book. Towards the end of *Freemasonry and the Parish*, de Poncin brings out the latest claims against the Masons, strangely enough, virtually the same claims which are levelled against Jewish interest in the last Britons book reviewed here. It is that the occult forces of Masonry are in action today, after the "triumph for Freemasonry" of the First World War. "Freemasonry inspired and dominated most of the democratic Governments of the new Europe . . .", "Freemasonry was the reigning power in France from 1918 to 1939" and finally "Freemasonry as a system is fundamentally hostile to the whole civilisation, culture and way of life of Western Europe, which was created and founded on Christianity . . . its methods of insidious penetration have enabled it to infiltrate the church, where it finds powerful support in progressive circles. . . The subversive movements today consider that burrowing inwardly is more efficacious than open, bloody revolution."

De Poncin's other book, *State Secrets*, purports to show that the Jews are to blame for wars in this century. Chapter I commences "Is it possible, is it even conceivable that the Jews, by sheer weight of their influence alone, could unleash a world war? It is probably unbelievable, and yet this is exactly what has happened three times

in the course of the last half century . . ." Whilst most people think there have only been two world wars so far, in World Conspiracy circles the Boer War was a world war. While governments are usually infinitely corrupt and influenced from many diverse sources, de Poncin would have us believe that all acts performed by them are at the direct instigation of "the Jews," and the outcome of all events are therefore favourable to those Jews. Tell that to the inmates of Treblinka, Auschwitz etc., who were mainly Jewish.

Such books as these four from Britons, which incidentally used to be based at Arnold Leese House, Princes Road, London, later the headquarters of Colin Jordan and John Tyndall's National Socialist Movement in the early 1950s, are of formula books which are produced for a certain market in the same way that the works of Lenin or Mao-Tse-Tung are churned out by presses in Peking or Moscow. What they have in common is a party line and an uncritical acceptance of all information

presented in them. The theory is stated, and then evidence is found to support it. World conspiracy is an attractive theory. Unfortunately it stems from a simplistic world picture, more in keeping with the mechanistic cosmologies of the ancients than those of the modern age. But whilst such ideas circulate and find in gullible or self-deluded minds fertile ground, then the effects which they may have cancel a million-fold the patent absurdities which otherwise could be taken almost as a joke in bad taste.

Nigel Pennick.



BOOK REVIEWS

LAND, LIBERTY & LETTERS

Land & Liberty? Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution: Ricardo Flores Magon, edited by Dave Poole, jacket illustration by Flavio Costantini, Cienfuegos Press, 1977, £2.35 p/b, £5.00 h/b (156pp).

This book is the only study of the subject available in any language other than Spanish, and even in Spanish there are not a lot of books available outside Mexico. As Albert Meltzer points out in his introduction, almost nothing is known about the Mexican Revolution which was every bit as important as the Soviet Revolution. His book?

In my view, the Mexican Revolution is of fundamental importance in that it broke out and developed according to a pattern different from the European one – socialist, marxist and anarchist (what influence they did yield was only among tiny sectors of society) and, of course, it is a reflection of the reactions of the people itself. What a formidable paradox we find in the dictatorial regime against which the revolution was set: a government dominated by technocrats immersed in the progressive "Order and progress" philosophy of Comte, industry flourishing, with cosmopolitan influences from international capitalism, while the appearances of democracy are maintained. After the outbreak of the Paris Commune, the propertied classes tightened up their control so as to avert outbreaks of that sort. And yet, in spite of all this, revolution raises its head in both the impoverished areas – in the north with the small farmers and a leader who was to become a famous name, Francisco "Pancho" Villa – as well as in those provinces most favoured by the government, such as Morelos with its large peasant Indian population and a leader in Emiliano Zapata, in the south.

The Mexican anarchists were able to seize upon a breach in the bourgeois system – the struggle between Porfirio Diaz and Madero – to launch the "Land and Liberty" movement for direct revolution, defiance of the capitalist codes and the launching of an appeal for popular action, which were increasingly adopted by Villa and Zapata. And just as in the Soviet Union Trotsky made use of the Ukrainian anarchists only to decimate their numbers later by treachery and just as the soviets ended up as a mere name with no real content, in Mexico the bourgeoisie murdered Villa and Zapata even though their demands were incorporated into the 1917 constitution: separation of Church and State, and agrarian reform with property being held by the ejido, or Indian or peasant village or community. It was the first agrarian reform to give land to collectives of poor peasants (during the French Revolution land passed from the hands of the clergy and aristocracy to the hands of the bourgeoisie or rich peasants, just as in the U.S.S.R.). Lenin allowed the economic grandeur of the rich peasants – or kulaks – at the expense of the poorer ones, but in this instance also, the bourgeoisie continued its exploitation with the law being forgotten many a long year until

such time as it was carried into effect with Cardenistas after 1936 as a gambit in the elections.

Knowing this, one can understand the importance of this book and Dave Poole's forthcoming studies of which the manifestos given here from Flores Magon, and the sample given through his life of the activities of the Mexican anarchist movement, are a foretaste. Starting from clandestine activities (that is to say, terrorist activity whilst at the same time operating under a phonier political label, while being open about his ideas) and leading (folk with no political education and a Catholic educational background, Flores Magon constantly linked his critique of the political situation with religious assertions such as: "happiness is on earth, not in heaven", and "the land belongs to everyone" (p.44, from 1910), "revolution comes through struggle against the State, the Church and the *científico*" (p.98, from 1911). (*Científico*: the various tendencies of the Mexican bourgeoisie (like Madero's, and then Huerta's, Carranza's and Obregon's) opposed to the international bourgeoisie, all of them seeking to enslave the people as cannon fodder).

There are a number of what seem to me very important points, and I should like Dave Poole to deal with them or comment upon them. The first is the claim that the people owing to their ignorance and thus their lack of capitalist education, but thanks to their respect for the tradition of collective ownership, will assimilate the ideas of anarchism directly (p.25). One can find the same idea in Bakunin's proposal of the Russian *mir* in *Statism & Anarchy – Etatisme et Anarchie* – p.369, Editions Champ Libre) and even in Marx who had to conclude the same notion nine years later on, in 1882, in the preface to the second Russian edition of the Communist Manifesto. Another point is the manipulation of the anarcho-syndicalists by the bourgeoisie to turn them into a military unit and send them against the armed peasants of Zapata. And then later, when these same workers went on strike, the government repressed them. With this fact in mind, and the failure of French anarcho-syndicalism in 1914 to prevent the chauvinism of labour and participation in the war, and the contrast with the sincerity of the Spanish C.N.T., I wonder if, in Mexico, like in France, the anarcho-syndicalists did not gauge their strength by the fact that they held some important positions rather than real influence among the workers.

One may note the influence here, as in the Spanish Revolution, of *The Conquest of Bread* by Kropotkin (pp. 8, 117, 127, 138), who remains the most relevant thinker, whatever the unfounded criticisms levelled against him by Malatesta and Berner.

Another thing – it does not appear in Poole's book – is the odd racist demand for "a ban on Chinese immigration" . . . "The Chinese, generally prepared to work for the lowest of wages, docile, with little ambition, is a great obstacle to the prosperity of other workers", which is to be found in the programme of the Liberal Party of 1906, quoted by Silva Herzog in *Breve historia de la revolución mexicana* ("Short History of the Mexican Revolution") Vol. I, p.82. Incidental reformism or a deeply held position?

But Flores Magon's lucid style is brought out in the take of the soldier of the scientific (i.e.

bourgeois) army who returns to the village only to find the same old misery and constant corruption. It has as its refrain "Para que hemos hecho la revolución?" (What did we make the Revolution?) which had tremendous echo in the killing of the students in 1968 and the current endemic poverty and banditry. The sinister levity of the class that holds power in Mexico is described, sometimes the spirit of Magon, by the famous contemporary novelist, Carlos Fuentes, "So we get a bit carried away on the roads? The ejido commissioners embezzle a half of what is set aside for the budget? So what? Would you prefer that nothing had been done, just to avoid those abuses?" (*La región más transparente*, Fondo de Cultura Económica, p.110).

But there is none on Fuentes' irony in Frederick Engels' opinion of the war between Mexico and the United States (1846–1848) which ended with the U.S. annexing over half the country (2.3 million square kilometres): "Will Bakunin take the North American people to task for a war which, true, was not in keeping with his theories based on 'Justice and Humanity', but was manifestly waged in the interests of civilisation?" Or is it perhaps a shame that the superb land of California has been snatched from the indolent Mexicans who had no idea what to do with it? A shame that, thanks to prompt exploitation of its gold mines the energetic Yankees have increased the currency in circulation, and in a few years attracted a large population and great trade to the part nearest the Pacific?" (*Neue Rheinische Zeitung*, 1849). A view held by many today who fail to distinguish between industrial development and the absence of exploitation of the workers – by the U.S.S.R. and China – a view that Flores Magon was denouncing as far back as 1911: "All the ills that afflict humanity spring from the existing system, which compels the majority to toil and sacrifice itself that a privileged minority may satisfy its wants and even its caprices while living in ease and vice." (p.101).

Frank Mintz

Prison Letters of Ricardo Flores Magon to Lilly Sarroff, compiled and introduced by Paul Avrich, reprinted from the International Review of Social History, Vol. XXII (1977) Part 3 pp.379-422, no price given.

Although first written in English, this is the first time that any sizeable selection of Ricardo Flores Magon's prison letters have appeared in their original language, apart from the publication of a few individual ones and a poorly reproduced facsimile edition to complement a Spanish translation by *Tierra y Libertad* of Mexico City; and all thanks must go to our comrade Rodolfo de Jong of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam, where the letters are now held, on whose initiative they were reproduced in the Institute's Journal. Despite this though, a complete collection of Ricardo's prison letters has appeared in several Spanish translations including Vol VIII of his selected works *Vida y Obra* 1925 under the title *Epistolario Revolucionario e Intimo*. This has recently been reprinted by Ediciones Antorcha of Mexico City. (This for some reason or another is not mentioned in the introduction to this edition though). The vast majority of the letters were translated from English, but unfortunately the originals are untraceable.

**CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 164**

BOOK REVIEWS

Do you think to the foresight of Lilly Sarnoff, now Lilly Raymond, Ricardo's letters to her have been preserved, and these make up the present little collection.

Lilly Sarnoff herself, who today, with Nicolas T. Bernal is, as far as is known, the only person still alive who knew Ricardo Flores Magon, began to correspond with him while she was working on the defence committee for his release, under the pseudonym Ellen White, and their correspondence spans the years 1920-1922 when Ricardo was in Leavenworth Prison, Kansas serving a savage 20 year sentence for the alleged violation of the Espionage Laws introduced by the US on their entrance to the World War in 1916.

These letters of Ricardo Flores Magon are of great interest and importance on several levels. First they give us a wonderful idea of Ricardo the man, his great warm heartedness and his never dying hope for the future that remained with him until the last, despite continual persecution, imprisonment, torture and eventual murder by the US authorities, and during his final years almost continual ill health and gradual blindness (of which he constantly refers in his letters), which was aggravated by lack of adequate medical attention. "... The human heart needs hope" he wrote, "and it is for this that as soon as one hope fails, up springs the next. I have had so many hopes . . . Many of them are now dead, and my heart is heavy with the weight of their corpses, but new ones always replace them, fair and rosy hopes are always fair, – hopes are always rosy – and I continue hoping, hoping, hoping . . ."

And replying to Lilly Sarnoff's impatience at the slowness of events:

"... For where is the dignity of which we boast so much? A man or a group of men can keep under his sway millions and millions of so-called human beings; he can subject them to all imaginable and unimaginable indignities; he can dictate to them what to do, and what not to do; he can interfere in the private and most intimate affairs of the individuals; he can even prescribe what to say and what to think . . . and everybody submits, everyone gladly surrenders his dignity, his honour, his pride, his freedom, if he only is allowed to get his allotted portion of crusts . . . is this not simply animal?"

But the tyrant must be careful so as not to cause the dwindling of the amount of crusts.

Crusts and moving-picture shows keep nowadays the masses in submission, an effectively as bread and circus placated the sporadic furies of the Roman plebs. Thus we have to be patient dear Ellen, and wait for the scene to be changed. We have not to wait very long as the crusts are dwindling and dwindling and dwindling and in an inverse ratio the number of those afflicted with our thirst and tormented with our hunger and our yearnings, in growing, growing, and in the presence of this fact, from the depth of my being issues forth a sigh of relief: there is hope! . . ."

His attitude to his own imprisonment

was somewhat stoic, but this did not hide a certain bitterness. ". . . I do not see any reason why class war prisoners should be kept in bondage further on. To keep us

pent up, I believe, is unnecessary and fruitless cruelty. We are kept apart from the rest of the mortals in the hope that our discontent should not infect others. But are we really a source of discontent? For my part I can say that I am not. I have not raised the price of bread; I have not deprived any child of its milk. I have not thrown any family out into the gutter for lack of payment of the rent, because I have not a dwelling place for myself; I have not deprived anyone of the right of thinking with his own head, and of acting accordingly; I have not compelled anybody to sweat and work even give his life for me; no one can point at me as the occasioner of his tatters, and his tears, and his despair. How then, might I cause discontent? And if I am not a source of discontent why is it that they do not unfetter my wings, and let me fly to that spot on earth where tender hearts pine away for my absence?

All this makes me suspect that they do not keep me in captivity because I am a source of discontent, but because I want to suppress it, I strive to extricate from our earth all the sorrow, and degradation and misery which springs forth from every situation wherein there is no one who commands and another who obeys. This is my fault I think, this is my crime, and if it is so, I bless it, and cherish it and I am ready to commit it again with my whole heart, with my whole brain, with my whole body . . ."

". . . Thus for feculence's sake I must remain a prisoner. I do not complain – it is only natural for the hyena to believe it is his privilege to feast on decaying flesh: those who strive at being wolves have a right to, but for decency's sake, do not cover such appalling regression of barbarism if we have ever emerged from it – which I very much doubt – with the cloak of justice . . ."

The second level on which these letters are important is Ricardo Flores Magon's contribution to anarchist attitudes towards the Russian Revolution, Marxism and Syndicalism.

From the beginning of the Russian Revolution which Ricardo had greeted with great enthusiasm, until 1921 he saw it degenerate from a true social revolution to a mere political revolution, following the same path as the Mexican revolution followed 11 years before; "... a dictatorship is tyranny and cannot lead to tyranny, and I am against tyranny whether exercised by the workers or the bourgeoisie. This Russian question preoccupies me much, I am afraid that the Russian masses, after waiting in vain for the freedom and well-being which has been promised them by the dictatorship of Lenin and Trotsky should revert to capitalism again. The actual starvation of the Russian masses after two years of management of the industry by the state, may drive these masses to the conclusion that the old system of production is good, and so, instead of putting the industries under the direct management of the workers they may hand them back to the private owners."

". . . Those who could not believe our assertion now think how it is that tyranny cannot evolve itself into Freedom . . . tyranny breeds tyranny. The so-called necessary transition between tyranny and Freedom has really proven to be a transition between a revolutionary abortion and normalcy that is charism, though with a new garment to satisfy the shallowness of the masses . . ."

His attitude towards Marxism, although hostile, never went to the extent of declaring war on them, and for this reason he criticised a pamphlet written by Marcus Graham, "Anarchism and the World Revolution."

". . . but I do not agree in declaring war against the Marxists that in all countries are endeavouring to overthrow capitalism. This would be to ensure a victory to the common enemy. I am for presenting a solid front against it, and then, when the monster is dead, to fight against any imposition the Marxists would pretend to carry on . . ."

This attitude was adopted by many Russian workers and anarchists as Voline notes, with disastrous results. As the Marxists presence in the Mexican Revolution was non-existent Ricardo never saw their handywork at first hand. Yet for anarchists now, in the light of events in Spain and Cuba, there can be no collaboration with the Marxists.

As for syndicalism his attitude varied little from Malatesta's:

". . . You want my opinion as to what attitude we libertarians should adopt before the syndicalist movement. One thing I firmly believe we must not do – to be against it. Of all forms of labour organisation, syndicalism stands on the most advanced ground, and it is our duty to help it, and if we cannot bring the movement as a whole to the high plain of our aspirations and ideas, we at least must endeavour to prevent its receding to more conservative aims and tactics. I do not believe, however, that syndicalism will ever succeed in breaking up the chains of the capitalist system by itself; that will be the work of a chaotic conglomeration of tendencies: that will be the blind work of the masses moved to action by despair and suffering, but then syndicalism can be the nucleus of the new system of production and distribution, and in this role it will be of great importance, for its action will not only prevent the prolongation of chaotic conditions favourable to the environment of a new despotism, but will keep the masses from want and privation, rendering this difficult, if not impossible, their reversing to the dead state of things . . ."

This incidentally refutes the idea held by many among some anarchists, who have claimed that Ricardo was an anarcho-syndicalist.

Ricardo Flores Magon's prison letters are excellently introduced by Paul Avrich who has also provided some interesting footnotes on the personalities and events mentioned in the letter.

The appearance of this little book could not have come at a more opportune time, now that interest in Ricardo Flores Magon, the indomitable fighter for Land and Liberty, and without doubt, the most important Mexican anarchist of our century, is growing. Unfortunately though, in its present form at least, it will not reach the people it should. Let us hope that in the not too distant future a complete English edition of his prison letters will be available.

D.P.

BOOK REVIEWS

Anarchism in France: The case of Octave Mirbeau, Reg Carr, Manchester University Press, 190pp, £7.95.

Many graduates in this country, and more so in the United States, devote their PhD thesis to some particular aspect or personality of the anarchist movement both past and present. Although very often interesting to read they do tend to reduce anarchist themes to a mere academic formula. The vast majority of these remain unread and unpublished, sacrifices to the university industry. A hand-full though do get published, the publisher usually trying to get a market on the upsurge of recent renewed interest in anarchism, and some of these do, in their own way, contribute to a greater understanding of our own history. Others unfortunately teach us next to nothing, and it is in this category that Carr's study of Octave Mirbeau, based on his thesis "Octave Mirbeau and Anarchism," falls.

Although Mirbeau was, without doubt, the most important literary anarchist sympathiser in France during the 1880s and 90s he always remained on the extreme periphery, to say the least, of the anarchist movement, his only real contact centering around his friendship with Jean Grave, the editor of *Le Révolté* and later *Les Temps Nouveaux*, and for a short while only Sébastien Faure, the editor of *Liberation*. Mirbeau's contribution to anarchist propaganda was also somewhat odd as it was, with a few rare exceptions, always indirect; the articles appearing in the anarchist press being reprints from his articles written for bourgeois liberal/radical press.

Mirbeau came from an extremely well off family, he was born in Normandy in 1848, and after an education by the Jesuits, law studies and service in the army during the Franco Prussian war, he became in 1879 a freelance journalist of pronounced right-wing views contributing to Bonapartist and monarchist newspapers. In the mid 1880s though he abandoned his former ideas and moved to the extreme left, adopting anarchism as his social ideal. This volte face coincided with the publication of his first serious literary achievement, a collection of short stories, *Letters from my Cottage (1885)*. These stories were followed by a series of full length novels with a strong social message; *Galaxy*, (1886), *Abbe Jules*, (1888), and *Sébastien Roche*, (1890).

At the same time Mirbeau's journalism took on a more radical tone, and in 1888 he wrote a powerful article attacking the general elections of that year called *The electors strike, for Le Figaro*. This article was immediately reprinted by Jean Grave in *Le Révolté*. This was to begin Mirbeau's close collaboration with Grave. Mirbeau's article incidentally was later printed as a pamphlet which became very popular, being used as propaganda well into the 1930s. Over the next 15 years or so Grave was to reprint not only articles, but long selections from Mirbeau's novels in the literary supplement of both his journals. In 1891 Grave was taken to court by the Societe des Gens de Lettres for using copyright material without formal permission, although he always had the authors' permission, and it was Mirbeau who came to his defence as he did again in 1894 when Grave was arrested for publishing a cheap edition of his book *Dying*.

Society and Anarchy, for which Mirbeau had written the introduction.

During the bomb wave of 1892-94 following the Clichy affair Mirbeau, like many of the leading anarchist personalities of the time, condemned the bombings but not the bombers, and he wrote a very good article in defence of Ravachol. In the mounting repression against the anarchist movement his home was raided by the police in 1894, and at this juncture he thought it prudent to take refuge in England for a short while (as Zola was to do during the Dreyfus affair some years later).

From 1896 he collaborated with Sébastien Faure and a few other anarchists in the growing public defence of Alfred Dreyfus the Jewish army officer wrongly accused of being a German spy.

During this time Mirbeau began to write for the theatre and produced very successful full length plays, *The Bad Shepherd*, (1807), *Business is Business*, (1903) and *The Home* (1908), as well as a series of one act plays grouped under the title *Moralities and Farces* (these included *The Epidemic*, 1898, *The Lovers* 1904 and *Scrapes* 1904). Mirbeau's plays were hailed by the anarchists of the day especially *The Bad Shepherd* while in Italy Victor Merle translated the short plays in *Moralities and Farces* as propaganda pieces.

While concentrating on the theatre he still continued to write novels including the pornographic *The Garden of Tortures* (1899), and his best known work *The Diary of a Chambermaid* (1900) (later made famous as a film by Luis Buñuel). Later in 1907 he wrote *628E8*, the story of a motor trip through France, Belgium, Holland and Germany in which he puts forward the necessity for internationalism (Mirbeau incidentally was one of the first public figures in France to promote the motor car).

In 1908 he gave up journalism and retired to the country where he lived as a recluse. His last novel *Dingo* (1913) tells the somewhat allegorical story of a dog that rebels against society. With the outbreak of war in 1914 which came as a great shock to him, Mirbeau retreated into himself fully apart from issuing a few statements condemning militarism, but when he died in 1917 his wife, together with Gustave Harve, a former anti-militarist who Mirbeau had helped to defend in 1910, forged a pro-war statement alleged to have been made some days before his death. This statement was rejected by many of his old friends including Sébastien Faure.

Mirbeau's anarchism, it has always seemed to hide his personal revolt against his own background and general discontentment and Carr's study does nothing to dispel this view. The book, for a start is badly titled, as it has very little to do with French anarchism as such. On this score it should have been given the title of Carr's thesis which was in fact well chosen. The treatment of Mirbeau's literary and political work is to say the least wooden and tells only a short, details of Mirbeau's early and private life being omitted together with any explanation for his adoption of anarchism. This lack of information and analysis is aggravated by the book's practical defect, this being that all the quotations from

Mirbeau's works are left untranslated in their original French. An appendix reproduces five of Mirbeau's most important (according to Carr) anarchist texts, including *The electors strike* and these are left untranslated. This I find unforgivable and unnecessary. Because of this the book is useless for those who do not understand French and therefore its readership is greatly reduced. Apart from this drawback the book teaches us very little about Mirbeau. After reading it he still remains a mystery. All in all this is a very disappointing book.

D.P.

Le mouvement ouvrier aux Etats-Unis de 1866 à nos jours, Daniel Guérin, Maspero, Paris, 1977, 218pp.

Daniel Guérin is a prolific author, with an agile mind, who has written one of the best books on anarchism and a very important work on fascism. Here he turns his attention to a pocket sized history of the workers' movement in the USA. He traces the history of class warfare in the US from the time of the Knights of Labour, through the growth of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW) and the American Federation of Labour, to the formation of the Committee for Industrial Organisation (CIO), in an attempt to radicalise the latter. The inter-war period is examined in some detail, and the hysterical anti-communist sweep America is related closely to changes in the law and practice of the Unions. Lastly he scrutinises the new militancy that has characterised certain industries. This is a book which ought to be available in English, but unfortunately isn't.

Bakunin: Oeuvres complètes. Relations avec Sergei Necœv, ed. A. Lehning, Editions Champ Libre, Paris.

This edition of Arthur Lehning is very important as it makes us consider the problem of revolutionary violence, its implications, and the positions that Bakunin took on the subject.

Serge Netchaiev (I don't know why this French version was not adopted in Lehning's edition) was a very determined revolutionary who, shortly after his arrival in the west, was accused of criminal activity by the Russian government. A demand was made for his extradition from Switzerland. The request was accepted, and Netchaiev was extradited, on the condition that he was not condemned for his political activity. It seemed in fact that this was respected at first. Netchaiev was condemned to forced labour – 20 years – and to remain in Siberia in perpetuity. But then the Tsar decreed that he was a dangerous politician and had him secretly locked up in a fortress for life. The Croissant affair is thus only a repetition of the past: the same systems engender the same attitudes.

Netchaiev was accused of the murder of a member of his group. However, Engels (in "The Alliance of the Social Democracy and the A.I.T.", 1873), the bourgeoisie and, most recently, Henry Arvon (a Marxist who makes his bread and butter by defaming anarchist ideas, which is why they are happy to publish him) all pretend the "Revolutionary Catechism" which expects the utmost severity and implacable toughness in revolutionary activity, is without doubt by Bakunin.

In fact, the ambiguity came from the sympathy

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 167

BOOK REVIEWS

which Bakunin at first felt for Netchaiev, and the vitality which he displayed. But Bakunin soon separated from him, although not before he had allowed himself to become involved in his previous dealings among the exiled Russians. In his long letter of June 2, 1870, Bakunin explains: "Yes, my dear friend, you are not a materialist like we poor sinners, but an idealist, a prophet, a priest of the revolution. Your hero cannot be Babeuf, nor even Marat, but some sort of Savonarola." "You will ban from your organization the systematic use of police and Jesuit methods, limiting yourself to adopting them only to the extent that they would be effectively and absolutely necessary, and above all reasonable, and only against the Government and enemy parties; you will reject the absurd idea that one can make the revolution outside the people and without their participation, and as the fundamental base of your organization you will accept the idea of popular spontaneous revolution, where the people will be armed and the organisation nothing more than the general staff.

Even Soviet historians like Pirovova consider that Bakunin did not collaborate in the "Revolutionary Catechism"; which is important in its implications.

Let us straightway that Lehning's edition contains very little material. For this commentary (and above all for the text of the "catechism") we have had to use "Bakounine et Netchaiev, ed. Jean Barre, Spartacus, 1971" and "Violence in the Violence: The Bakunin-Netchaiev Debate" by Confino (Maspero, 1973). It is quite curious, considering the price and its size, which ought to be available in English, but unfortunately isn't give the catechism in a note!

Netchaiev defined the revolutionary's view of himself (all the extracts come from Confino's translations from the Russian) thus: "The revolutionary is a man lost in advance. He has no particular interests, private business, feelings, private attachment to property, he does not even have a name. His whole being is absorbed by one interest alone, to the exclusion of all others, by one thought alone, by one passion – the revolution." "He defies public opinion. He defies and detests society's contemporary morality in all its motifs and manifestations. For him, everything that contributes to the triumph of the revolution is moral, while everything that hinders it is immoral and criminal." He also defines the attitude of the revolutionary towards his revolutionary comrades thus: "Every comrade must have under his control some revolutionaries of the second and third categories, that is to say those who are not completely initiated. He must consider them as a fraction of the total revolutionary capital at his disposal. His part of the capital he must spend with care, always trying to extract the maximum amount of profit. He considers himself as capital destined to be lost for the triumph of the revolutionary cause, but a capital of which he can dispose alone and as he likes, without the agreement of the entire number of completely initiated comrades." "When a comrade falls into trouble, the revolutionary – deciding whether to save him or not – must take into account not personal feelings, but only the good of the revolutionary cause. Consequently he must evaluate on the one hand this comrade's contribution, and on the other the expenditure of

revolutionary forces necessary to save him; his decision depends on which way the balance tips."

He describes the revolutionary's attitude towards society as a matter of dividing the enemy into those to be beaten down and those to be corrupted; women are divided into three groups: "the futile, stupid and soulless", those who are capable but not ripe, and the initiated. This mentality is the result of the quest for power for power's sake – with revolution as the pretext – and it is therefore logical that it appears throughout history, even if never so sincerely with Netchaiev.

From anarchist writings, and then from Solzhenitsyn's "Gulag", we know that Lenin loved to use Terror. The magazine "Liber" (No.2) publishes some extracts of a soviet book of 1975 "Lenin and the Cheka". An idea of

revolutionary forces necessary to save him; his decision depends on which way the balance tips."

a member of his group who was likely to leave the organisation and thus weaken it.

A German anarchist group commented thus on the action: "You call yourselves delegates of the popular tribunal, but who gave you this delegation? How many were you at this tribunal?" "We think that you are sincere when you say that you are defending anti-imperialist solidarity, but we are very doubtful about your benefiting from any solidarity if you continue to specialise in the technique of aggression."

There was the following reply from Black June: "Do the people take part in your committee, in your parties? Are they with you in your university and in your offices? If they really were, you would know that every conscious proletarian says a traitor and a spy must be executed. Your whole document is nothing but a psychological excrement which has nothing to do with the class-struggle." (Black Flag, London, 1974).

An extreme case, you will say! But I remember that 15 years ago some militants excluded from *Lutte Ouvrière* said that someone had told them: "In a revolutionary period I would have you shot." And Antonio Sala and Eduardo Duran in "Crítica de la izquierda autoritaria en Cataluña" report similar acts by the P.C.L. (a militant liquidated). And in October 1975 there was a death threat issued to that tendency of FRAP, some of whose militants had just been shot by Franco, because they wanted to continue the attacks; and those who issued the threats were the *partisan group of a pacifist tendency!!!*

Do anarchists escape this deformation? Is it not inherent in every clandestine group, like Power?

An interesting example is furnished by the Argentinian and Spanish movements, who have been extensively involved in armed secrecy over the years. There have been violent discussions between those who are partisans solely of mass-struggles and groups which want to give an impulse to this struggle by secret actions; i.e. between advocates of robbery to finance the purchase of arms and those who say that every group which carries out hold-ups ends by forgetting the Cause. Still, we have never heard of a cult of organisation for organisation's sake via the liquidation of "soft" members.

On the contrary, Sabate and Facetas always avoided using passers-by as a screen in a shoot out. The famous Wenceslao Giménez Orive, knowing he was being followed by the police, pushed a passer-by aside before defending himself; this gesture delayed him, he was wounded and committed suicide with a prepared cyanide capsule. In this case the root of the problem was not the passer-by but a betrayal. And, after verification, the informer(s) was (were) executed. But there again, there were no hysterical decisions. (See "La guerra urbana: Facetas" by Antonio Tellez soon to be published in English by Cienfuegos Press.)

Frank Mintz



Lenin's mentality is shown by the following examples: Concerning the abolition of the death sentence, 25/10/17. "What a stupidity! But what a stupidity!... So do they think that we can make a revolution without shooting people?" June 1918: "We must encourage an energetic and massive development of the Terror, to beat down the counter-revolutionaries." 12/12/18: "Use all your forces to seize the speculators and profiteers of Astrakan and have them shot. These dregs must be liquidated in such a way that everyone will remember it for years."

It's not worth wasting time on the discipline of Lenin known as J. Stalin, but it is interesting to see the use of Terror by the RAF, and more exactly by the Black June group who, in 1974, executed Ulrich Schmucker as a traitor because he had talked during an interrogation conducted with the customary swiftness of the democratic police of the West. Let us remember that Netchaiev had murdered

BOOK REVIEWS

Dans le carnaval de l'histoire ("In the Carnival of History"), Leonid Ploujitch, Seuil, Paris 1977, 441pp.

Ploujitch's book tries to depict two aspects: first, the subjective evolution of the author – "the itinerary of a man freeing himself from Stalinist prejudices"; second, the reasons that make his friends in the USSR struggle and the persecutions they undergo. About the West the author says nothing because of lack of information, while he struggles "against all the actions of all the governments, East and West, against mankind."

To be sure, one must ask at once whether "Stalinist" also means "Leninist" and what "actions" of governments are to be struggled against. (The xenophobia, undoubtedly, but is he also against a population being uprooted in the search for work – either within the same country or abroad – the use of nuclear energy, computerized police and military files?)

This impression of fuzziness probably comes from the fact that Ploujitch is still unacquainted with the questions faced by western militants. One finds this problem again in the factual account; he several times discusses the working class opposition, marxism, nationalism, etc., as his evolution progresses, but never says where he stands.

I'll therefore make two brief comments: one about the author, the other about the synthesis of his different remarks on points I am interested in.

It is remarkable that despite the poverty, the anti-semitism, the delinquency, the alcoholism, the corruption, the old boy network, Ploujitch formed an ethic to which he remained faithful until his exile.

This morality is nevertheless shaded by a strong practical sense, sometimes reformist: Ploujitch was first a zealous member of the YCL (p.24), then a teacher, then a researcher (not without knowing how to use the old boy network – p.48), which he would doubtless have remained had not the past intruded to smash the idols.

This intrusion, this conquest of the past (stalinism, the camps, the other currents, revolutionary or otherwise) is the key that permits the rediscovery of the present (pp.20, 44). One thus realizes that the non-politized Russian doesn't know much more about his country – less on the whole – than anyone in the West who is interested in the USSR.

And this present is definitely also better in the university (p.92) than in the factory (p.133), so there is a desire to avoid everything, to run away, to escape from the tentacles of the party (p.96); but the party is everywhere and the only way out is to break with it, to be expelled (when there is an opportunity), to be ruined (the commonest fate) if one insists on not seeming to yield – because just appearing to yield means at least to denounce one's comrades . . . And Ploujitch had to leave because he wanted justice and a better country (pp.295, 440).

Is Ploujitch a leninist? What is his analysis of the USSR? What does he want to do about it?

Ploujitch has doubts about Lenin's concept of the state when he underlines that Marx, in his earlier writings – which are banned in the USSR – had given it a much more complete description (p.86); Lenin's

literary tastes were "primitive and backward" (p.201); and, about a letter of Lenin's, authentic according to others, in which Lenin wrote about the organisation of a prosecution against the church, Ploujitch writes: "I have decided to draw no conclusions about this letter and leave the case in the air for lack of a guarantee of its authenticity. Were anyone able to vouch for its authenticity I would wipe our Lenin's name. This is the method of Nechaevism, of Machiavellism, an attitude alien to marxism, to socialism, an attitude proper to the heroes of *The Posseur*." (p.230).

One would have thought that in the West Ploujitch would have had time to verify this point, together with many others concerning Lenin (the taking of postages – see *Kropotkin, Maspero*, Paris 1976 – the creation of the Cheka, the camp, the repression – see the text of 25-28 December 1917 – and the discipline from above both in politics and in the economy – see *The Immediate Tasks of the Soviet Government*, 1917).

As to the second point, there is available Hedrick R. Smith's *The Russians*, (USA 1975), in paperback, although I will take my references from the Belfond edition in French (Belfond, Paris 1976). The French paperback edition is interesting and much better value as far as the number of pages goes than the rather pro-Soviet *La vie soviétique* (Que-saidje Publications, Paris 1970), while Marabini's book, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a bit old, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a bit old, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a bit old, *Archives de Smolensk* by Merle Fainsod.

Smith's book is superficial and repetitive (at least a third is padding), but it touches on every aspect. Smith, if he is pro-West, doesn't seem to be very much manipulated by the CIA or in any case not so much as the socialists are by pro-Soviet propaganda.

Smith's book also broaches the famous problem concerning the poverty of the population versus the socialist successes in the military field (p.122); the latter are a consequence of "certain advantages of state property, which makes possible the concentration of all economic effort" and the "formal logic" of mathematics. This explanation appears superficial to me in its brevity – ignoring the role of the German experts who were prisoners of war (from 1945 till their death); if it were the right explanation it should be true in all fields. Also, the war industry aside, one can see that the USSR is technologically ineffective and that its present advances are due to the supervision – paid for in hard currencies – of Krupp and other West German firms, and of Fiat in the motor industry.

As to the Russians themselves, their reactions to the dissidents are divided; the "hell with them" (even the family) tendency (pp.239, 310) and the "give them our solidarity" tendency (pp.271, 302). Ploujitch concluded at the time of his arrest: "These four years had been years of happiness and dignity. After all, one goes to prison not because of one's ideas but for the respect of others and of oneself." (p.324).

This is just a brief resume of an important book that we ought to read despite its sketchy presentation of the attitudes of the police (p.251), the relations with ordinary prisoners, the life in mental asylums (p.385) where the doctors are the worst individuals (p.386), etc.

My two criticisms are: one, the absence of a political position based on his experience; two, the absence of the Russian context to restate the details (collective responsibility – so dear to Lenin – is the key to the heartless repression: refusal to the dissident of the right to work and refusal to allow his daughter

to go to a creche; p.203, also pp.185, 188. The first point may be met by an interview in Russian (published in SSSR *demokraticheskie alternativy*, Achberger, Munich 1976) in which he says he is in favour of the decentralisation of the Soviet economy, workers' self-management and the right to strike. But since the Lie still rules after years and years, there are no political thoughts among the people. "That's why I think the revolution must take place largely from above." Nevertheless, Ploujitch doesn't believe in changes after new groups come to power (thesis of almost all the dissidents, Solzhenitsyn included). But these groups will have to bring about some economic reforms that will imply and contain some political reforms. And one must count on "the international labour movement."

As to the second point, there is available Hedrick R. Smith's *The Russians*, (USA 1975), in paperback, although I will take my references from the Belfond edition in French (Belfond, Paris 1976). The French paperback edition is interesting and much better value as far as the number of pages goes than the rather pro-Soviet *La vie soviétique* (Que-saidje Publications, Paris 1970), while Marabini's book, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a bit old, *L'URSS* (Seuil, Paris 1959) seems a bit old, *Archives de Smolensk* by Merle Fainsod.

Smith's book is superficial and repetitive (at least a third is padding), but it touches on every aspect. Smith, if he is pro-West, doesn't seem to be very much manipulated by the CIA or in any case not so much as the socialists are by pro-Soviet propaganda.

Smith's book also broaches the famous problem concerning the poverty of the population versus the socialist successes in the military field (p.122); the latter are a consequence of "certain advantages of state property, which makes possible the concentration of all economic effort" and the "formal logic" of mathematics. This explanation appears superficial to me in its brevity – ignoring the role of the German experts who were prisoners of war (from 1945 till their death); if it were the right explanation it should be true in all fields. Also, the war industry aside, one can see that the USSR is technologically ineffective and that its present advances are due to the supervision – paid for in hard currencies – of Krupp and other West German firms, and of Fiat in the motor industry.

As to the Russians themselves, their reactions to the dissidents are divided; the "hell with them" (even the family) tendency (pp.239, 310) and the "give them our solidarity" tendency (pp.271, 302). Ploujitch concluded at the time of his arrest: "These four years had been years of happiness and dignity. After all, one goes to prison not because of one's ideas but for the respect of others and of oneself." (p.324).

This is just a brief resume of an important book that we ought to read despite its sketchy presentation of the attitudes of the police (p.251), the relations with ordinary prisoners, the life in mental asylums (p.385) where the doctors are the worst individuals (p.386), etc.

Everyday life consists of all the shortcomings just mentioned, with the addition of alcoholism,

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 168

BOOK REVIEWS

Alcoholism is an industry, on the one hand for the state, on the other for people who seem to wish to commit suicide little by little. People who will, however, help one another even without knowing one another, as long as the case has nothing to do with the political police.

The economics is superficial (see *La corruption en Union Soviétique* by Ilya Zentsov, although this book and Alain Beanson's Introduction – and even his *Court traité de soviétologie à l'usage des autorités civiles, militaires et religieuses* – seem particularly empty to me, because of either their lack of information or their exaggeration. A typical case: why is Bulgarian tinned food better than the Russian? A Bulgarian official replied: "We follow scrupulously the Soviet recipes and technology." There is such a confusion in the amount of orders and in the modifications that each outfit improves according to the order it receives.

The Russian film *The Bonus* (which seems not to be very well known in the USSR) about a gang of workers in a shipyard refusing a production bonus because they have discovered that the target had been lowered by the authorities (who just sit back), is an example of this. Of course, the film has a proper ending, with the offenders acknowledging their errors thanks to a young (therefore not a former Stalinist) and handsome party official – and now a new life lies before them . . .

On the same subject one should also read *A Worker in the Worker's State* by Miklos Karaszi, Penguin 1977 (reviewed elsewhere in this issue). It is short and clear but I think the final part, about the homes, the pilfering, the diversion from obligatory work to personal work, is a little exaggerated. But anyway, one sees the similarity to any job of a similar type in any factory . . .

In *Spartacus*, no.5 April-May 1977, we have the usual study by Galar of the countries of the East. Always well informed (western sources), Galar thinks the USSR is becoming more and more militarized, and increasing repression in the same proportion. "It is certain that logic leads to world war. It is no less certain that the increased repression indicates a serious instability of the system and has created the conditions for a generalised rebellion at the least sign of weakness."

If we agree with Solzhenitsyn's *Letter to the Ruling Class of the Soviet Union* and share his belief in the certainty of a war between China and Russia (and this seems to be what the majority of the Soviet people think), Galar's point of view certainly sounds right. Personally, I think the repression of the workers is less harsh than it was ten years ago. Ploujitch mentions two examples of strikes in the Ukraine drowned in blood by machine guns. But it seems to me that the regime is less brutal, except with the dissidents who represent its technicians.

I believe that on the whole the example of Czechoslovakia, in spite of the failure of the Czech liberalisation, is always a big attraction to certain groups close to power in the USSR and elsewhere. Moreover, the Polish case and the flexibility of the government – without forgetting Hungary which hasn't had many

big problems since 1956 because of the change of attitude of the C.P. – show that both the western and the eastern powers know how to recuperate and manipulate certain discontents: the prompt criticisms mentioned earlier, the chauvinism, the football, the xenophobia against certain groups, some tolerance towards the drug problem, etc. M.Z.

The I.W.W.: Its First Seventy Years – 1905-1975, F. Thompson & P. Murfin. (Official history published by the I.W.W. – Chicago 1974).

The first edition written by Fred W. Thompson, *The I.W.W.: Its First Fifty Years* was published in 1955. A corrected facsimile takes two hundred pages of the present volume. The remaining twenty pages – the last chapter – written by Patrick Murfin, outlines I.W.W. events during the twenty years from 1955 to 1975. The work is further enriched by a comprehensive bibliography, *Sources for I.W.W. History*, which the student of the labour movement will find especially helpful.

For those seriously interested in the history and problems of the labour movement in general and the I.W.W. in particular, this book is indispensable. Historians of the labour movement are constantly referring to it. To review seventy years of I.W.W. history is clearly beyond the scope of this review. The reader can find that out by studying the book. I prefer to discuss the extent to which I.W.W. ideas remain relevant to the problems of today's labour movement.

The history of the American labour movement is largely a history of rank-and-file revolts against opportunist class-collaborationist policies and centralization of power. The extent of the mass revolts of rank-and-file workers against the triple exploitation of the union bureaucracy, the employers and the state is pointed out by Stanley Aronowitz in his book *False Promises*: "... since 1967, there have been more strikes, rank-and-file rejections of proposed union settlements with employers than in any similar period in the modern era . . . the most notable feature of the present situation is that the unions are no longer in a position of leadership in the workers' struggles: they are running desperately to catch up with their own membership . . ."

The post-war spontaneous revolts of the rank-and-file militants against the union bureaucrats, their employers and the government took on the character of a mass insurrection, shattering the myth of the happy uncomplaining American worker satisfied with his lot. In 1950, the United Auto Workers (UAW) signed a five year contract with General Motors which outlawed strikes, ignored the demands of the workers to stop speed-ups and to ensure quick settlements of complaints. To compel the corporation to grant their demands, the workers were forced to take direct action outside of and against the union picards. 70% of the workers represented are less brutal, except with the dissidents who represent its technicians.

I believe that on the whole the example of Czechoslovakia, in spite of the failure of the Czech liberalisation, is always a big attraction to certain groups close to power in the USSR and elsewhere. Moreover, the Polish case and the flexibility of the government – without forgetting Hungary which hasn't had many

suffer severe penalties has weakened their militant determination to give up their illegal general strike.

They demand safety in the mines against accidents and prevention of the "blacklung" disease, the right of workers to correct these and other grievances by the uncontested right to call local strikes at any time with or without authorisation of the employers, the state, or the permission of the national, district or local union bureaucrats.

A few weeks before this strike the miners served notice on the newly elected Miller administration that they would not again tolerate the dictatorial procedures instituted by John L. Lewis and his successor Tony Boyle by staging a massive wildcat strike involving almost 100 thousand miners for substantially the same demands.

They are now determined to oust Miller and his machine for collaborating with the employers and the government and for violation of the democratic rights of the membership.

There have been massive strikes even among public services workers who were traditionally the least militant and anti-union. Post office workers staged a nation-wide strike in 1970, not only in violation of the Federal Anti-Strike law which prohibits strikes against the state (an offence punishable by a year and a half in jail and a one thousand dollar fine for each striker) but also in defiance of their leaders. Striking teachers in New York, Newark, Detroit and other cities across the country were not afraid to go to jail for violation of anti-strike laws.

The revolutionary character of the rank-and-file movement should not be exaggerated. By far, the greatest number seek only to reform the system and to effect more radical changes, not outside of, but within the unions. Yet, whether they know it or not, today's rebels are acting in accordance with the revolutionary direct action traditions of the American labour movement. Hundreds of thousands of rank-and-file militants:

" . . . in thousands of industrial establishments across the nation (marks a keen observer) have developed informal underground unions . . . they conduct daily skirmishes with their employers and often against their union representatives as well . . . these informal micro-organisational units are behind all wildcat strikes . . . these groups are the power base for insurgency from below . . ." In short a vast rank-and-file mass guerrilla movement is emerging.

In the course of these struggles, the rebellious workers have unconsciously developed tactics and grassroots forms of organisation similar to those of the I.W.W. They can become receptive to the message of the I.W.W. because the I.W.W. is itself a wildcat organisation continuously revolting against class-collaboration, bureaucracy, and governmental regulation of the labour movement. I like the title . . . its FIRST Seventy Years because both the principles and the tactics of the I.W.W. are now more relevant, more sorely needed, than ever.

Sam Dolgov.

1.10.
S. Todd

Jow,

BOOK REVIEWS

SWEET MEMORIES

Memorias de un luchador, I – Los primeros combates, Enrique Lister, Del Toro, Madrid, 1977, 452pp.

At face value this book is a repetition of the book *Nuestra Guerra* ("Our War") of which I have read the Russian language edition. But in point of fact there are important changes in terms of added detail and fuller accounts of events, and occasionally changes of a political nature as I shall point out.

Lister writes in an agreeable, simple style and reveals a character forged in the hard school of life in Galicia as a member of a poor family and later in exile in Cuba and – this was omitted from the Soviet edition – a term spent in a reformatory.

This character is brought out elsewhere in freshly added pages on Lister's conception of military command: "In those places where it was the officers who had to be the real leaders of the Popular Army (...) divisions fought well". The commander ought to make it his business to see that his fighting men are enthusiastic about the unit to which they belong" (pp. 149, 150). And this Commander-Father-God feeling of Lister's authorised him to tackle several issues: "...the head of the administrative services of Health at the time was a wretch with a penchant for thieving (...) naturally, I had him shot as the whole personnel of the health services looked on" (p.151); a sergeant appeals for leave to pay a visit back home on account of "his wife having formed a liaison with the secretary of the town council". Lister stepped in, advanced the sergeant six months' pay so he could get his son away from the wife as "that would be punishment enough for her" and he sent two men to rid the lover "...of any inclination to play the Romeo with the wives of men away fighting at the front. I know that more than one (of you) will think that such methods have no connection with military matters. I used to think, and still do, just the opposite." (p.154).

As far as I am concerned, there are two issues here. First we have the need for command during a battle. And one has to concede that both Durruti and Cipriano Mera took a very hard line – whilst not, I believe, going to such extremes – which, however, was not the case in the Iron Column. The second problem is that when it comes to the USSR or the CP this whole "new man" personality, almost the figure of the Iberian warrior, utterly vanishes.

On the USSR, although he spent three years at a military academy between 1932 and 1935, Lister says only that he studied and worked at the same time on the construction of the Metro in Moscow, something which is patently nonsense for the various eye-witness accounts from the time show that there was absolutely no contact between the foreigners belonging to the Comintern and Soviet workers. One proof of this is the memoirs of the Yugoslav Anton Cligja who was in the USSR from 1926 to 1936. These were recently republished in France in 1977 as *Au pays du mensonge déconcertant*.

("In the land of the distressing lie.")

The only evidence of Lister's critical ability is a criticism – already included in the earlier Russian edition – of Ilya Ehrenburg (badly compromised by his Stalinism) and two fresh items, one a criticism of a Russian advisor (p.197) and the other a statement that another Russian was shot (p.193) in the USSR in 1941.

His inability to denounce Stalinism is crystal clear in his puerile observation that in December 1936 on the Madrid Front, Franco's forces were receiving lessons from German instructors (p.172), as if the Russians only came to Spain to pay a visit to the Prado gallery!

Another aspect of Lister's passive, hypocritical character is his personal differences with Carrillo since 1930 – which bring the book to a close, whereas in the Russian edition he carped at Cipriano Mera and the anarchists over the coup of 1939. What with his disposition and the vigour behind his charges against Carrillo, how come Lister did not deal with him back in 1941 or 1948? How can one man defect the policy of a party to such a degree? Let us look again at the problem of Stalinism and the communists' inability to set out a coherent social explanation and thus Lister falls back on such trifles as levelling a litany of charges (p.129) against Izcaray (Russian edition, p.74). What a come-down for one once so prone to have people shot!

The most interesting thing is Lister's relations with the anarchists. No coherent line here either. One can detect three attitudes. The anarchists did not exist, as would appear from this summary of the victorious fight against the military coup in July 1936 in Barcelona: "The rising was crushed through the struggle of the masses, the Civil Guard and Assault Guard . . ." (p.95). This slight of hand, putting in "workers" or "workers" in place of "anarchosyndicalists" or "worker militants from the CNT and FAI" is something of a commonplace with the Trotskyites like Felis Morrow as well as the councilists like Pannekoek. That is, the Anarchs live on in the device of using a neutral synonym to silence one's political enemy!

The second approach is to deny everything the anarchists may have done: the fighting in Toledo, for instance or spreading the libel about Durruti having been murdered by men from his own column (p.176). A variation on the theme is utter silence on the anarchist presence, such as in the case of the famous battle of Guadalajara for which victory Lister claims the credit for himself without even mentioning Li Campesino Cipriano Mera. Maybe Lister is unaware that Mera's memoirs have been published, but then how would one account for references to fascist historians on the subject of the battle of the Ebro, or the quotes from poems to Lister. Here again Lister is outgunned by contrast.

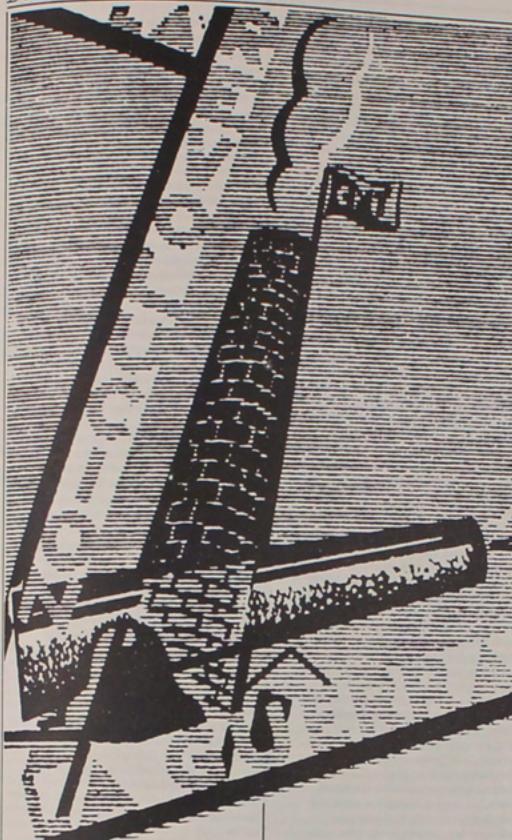
That is the explanation for Lister's irony which reminds one of Engels' irony in his pamphlet against the Spanish Bakuninists when he accused the internationalists of cowardice for not having beaten a handful of bourgeois (well armed ones, he forgot to mention). Mechanical force is always superior when managed well: that's why Franco won and not Lister; and the Czechs – several million of them, with their army – achieved nothing against a few thousand Soviets, Poles, Hungarians and Bulgars who "liberated" them – Lister style – in 1968.

In contrast – for the third of his attitudes – Lister faces up squarely to the issue of his being responsible for the military defeat of anarchosyndicalist self-management in Aragon. And does so very astutely, first of all by noting the enthusiastic reception he met with, but as usual glossing over the fact that even the Aragonese communists complained about his presence, and many collectives were

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 170

CIENTFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 171

BOOK REVIEWS



(To Mr. Kern and readers: a tremendously good and complete reproduction of *El Amigo del Pueblo* is available through Cienfuegos Press.) Another problem occurs with the same publication (p.204), and this time the conclusion drawn is, of course, groundless. Same again on p.223.

This work is amazing in that it is full of false quotations. I checked some at random and here are the results: p.12: it is stated that the catalanists organised a union "as a minor threat to the C.N.T." and that there was collaboration with "proto-communist groups". Curious: the source is *Historia del anarcosindicalismo español* by Gomez Casas. In fact, Gomez Casas writes only that some Catalan guards were pushed by their anti-militarism to enlist later in the Catalan C.P. On the beginning of the war, the author alludes to a controversy about the representativeness of the P.O.U.M. but *El Amigo del Pueblo*, though quoted, does not have an article on this problem (p.155).

(translated by "Prisms" in Beziers in 1927 and

on the agenda of the congress at which the F.A.I. was created); *La Felguera* is in Asturias and not in Catalonia (p.129); Santillan's book *El organismo económico de la revolución* had a very limited influence because it was a big book published only a few months before the war, so that such a sentence as "Peasants, populists, and even corporativists found the book useful" (p.139) is just padding, not to mention the work of Isaac Puente and Santillan at the Saragossa Congress, but there are no traces of these in *Solidaridad Obrera* (nor any footnotes). On the same page – 145 – another affirmation occurs with a source given that does not exist in the original text (no. 43).

More serious are mistakes such as presenting Andalucía as only weakly anarchist and a clean slate for communism (p.175), when the Andalucian delegation at Saragossa (May 1936) was a large one and two of the places with the smallest and better communist organisations were Seville and Malaga! A crude phrase like the "often disastrous results" of anarchists in education during the war, while that under the republic had been good, as suggested (p.185), without any sources and proofs, betrays ignorance or sectarianism. Some books published while Kern was working on his book would have saved him from this distortion: *A la vanguardia de la educación*, Barcelona, 1927 and *Pere Solà, Las escuelas racionistas en Cataluña*, Barcelona, 1926.

Everything stems from a central idea: anarchism is outdated, primitive, etc. (see E.J. Hobsbawm's and other C.P. theories), and history, politics depend only on great leaders; people are "rabble" (p.9), "taggart groups" (p.193). Kern is free to embrace this ideology, but Brenan, for example, does so without twisting history, so one can trust Brenan's book; but with all the ignorance, false quotations and distortions (almost systematic) in Kern, it is difficult to see where the good part is!

To end with the main distortions: Kern wanted to make a new study of Spanish anarchism, but he discards all comparison and all description, or nearly all, of the Spanish background. And when he chooses to ignore the anarchists' contributions, he describes a series of strikes from 1911 to 1936, but he fails to underline the framework of this period. Throughout the book Kern is unable to understand that anarchism is compounded of groups, with federalism and freedom of action: for him all the problems are between Pestana or Peiro against Durruti and Febrero Montseny. So there are three pages for the social revolution and six for the death and funeral of Durruti. In conclusion, Kern tackles self-management: five pages; of course, he does his best to dismiss the value and the importance of what is the central fact... .

Summing up, and omitting a lot of misrepresentations, I think the book does not make serious reading for anarchists, nor for the mandarin and university world. However, some pages on the C.P. in Malaga (p.215) and the maps show that when Kern wants to make a decent study he will do better.

Frank Mintz

BOOK REVIEWS

Malatesta, Life and Ideas, Edited by Vernon Richards, Freedom Press, 309pp, £2.00.

For almost ten years now the only work by Malatesta readily available to the English reader has been his essay *Anarchy*. Now, though, with the timely reprinting by Freedom Press of this selection of Malatesta's writings, first published in 1965, the full range of this great anarchist activist's ideas are once again in circulation.

The editor has translated several hundred articles by Malatesta, taken from most of the journals he either edited himself or only contributed to, from the earliest, *l'En Débor* of 1892, through to *Pensiero e Volontà*, which was forced to close by Mussolini's fascists in 1926, and the bilingual *Il Risveglio/Le Revue* of Genoa which published most of his writings after that date. These articles have been pruned down to their essentials, apart from a handful which are reproduced in their entirety, and collected under 27 sub-headings ranging from Anarchism and Anarchy to Anarchist Propaganda. In addition there is a short biographical piece 'Notes for a Biography', while the third part of the book is devoted to an essay, by the editor, on Malatesta's relevance today.

The first thing that strikes the reader about Malatesta is his lucidity and straightforwardness. For him anarchism was not a philosophy for a future utopia which would come about one day as if by magic, or simply through the destruction of the state without any prior preparation. On the contrary, Malatesta was, throughout his life, concerned with a practical idea. His anarchism was something concrete, to be fought for and put into practice, not in some distant future but now. It is this aspect of practical anarchism that gives him a special place amongst anarchist theorists and propagandists.

Of the extracts chosen by Richards the ones that have particular relevance for the Anarchist movement today are those on violence, organisation and Anarchists and working class movements.

On violence, a subject that still divides anarchists, Malatesta was very clear.

"Anarchists are opposed to violence; everybody knows that. The main plank of anarchism is the removal of violence from human relations . . ." but also "It is abundantly clear that violence is needed to resist the violence of the adversary, and we must advocate and prepare it, if we do not wish the present situation of slavery in disguise, in which most of humanity finds itself, to continue and worsen. But violence contains within itself the danger of transforming the revolution into a brutal struggle without the light of an ideal and without possibilities of a beneficial outcome; and for this reason one must stress the moral aims of the movement, and the need, and the duty, to contain violence within the limits of strict necessity.

We do not say that violence is good when we use it and harmful when others use it against us. We say that violence is justifiable, good and 'moral,' as well as a duty when it is used in one's own defence and that of others, against the demands of those who believe in violence; it is evil and 'immoral' if it serves to violate the freedom of others . . .

... We consider violence a necessity and

a duty for defence, but only for defence. And we mean not only for defence against direct, sudden, physical attack, but against all those institutions which use force to keep the people in a state of servitude . . .

Again organisation, a subject like violence that anarchists have wasted more time and energy arguing over, was for Malatesta as always practical, a necessity. But organisations of a specifically anarchist nature . . .

" . . . In every case a particular organisation lasts as long as the reasons for unions are superior to those for dissension: otherwise it disbands and makes way for other, more homogeneous groupings. Certainly the life and permanence of an organisation is a condition for success in the long struggle before us, and, it is natural that every institution should by instinct aim at lasting indefinitely. But the duration of a libertarian organisation must be the result of the spiritual affinity of its members and of the adaptability of its constitution to the continually changing circumstances. When it no longer serves a useful purpose it is better that it should die . . ."

Malatesta, as an anarchist propagandist, was particularly concerned about the role anarchists should play in working class movements. While he recognised the importance and potentiality of these movements he also saw their drawbacks: "The working class movement, in spite of its merits and its potentialities, cannot be, in itself, a revolutionary movement in the sense of being a negation of the juridical and moral bases of present society . . ."

In a word, the Trade Unions are, by their very nature reformist and never revolutionary. The revolutionary spirit must be introduced, developed and maintained by the constant action of revolutionaries who work from within these ranks as well as from outside, but it cannot be the normal natural definition of the Trade Unions' function. On the contrary, the real and immediate interests of organised workers, which is the Union's role to defend, are very often in conflict with their aims and forward-looking objectives . . ."

Nevertheless Malatesta believed that anarchists should involve themselves as much as possible with these movements as anarchist, endeavouring always to develop and nurture a true revolutionary consciousness in fellow workers, but never to dominate a union.

His position towards Revolutionary Syndicalism and Anarcho-Syndicalism is also of great importance. The former he saw as being not a great deal better than reformist Trade Unionism, even though the word revolutionary was added. His main points of disagreement with them was that they had a very simplistic view of the class struggle, and more importantly, that they tended to make an end of the means, i.e. the general strike.

This he thought was a great menace to anarchism, as for him the general strike would and could never be a substitute for the insurrection. As for the latter he believed that they were in fact anarchist, as their name implied, they should call themselves anarchists and not 'hide' behind another name. In the light of historical events Malatesta was proved right. While revolutionary syndicalism of the French CGT type came to nothing, the CNT in Spain accomplished a truly social revolution, not because they were syndicalists

but because they were anarchists.

Of the articles reproduced in full these include the excellent *Anarchist Programme* written for the 1920 congress of the U.A.I., and Malatesta's last article, his recollections of Peter Kropotkin, written in 1931. Malatesta and Kropotkin had been on very close terms prior to 1914, but their respective stands regarding the First World War ruptured this relationship. Yet despite this Malatesta writes with great love and affection for his old comrade, while explaining that Kropotkin's contribution to the anarchist movement had not always been fully beneficial;

" . . . I have stressed," he concludes in the article "the two errors which, in my opinion, Kropotkin committed – his theory of fatalism and his excessive opportunism, because I believe I have observed the harmful results they have produced in our movement.

There were comrades who took the fatalist theory – which they euphemistically referred to as determinism – seriously and as a result lost all revolutionary spirit. The revolution they said, is not made; it will come when the time is ripe for it, and it is useless, unscientific and even ridiculous to try to provoke it. And armed with such sound reasons, they withdrew from the movement and went about their own business. But it would be wrong to believe that this was convenient excuse to withdraw from the struggle. I have known many comrades of great courage and worth, who have exposed themselves to great dangers and who have sacrificed their freedom and even their lives in the name of anarchy while being convinced of the uselessness of their actions. They have acted out of disgust for present society, in a spirit of revenge, out of desperation, or the love of the grand gesture, but without thinking thereby of serving the cause of the revolution, and consequently without selecting the target and the opportune moment, or without bothering to coordinate their action with that of others.

On the other hand, those who without troubling themselves with philosophy have wanted to work towards, and for, the revolution, have imagined the problems as much simpler than they are in reality, did not foresee the difficulties, and prepare for them . . . and because of this we have found ourselves impotent even when there was perhaps a chance of effective action . . ."

As for the final part of the book I found this somewhat irrelevant. I am sure anyone reading through Malatesta's ideas will immediately see their relevance to today's situation. Despite my criticism though this part of the book does include, although somewhat briefly, Malatesta's attitude towards the general strike taken from his reply to Monatte during the 1907 Amsterdam International Anarchist Congress. With this though I feel it would have been more relevant to reproduce the two arguments in full, in order to put Malatesta's position in its true perspective.

Malatesta's articles represent a specific outlook towards anarchism, not the utopia but the *practical and achievable*. They are a very important contribution to both anarchist thought and action.

Dave Poole.

STATE SECRETS

The Local State: Management of Cities and People, Cynthia Cockburn, Pluto Press 1977, £2.95 pb, £6.60 hb.

This book is a Marxist analysis of Lambeth Borough Council between 1968 and 1974. The author looks at two conflicting tendencies in local government: on the one hand the application of systems theory and modern management techniques to local government, a tendency that she refers to as "corporate management"; on the other hand, the increasing decentralisation of local power in the hands of neighbourhood councils and tenants associations – what she calls the "community development" tendency.

Most of the book struck me as turgid and dull. This is a pity, because the questions it raises are important ones. The only time the book really springs to life is when it describes the squatters' movement in Lambeth from 1971. Squatting always makes exciting reading.

A clear example of the conflict between the two tendencies in local government arose when the Council started a neighbourhood council scheme in 1971. A "Neighbourhood Councils Subcommittee" was set up under the Finance and General Purposes Committee of the Council. The subcommittee contained nine councillors and representatives of the neighbourhood councils. The debates on the subcommittee became increasingly bitter as time went on; and, very significantly, many senior council officers felt obliged to attend the meetings in case their department came under attack. Many officers began to feel threatened at being such direct targets for popular feelings. In 1973 they submitted a report complaining that the NC Subcommittee was creating too much work for them, and that a committee which had outsiders on it was a flaw in the corporate streamlined decision-making process and unconstitutional. In 1974 the Subcommittee was abolished. NC's now had to approach the Council via its main committees or through their ward councillor, just like anyone else. Their effectiveness as agents of genuine participatory democracy was severely reduced.

The book will be useful for people actively involved in fighting the local state machine in Britain. But you'll need plenty of coffee to keep you awake while you read it.

Raf Salkie

Prison Secrets, Stan Cohen & Laurie Taylor, RAF/NCCL 98pp, £1.25.

"Our prison system," say the authors "is not part of a fascist or totalitarian state. We believe, however, that our account of secrecy shows how social democracies or liberal societies can use their own rules to subvert their stated principles." Or, to put it another way, in their administration of prisons the state is guilty of hypocrisy, as in so many other areas. The infamous Rule 1 of the Prison Rules states the aim of prison to be the encouragement of the prisoner to "lead a good and useful life". Cohen and Taylor examine the process

by which the real aim of prison, the insulation of the prisoner from the outside world, is achieved.

All information about prisons is covered by the Official Secrets Act, a senior civil servant giving evidence to the 1971 Franks Committee on the operation of the OSA said, "it is an official secret if its an official file." The act is used as a threat against those who might want to reveal information and as an excuse by those officials who want to conceal information. The authors present a mass of detail concerning the use of the ISA with respect to prisons, including such interesting facts as that maze keepers at Hampton Court are required to make an OSA declaration and that signing or not signing the OSA makes no difference whatever as to its legal status.

Secrecy is rigidly maintained within the Home Office and Prison Department by a bureaucracy of fearsome proportions. All information is restricted on a 'need to know' basis and complaints and requests passed from division to division, all of whom deny responsibility, and then ruled inadmissible on absurd or non-existent grounds. Home Office reports on disturbances in prisons are rarely published or even made available to prison governors.

In the prisons themselves secrecy reigns supreme. The day to day management of a prison is supposedly covered by the Prison Rules which contain 450 different rules and which a prisoner has no right to see. The real rules about running prisons are contained in a series of Standing Orders, Circulars and Governors' Handbooks which are secret even to many prison staff. Fewer still realise that the rules, circulars and orders have no legal status. As Zellick has observed "In Britain the law for most purposes stops at the prison gates, leaving the prisoner to the almost exclusive control of the prison authorities."

The authors, both veteran prison researchers and long standing sparing partners of the Home Office (their first book together was threatened with an Official Secrets Act prosecution), present the most detailed and best researched book on British prisons I have seen and although less than 100 pages long there is enough damning evidence in this book to embarrass Home Secretaries for years to come. Sometimes the evidence causes even the most cynical to gasp in disbelief, especially the official quotes they have gathered; "any violation of the Prison Act or the Prison Rules by the authorities, no matter how much damage this causes a prisoner, is not actionable."

"People in custody sometimes try to interest teaching staff in things to do with themselves in custody. It is no business of teaching staff to enter into discussion on such matters." "A letter to a Member of Parliament must not include a complaint or request concerning prison treatment."

Having presented a cast iron case against the Home Office, however, the authors make little use of it. They present a series of recommendations ranging from old favourites, "the establishment of a Charter of Prisoners' Rights" to the vague and naive, "the Prison Department should be required to be more open in its dealings with the media," and give no suggestion as to how these recommendations could be implemented. On the whole

BOOK REVIEWS

the book suffers from being almost totally descriptive with little analysis as to why the state needs its prisons to be shrouded in secrecy. The state removes deviants from society in order that society can stay as it is; imprisonment is essentially a cosmetic process by shutting away the discontented and rebellious (out of sight out of mind) the state can pretend that everything is working as it should whilst providing both a deterrent to the potentially non-conformist and a scapegoat, in the form of the criminal, on whom the blame for social injustices can be laid.

It is perhaps unfair to criticise the book for not being a fundamental critique of the whole ideology of prison since the authors only intended it to be a short pamphlet on some aspects of secrecy in prisons" but it sometimes seems to be suggesting that prisons are bad because they are secret rather than they are secret because they are bad. Nowhere does the book question the basic premise that prisons are necessary and so tends to adopt a reformist stance, a stance which, to judge from their other writings, they do not necessarily subscribe to. The lack of theoretical basis does not detract from the book's value and as a source of information on prison rules and bureaucracy it is unsurpassed. Anyone engaged in prison relief work or who has a friend in prison will find 'Prison Secrets' invaluable in fighting red tape and inside a prison it would be dynamite. (It has of course been banned by the Home Office). A round of applause for Cohen and Taylor is in order for producing this arsenal of facts and quotes and also a plea that in their next publication (prosecutions under the Official Secrets Act permitting) they take a long look at the concept of prison itself.

P.R.

A Sense of Freedom, Jimmy Boyle, Pan 80p, 264pp.

This is one of the most popular books in British prisons at the moment, for in it Jimmy Boyle reveals the truth about prison life, truths that are never hinted at by the media. Reading his description of the Inverness cages, bare cells only 6ft by 8ft in which he was kept naked for 15 months without human contact, you could be forgiven for thinking that you were reading about Chile or Korea but no, this is Britain, here and now.

A Sense of Freedom is not just an expose of the prison industry however, it gives more insight into how a man becomes labelled 'Scotland's most violent criminal' than 100 criminological textbooks, for it is the personal account of just such a man.

Jimmy Boyle was born in the Glasgow Gorbals, at the age of five his father was beaten to death by a rival gang, aged eight he was selling coal off a barrow, by thirteen he was in remand home and at eighteen he was in Barlinnie jail. As he relates his life story he leaves the reader with a sorry feeling of how inevitable it is that he should end up serving life for a crime he didn't commit. A natural rebel, he had 'this hunger to be recognised, to establish a reputation' and as a poor lad from a Glasgow slum there was only one way to do it: fight. In prison, where he has spent most of his life, he fought even harder, being beaten unconscious many times

1.10.

Todd

Jow,

as a result but refusing to lie down, even on one occasion destroying a newly built punishment block, literally tearing down the walls with his bare hands.

In 1973 he was transferred to the Special Unit of Barlinnie prison, specifically set up to deal with Scotland's most violent prisoners. Here a group of officers tried a daring new experimental approach, they treated the prisoners as human beings. Together the staff and inmates shared the responsibility and the decisions and the unit ran without recourse to beatings and punishment cells. The results astounded the authorities who had initiated it, in six months Jimmy changed from a "brutalised criminal" fighting for his survival into a warm sensitive individual and discovered a talent as a gifted sculptor. Ken Murray, a crusading prison officer who must take much of the credit for the Special Unit, has said "Jimmy could go out tomorrow, but he's unlikely to get out in five to ten years."

Meanwhile the majority of prisoners continue to suffer in "normal" prisons where no prison officer would have contact with you unless he was going to brutalise you and millions of people remain in the sordid social conditions that make prisons ever conceivable. Sadly even the cautious reform of the Special Unit may be short lived as sensational articles have appeared in the Scottish press, based on anonymous letters, telling of "the soft life these thugs are living" and calling for more repression. *A Sense of Freedom* will make you angry about the state of our prisons but it will also make you think twice before calling for prison reform for it demonstrates quite clearly that there is only one thing to do with prisons: pull them down.

P.R.

Terrorism and the Liberal State, Paul Wilkinson, Macmillan 1977 £2.95, 257 pages.

A senior lecturer in the politics department at University College, Cardiff, the author is a member of a rapidly growing group of academics responding in scholarly fashion to the increase in political terrorism. The book is an admixture of academic typologising, policy prescriptions and value judgments. It is his moral and political stance with which I am concerned here. This is not to deny that typologies are not at times a useful way of conceptualising an otherwise incomprehensible reality, but the interesting aspect of the book, I found, is that it is written by a "self-confessed" liberal democrat and represents a clear statement of the liberal democratic position.

As the title suggests, Wilkinson assumes that an entity such as the liberal state exists. This is seen as enjoying, in its fundamental at least, the support and approval of its incumbents. The State, due to our Hobbesian natures, by consent arrogates to itself the sole right to exercise coercion in order to protect the moral equality of its citizens. Insofar as the State succeeds in this, it should be noted that it leaves its citizens defenceless and dependent on its own benevolence. From Wilkinson's viewpoint the state per se is seen as relatively non-problematic; it is the terrain within which criticism, thought and action take place - and by reference to which these are judged. That it may at times fall short of perfection is readily admitted, nevertheless:

"... for good or ill, the state is now the

fundamental general purpose political organisation for the whole human race. We are stuck with it until such time as other more effective forms of organisation may be evolved. In any case the liberal state theorist can legitimately argue that most contemporary liberal democracies rank among the more effective states in the world in providing for the essential needs and welfare of their citizens." (Quoted in Woodcock's *Anarchism*)

By rejecting the tabula rasa view of man as held by the liberals we are able to see that man himself is perverted by such institutions as cripple the perennial urge to freedom. Hence, while rejecting violence for its own sake, we must recognise that within the carefully managed repressive tolerance that calls itself liberal democracy, the violent act as a response to the violence done to our own nature remains one of the few available transcendental experiences. Terror has been practised by governments for so long that it has come to be experienced as at most a dull dear; more usually we are numbed by it into a dull passivity.

"Our capacity to think, except in the service of what we are dangerously deluded in supposing is our self interest, and in conformity with common sense, is pitifully limited: our capacity even to see, hear, touch taste and smell is so shrouded in veils of mystification that an intensive discipline of unlearning is necessary for anyone before one can begin to experience the world afresh, with innocence, truth and love." (Loring - *Politics of Experience*, p.23).

Baumann in his *How It All Began*, so brilliantly captures the way in which via his own ostensible criminality he was able to transcend the bourgeois hegemony of mental life - essential reading. It was with this in mind that Kropotkin said everything is good for us which falls outside legality.

The terrorist, Wilkinson says, attempts to "militarise the situation," a concept used by Marighela. Whilst this may at times be true, it is equally true that what many groups do us to make explicit what is implicit. In my view the state gets the terrorists it deserves. Using weapons largely manufactured for governments they are in a sense a reflection of the state itself. Speaking of the increasingly sophisticated weaponry available to the urban guerrilla, such weapons having been brought into being at the behest of the state, the author states

"... Others have somehow obtained small quantities of even more deadly weapons. There is always the real danger in a period of rapid nuclear proliferation, that a "crazy state" terrorist group might gain control over a small nuclear weapon, or sabotage a civil nuclear plant or process, to wreak havoc, panic and destruction." (p.67).

Looking at revolutionary actions from his singular point of view, Wilkinson applies one perspective, one set of concepts and one ethic. He lacks any sensitivity to the existential critique of everyday life. Thus, Marcuse and Sartre, he holds are simply

"embittered and ageing iconoclasts of the left who would never have been able to enjoy their freedom to spin fresh revolutionary doctrines and myths anywhere else but within the liberal societies they so profoundly despise." (p.71).

In a rather obfuscating account of the role of violence in Satre's concept of the pledged group, Wilkinson fails to admit that the State itself gains its cohesion by fostering both internal acquisitiveness - by manipulation where possible or force when not, and by perpetuating fears of attacks from outside. We rule you, we fool you.

We are anarchists must turn once again to a profound analysis of the state in its new repressive technological aspect. We must articulate an analysis that presents the state's actions as violence of the most fundamental kind. For most of us this entails a

radical rupturing of established notions which have to do with the words state, right, wrong, violence, etc. We must create an atmosphere in which the dominated come to realise their domination and take the first step toward revolution, which is an equalisation of the means of force at present concentrated as never before within the hands of an only superficially benign institution. The urge to destroy is a creative urge; it is the only sane response.

David Tymes

Military Science.

Military science is a very broad term, but I shall limit it to books dealing with firearms, demolition and military tactics. Some of these books may be harder to obtain than others, but almost all are available in the US through mail order house or another.

The key to successful understanding of firearms is understanding the basics as to how weapons function. There must be ten versions of Browning's .45 pistol (produced by Colt) known as the Colt Government Model M1911A1 automatic pistol. Slight variations don't constitute a real design difference. A book that covers the basics very well is *Gun Owner's Book of Care, Repair, and Improvement* (Roy Dunlap, Harper and Row [Outdoor Life], New York, 1974). In the 335 page hardbound edition, Dunlap covers how to set up a workshop, storage and security from theft, how modern weapons function, how to clean your weapons correctly, what tools you will need, various aspects of the different weapon types (rifles, handguns etc) and a very comprehensive chapter on sights, sighting in, accuiming and improving sporting arms. His main emphasis is on hunting arms, and his cursory treatment of automatic weapons reflects that interest, however *Gun Owner's Book* is still one of the best available basic texts. It is well worth the \$9.95 the Popular Science/Outdoor Life Book Division of Times Mirror Magazines charges for it. It was intended as a book for a beginning "hobby" gunsmith. Profusely illustrated.

For those who want a more detailed account of the design of long arms, *American Rifle Design and Performance*, (L.R. Wallack, Winchester Press, New York, 1977) will cover in minute detail the various design characteristics of virtually every American sporting arm of this century. Wallack may dwell over-long on the high-powered African game type rifles for the average reader of the C.P. Review, but for someone faced with understanding the operation and reasons behind the design of a wide variety of sporting arms, especially hunting rifles manufactured in the US, this is a definitive work. Wallack was an Ordnance small-arms repair chief during the Second World War and a custom gunsmith. Adequately illustrated.

Gun Digest is published every year by DBI Books. Apparently DBI produces other digests besides one on firearms, but it is a good book to read if you are something of a novice. Usually there are photos and brief illustrations on each model of sporting arm produced in the world that manages to get distributed in the US. Many makes well-known to British or French or German hunters and target shooters are absent. Besides the catalogue of weapons

there are about fifty articles of interest to hunters and gunners, some quite technical and others more historical or topical. At 448 pages, this one is about the same size as a metropolitan phone directory. It has a listing of all arm makers, arms associations and a magnificent listing of books available from Ray Riling Arms Books, 6844 Gorsten Street, Philadelphia, Pa. 19119, in addition to a listing of periodicals, shooting clubs, and so on. Well worth the \$8.95. Technical Publishing Co., 540 Frontage Road, Northfield III. 60093.

Another digest (from the same company) and one a little more oriented towards fields familiar to Anarchists is *Law Enforcement Handbook Digest*, (Follett Publishing Co., Ed. Grennell & Williams, Chicago, Illinois). Foreword by the Superintendent, New York State Police, W.E. Kiwan. Did you ever wonder where the cops get all that hardware? This book tells all! Only \$5.95. Covers martial weapons, pistols, rifles, shotguns, riot guns, machineguns and more. Body armour, bullet-proof vests, riot shields, headgear. Everything for the well-dressed fascist state police. Digest Books, 540 Frontage Road, Northfield, Ill. 60093. How to shoot, who to shoot and what with. A real killer.

Another one from Outdoor Life Books, to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has something to do with guns, (and you can spell it) it'll be in this book. Just about has an illustration for every word, but not quite. The ones you get to go along with your new technical gunsmith text, is *Firearms Encyclopedia* (George Nonte, Harper & Row, New York, 1973, 339 pages). The title tells it. If you don't know what it means, but you know it has



store. It works. And it shoots 9mm Parabellum ammo from a surplus Sten gun magazine. If you can't find the magazine, Holmes gives you the plans for one, along with plans for every other single detail of this weapon. Make sure you get it before it goes out of print or something.

Another Palatin puts out with blueprints is *Improvised Weapons of the American Underground*. There are a series of these, *Son of Improvised Weapons of . . .*, no, really, there are several. They are published by Desert Publications, P.O. Box 22005, Phoenix, AZ, 85208. They contain some highly dangerous formulas for various explosives and some bathtub instructions in how to produce them ("The nitro being produced will start to decompose at 50 degrees C, and give off the red gas of nitrogen dioxide, which is poisonous. Don't let this happen. If there is a sudden rise in temperature, or the red gas is noticed, dump the whole works in the cold water!").

And run like hell, they should add. Because your entire neighbourhood is fixing to be levitated to Mars. They include plans for a 45 caliber submachinegun patterned somewhat crudely after the Sten gun. Don't use aluminium anywhere, though, use steel. They assume you are a machinist with a complete machine shop. Buy Holmes's book, too, and you can build models of both.

Unit Nine is a good example of the current crop of Learn-to-be-a-Mercenary-in-your-Spare-Time outfits. They have several books out concerning more conventional anti-guerrilla jungle war, and they pander to the armchair adventurer spirit lurking in young men of the conservative mode. They have published two books called the *Mercenary's Manual* and the *Mercenary's Manual II*, both of which aren't too bad at all, if you intend on going to Africa to kill guerrillas. Even if you intend to stay home in Cleveland or Manchester and wish the States' case of athletes' foot would develop gangrene, you will find these books very informative as to what one does to aim a mortar, or what a Czech RPG rocket launcher looks like. Who knows, next year in Prague!! They cost \$5.55 and \$9.70 respectively, and are available from Unit Nine, 1110 Finch Street, Downsview, Ontario, Canada. Use caution with these folks. They might be selling their mailing list.

Sometimes these military mail order houses have competitive prices. One outfit that isn't quite as garish as Palatin is Ken Ha'e, P.O.

Box 395, McDonald, Ohio, 44437. Sometimes he's higher, sometimes lower. Spreading your order around is a good idea anyhow. Use a different name on every order. Hale also sells bulk order "survival" foods, a Civil Defence days of the '50s, but I suspect he really sells them as C-Rats (combat rations) to the various folks who need to stock up on C-Rats. Wouldn't be a bad idea actually . . .

John S. Clarke — Parliamentarian, Poet, Lion-Tamer, Ray Challinor, Pluto Press 1977, £1.50, pictorial wraps, illustrated, 85pp.

This is a well intentioned if minor biography of a colourful character. J.S. Clarke (1885-1959) was one of that band of activists who animated the revolutionary "Red" Clyde scene in the first quarter of this century. A friendly and lovable person, though caustic or ironical at times in his political verses and articles, inherent kindness modulated bitterness towards enemies and so engendered little or no animosity in return. He was a natural internationalist for being a member of an old family he was brought up to feel no boundaries of speech or country.

Following early years in circuses or at sea, of adventures in Africa where he lived for a while in the kraal of friendly Zulus, he became a prolific writer and popular lecturer on subjects not only of left-wing and humanitarian principles. From 1929-31 he was a Glasgow Labour MP but was not unhappy to lose his seat in the debacle following Macdonald's National Government formation. He'd found the House a place of unwarding toil and "nauseating hypocrisy and proscription" as he's said in a letter to his brother quoted by Challinor. He was happy in local politics after election to Glasgow Corporation in 1926, in due course being a Baillie (Anglice: Councillor and alderman/magistrate). He was variously or for a long Governor of the famous Glasgow School of Art, a Fine Arts Commissioner, Trustee of the National Portrait Gallery and the Clyde Navigation Trust. Books included *Burnt and His Politics, Satires, Lyrics and Poems, Russia under the Red Terror, an admirable work about Big Top personalities and activities behind the scenes: Circus Parade in 1936 and a Scottish Encyclopedia*.

But for twenty years he was an active agitator in journals and on platforms especially in the war years when the Glasgow region was a ferment of revolutionary ardour. Lloyd George even got the wind-up so much in 1919 that he ordered armoured cars to strategic street corners and naval guns on the Clyde to be trained on workers' districts. Clarke, like many others, saw the war as nothing but a battle of capitalist expansion and domination and spoke and wrote against it. He was active after the Russian Revolution in the "Hands off Russia" campaign which eventually forced the British Government to withdraw invading troops and warships.

World wide workers were called to the second convention of the Third (Communist) International in 1920. Most clandestinely and with hazard delegates travelled from all parts. From Scotland those included Willy Gallacher as chairman of the Clyde Workers Committee and Clarke as editor of their organ *The Worker*. For the incipient English

CP and as editor of her *Workers Dreadnought* went Sylvia Pankhurst the younger daughter of the Suffragette leader. With the Baltic and Finland in anti-Soviet hands Clarke and Gallacher sailed to Norway but then had to make their way from Bergen to the far north before crossing the sea to Murmansk and thence through battle territory before reaching their destination. For Gallacher especially it proved a momentous episode for Lenin then persuaded him to drop his plans to form an anti-parliamentary Scottish Communist Party with John MacLean in favour of a British one. Clarke's report was later amplified and published under the ambiguous title *Pen Pictures of Russia under the Red Terror*. His way home had been interrupted by arrest in Norway but he escaped to "borrow" a boat and sail single-handed across the North Sea to Newcastle-upon-Tyne.

It was there, back in 1908, that whilst working in a Menagerie he became active in politics by editing the local socialists' journal *The Keel*. In his Foreword to *Circus Parade* "I was a rough rider when only ten years of age; a performer with wild animals at sixteen and a trainer of horses and wild beasts at twenty-two." In 1910 in Glasgow he had just been offered a job in a circus in Kelvin Hall when he "rejected it for a post in Edinburgh as a lecturer and writer." That was for the anti-religion Ethical Guild, it lasted a year and — being full-time — gave him valuable experience. Thereafter he was primarily a political activist. Half-way through the war he settled in Glasgow but never lost contact with the circus world; even in his late sixties often being a popular performer in Kelvin Hall where he'd turned down that offer so long before.

In 1899 he'd been boy assistant to world famous Lion King Julius Seeth in London's Olympia. There in the great days of Bertram Mills he was always persona grata behind the scenes. There for example he'd acted as second "mid-wife" at the birth of tigress "Olympia" in 1933 having been a guest at that season's inaugural Christmas luncheon. That wasn't a family performers or staff gathering for Bertram Mills Luncheons had progressed into tremendous affairs under the Big Top. I have the Table Plan as souvenir of that actual one. The sporting "Lonsdale Belt" Earl presided over 170 notabilities at the surrounding main table. At that a sprinkling of politicians included such peculiar characters as the renegade Jimmy Thomas of the NUR who was then in Macdonald's National Cabinet as well as his crony Sir Alfred Butt who with Thomas had to relinquish with ignominy their seats in the House for making profit from Budget secrets in 1935. Another there was Herbert Morrison, who when Home Secretary in the Hitler war was to free Mosley from prison but not the latter's minor lackeys! Clarke and his wife Sally were amongst the thousand nice if officially "lesser" guests at tables for eight in the centre. At table 38 they sat next to J.B. Morton the then famous satirist "Beechingham" of the *Daily Express*. Clarke's final job was to be on the staff of the Scottish *Daily Express* in the 1950s.

Now Challinor gives a fairly good survey of Clarke's political life and quotes from

many of his verses and excerpts from other writing; but nothing of his artistic life. Since he had access to all family papers and met many old friends of Clarke I do feel his tale could have been fuller. For me too it starts off on two left feet by calling Clarke a "lion-tamer" not once but a dozen times. The term is a misnomer perpetuated by ignorant journalists following originiation by uncouth early performers seeking to impress the public by goading animals into snarling angry reaction. Wild animals cannot be 'tamed.' Correct is 'trainer.' Anyone looking at the many photos of Clarke's face whilst his arm is around the neck of a mastiff/tiger or lion, or as he puts groups of animals through their paces in the ring, can see was no 'tamer' but rather an understanding lover and respecter of wild animals. Only with sympathy, kindness, understanding and patience can any sort of control be gained, as Clarke himself did write.

Another ridiculous error is calling Clarke a gypsy. Nobody looked less like one and Clarke himself wrote that gypsies and circus folk never mingled. I've nothing against Romanies but they only follow the circus for the same reason pilot fish follow sharks or the birds who feed off crocodile teeth but otherwise keep their distance.

There is no index, no list of Clarke's books, the journals he edited or contributed to, no list of public posts, no chronology to help the student follow vicissitudes or trace contacts with other activists or organisations. Otherwise this was a take worth the telling.

Barry Duncan.

The Imprinted, John Sommerfield, London Magazine Editions, 1977, 176pp, £5.00. These memoirs are by the author of that much quoted early account of the International Brigade, *Volunteer in Spain*. Admittedly semi-fictional, they will satisfy anyone seeking a good read, which the book is, but the more knowledgeable at times may be at a loss. Most names are imaginary but based on real people — sometimes perhaps composite. Of course opinions and judgments seldom completely concur so that what may seem inappropriate to me may seem justified to another whilst the author by his semi-fictional label allows himself unlimited latitude.

Sommerfield, out East in the RAF in the last war, has been a seaman but mostly got a living writing stories, novels and film scripts. Influence of the latter is evident in this book as he exploits a flash-back technique when tales of recent encounters trigger off first-meeting stories of long ago. In the early thirties he was one of that mainly youthful band of intellectuals and others who frequented Soho and Fitzrovia, that central London quarter traditionally a haven for revolutionary exiles as well as being home to more normal foreigners. Like in the Italian quarter of Saffron Hill and further on in the Jewish part of the East End such residents were on the whole particularly politically conscious and consequently, as like attracts like, British citizens often held similar views.

Early in 1933 one boy fresh from public school appeared on this Soho scene. He was the poet John Cornford, a Communist convert whose active enthusiasm for the cause knew

no bounds, as was normal then for like middle-class "renegades." Sommerfield was also a "believer" on those days and became friendly with Cornford after meeting him, if not in Soho then where he sometimes worked in Davis Archer's famous literary bookshop in Holborn.

Within a month of the opening shots in 1936, twenty year old Cornford, still attending Cambridge University, went to Spain on a press ticket. But he had no Spanish and soon joined up in the Anarchist/PoUM militia as his best way to aid anti-Fascist forces. Much in early actions, after incapacitating jaundice or dysentery, three weeks leave home was granted him not only to recuperate health but in the hope of fomenting friendly publicity and the recruitment of more volunteers. The official International Brigades were then only beginning to be thought of though other volunteers were already in Spain.

I remember Cornford appearing again on the Soho scene that time and one night holding forth in a bohemian haunt in an alley hard by the ancient church of St. Giles called *The Coffee an'*. He was then emphatic that the insurgents would be defeated as soon as the Government rallied its forces, could train troops and get the necessary arms it lacked, especially those promised from the USSR. But essential for victory was Communist control. Only the iron discipline of the Party could weld the often quarrelsome defenders into the coherent unit necessary to direct the war. Though his only Spanish was what he was then acquiring from a pocket dictionary his French was fairly good and what he said had the authority of personal experience. How valid his ideas and how much he might have qualified his opinions is a moot point since he became an early casualty long before the fratricidal horrors and the murderous machinations of Hitler and others later on.

Of his recent comrades in the militia his views were mixed. For their courage he had nothing but praise but he was contemptuous of their incapacity to appreciate a need for leaders, for their ideas that committees must argue pros and cons before action could be taken. He told of self-contained villages with no communication system or any preparations to repel attacks or even knowledge of Franco held positions. His first action had been a waste of life and effort. After a night march they'd partially captured a key village (Pedriguera near Saragossa) but so haphazardly without a commander to direct actual operations or later to see to consolidation that they'd eventually retreated back without profit.

He returned to Spain in October with six recruits. One was Sommerfield whose experiences are recorded in the book mentioned above. They were in action together, notably in the close fighting of University City on the outskirts of Madrid. Sommerfield was lucky enough to be invalidated out before the end of the year. He'd done his bit and sensibly did not return. John Cornford was killed in the Cordoba fighting of Christmas 1936.

Now though Sommerfield says little or nothing of all the above in his present book he does quote a couple of times from his earlier one and from his notes. A running theme is

his working on a projected radio feature about one John Rackstraw, an obvious pseudonym for his friend Cornford even though the former is said to be an Oxford man killed in the Libyan desert during the Hitler war. None of the girls he associates with "Rackstraw" fit my idea of the only one I knew who did, though I did not know his second and last girl who never appeared on the Soho scene. For that matter I do not recognize the many other girls in the book but that means nothing since I only know the writer slightly and the girl I'd known him living with he'd parted from even before his going to Spain. Other readers who know the scene will have fun attempting to identify many characters. I fancy their task may not be easy though I may be wrong.

David Archer, the bookseller I've mentioned is easily recognised although here called Phil. One Angus Muir has a lot of Dylan Thomas in him and that is likely enough since I think Sommerfield was also for a while in the Crown Film (propaganda) unit as was Dylan. Whether a BBC feature was ever produced about John Cornford I've not yet tried to discover. One illuminating chapter deals with his friendship in Karachi with one Gopal an anti-British activist and with his subsequent interrogation by Intelligence Officers who had had them both under surveillance. Sommerfield's acting innocence didn't prevent his speedy posting to the Burma war zone!

Barry Duncan.

Memories I, Julian Huxley, Penguin 85p. The first of Julian Huxley's two volumes of autobiography.

Books of memoir and reminiscence by people who have lived from the end of the last century and into the modern post 1945 world always fascinate me. Julian Huxley's first volume of autobiography is such and its subject matter is sufficiently wide ranging for all to find something of interest in it.

But with any member of the Huxley clan one is quickly at a disadvantage, for they are all so much cleverer than oneself. Indeed the predominant thing I remember some decades after having read great dollops of novels by Aldous is how clever the author was: hardly anything of their themes or plots; just how very clever was the man who wrote them. But this book will be enjoyable for anyone who can live with a writer who admits to having read the *Water Babies* before he was five, who won prizes at Eton for poetry, Shakespeare and biology, and who won the Newdigate prize for poetry at Oxford while studying biology.

The success is not unrelated. He had great feelings of guilt over his adolescent sexual urges, at the same time as he was studying and comparing the mating rituals of animals, principally species of birds. And on the radio programme the Brains Trust he was unable to answer the question how a fly lands on the ceiling.

One interesting aspect of the book is the incidental revelation of how the Eton/Oxbridge coterie keeps in its hands the reins of power without ever seeming to seek to do so. Huxley's contemporaries at Eton and Oxford later appear as diplomats, academics, top civil servants, cabinet ministers and in other

BOOK REVIEWS

positions of power.

An amusingly enough one of them, Knatchbull-Hugesson was the British ambassador to Turkey during the 1939-45 war who had all his incoming mail photographed by the Nazi spy "Cicero" while the ambassador was taking his early morning bath.

Huxley's world appears to be one populated exclusively by the brilliant, be they brilliantly successful or brilliantly ludicrous. Julian Huxley himself, an outstanding polymath who made his living as a scientist, also spent much time and effort on matters of social concern. He was a humanist with all the earnest and worthy passions that have ever beset the humanities. He concerned himself with propaganda for family planning, lest the not so fitted reproduce themselves at a higher rate than the super-intelligent, and with planning for a humane society and all the related reforms this overwhelming project involves.

While this volume is enlivened by many witty observations and anecdotes which demonstrate the author's sense of the absurd he seems a little blind, and so fitted reproduce themselves at a higher rate than the super-intelligent, and with planning for a humane society and all the related reforms this overwhelming project involves.

White this volume is enlivened by many witty observations and anecdotes which demonstrate the author's sense of the absurd he seems a little blind, and so fitted

reproduce themselves at a higher rate than the super-intelligent, and with planning for a humane society and all the related reforms this overwhelming project involves.

Peter Miller.

LITTLE 'UNS

Reading and Loving, Leila Berg, Routledge & Kegan Paul, £1.20.

Leila Berg has contributed much as a critic of the authoritarian school system in Britain, and has done much to popularise ideas about a more libertarian attitude towards children.

In this book she shows her talent for producing insights by observing and learning from children. In respect she is equalled only by John Holt.

She examines the type of books used in schools and shows that, in many cases, books themselves provide the major inhibition to the development of reading through their stilted and formalistic vocabulary, and their rejection of real children.

Leila Berg's aim is that all children's first experience of reading should be a loving and sensuous one, so that they can come to discover the power of books for themselves. This is no work of educational theory for academics – it is an important book for parents of young children.

Terry Phillips.

have no energy left for pleasure.

Andrew enjoys doing useful work but he realises it is unfair that workers do all the work but get little of the benefit while the King and Queen get everything but do no work. Andrew sees the soldiers do nothing but bully others into working harder. The bankers take and store the food that the workers have produced.

Andrew talks to the other workers about how unfair it is but they are afraid to do anything about it. However, one day something happens which changes everything.

Anita and has an accident and needs food and medicine. The bankers refuse to give her any so the workers storm the food bank and distribute food for all the sick and hungry way. Having done this, they realise that they don't need Kings, soldiers and bankers.

The book is illustrated on half of its 56 pages. The price is not cheap, but understandable in view of the precarious economic position of alternative publishers with small print-runs. If you can possibly afford it, order a copy of this book for your young children from Cienfuegos Book Service and help encourage a worthwhile project.

Terry Phillips.

Lotta, Astrid Lindgren, Young Puffin, 50p.

A very good little book about Lotta, the youngest and naughtiest of three children. She has an elder brother Jonas and an elder sister Maria who narrates. Lotta is THE naughty child; all that little kids are supposed to be, cute, dumb and naughty. The stories are all in the same sort of vein, little child in sill situations.

M.C.

Recommended Picture Puffins for the very young.

Farmer Fisher, Johnathan Coddle, 50p. The rollicking tale of Farmer Fisher's drive to market, which ended in a very unusual perfect. Even the most brilliant and articulate of people utter clichés and trivialities at times. This aspect is highlighted by contrast with the most beautifully written passage of the book where Daniel Martin falls in love for the first time. The simplicity of the language and the self-conscious conversation are univilled.

The other side of Daniel Martin which makes him far more alive than the average narrator, is his relationship with women. His sexual and emotional feelings are in natural harmony with his political attitudes, for he is the liberal male, the admitted and superficially repentant chauvinist with his own double-standards, (even if they are as minor as criticising his girl friend's use of double negatives when he uses them herself).

We are obviously distracted when reading a 'narrated' novel by wondering how autobiographical and confessional the feelings expressed might be. All I can say in this case is that he should have followed Goethe's advice and not told us what the intention of the book was, for as a study of relationships and of the liberal angst it is a great novel. But as a manifesto in the guise of fiction, it fails in a way that is both fascinating and illuminating.

M.C.

FICTION

Daniel Martin, John Fowles, Cape, £4.95.

When I read that John Fowles intended this book to be 'a defence and illustration of an unfashionable philosophy, humanism,' I expected an ultimately persuasive thread developing into a manifesto for the uncomitted English liberal elitist party. To a large degree I was not misled, except that I found the power of this novel existed in the very way the 'philosophy' was unconvincing.

It is a political novel, though obviously not in the usual sense. To put it briefly, and unfairly, it is the story of a liberal humanist menopause male searching for himself. He hates capitalism, communism, and authoritarianism in general, but drifts in a guilt-ridden quest for the source of his dissatisfaction. But he is afraid of developing his own external analysis. He is the very essence of the privileged rebel, benefitting from what he attacks, and unthreatened by the consequences of his criticism.

The self-absorption and internal analysis are profoundly and brilliantly described, but it also reveals the impotence of the 'philosophy' and its escapist aspect for an intellectual minority. And yet when Daniel Martin looks outside himself at the real world, he shows his ability to see clearly. The analysis of media manipulation is superb in the way it is shown as a mass sapping of critical faculty and imagination. (This is entirely in line with Fowles' own view that screen media are fascists in their imposition of images.) But as one would expect, the foliage is neatly cut away while the roots and trunk are left intact.

It is difficult to fault the portrayal of any of the characters except to say that the dialogue is almost too perfect. Even the most brilliant and articulate of people utter clichés and trivialities at times. This aspect is highlighted by contrast with the most beautifully written passage of the book where Daniel Martin falls in love for the first time. The simplicity of the language and the self-conscious conversation are univilled.

The deeper aim of surrealism was to integrate the conscious and subconscious elements in the psyche, particularly through the use of symbolism. The movement could look to C.G. Jung for its psychological theory, but was more interested in artistic practice. The way that the practice could be empty and uninspiring or rich and suggestive (and, as I am attempting to convey, there are more than enough examples of the former as well as of the latter in this anthology) can easily be illustrated by referring to the two poems of Dylan Thomas included in the book:

"Jenny 1939" – "Because the pleasure bird whistles . . ." and "I, In My Intricate Image." The first of these is a skein of nonsense, each word or phrase arbitrarily following on from the one before. The second, however, because of its sustained themes of man, metal, sea and death piles up a richness of imagery which is limitless in possibilities of suggestions and meanings within the thematic frame. To borrow terms from the ever fertile 19th century, the first poem is a piece of fancy while the second is a true work of the

BOOK REVIEWS

English and American Surrealist Poetry, Edward B. Germain, Penguin 1978, 348pp, £1.75.

It is often said that one cannot go back and recapture the spirit of the past. If one regards the arts as something of a bulwark against the decaying effect of time then one would hope that at least some of the vivacity of past eras would continue to communicate itself in the artistic inheritance they have left to us. Which is why the collection of poetry (both pre-war and post-war) under discussion here is surprising in its lack of edge and in the sense that one has that the editor has been inclusive rather than exclusive in the selection of work. The result is that while we have a corpus of work to consider we have something of a corpse when we examine it for signs of life.

What do we expect from literature claiming to be surreal? Above all, the discovery of links between aspects of the absurd, humourous contradiction and the play of wit, the serendipity of the wholly unexpected and original imagination let loose in the act of creation. And what do we have in Edward Germain's collection? A few outstanding examples of surreal art at work in its best. But we also find two other categories of poetry included: a large number of fine poems which can only in the loosest sense be regarded as having even touches of surreal imagery or technique, and a considerable number of poems which have the superficial characteristics of surrealism but which are flat and futile in their effect upon the reader. The most obvious examples of the latter are the "chain poems" written by a number of authors who took turns to write a line each (a fine Christmas party game after plum pudding and drinks, and the kids can all join in!) and the "automatic writing" which, as Germain admits in his lengthy introduction, was abandoned in the thirties by André Breton:

(p.37) ... "1934, Breton announced that surrealism must "cease being content with automatic texts, the recital of dreams, improvising speeches, spontaneous poems, drawings and actions."

The deeper aim of surrealism was to integrate the conscious and subconscious elements in the psyche, particularly through the use of symbolism. The movement could look to C.G. Jung for its psychological theory, but was more interested in artistic practice. The way that the practice could be empty and uninspiring or rich and suggestive (and, as I am attempting to convey, there are more than enough examples of the former as well as of the latter in this anthology) can easily be illustrated by referring to the two poems of Dylan Thomas included in the book:

"Jenny 1939" – "Because the pleasure bird whistles . . ." and "I, In My Intricate Image."

The first of these is a skein of nonsense,

each word or phrase arbitrarily following on from the one before.

The second, however, because of its sustained themes of man, metal, sea and

death piles up a richness of imagery which is

limitless in possibilities of suggestions and

meanings within the thematic frame. To

borrow terms from the ever fertile 19th

century, the first poem is a piece of fancy

while the second is a true work of the

imagination. The difference, is of course, that in the second instance the diverse images and constituents of the poem are integrated into a coherent whole, and thus the poem gains depth and the dimension of meaning.

A certain amount of integration is therefore necessary for even the zaniest of surreal poems, and this we find, whether it be in the comedy of Harry Crosby's "Telephone Directory", or Henry Treece's children's poem "The Magic Wood," or John Perreault's "Boomerang" and "Readymade – the Venus Fly Trap", or in the deeply serious poems such as Lee Harwood's magnificent poem "The Utopia"

... No one in the house was sure of the frontiers ... or even Ted Berrigan's slangy and obscene "Bean Spasms" which though nauseating and nauseated, is technically advanced and innovative, and wholly convincing. Among the more predictable "types" of surreal writing we find description of nature, including prose poems such as "Aurora Borealis" by Edouard Roditi or "Suburban Dust" by Bert Myers, poems containing elements of horror or gratuitous violence (successful, as with "In The Stump of the Old Tree" by Ay Seck Davies; less so, to my taste, in Jon Raworth's "My Life Is My Own, I Thought"), and poems, such as Roland Penrose's, which were once part of multicoloured collages and which suffer from the subtraction of the artwork. David Gascoyne's translations of foreign poems are well represented, e.g. Salvador Dali's "The Art of Picasso," a statement of surreal doctrine. And, of course, there are many excellent poems which travel through the emotional fields of inner psychological space, examining states of mind or relationships.

Among the latter are Francis Scarfe's "Ode In Honour," Mark Strand's "The Marriage" and Roger Roughton's "Soulful Noughts and Crosses." Poems of social and political criticism also feature, some more apocalyptic than others. The surreal dream and the prophetic vision may combine, as in John Bayliss's "Apocalypse and Resurrection," or the feeling may be more tentative, as in Robert Bly's "At A March Against The Vietnamese War" – a poem whose translations are also well represented.

There are so many poems included in this volume that a review cannot be fair to all: I have not mentioned George Barber's "Blakeland" or Ruthven Todd's "Paul Klee," Humphrey Jennings' "Prose Poem," E.L.T. Mesen's "The Arid Husband," or Djuna Barnes' "Transfiguration," Kenneth Patchen's "Saturday Night In The Parthenon" or W.S. Merion's excellent surreal poems "Bread," "A Door," "Glass" and "The Digger." John Ashberry's statement

"All beauty, resonance, integrity
Exist by depravity or logic
Or strange position" ...
is worth pondering, and Donald Hall's definition of a moment of vision, "Je suis une table" is excellent, showing the limits of language. Den Smith's "Train" and "Possessions" are both very acute:

"furniture of a planet
wheeling in silence
lonely as a train

waving its little handkerchiefs of steam."

So there is a great deal to be enjoyed. With a little more preening, there would have been less to be endured.

Geoff Charlton.

KROPOTKIN

Kropotkin, Martin A. Miller, University of Chicago Press, £12.00.

For nearly half a century, Peter Kropotkin was the leading figure in the international anarchist movement. After more than half a century, he remains the most attractive and accessible of all the important anarchist writers, and retains the strongest claims to be taken seriously as a social and political thinker. He has of course received his fair share of attention in the recent revival of interest in anarchism; during the past few years all of his books which were published in English have been reprinted, often with new introductions, and some anthologies of his writings have been published, also with new introductions.

The result is that it has become easier to read what Kropotkin wrote than at any time since his death in 1921; but there hasn't yet been a corresponding reassessment of his life and work. His own autobiography, *Memoirs of a Revolutionary* (1899), was reprinted in three separate editions by 1971, and the first biography, *The Anarchist Prince* (1950) by George Woodcock and Ivan Avakumovic, was also reprinted in 1971; but both these books are out of date, and the growing need for a fresh account of his activity and a fresh analysis of his ideology has not been satisfied by the production of occasional unpublished university theses.

As last one of these theses has borne fruit, and a serious attempt to satisfy at least one of these two needs has been made by Martin A. Miller, associate professor of history at Duke University and editor of one of the recent Kropotkin anthologies. *Kropotkin* is the first scholarly treatment of the available source material, and it will be essential reading for everyone interested in the subject; but it is far from satisfactory.

Miller has been working on this book for a long time (his original thesis was completed ten years ago); we may be grateful for the delay when we learn that he began it because he was "interested in the application of Eriksonian psychology to the study of Russian revolutionaries and saw Kropotkin, "because of the wealth of source material", as "an excellent example for a case study of radical motivation." Paul Goodman indeed remarked in his introduction to the Horizon edition of Kropotkin's memoirs that a psychoanalytical interpretation of his development would be "embarrassingly obvious", and Miller in fact called his thesis "The Formative Years of P.A. Kropotkin, 1842-1876: A Study in the Origins and Development of Populist Attitudes in Russia." But as he worked he found that "the problems which were revealed by this approach appeared greater than the answers which were suggested" – a nice comment on the defects

BOOK REVIEWS

of psychoanalysis in general and of psychotherapy in particular, which are especially obvious in the case of someone as sure of his identity and as shy of intimacy as Kropotkin.

In the end, Miller has produced a fairly straightforward academic biography; although he still gives as much space to Kropotkin's "formative" years as to his mature career, and still gets involved in trying to interpret his story rather than just telling it.

The first question about this book concerns its relationship with its predecessors. Miller hasn't made much use of *The Anarchist Prince*, which is understandable but unfortunate, because Woodcock/Avakumovic, despite their carelessness with details and their disrespect for references, did provide a good portrait of Kropotkin which is still worth reading after a quarter of a century. Miller has made more use of *Memoirs of a Revolutionary*, as the main source of information about Kropotkin's life up to the 1890s. (He has used the Russian editions, which are considerably superior to the American ones, but seems unaware of the British ones, which are slightly superior.) Kropotkin's treatment of his own past and thoughts was inevitably subjective and unreliable, but he did produce a good self-portrait which is still worth reading after three-quarters of a century.

As we would expect however, Miller has ranged far more widely than these two books, and the double answer to this first question is that he offers a large amount of information which isn't in either of them – and often wasn't available in English at all – but that he also omits a fair amount of material which is in both or one of them. The awkward result is that to get a full view of the subject it is really necessary to read first Kropotkin, then Woodcock/Avakumovic, and finally Miller.

The second question about this book concerns its intrinsic value. Miller's major contribution to Kropotkin studies is the use he has made of primary source material, not only in North America and Western Europe, but also in Soviet Russia, where he has worked on archives which were closed to outsiders until the 1960s. He has examined the surviving manuscripts as well as the published editions of Kropotkin's memoirs, and also as many of Kropotkin's diaries and letters as he could find. He has searched the papers left by Kropotkin and by many of his contemporaries, as well as the official records of several countries. He has gone back to original documents to confirm or correct every possible detail, and he must by now have read more about the subject than anyone since Kropotkin himself.

Yet Miller's approach has disadvantages as well as advantages, and the double answer to this second question is that he offers many new facts but that he also obscures many old facts. The awkward result is that the book is at the same time a large step forward and not nearly large enough a step forward.

Looking at the positive side, Miller has produced by far the most complete record of where Kropotkin went and what he did throughout his long life. As we might expect, he is happiest with Kropotkin's

time in Russia. He gives for the first time due weight to the influence on Kropotkin's early intellectual development of his elder brother Alexander (there is an interesting appendix on Alexander's own revolutionary activity, which ended with his suicide in 1886), and to the influence on Kropotkin's later political development of Alexander's sister-in-law Sofia Lavrovna. He similarly gives a much more detailed description than before of Kropotkin's involvement in Russian politics both before his escape to the West in 1876 and after his return in 1917, and of his continuing interest in Russian affairs during the forty years of exile.

Looking at the negative side, Miller surely overemphasizes Kropotkin's Russianness. He sees Kropotkin as above all a Russian figure, and gives the evidence to support such a view. But, like most members of the Russian upper class, Kropotkin has a European education, and was fluent in French, German and English. He was active in Western Europe for more than half his life, and he was much more successful outside than inside his native country. Like Bakunin, he was an international rather than national figure, and can be claimed by no single country.

Miller also overemphasizes Kropotkin's alienation from his family and class in his early life and from his friends and colleagues in his later life. Here he resorts to brutal and banal psychoanalysis which obscures Kropotkin's personality more than it illustrates it. There may be a connection between Kropotkin's private resistance to the authority of his parents and teachers and his public rebellion against the authority of his government and eventually of all government, but the evidence gives no convincing proof that it was causal rather than causal. Similarly, Miller makes much of Kropotkin's reluctance to be absorbed into peer groups at any stage of his life, but while this characteristic may excite comment from a twentieth-century American, it wouldn't attract the notice of a nineteenth-century European, especially one who had experience of a reactionary society or a revolutionary movement.

The book has several other weaknesses. There is more information in it than anyone else about Kropotkin's voluminous writings over a period of more than seventy years, but the bibliography is seriously incomplete and slightly inaccurate; there are some omissions that would be expected and more errors than should be accepted in a work of this kind. Miller even manages to get wrong the title of his own Kropotkin anthology – *Selected Writings* (not *Readings*) in *Anarchism and Revolution* and there are some mistakes in dates which have been copied for three-quarters of a century from Max Nettlau's *Bibliographie de l'anarchie* (1897) but which should be corrected by a quick reference to the original writings.

There is plenty of emphasis on Kropotkin's philosophical development – his rejection of religion and indeed of all metaphysical thought – but not enough on his literary, artistic and scientific development. There are too many insignificant points in the text which ought to be in the notes, and too many significant points in the notes which ought



to be in the text. There are too many important items which aren't properly treated at all – Kropotkin's sources of income and his private life, his formal inclusion in the leadership of the international anarchist movement in 1877 and his informal exclusion from it in 1914, his contacts with such famous figures as Turgenev and Tolstoy, and so on. There is, as in almost all academic books nowadays, far too much bad writing, which affects much of the narrative and even infects some of the quotations – and even the translations from Russian sources are not just rough but wrong.

But perhaps the two most serious weaknesses in the book are the description of Kropotkin's work in Western Europe, and the discussion of his place in revolutionary thought. Miller is unhappy with Kropotkin's time in Britain, where he spent more than half his adult life, staying frequently between 1876 and 1882 and settling permanently from 1886 to 1917. Miller has traced less material Britain than elsewhere, and he has less knowledge of British radicalism than of Russian populism or European anarchism. Even where there is plenty of material, as with the rise of the formal anarchist movement in the 1880s or with the row over the war in 1914, he gets out of his depth and falls into elementary mistakes and misunderstandings.

Miller passes over the emergence of British anarchism, in which Kropotkin played an important part, too rapidly to add anything significant to what is already known. He pays more attention to Kropotkin's break with the British anarchists over the First World War, but seriously misinterprets the situation. The reason is that he relies on Kropotkin's version of the episode, which was false in several details. For example, Miller says that in November 1914 Alfred Marsh was succeeded as editor of *Freedom* by Thomas Keell, "whom Kropotkin mistrusted from the start"; in fact Keell had been publisher of *Freedom* for ten years and acting editor for two, and Kropotkin trusted him completely until the war began. Miller says that Kropotkin "clearly wanted *Freedom* to be a proanarchist paper, not a symptom of 'conflicting opinions';" in fact Kropotkin wanted it to be a prowar paper, whereas most of the people who produced it wanted it to be a proanarchist and antiwar paper – and their victory was unanimously endorsed by a conference of the British anarchist movement in 1915. Miller refers to Keell's "diary," which is quoted in *The Anarchist Prince*; in fact it is a private notebook which contains summaries of Keell's meetings with Kropotkin and the few other prowar anarchists in 1914, and it strongly supports Keell's version of the episode – that Kropotkin did everything he could to make *Freedom* either support the war or cease publication. Miller has quite failed to realise that Kropotkin's defence of the war may be explicable but is not excusable, and that it cannot be properly discussed without some considera-

tion of its relevance to the nature of Kropotkin's anarchism.

This leads to the most serious weakness of all, which is Miller's failure to interpret his biographical and ideological themes – to take a fresh look at Kropotkin's part in the movement he served for so long. The two chapters about his version of anarchism, derived from scientific humanism and based on libertarian communism, and about his historical significance, as the best known anarchist in the world, are a poor substitute for the comprehensive and critical exposition of Kropotkin's ideas which is still needed. It would have been better if Miller had given more space to the practical and less to the theoretical side of Kropotkin's life and had been content with a straightforward biography.

The third question about this book concerns its future usefulness. The publishers claim that it "will stand as the definitive work on Kropotkin for years to come," which suggests that they don't know what *definitive* means and which also supposes that Miller's work will hinder rather than help further work on Kropotkin. This may well be true – just as E.H. Carr's forty-year-old biography of Bakunin has recently been reprinted rather than replaced – but it would be a pity. Miller has actually produced not a definitive but an interim work, and it should be praised for what it is rather than criticised for what it isn't.

Miller himself claims only that his book is an "objective study," and this is what is important. He has treated Kropotkin not as a saint or a sage, but as a man who lived and worked in a particular way at a particular time, and he has established more of the truth about him than anyone has done before. This is enough of an achievement to be getting on with. The double answer to this third question is that Miller has not produced the authoritative biography of Kropotkin which is still needed, but that he has provided a foundation on which such a book could rest. Exactly a century after Kropotkin became a leading figure in the anarchist movement, we can begin to understand him as he deserves.

Nicolas Walter.

Anarchism, Peter Kropotkin, 25p + 7p post.

This is the second recent Kropotkin's Light-house publication, and is in fact a reprint of his Encyclopedia Britannica article. "Anarchism" remains one of the most lucid short explanations of the ideals and early history of the anarchist movement that has ever been written. Buy it for a friend, but read it yourself before passing it on.

PAMPHLETS

Free Association: Revolutionary Committees as a method of organisation.

A 16-page illustrated pamphlet that makes a really good introduction to anarchist ideas, written in jargon-free English, that sets out a "vision of the organisation of a new society." From: More to Come, P.O. Box 11308, San Francisco, California 94101, USA.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 180

BOOK REVIEWS

CLIFFORD HARPER

tion of its relevance to the nature of Kropotkin's anarchism.

This leads to the most serious weakness of all, which is Miller's failure to interpret his biographical and ideological themes – to take a fresh look at Kropotkin's part in the movement he served for so long. The two chapters about his version of anarchism, derived from scientific humanism and based on libertarian communism, and about his historical significance, as the best known anarchist in the world, are a poor substitute for the comprehensive and critical exposition of Kropotkin's ideas which is still needed. It would have been better if Miller had given more space to the practical and less to the theoretical side of Kropotkin's life and had been content with a straightforward biography.

The third question about this book concerns its future usefulness. The publishers claim that it "will stand as the definitive work on Kropotkin for years to come," which suggests that they don't know what *definitive* means and which also supposes that Miller's work will hinder rather than help further work on Kropotkin. This may well be true – just as E.H. Carr's forty-year-old biography of Bakunin has recently been reprinted rather than replaced – but it would be a pity. Miller has actually produced not a definitive but an interim work, and it should be praised for what it is rather than criticised for what it isn't.

Miller himself claims only that his book is an "objective study," and this is what is important. He has treated Kropotkin not as a saint or a sage, but as a man who lived and worked in a particular way at a particular time, and he has established more of the truth about him than anyone has done before. This is enough of an achievement to be getting on with. The double answer to this third question is that Miller has not produced the authoritative biography of Kropotkin which is still needed, but that he has provided a foundation on which such a book could rest. Exactly a century after Kropotkin became a leading figure in the anarchist movement, we can begin to understand him as he deserves.

Nicolas Walter.

Anarchism, Peter Kropotkin, 25p + 7p post.

This is the second recent Kropotkin's Light-house publication, and is in fact a reprint of his Encyclopedia Britannica article. "Anarchism" remains one of the most lucid short explanations of the ideals and early history of the anarchist movement that has ever been written. Buy it for a friend, but read it yourself before passing it on.

PAMPHLETS

Free Association: Revolutionary Committees as a method of organisation.

A 16-page illustrated pamphlet that makes a really good introduction to anarchist ideas, written in jargon-free English, that sets out a "vision of the organisation of a new society." From: More to Come, P.O. Box 11308, San Francisco, California 94101, USA.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 181



Custer's Last Stand, or How to overcome male domination in the movement, Magic Ink, 18p (inc. p+p).

Magic Ink have done a fine job of making a useful pamphlet out of two short articles, reprinted from the American paper *Win*, tackling a subject which has been the focus of increasing controversy within the anarchist movement in the U.K.

The pamphlet is written by men, and is addressed to men, explaining why they should try to come to grips with their own dominant and oppressive behaviour patterns, specifically at group meetings. The scenario described to illustrate the kind of problems that exist certainly has a familiar ring to it and the authors clearly itemise the most common pitfalls and make some honest suggestions about how to either avoid or overcome them.

There are, however, a number of weaknesses: firstly many of the suggested methods of overcoming the "masculine behaviour pattern", bear at least a faint similarity to the type of self-criticism recently in vogue in Maoist China; secondly, many of the things that go wrong within voluntary groups are not caused by masculine behaviour, but by lack of common purpose, which allows (by its nature) the domination by individuals.

One area not considered by the authors is the necessity for many people to become more self-assertive. Many internal group problems are caused by a lack of self-assertion by many individuals, not solely by the over-assertiveness of others, which is often only symptomatic. Last criticism: there is no suggestion made in the pamphlet that these ideas which it is important to implement when involved in groups and activities outside the movement.

That said this is a pamphlet from which everyone can learn a little and from which many people can learn a lot. Read it (at least once a week).

Magic Ink, 22 Dane Road, Margate, Kent.

Russia 1917-1921. A 12-page illustrated pamphlet examining "the significance of the Russian revolutionary experience for our time." The events of the revolution between 1917 and 1921 are briefly traced, to prove in a manner that is crushing in the inescapability of its logic that "for our contemporary liberatory movement there are absolutely no models of socialism anywhere on this planet."

Tampa Red and Black have produced a readable and worthwhile publication that demonstrates that "there is no stopping half-way, we must conquer or die."

Tampa Red & Black, P.O. Box 16000 SE, Tampa, Fla. 33687, USA.
Apathy and its cure, Peter Freeman.

The author starts from the premise that "apathy shows itself in personal and social forms." The social forms of apathy are those elements of social organisation which rely upon the fact that people suppress their desires. The personal forms are the ways that people consciously disguise this suppression of their desires," and ending with the conclusion that "the social movement for direct action is the only chance of creating a world that makes sense." In between there's some perceptive analysis. 30p + post from: Peter Freeman, Box 9, c/o Rising Free, 182 Upper Street, London N1.

LIP and the self-managed counter-revolution, Black and Red, 1975, 95pp, 60p.

This short book is a difficult one, not only because the language is extremely precise, and necessarily uses ordinary words out of their everyday context, but because for many people, its arguments will run counter to dearly held beliefs. The occupation of the LIP watch factory inspired (and still does) sections of the "Left" (not only in France), who saw in the occupation a challenge to the fundamental basis of capitalism.

This book, which is a lengthy translation from the French magazine *Négation*, examines the nature of the struggle that has been taking place, and forcefully argues that in fact the development of self-management in many areas of society, as at LIP, is in fact taking place in response to the needs of contemporary capitalism. People are being allowed "self-management" of those activities which it is unprofitable to organise.

The case is well argued, but suffers from any consideration that while the growth of a "self-managed" sector of society may be in response to Capital's needs, it also opens up tremendous new revolutionary possibilities, creating fresh situations that can be taken advantage of. The encouragement of self-management may be part of a strategic retreat by capitalism, but it is something we can and must take advantage of.

The relevance of anarchism to modern society, Sam Dolgoff, Soil of Liberty, 35 cents, 22pp. Sam Dolgoff is a retired housepainter and a member of the Industrial Workers of the World (IWW), who has been active in the anarchist movement since 1920. In this pamphlet he attempts to show that "anarchism is not a panacea that will miraculously cure all the ills of the body social, but rather, a 20th century guide to action based on a realistic conception of social reconstruction."

His arguments are supported by some extremely powerful quotations from both anarchists (e.g. Kropotkin and Diego Abad de Santillan) and non-anarchists (Myrdal and Serge), and overall Sam has produced an extremely fine introduction to anarchist ideas, that could and should be read by those who believe they already have their ideas thought out.

This is Soil of Liberty's first pamphlet, and they've done a first rate job of work, maintaining the high standards they set with their magazine.

THE CIENFUEGOS PRESS ANARCHIST REVIEW

VOLUME 1. NUMBERS 1, 2, 3 INDEX TO BOOKS REVIEWED

- ABC of Anarchism — Alexander Berkman (1) 17. 50p.
 Abdication of Queen Elizabeth II: the truth about my mother — Charles Windsor (2) 52. £1.00.
 Alberola, Octavio and Gransac, Ariane
Spanish anarchism and international revolutionary action (1961-1975) (1) 9; (2) 34. Fr. ed. £2.00.
 Aldred, Chris and Marshall, Margaret
Equal pay and sex discrimination acts: report from Scotland (3) 133. 45p.
 American prison business — Jessica Mitford. (3) 119. £1.00.
 Anarcha-feminism: two statements from Siren and Black Rose (3) 133. 12p.
 Anarchism — Daniel Guerin (2) 10. £2.35.
 Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism — Rudolf Rocker (1) 17. 20p.
 Anarchism: the feminist connection — Peggy Kornegger (3) 133. 50p.
 Anarchist collectives: workers' self-management: the Spanish revolution — Sam Dolgoff (ed.), (1) & 7. £2.35.
 Anarchists in London 1935-1955 — Albert Meltzer (2) 13. £1.00.
 Anarchists in the Russian revolution — Paul Avrich (ed.) (1) 17. £1.35.
 Anarchists in the Spanish revolution — Jose Peirats (3) 125. £2.35.
 Anarchy — Errico Malatesta (1) 17. 35p.
 Anarchy and order — Herbert Read (1) 25. £1.50.
 Anarchy in action — Colin Ward (2) 8 & 49. £1.75.
 Angry Brigade — Alan Burns (2) 75. 50p.
 Angry Brigade — Gordon Carr (1) 20. (O/P).
 ARM statement — Left Bank Collective (3) 132 & 133. 50p.
 Arshinov, Peter
History of the Makhnovist movement 1918-1921 (1) 16. 2.35.
 Articulos de combate — Praxedis G. Guerrero (3) 112. £2.00.
 Art of Anarchy — Flavio Costantini (1) 11. (O/P).
 Auden generation: literature and politics in England in the 1930s — Samuel Hynes (2) 14 & 15. £6.50.
 Avrich, Paul
Anarchists in the Russian revolution (ed.) (1) 17. £1.35.
 Bakunin and Nechaev (1) 14. 20p.
 Bakunin and Nechaev — Paul Avrich (1) 14. 20p.
 Bakunin, Michael
Bakunin on violence: letter to S. Nechayev (3) 128 & 129. 30p.
 Bakunin on Anarchy — Sam Dolgoff (ed.) (1) 13. (O/P).
 Bakunin on violence: letter to S. Nechayev — Michael Bakunin (3) 128 & 129. 30p.
 Bakunin: the father of anarchism — Anthony Masters (1) 15. (O/P).
 Balham Group: how British Trotskyism began — Reg Groves (2) 14. 75p.
 Baumann, Bommi
How it all began (3) 132. £2.35.
 Becker, Julian
Hilter's children (3) 110. £6.50.
 Beever, Antony
Violent brink (2) 50. £3.50.
 Bell, Geoffrey
Protestants of Ulster. (3) 128. £2.00.
 Benton, K.
Single monstrosity act (2) 57. £3.50.
 Berkman, Alexander
ABC of anarchism (1) 17. 50p.
Prison memoirs of an anarchist (2) 46. £2.95.
Russian tragedy (2) 27 & 63. £1.50.
 Berneri, Camillo
Peter Kropotkin: his federalist ideas (2) 6. 30p.
 Big Flame
Towards a new revolutionary socialist organisation (3) 133. 25p.
 Black Flag anarcho-book — Albert Meltzer. (3) 127. £1.00.
 Black Flag: organ of the Anarchist Black Cross (2) 45. 15p.
 Boetie, de la, Etienne
Politics of obedience: the discourse of voluntary servitude (1) 25; (2) 7. £2.00.

- Bonanno, Alfredo M.
Critique of syndicalist methods: trade-unionism to anarcho-syndicalism (3) 122-124. 30p.
 Bookchin, Murray
Post-scarcity anarchism (1) 25. £1.50.
 Brandes, George
Jesus — a myth (3) 118 & 119. (O/P).
 Brenan, Gerald
Spanish labyrinth (2) 31. £2. 40.
 British syndicalism 1900-1914 — Bob Holton (2) 16. £2.95.
 Brokmeyer, Ron and Moon, Terry
On the 100th anniversary of the first general strike in the U.S. (3) 120 & 121. (no price).
 Brown, Geoff
Sabotage: a study in industrial conflict (3) 130 & 131. £8.50.
 Bryan, John
The soldier still at war (2) 46 & 64. £4.95.
 Bunyan, Tony
History and practice of the political police in Britain (1) 15; (2) 17. £2.95.
 Burchett, Wilfred and Roebuck, Derek
Whores of war (3) 119. 75p.
 Burmeister, Jon
Weatherman guy (2) 57. 65p.
 Burns, Alan
Angry Brigade (2) 57. 50p.
 Camatte, Jacques
On organisation (3) 132. 25p.
This world we must leave (3) 133. 30p.
 Capouya and Tompkins
Essential Kropotkin (2) 6. £2.95.
 Carr, Gordon
Angry Brigade (1) 20. (O/P).
 Carreta — B. Traven. (3) 116 & 117. £2.35.
 Catching them young — Bob Dixon (3) 127 & 128. 2vol. £1.80 each.
 Christie file: memoirs of an anarchist — Stuart Christie (1) 26. (N.Y.P.).
 Christie, Stuart
Christie file: memoirs of an anarchist (1) 26. (N.Y.P.).
 Christie, Stuart and Meltzer, Albert
Floodgates of anarchy (2) 10. (N.E. 95p).
 Cienfuegos Press review of anarchist literature 1976 (2) 22. 30p.
 Clark, John P
Max Stirner's egoism (2) 12. £1.50.
 Clutterbuck, Richard
Guerrillas and terrorists (3) 121 & 122. £4.25.
 Collectives in the Spanish revolution — Gaston Leval (1) 7; (2) 38 & 39. £2.00.
 Communist politics in Britain: the CPGB from its origins to the second world war — Hugo Dewart (3) 113. £1.80.
 CNT en la revolucion espanola — Jose Peirats (1) 8. £13.00.
 Confino, Michael (ed)
Daughter of a revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/ Nekachev circle (2) 26. £4.50.
 Costantini, Flavio
Art of anarchy (1) 11. (O/P).
 Ravachol & Cia., vita ed esplosioni nella belle epoque (1) 11 £4.00.
 Cox, Sarah and Golden, Robert
Down the road: unemployment and the fight for the right to work (3) 120. £1.50.
 Creation and its enemies: "the revolt against work" — John Zerzan, (3) 133. £1.10.
 Critique of syndicalist methods: trade-unionism to anarcho-syndicalism — Alfredo M. Bonanno (3) 122 & 124. 30p.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 182

- Cuba for beginners — Rius (2) 25. 85p.
 Cuban revolution: a critical perspective — Sam Dolgoff (3) 114 & 116. £4.00.
 Culloiden — John Preble (2) 49. 90p.
 Cutt, W. Towrie
Faraway world: an Orkney childhood (3) 117 & 118. £2.95.
 Daughter of a revolutionary: Natalie Herzen and the Bakunin/ Nekachev circle — Michael Confino (ed) (2) 26. £4.50.
 Death of Lorca — Ian Gibson (3) 33 & 34. £1.00.
 Death out of season — Emanuel Litvin (2) 52. £2.75.
 Death ship — B. Traven (2) 51 & 52. 50p.
 Dewar, Hugo
Communist politics in Britain: the CPGB from its origins to the second world war (3) 113. £1.80.
 Discursos de Ricardo Flores Magon — Ricardo Flores Magon (3) 112. £2.00.
 Dixon, Bob
Catching them young (3) 127 & 128. 2 vols. £1.80 each.
 Dolgoff, Sam
(ed) Anarchist collectives: workers' self-management in the Spanish revolution (1) 6 & 7. £2. 35.
(ed) Bakunin on anarchy (1) 13. (O/P).
Cuban revolution: a critical perspective (3) 114 & 116. £4.00.
 Down the road: unemployment and the fight for the right to work — Sarah Cox and Robert Golden (3) 120. £1.50.
 Dragon and other stories — Yevgeny Zamyatkin (2) 51. 45p.
 Drinnon, Richard and Anna Maria (eds)
Nowhere at home: letters from exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman (2) 27. £8.00.
 Duncan, Barry
Invergordon '31: how men of the RN struck! — and won, (2) 16. £1.00.
 Durutti: le peuple en armes — Abel Paz (2) 37 & 38. Eng. ed. £4.00.
 Economic genocide in Chile: monetarist theory versus humanity — Andre Gunter Frank (3) 131. 95p.
 Edwards, Jorge
Persona non grata: an envoy in Castro's Cuba (3) 116. £6.95.
 Encyclopedia Britannica (2) 6. Lots of money, better spent elsewhere!
 Enquiry concerning political justice and its influence on morals and happiness — William Godwin (2) 9 & 10. £2.25.
 Equal pay and sex discrimination acts: report from Scotland — Margaret Marshall and Chris Aldred (3) 133. 45p.
 Essential Kropotkin — Capouya and Tompkins (2) 6. £2.95.
 Ethics — origin and development — Peter Kropotkin (1) 18. £2.35.
 Faccia a faccia col nemico: personaggi ed interpreti dell'anarchismo in Italia — Pino Milas and Cesare Di Pietra (1) 15. £4.00.
 Farciaria: la guerrilla urbana — Antonio Tellez (2) 36. £4.00.
 Failure of the sexual revolution — Georg Frankl (2) 12. £2.50.
Faraway world: an Orkney childhood — W. Towrie Cutt (3) 117 & 118. £2.95.
 Farrow, Lynne
Feminism as anarchism (3) 33. 20p.
 Feminism as anarchism — Lynne Farrow (3) 133. 20p.
 Fields, factories and workshops, tomorrow — Peter Kropotkin (1) 118. £1.95.
 Fitzgerald, Mike
Prisoners in revolt (3) 119. £1.00.
 Floodgates of anarchy — Albert Meltzer and Stuart Christie (2) 16. 95p.
 Franco's prisoner — Miguel Garcia (2) 36 & 38. (O/P).
 Franke, Andre Guder
Economic genocide in Chile: monetarist theory versus humanity (3) 131. 95p.
 Frankl, Georg
Failure of the sexual revolution (2) 12. £2.50.
 Garcia, Miguel
Franco's prisoner (2) 36 & 38. (O/P).
 General from the jungle — B. Traven (3) 116 & 117. £2.35.
 Gibson, Ian
Death of Lorca (2) 33 & 34. £1.00.
 Glencoe — John Preble (2) 49. 90p.
 Godwin, William
Enquiry concerning political justice and its influence on morals and happiness (2) 9 & 10. Isaac Kramnick (ed) £2.20.
- Golden, Robert and Cox, Sarah
Down the road: unemployment and the fight for the right to work (3) 120. £1.50.
 Gombin, Richard
Origins of Modern Leftism (2) 7. 60p.
 Good Soldier Svejk — Jaroslav Hašek. (2) 50. £1.75.
 Government — B. Traven (3) 116 & 117. £2.35.
 Graham, Marcus (ed)
MAN! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries (1) 10; (2) 11. £7.00.
 Gransac, Ariane and Alberola, Octavio
Spanish anarchism and international revolutionary action 1961-1975 (1) 9; (2) 34. £7.00.
 Great game — Leopold Trepper. (3) 111 & 112. £6.95.
 Groves, Reg
Balham group: how British Trotskyism began (2) 14. 75p.
 Guerin, Daniel
Anarchism (2) 10. £2.35.
 Guerra, exilio y carcel de un anarco-syndicalista (2) 37. — Cipriano Mera. £4.00.
 Guerrero, Praxedis G
Articulos de combate (3) 112. £2.00.
 Guerrilla diary of the Spanish civil war — Francisco Perez Lopez (2), 32 & 33. £2.50.
 Guerrillas and terrorists — Richard Clutterbuck. (3) 121 & 122. £4.25.
 Guillotine at work — P.G. Maximoff (1) 19. (O/P) — to be reprinted by Cienfuegos Press).
 Hasek, Jaroslav
Good Soldier Svejk (2) 50. £1.75.
 Hermanos! — William Herrick (2) 50. 40p.
 Herrick, William
Hermanos! (2) 50. 40p.
 Highland Clearances — John Preble (2) 49. 45p.
 Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France — Jean Maitron (2) 45. £12.00.
 History and practice of the political police in Britain — Tony Bunyan (1) 15; (2) 17. £2.95.
 History of the Makhnovist movement 1918-1921 — Peter Arshinov, (1) 16. £2.35.
 History of the Paris Commune of 1871 — P.O. Lissagaray, (3) 118. £3.00.
 Hitler's Children — Jillian Becker (3) 110. £6.50.
 Holton, Bob
British Syndicalism 1900-1914 (2) 16. £2.95.
 Housewife's handbook — Betsy Warrior and Lisa Leghorn (3) 133. £1.00.
 Housing an anarchist approach — Colin Ward (2) 7 & 8. £1.25.
 How it all began — Bommi Baumann (3) 132. £2.35.
 Hynes, Samuel
Audien generation: literature and politics in England in the 1930s (2) 14 & 15. £6.50.
 Icarus (Ernst Schneider)
Wilhelmshaven revolt: a chapter of the revolutionary movement in the German Navy 1918-1919 (2) 24 & 25. 45p.
 Illuminati Vol. 1, 2 & 3 — Robert Anton Wilson & Robert Shea, (2) 53 & 54.
 International revolutionary solidarity movement: First of May Group, — Albert Meltzer (ed), (2) 34 & 35. £1.35.
 Introduction to Chile — Chris Welch. (2) 25. £1.00.
 Invergordon '31: how men of the RN struck! won — Barry Duncan, (2) 16. £1.00.
 Iron Heel — Jack London (2) 51. 75p.
 Jesus — a myth — George Brandes (3) 118 & 119. (O/P).
 John Maclean — Nan Milton (2) 15. £2.00.
 Johnson, Walter (ed)
Working in Canada (3) 119 & 120. £2.00.
 Kamen
Science and politics of I.Q. (3) 129 & 130. 95p.
 Koestler, Arthur
Thirteen tribe (the Khazar empire and its heritage) (2) 48. £4.75.
 Kornegger, Peggy
Anarchism — the feminist connection (3) 133. 50p.
 Kramnick, Isaac (ed)
Enquiry concerning political justice and its influence on morals and happiness (2) 9 & 10. William Godwin. £2.20.

CIENFUEGOS PRESS
ANARCHIST REVIEW
PAGE 183

Kronstadt uprising of 1921 – Lynne Thorneycroft (3) 132. 50p	Moon, Terry and Brokmeyer, Ron On the 100th anniversary of the first general strike in the U.S., (3) 120 & 121. (No price given).	Rocker, Rudolf Anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism (1) 17. 20p.	Traven, B General from the jungle (3) 116 & 117. £2.35.
Kropotkin, Peter Ethics – origin and development (1) 18. £2.35.	Morrow, Felix Revolution and counter revolution in Spain (2) 30 & 31 (N.P.G.)	Roebuck, Derek and Burchett, Wilfred Whores of war (3) 119. 75p.	Traven, B Government (3) 116 & 117. £2.35.
Kropotkin, Peter Fields, factories and workshops tomorrow (1) 18. £1.95.	Mutiny – John Preble (2) 49. £1.25.	Rowbotham, Sheila New world for women: Stella Browne – socialist feminist	Traven, B March to Caobaland (3) 116 & 117. 35p (T.O.P.)
Kropotkin, Peter State: its historic role (1) 17. 20p.	New world for women: Sheila Browne – socialist feminist (3) 113. £1.50.	Rowbotham, Sheila & Weeks, Jeffrey Socialism and the new life: the personal and sexual politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis (3) 112 & 113. £1.80.	Traven, B Rebellion of the hanged (3) 116 & 117. 30p (T.O.P.)
Left Bank Collective ARM statement (3) 132 & 133. 50p.	Nowhere at home: letters from exile of Emma Goldman and Alexander Berkman – Richard and Anna Maria Drinnon (eds) (2) 27. £8.00.	Russian Tragedy – Alexander Berkman. (2) 27 & 63. £1.50.	Traven, B Troza (3) 116 & 117. (N.Y.P.).
Leghorn, Lisa and Warrior, Betty Houseworker's handbook (3) 133. £1.00.	Nuttal, Jeff Snipe's spinner (2) 57 & 62. £1.95.	Sabate: guerrilla extraordinary – Antonio Tellez (1) 7 & 8; (2) 36. £2.35.	Trepper, Leopold Great Game (3) 111 & 112. £6.95.
Lehning, Arthur (ed) Michael Bakunin: selected writings (1) 12. (O/P).	Obras de teatro – Ricardo Flores Magon (3) 112. £2.00.	Sabote: a study in industrial conflict – Geoff Brown (3) 130 & 131. £8.50.	Troza – B. Traven (3) 116 & 117. (N.Y.P.)
Lens, Sidney Military industrial complex (1) 22. £1.25.	On organisation – Jacques Camatte (3) 132. 25p.	Science & politics of I.Q. – Kamin (3) 129 & 130. 95p.	Unknown revolution 1917-1921 – Voline (1) 16. £3.50.
Leval, Gaston Collectives in the Spanish revolution (2) 38 & 39. £2.00.	On the 100th anniversary of the first general strike in the U.S. – Terry Moon and Ron Brokmeyer (3) 120 & 121. (N.P.G.)	Self-management: economic liberation of man – (ed) Jaroslav Vanek (3) 131. £2.00.	Valpreda papers: the prison diaries of Pietro Valpreda (1) 21. £6.50.
Lissagary, P.O. History of the Paris commune of 1871. (3) 118. £3.00.	Open Road no.1 (2) 45. £4.00 per 12 issues.	Shea, Robert & Wilson, Robert Anton Illuminatus! vols 1, 2 & 3. (2) 53 & 54. 75p each.	Vanek, Jaroslav (ed) Self-management: economic liberation of man (3) 131. £2.00.
Litvinov, Emanuel Death out of season (2) 52. £2.75.	Oppenheimer, Franz State(1) 23. £2.35.	Simon, Edith Piebald standard (2) 47. £5.95.	Velikovsky, Immanuel Peoples of the sea (3) 114. £5.95.
London, Jack Iron Heel (2) 51. 75p.	Origins of modern leftism – Richard Gombin (2) 7. 60p.	Single monstrous act – K. Benton. (2) 57. £3.50.	Violent brink Antony Beevor (2) 50. £3.50.
Magic of Uri Geller – James Randi (2) 47 & 48. 85p.	Paz, Abel Durrueti: le peuple en armes (2) 37 & 38. £4.00.	Snipe's spinner – Jeff Nuttal (2) 57 & 62. £1.95.	Voline Unknown revolution 1917-1921 (1) 16. £3.50.
Magon, Ricardo Flores, Discurso de Ricardo Flores Magon (3) 112. £2.00.	Peirats, Jose Anarchists in the Spanish revolution (3) 125. £2.35.	Socialism and the new life: the personal and sexual politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis – Sheila Rowbotham & Jeffrey Weeks. (3) 112 & 113. £1.80.	Ward, Colin Anarchy in action (2) 8 & 49. £1.75.
Magon, Ricardo Flores Obras de teatro (3) 112. £2.00.	Peirats, Jose CNT en la revolucion espanola (1) 8. £12.00.	Spanish anarchism and international revolutionary action 1961-1975 Octavio Alberola and Ariana Gransin. (1) 9; (2) 34. £2.00.	Ward, Colin Housing: an anarchist approach (2) 7 & 8. £1.25.
Mailer, Phil Portugal: the impossible revolution? (3) 125. £2.25.	Peoples of the sea – Immanuel Velikovsky (3) 114. £5.95.	Spanish civil war – Hugh Thomas (3) 125 & 126. £3.50.	Warrior, Betsy Wifebeating (3) 133. 25p.
Maitron, Jean Histoire du mouvement anarchiste en France (2) 45. (3) 124. £12.00.	Perez Lopez, Francisco Guerrilla diary of the Spanish civil war (2) 32 & 33 £2.50.	Spanish Labyrinth – Gerald Brenan (2) 31. £2.40.	Warrior, Betsy Working & wife abuse (3) 133. £1.50.
Malatesta, Errico Anarchy (1) 17. 30p.	Persona non grata: an envoy in Castro's Cuba – Jorge Edwards (3), 116. £6.95.	Spring, Joel Primer of libertarian education (1) 24. £2.00.	Warrior, Betsy & Leghorn, Lisa Houseworker's handbook. (3) 133. £1.00.
MAN! An anthology of anarchist ideas, essays, poetry and commentaries – (ed) Marcus Graham (1) 10. (2) 11. £7.00.	Peter Kropotkin: his federalist ideas – Camillo Berneri. (2) 6, 30p.	State – Franz Oppenheimer (1) 23. £2.35.	Weatherman Guy Jon Burmeister. (2) 57. 65p.
March to Caobaland – B. Traven (3) 116 & 117. 35p (T.O.P.).	Piebald Standard – Edith Simon (2) 47. £5.95.	State: its historic role – Peter Kropotkin (1) 17. 20p.	Weeks, Jeffrey & Rowbotham, Sheila Socialism and the new life: the personal and sexual politics of Edward Carpenter and Havelock Ellis (3) 112 & 113. £1.80.
Mark, Robert Policing a perplexed society (3) 121 & 122. £2.50.	Pieta, Cesare della and Milas, Pino Faccia a faccia col nemico: personaggi e interpreti dell'anarchismo in Argentina (1) 15. £4.00.	Studies in labour history (3) 133. 70p per issue.	Welch, Chris Introduction to Chile (2) 25. £1.00.
Marshall, Margaret and Aldred, Chris Equal pay and sex discrimination acts: report from Scotland (3) 133. 45p.	Policing a perplexed society – Robert Mark. (3) 121 & 122. £2.50.	Technology of political control – Various (3) 110 & 111. £1.25.	Whores of war – Wilfred Burchett & Derek Roebuck. (3) 119. 75p.
Masters, Anthony Bakunin: the father of anarchism (1) 15. (O/P).	Politics in Argentina 1890-1930: the rise and fall of radicalism – David Rock. (2) 28. £6.60.	Tellez, Antonio Facerias: la guerrilla urbana (2) 36. £4.00.	Wifebeating – Betsy Warrior. (3) 133. 25p.
Maximov, G.P. Guillotine at work (1) 19. (O/P).	Politics of obedience: the discourse of voluntary servitude – Etienne de la Boetie. (1) 25; (2) 7. £2.00.	Tellez, Antonio Sabate: guerrilla extraordinary (1) 7 & 8; (2) 36. £2.35.	Wilhelmshaven revolt: a chapter of the revolutionary movement in the German navy 1918-1919 – Icarus (Einst Schneider) (2) 24 & 25. 45p.
Max Stirner's egoism – John P. Clark. (2) 12. £1.50.	Portugal: the impossible revolution? – Phil Maller. (3) 125. £2.25.	Thirteenth tribe (the Khazar empire and its heritage) – Arthur Koestler (2) 48. £4.75.	Wilson, Robert Anton & Shea, Robert Illuminatus! vols 1, 2 & 3. (2) 53 & 54. 75p each.
Meaker, Gerald Revolutionary left in Spain 1914-1923 (2) 31 & 32. £10.00.	Post-scarcity anarchism – Murray Bookchin. (1) 25. £1.50.	This soldier still at war – John Bryan (2) 46 & 64. £4.95.	Windsor, Charles Abdication of Queen Elizabeth II: the truth about my mother. (2) 52. £1.00. – O/P
Meltzer, Albert Anarchists in London 1935-1955 (2) 13. £1.00.	Power and liberty – Leo Tolstoy. (1) 14. (O/P).	This world we must leave – Jacques Camatte (3) 133. 30p.	Working in Canada – Walter Johnson (ed). (3) 119 & 120. £2.00.
Meltzer, Albert Black Flag anarchist-quiz book (3) 127. £1.00.	Prebble, John Culloden (2) 49. 90p.	Thomas, Hugh Spanish civil war (3) 125 & 126. £3.50.	Working on wife abuse – Betsy Warrior. (3) 133. £1.50.
Meltzer, Albert International revolutionary solidarity movement: First of May Group (2) 34 & 35. £1.35.	Prebble, John Glencoe (2) 49. 90p.	Thornycroft, Lynne Kronstadt uprising of 1921 (3) 132. 50p.	Zamyatin, Yevgeny Dragon and other stories (2) 51. 45p.
Meltzer, Albert and Christie, Stuart Bloodsweat of anarchy (2) 10. 95p.	Prebble, John Highland Clearances (2) 49. 75p	Tolstoy, Leo Power & liberty (1) 14. (O/P).	Zerzan, John Creation and its enemies: the revolt against work. (3) 133. £1.10.
Mera, Capriani Grenada, exilio y carcel de un anarconyndicalista (2) 37 £4.00.	Primer of libertarian education – Joel Spring (1) 24. £2.00.	Tompkins & Capouya Essential Kropotkin (2) 6. £2.95.	Index compiled by Giles Todd
META (3) 133 £4.00.	Prison memoirs of an anarchist – Alexander Berkman (2) 46. £2.95.	Towards a new revolutionary socialist organisation – Big Flame (3) 133. 25p.	
Michael Bakunin: selected writings (ed) Arthur Lehning (1) 12 (O/P).	Prisoners in revolt – Mike Fitzgerald (3) 119. £1.00.	Traven, B Carretta (3) 116 & 117. £2.35.	
Milas, Pino and della Piets, Cesare Faccia a faccia col nemico: personaggi e interpreti dell'anarchismo in Argentina (1) 15. £4.00.	Protestants in Ulster – Geoffrey Bell (3) 128. £2.00.	Traven, B Death Ship (2) 51 & 52. 50p.	
Military industrial complex – Sidney Lens. (1) 22. £1.25.	Que es el anarquismo – Frederica Montseny (N.P.G.).		
Miller, Martin A. Kropotkin (2) 12. £1.200.	Rendi, Jamps – Magic of Uri Geller (2) 47 & 48. 85p.		
Milton, Nan John MacLean (2) 15. £2.00.	Ravachol & Cia, vita morte ed esplosioni nella belle epoque (1) 11 – Flavio Costantini. £4.00.		
Mitford, Jessica American prison business (3) 119. £1.00.	Read, Herbert Anarchy and Order (1) 25. £1.50.		
Montsany, Federica Que es el anarquismo? (2) 39 (No price given).	Religion of the hanged (3) 116 & 117 – B. Traven. 30p (T.O.P.).		
	Red-eye (3) 133. £1.00 per issue.		
	Revolution and counter-revolution in Spain – Felix Morrow (2) 30 & 31. (N.P.G.).		
	Revolutionary Left in Spain 1914-1923 – Gerald Meaker (2) 31 & 32. £10.00		
	Rius Cuba for beginners (2) 25. 85p.		
	Rock, David Politics in Argentina 1890-1930: the rise and fall of radicalism (2) 28. £6.60.		

Most titles reviewed are available through the Cienfuegos Press Mail Order Bookservice (as well as many which are not!) Please look upon us as your friendly local anarchist bookseller. We may be a dot on the North Atlantic chart, but we are only a 9p stamp away from you and every book you order through us brings us that much closer to bringing out a new anarchist title. Please remember to add 20p towards postage, or 10% of the total – whichever is the greater.

STOP PRESS:

Sabate: Guerrilla Extraordinary by Antonio Tellez is now OUT OF PRINT.
New Publication:
A Visit to the Island of Sanday, A. Goodfellow, 75p (50p to Cienfuegos subscribers!).

Last weekend at the IRSM I learned a lot about Urban Guerrilla Warfare, and a lot about myself

"I lead two lives."

During the day I am a self-employed Bingo caller, but some evenings and weekends I make a complete change and become a revolutionary urban guerrilla within the International Revolutionary Solidarity Movement.

Now, just because it's part time, that doesn't mean half-hearted; it demands all your energy and determination.

Our affinity group, Land and Liberty!, specialises in bridge and embassy demolition, industrial sabotage, destruction of hire purchase company records, offing police torturers and so on; it's rather like dismantling giant Meccano sets for the most part.

We operate day or night, fog or frost, rain or shine.

Which brings me to the story of last weekend.

We were taking part in a "pan-mobilisation" exercise. People of all types turned up. Individualists to Syndicalists, sociologists, farm-hands, coal miners and all sorts of ordinary folk like you and me.

We met in the back room of a 24 hour Bierkeller, in the wee sma' hours of Saturday and decided to have a crack at the Crown Jewels.

Our big job of the day was to make a giant bomb for diversionary action. Since that only took a couple of hours, we knocked off to the nearest pub and waited until the show started.



If voting could change the system it would be illegal

Then, in the afternoon, we were told that some thieving bastard had nicked it, our bomb!

Making a ballista from 40 gallon marmalade drums, 3 inch thick timbers, rope, a shovel from a JCB and a stick of chewing gum isn't easy, but we did it.

Then we tested it. A Special Branch sergeant, using the shovel as a vantage point to spy on us, regretted his rashness when he and the shovel were catapulted several miles across London. But enough of the lighter moments; somebody had to go and retrieve the shovel.

We were wading through our third canal when I thought, "What the bleeding hell am I doing in the drink, when I could be getting a drink in me?" when some wag says "I often come here at this time of year", all posh like. I felt like throttling the fool.

When we eventually got back, the baubles had been snatched successfully (so the ballista hadn't been needed after all!) and they turned out to be brass and paste!

Talk about cock up! Mind you I felt a bit better after I lobbed a couple of grenades through the window of a passing Special Patrol Group Land Rover.

Now I'm not pretending that every action is such a balls-up, most routine bank expropriations and the like go pretty smoothly, but you ought to realise what you could be letting yourself in for.

Of course, there are easier ways of spending your spare time (organising riots, strikes, picket lines, selling papers, etc.) but you can't beat the satisfaction of doing something really useful.

Well, it does me at any rate.

How about you?"

WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE IRSM?

To provide a fully trained back up for the people armed. Specific tasks include:

- (a) providing support for the revolutionary people when they rise against their masters.
- (b) preventing new ones taking over.

For further insight as to why you should become an urban guerrilla today just look at the increasing repression at home and abroad, the increasing technology of political and sociological control, the sterility of consumer capitalism and authoritarian socialism and the unutterable boredom of the production line, the total lack of control over your own life, a legal system designed to protect the interests and property of a select ruling class, etc., the list goes on and on. REMEMBER: IF VOTING COULD CHANGE THE SYSTEM IT WOULD BE ILLEGAL! IT'S PART TIME. BUT IT'S A REAL REVOLUTIONARY'S JOB'

IRSM

THE
AMATEURS