

THE
cienfuegos press

NUM BOOKS

ANARCHIST REVIEW



Volume One No.3 Autumn 1977

ME? A GREAT LEADER?!

"Me, start a vanguard party to lead the working class to revolution? You must be kidding!"

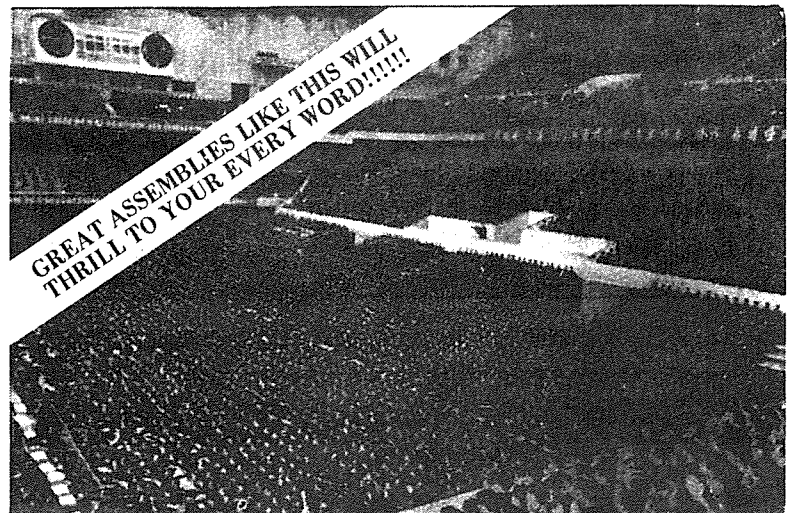


JUST IMAGINE BEING A RESPECTED AND BELOVED FATHERLY LEADER UNDER WHOSE WISE GUIDANCE THE REVOLUTIONARY MASSES WILL FORGE AHEAD DAILY WITH THE FIERY ZEAL OF "SPEED UP" CAMPAIGN !!!

Over the past few years, Party Builders Associates has aided countless individuals and groups to form vanguard parties intelligently tailored to their own needs. These people are now leading creative, happy lives fighting one another. What we've done for others, we can do for you.

A few minutes spent in filling out the following questionnaire may be the best investment you will ever make. Your answers will enable Party Builders Associates, preserving strict confidentiality, to work out a party programme that is JUST RIGHT for you and your friends. Our fee for this service is so minimal that you would laugh at us if we printed it in this ad. Just send us the most ridiculously small amount that you can think of, and we'll send your change when we send your new platform.

And now, here's the questionnaire. We advise using a pencil, since these are by no means easy questions, and your party will not be able to alter the positions taken here without seriously damaging your credibility among the workers.



- (1) The Russian Revolution turned away from socialism in:
 - ... (a) 1917
 - ... (b) 1927
 - ... (c) 1953
 - ... (d) 1957
 - ... (e) It hasn't yet, but my group will be the first to denounce it when it does.
 - ... (f) Other (please specify);
- (2) Black people are:
 - ... (a) A nation
 - ... (b) A nation of a new type
 - ... (c) A superexploited sector of the working class
 - ... (d) Petite-bourgeois
 - ... (e) A colony
 - ... (f) Please send me more information about this controversial group.
- (3) The main danger facing the workers' vanguard in the present epoch is:
 - ... (a) Right opportunism
 - ... (b) "Left" sectarianism
 - ... (c) Right opportunism masquerading as "left" sectarianism
 - ... (d) My parents
 - ... (e) Other (please specify):
- (4) Rather than focusing only on narrow economic issues, my party will also offer a cultural critique of life in advanced capitalist civilisation. The following are symptoms of capitalist decadence:
 - ... (a) Homosexuality
 - ... (b) Trotskyism
 - ... (c) Pornographic movies
 - ... (d) Recent price increases in pornographic movies
 - ... (e) Reading *The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review*
 - ... (f) Other (please give exact details):
- (5) I would like to include the following in the title of my party:
 - ... (a) Labour
 - ... (b) Workers
 - ... (c) Revolutionary
 - ... (d) Socialist
 - ... (e) Communist
 - ... (f) Vanguard
 - ... (g) Progressive
 - ... (h) October (November/July)
 - ... (i) Progressive
 - ... (j) United
 - ... (k) International
 - ... (l) M
 - ... (m) L

The Cienfuegos Press Anarchist Review

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

(Giro a/c no. 178 0050)

(The "Review" is free to all Cienfuegos Press subscribers and all prisoners who request a copy)

(To those who think that £2.00 is a lot to pay for an anarchist journal like this please remember that many anarchists have paid a far higher price for their ideas. We would like to think that this Review is worth more than, say, four fish suppers; three packets of cigarettes; two provincial cinema tickets — or one bottle of cheap wine. Please remember that this issue carries as much — at least — as a 400 page book.)



Editorial / 2

Financial Notes / 3

The Aims and Principles of Anarchism / 4

Objections to Anarchism / 9

Sabotage: Its History, Philosophy and Function / 13

Anarchism in Greek Philosophy / 19

Bowler Hats & Black Bandanas: Anarchism & Freemasonry / 21

A Short History of the Anarchist Movement in

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



Bulgaria / 27

Kaneko Fumiko / 33

Introduction to "Objectivity & Liberal Scholarship" / 37

Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship / 38

Notes to Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship / 53

Francisco Ferrer — An Introduction / 59

The Life and Death of Francisco Ferrer — Ferrer and the Barcelona Riots / 61

The Trial and Death of Ferrer, II / 70

Ferrer's Last Letters / 77

Ricardo Flores Magon and the Mexican Revolution / 80

Erich Muehsam 1878-1934: The Man and His Work / 84

The Miasnikov Memorandum / 87

Stepniak: Portrait of a Nihilist / 88

Arms and the Woman / 90

Anarcho-Feminism: Two Statements / 92

Anarcha - Feminism: One Woman's Response / 93

Marius Jacob's Speech to the Court / 95

The Benefits — Moral & Secular — of Assassination / 96

Berufsverbote / 97

Death of a Salesman / 100

The Organisation of Armed Struggle / 101

Gnosticism: Ancient Heresy or Kick up the Cassock / 101

Science: Image and Reality / 103

Scientists in Collision / 104

Partial Checklist of Anarchist Papers / 105

The Golden Ka of Dennis Wheatley / 106

Poetry / 107

Picture Books for Little Anarchists / 109

Book Reviews / 110: Hitler's Children / The

Technology of Political Control / The Great

Game / Obras de Teatro / Discursos de Ricardo

Flores Magon / Articulos de Combate / Socialism

& the New Life: The Personal and Sexual Polit-

ics of Havelock Ellis & Edward Carpenter / A

New World for Women: Stella Brown — Social-

ist Feminist / Communist Politics in Britain: The

CPGB from its Origins to the Second World

War / Peoples of the Sea / The Cuban Revolut-

ion: A critical Perspective / Persona Non Grata:

An Envoy in Castro's Cuba / Traven's Jungle

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The History of the Paris Commune of 1871 /

Jesus — A Myth / The Whores of War / Prisoners

in Revolt / The American Prison Business / Work-

ing in Canada / Down the Road: Unemployment

and the Right to Work / On the 100th Annivers-

ary of the 1st General Strike in the U.S. /

Guerrillas & Terrorists / Policing a Perplexed

Society / Critique of Syndicalist Methods /

Le Mouvement Anarchiste en France / Portugal

The Impossible Revolution / Anarchists in the

Spanish Revolution / The Spanish Civil War /

Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book / Cathing Them

Young 1: Sex, Race & Class in Children's Fiction /

Cathing Them Young II: Political Ideas in Child-

renss Fiction / The Protestants of Ulster / Bakun-

in on Violence / Science & Politics of I.Q. /

Sabotage: A Study in Industrial Conflict / Econ-

omic Genocide in Chile. Monetarist Theory versus

Humanity / Self-Management. Economic Liber-

ation of Man / Shorts . . .

Letters / 134

Coming Attractions — Cienfuegos Press titles scheduled for publication in 1978 — if we have the money — include: *Self-Management in the Spanish Revolution*, F. Mintz; *Anarchism in Japan*, V. Garcia; *An Anthology of Revolutionary Poetry*, M. Graham; *What every Revolutionary should know about Repression*, Victor Serge; *The Origins of the Modern School*, F. Ferrer; *Marxism & Anarchism in the Russian Revolution*, Lehnning — plus lots more!!

Associate editors: Martyn Everett, Albert Meltzer, Dave Poole, Cliff Harper (art); co-ordinating editor, Stuart Christie. We would also like to thank Phil Billingsley, Geoff Charlton, Flavio Costantini, Sam Dolgoff, Marcus Graham, Mark Hendy, Frank Mintz, Les Prince, Phil Ruff, Peter Silcock, John Lintott, Victor Sharkey and all the other comrades who helped either with translations or in some other way.

The following list of people have been the mainstay and lifeblood of the 1977 Cienfuegos Press publications programme. It is only due to their financial, moral and physical commitment that we have been able to keep our head above water this year. Please help us to continue our work by making sure your name is on the list for the 1978 programme by renewing your subscription — or making a donation — before issue No.4 of the Review which we hope to get out in late January 1978: Phil Addington, Geoff Armstrong, Ronnie Alexander, Richard Alexander, Paul Avrich, Tonia Aminoff, Octavio Alberola, Guri Aarseth, Federico Arcos, Lee Brown, Ron Bates, Antony Beevor, Audrey Beecham, Steve Bonnett, Marty Blatt, Sheila Blanchard, Ross Bradshaw, Abe Bluestein, Arthur Bartell, Don Bennett, D.J. Bates, Paul Buckland, Mick Balfour, Phil Billingsley, Edgar Baierl, Dave Barnsdale, Alfredo Bonnano, Richard Christopher, Karl Cordell, Noam Chomsky, Dave Campbell, Paul Cheetham, A.G. Chappell, Dave Couch, T.V. Cahill, Alan Charles, Nick Carey, George & Louise Crowley, Dave Curr, Mick Cropper, R.J. Cruickshank, Flavio Costantini, Sam Dolgoff, Dave Dann, Leslie Doe, Mike Donaldson, Malcolm Dixon, Colin Darch, Terry Delaney, Martyn Everett, Roy Emery, Gunter Fries, Mike Fitzgerald, Tom Flittie, Fifth Estate Collective, Paul Gordon, Dave Goodway, Victor Garcia, Ariane Gransac, Bill Graham, Marcus Graham, Miguel Garcia, Ronnie Graham, Cliff Harper, Bruce Huebel, Mick Hunt, William Herrick, C.R. Huggins, Mark Hendy, Pat Hall, Nhat Hong, J.L. Harper, D. Harman, Michael Hughes, Steve Harries, Pete Hannan, Gary Jewell, Tom Jennings, James Jaffe, I.I.v.S.G., Neil Jarman, Robert Idso, Pat Jackson, Ian Lind, Steve Landstreet, John Lintott, Roland Lewin, Ken Lester, Columba Longmore, Robert Lynn, Lars Lunde, Franco Lombardini, Philip Levine, Franco Leggio, Pete Miller, Andy & Veronica McGowan, John McGuffin, Bernice Murry, Nancy Macdonald, D.K. Morris, S. Magliocca, Frank Mintz, Brian Michaels, Ragnar Myklehurst, Ron McKay, Dave McCulloch, Manfred, Ross & Fiona Macgilchrist, Ken Mazlin, Gerry Moore, Lino Molin, Tomy Mackhofny, Bill Nowlin Jr., Norman Nawrocki, Mike Nicholson, Graham Price, Terry Phillips, W.R. Philpott, Freddy & Lorraine Perlman, B. Pearson, Mike Payne, Les Prince, Stefanos Pantazis, C.R. Platts, Pete Phillips, Alan & Louise Ross, Paul Radford, Torben Retbqll, Robert Race, Aaron Rogat (deceased), Domingo Rojas, Pete Stanford, Len Still, Paul Sharkey, Ron Stephan, Joe Shaver, Nick Sherrington, Pete Skipsey, Pamela Sladek, Pete Silcock, Harry Siitonen, Martin Spence, Mike Sheehan, Shelby Shapiro, Stephen Soldz, P. Smith, Vince Stevenson, Jock Spence, Fred Springate, David Giles Todd, Dave Thomson, Antonio Tellez, Keith Taylor, Tamiment Library, Fran Taylor, Derek Tymes, Jerry Westall, Nicolas Walter, Dennis Woolf, Henry Weissbaum, Simon Watson Taylor, Dennis Webb, Pete Whitecross, Bill Wells, Andrew Whittet, Robert Anton Wilson, Mark Weber, Ted Whittaker, Goran Werin, Jean Weir, George Woolston, Dan Williams, P.D. Warren, Bob Young.

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Editorial

Here at last is the third issue of the *Review*. We are sorry for the delay in getting this out to you but as explained elsewhere we have had a lot of problems both financial and technical (we were also ripped off to the tune of £500 worth of books by a professor in Italy) which has taken some dealing with!!

Anyway, problems aside, here is the result of our labours over the past few months and we hope you feel it has been worth waiting for. Our aim is to eventually boost the number of issues of the *Review* up to four a year but this depends entirely on the reaction to this issue. Reaction to the last one was very favourable indeed but unfortunately this was not reflected in bookshop sales, perhaps due to what people felt was a rather high cover price of £1.00. We don't know how you will react to the price of this issue, but we would ask that you consider the enormous amount of material it contains, (equivalent incidentally to a 400 page book), and the extremely high cost of printing and binding. Lots of people think nothing of spending £4.00 a week on cigarettes plus the same again or more on drink, but they still complain bitterly about the price of anarchist literature which is a bit more durable than something which goes up in smoke or down the drain! Please keep that in mind while reading our financial notes!

All over the world there are universities, institutions, books, magazines, newspapers and organisations dedicated to what they describe as Marxist-Leninist theory, although it is doubtful if Marx would recognise his part in any of it. Lenin, perhaps would, he certainly did not foresee his being made the subject of a cult. The exposition of Marxist Leninism is incredibly dreary and boring, and, as honest readers sometimes admit – to scorn on the part of less frank readers indoctrinated in the cult – that they haven't read much, if any; as they find Marx heavy going; that Lenin sounds a bit of a clown hurling abuse at figures for unknown reasons; that Trotsky is too clever by half and reduces everything to personalities, while Stalin just couldn't have been translated properly, nobody writes that badly.

The elevation of Marxist Leninism into a "queen of the sciences" to replace theology, corresponds to the way it has been replaced by economics in capitalist countries, where, however, Marxist Leninism is taught too, and a whole university industry processes thought and tries to channel rebellion into prescribed patterns. Out of this comes the package deal of New Leftism and its accepted, often contradictory slogans and causes which are a "must" for followers, influenced by Leninism or, occasionally, by libertarianism but always by the university.

The resultant ideological concoction is well slanted in favour of Leninism in spite of the insertion of well diluted libertarian and situationist ideas. One can see it by examining the various programmes based on the New Left ideology; and it is reflected in the dreary pattern of Penguin Books, hitching its wagon to the New Left and making a nice sum out of expounding Marxist Leninism in volume after volume. Note in contrast the biased and pitiful coverage it gives on anarchism – a premature obituary by Woodcock, a few references to its rôle in present day Britain by Dave Widgery in which he manages to confine his remarks to the lavatory arrangements in an anarchist summer camp, and so on.

Yet for all that anarchism has become a subject of research. After all, the growth rate of the university industry with the churning out of theses on a dwindling market of original subjects necessitates that there could soon be an Anarchist Institute to compare with the Marxist Leninist ones, trying to explain Anarchism away and reducing it to a mere historical oddity, the way that the Institute for Workers Control attempts to deal with their subject. We may assume, however, that the hypothetical Institute will retail endless biographies and detail lives of the academically accepted greats, (necessarily omitting the academically unaccepted and lesser known, usually because they are from peasant or working class backgrounds), rather than expounding the theory and practice of the libertarian ideal. This concept can already be seen in the books ostensibly dealing with anarchism, which are usually biographical anecdotes of names in an accepted curriculum. Anarchism though springs from practice and not from only the theories of say Kropotkin or Bakunin, who were the first to admit that they themselves were pupils of what had been taught them from ordinary militants and activists.

The history of anarchism is the history of people who are virtually unknown. Ignored by academic historians, their lives have been spent in the bitter and protracted struggle for freedom. Some have recorded their lives in autobiographical accounts that remain unpublished, many more live on only in the memories of their now elderly comrades. In future issues of the *Review* we hope to correct the view of history that measures out the lives of anarchists in the number of books they have written or the obituary columns of *The Times*, by reprinting extracts from some of the unpublished manuscripts, and including interviews with, and articles by, some of the people who have been active in particular campaigns.

Another example of the bias inherent in much academic scholarship has been the almost total way in which the role of women in the revolutionary movement is ignored. Of course, there are the usual exceptions to the rule, but they are hard to find. The activities of such as Eva Lynch and May Ewart, who took part in the fight to establish the IWW in Australia, are glossed over.

When women are featured in articles or books they are nearly always kept within the confines of sexual emancipation – a subtle reflection of the way in which so many political movements allocate women a special sphere of interest. Anarchist women have always attempted to link personal liberation with social revolution, and have provided us all with a constant reminder that the two go hand-in-hand.

These thoughts must weigh heavy on us with the publication of a literary review which attempts to assess the history and practice of anarchism as well as books on the subject, not from the point of view of an academically inclined and state supported Institute, but from within the activist movement itself. We attempt, in the pages of our *Review*, to give a balanced view of anarchism, its theories, practice and literature, its libertarian influence and its criticisms of literature and the sciences, while not straying into the fields of State supported academics whose interests are often very different from ours, like the famous German judge Elitzbacher who wrote what he considered a definitive view of anarchism, in order to make his attack on it the easier.

In our press, we put forward to the best of our endeavour, the thought and struggles of international anarchism, as it really is; and to elucidate anarchist principles as they really are by anarchists themselves. Boring as the exposition of Marxist Leninist principles are, they remain at least an attempt to explain social and economic principles; only too often, alas, the exposition of libertarian principles becomes a recital of vague negatives or a rhetorical denunciation of evils which no sane person would defend anyway, a flourishing defence of freedom or attack on tyranny, (and how some delight in denouncing "violence," often taking the trouble to add helpful explanations as to its iniquity!).

We hope we have gone some way along the road to providing a theoretical and practical vehicle for international anarchism, thus helping to distinguish it in the eyes of fellow workers from the bankrupt ideas of Marxism on the one hand and impractical liberal pacifism on the other, while fortifying true libertarians in their own history and ideas.

There seems to have been some confusion with this year's sustaining subscription and what subscribers were to expect in the way of titles. Please note that all subscribers for 1977 (and life subs) should have received the following titles as part of their sub offer: *The Russian Tragedy*, *The Black Flag Anarcho-Quiz Book*, *Marxism and a Free Society* (out of print, to be reprinted soon), issue no.2 of the *Review*, the present issue of the *Review*, *Land and Liberty – Anarchist Influences in the Mexican Revolution – Ricardo Flores Magon and The Face of Spanish Anarchism* (these last two titles will be published and out before the end of the year so please be patient). If there are any subscribers who have not received these titles please let us know as soon as possible and we'll remedy the matter with our sincere apologies to all concerned.

The next issue of the *Review* will be ready some time in January/February and to ensure you receive your copy please try to renew your subscription (£7.00 for 1978) before January if possible. It will be the same length as the present issue, perhaps longer, and will cover an equally wide range of subjects and books including a history of the Anarchist Movement in Portugal, a History of the Libertarian Movement in Holland, *Reminiscences of Pampas Life: The Tragic Week of January 1919*, *The Life and Work of Camillo Berneri*, *A Life of Bakunin* by James Guillaume, *Wilhelm Reich*, *Nikola Tesla*, *The IWW in South Africa*, *Spartakus and the Anarchists* by John Olday, *Miracles and the Nature of Truth*, *Charlotte Wilson*, a new revised and updated version of *The Origins of the Anarchist Movement in China* with a new introduction by Shelby Shapiro, *Anarchism in Chinese Political Thought*, *Anarchy in the Navy*, *The Spirituality Rip-Off* (Transcendental Meditation), *The Roman Catholic Church*, *The Psychology of the Anarchist* (from *The Anarchist Peril*), *Expropriation*, plus lots of other scintillating articles, illustrations and humour.

Something else we'll be developing in the pages of the *Review*, with an eye to placing restricted and controlled items back into the hands of the people, will be articles dedicated to providing you with information relating to self-defence units should the country fall to the enemy, without or within.

We wouldn't want to be caught with our pants down like Hungary, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Spain etc., would we? If any lessons are to be drawn from history it is that the people cannot and should not depend on the

state apparatus to defend them in the event of attack by aggressors. Should we as individuals and the few freedoms we have left be threatened, from whatever source, it would be inevitable that whenever defeated those in power would automatically be absorbed into the new ruling class. With this firmly in mind we would urge the dissemination of the concept of the people armed (only in the event of the above situation developing, of course) and to this end intend among other things to publish step by step methods for constructing 9mm sub-machine guns from car axles, steel tubing, nuts, bolts and other easily obtainable items (with plans for magazines as well). This particular weapon may be manufactured by hand *without* the assistance of power tools. We'll also explore the technology and viability of setting up anarchist radio transmitters in "occupied" areas, with instructions for building and operating, and cover such useful techniques as dealing with bugging and clandestine printing.

As we have mentioned on earlier occasions, we are in the process of preparing a list of articles for inclusion in our English language version of the *Anarchist Encyclopaedia*. To ensure maximum participation in this work we would like to enlist the assistance of as many comrades and sympathisers as possible. If you are interested in this project please write to us at your earliest opportunity and let us know if you would be prepared to submit an article on any subject from a libertarian standpoint. We also need plenty of translators and illustrators, so please let us hear from you.

Please note that an index of the first three issues of the C.P. *Review* will be mailed out to subscribers with *Land and Liberty*, which shouldn't be too long. A more detailed cross-reference index will be published with each volume. Copies of the *Easter Cancelled!* centrespread of this issue are available as offprints for flyposting in your neighbourhood at 50p per 25 sheets (+ 15p p&p). *Black Flag and Cienfuegos Press Review* are seriously considering the possibility of a regular news sheet for flyposting up and down the country and would like to hear from groups who would undertake to subscribe to the idea and flypost these wall sheets regularly.

The Editors

SUBSCRIBE NOW!

The best way of making sure you receive all copies of the "Review" and all C.P. titles published in 1978, immediately they are published, is to take out a sustaining subscription now! (You can also help by making regular monthly, quarterly/ yearly donations!) Please fill out this Bankers Order form (or copy it out if you don't want a hole in your journal) and send it off today to your Bank Manager, (Sub rates for 1978: £7.00/ \$14.00)

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Finances

Comrades! Supporters! Once more Cienfuegos Press needs your financial support. Although the situation is improving it still remains poor. What is needed now is one major effort to get us out of the cycle of increased sales = increased revenue = even greater costs. Ethically speaking, it may be a very ugly fact but until we have a solid financial base we will be unable to lower the prices of our books (from their already modest levels), and to increase the number of Cienfuegos titles in circulation. Perhaps an example will illustrate the point. At the present we have a bill of around £750.00 to foot for our notorious IBM typesetting machine which we have to pay *immediately*. On top of this we have various creditors who would, at some point in time, like their money back and, worst of all, we have a bank overdraft which, if not repaid soon will be called in; after all banks do not consider themselves charities for anarchist publishing ventures.

This is one of the reasons why our next title *Land and Liberty* is not out yet. We had hoped it would be out before this issue of the "Review" appeared but this was not to be. However, it should be with you in a matter of weeks after receiving this issue. This should give you some idea of the whole financial situation at present. If we do not do something fast there is the possibility that the whole project could backfire and Cienfuegos Press publications pass into history. We would like to think that no anarchist would wish to see this happen. So, to steal, with absolutely no apologies, a line from a Bolshevik mummy, "What is to be done?"

We have given this considerable thought and come up with a few ideas; some new, others not so new. Apart from ordering our titles for your library and asking them to subscribe to this publication - which has other advantages inasmuch as sympathisers or casual readers may read a particular book and thus become comrades - we would ask you to try to persuade friends to buy some of our titles or better still, take out a sustaining subscription. You can also order all your books - and your library's, institution's, paperbacks and hardbacks through our book service and/or send us a donation. Everything you can do to help will be gratefully received and will help in the stabilising of a sound anarchist presence in publishing.

The new ideas include a voluntary rise in the price of a sustaining subscription to £7.00 as from January 1978. As things stand at the present this should bring in £120.00 a year extra if all subscribers agree to help in this way. Furthermore we would ask all comrades and supporters to persuade two or three (or more) individuals or groups to take out a £7.00 subscription which in turn could yield an extra £2,660 annually. If you belong to a local group of Federation why not take out a group subscription?

The second thing we want to develop is a U.S. distribution network with the assistance of Carrier Pigeon in Boston. This also requires a considerable outlay to begin with (approx. £1000) but at present demand levels we would sell about 1000 titles in the USA, with a total value to us of about £1,880 which, together with the extra £3,500 from new and increased subscriptions would yield an extra £5,380 per year, not taking inflation into account. Even allowing for compensating levels of inflation we

should, in three to four years, be able to announce to an awestruck world, that we have cleared all debts old and new!

The reasons for appealing for funds in this manner are many. We could go cap in hand to the bank and plead for an extension of existing credit for more credit. The bank, however, could say no and, furthermore, interest charges will have to be paid and they can be as crippling as any loan itself. We could ask certain comrades for loans or donations (large ones that is), but why should we? Some comrades who are not even fully committed to supporting Cienfuegos have given large donations in the past and we don't want to continually live off their good nature. No, we must try to spread the load more fairly and in the case of subscribers forking out an extra £1.00 a year, after all it only the price of 2½ pints of lager. Again, we could slap a 10% price rise on our titles but that would probably hit sales which would in turn lead to fewer sympathisers and casual readers becoming comrades. Alternatively we could lower our prices to try and increase sales but that inevitably leads to the suspicion that we are producing cheap pulp propaganda.

So, to summarise, we would like around £120.00 from existing subscribers. We also want 380 new subscribers at £7.00 a piece to give us an extra £2,660 and a further £1000 from everyone to help cover the costs of setting up a US distribution for Cienfuegos Press publications (which in turn will give us an extra £1,880). If Carrier Pigeon in the States is successful with our titles we should be able to get the unit production costs of our titles down from 50p to 40p. In view of the massive sums given freely every week to less worthy projects and things (Aims of Industry, NAFFF, income tax etc) we are not asking for that much. With enough faith in ourselves we can establish Cienfuegos Press and the *Review* into a truly international forum for anarchist ideas making it an effective propaganda weapon which will go a long way towards persuading others away from authoritarian attitudes by showing a viable libertarian alternative.

The success of Cienfuegos Press lies in the hands of its subscribers - its lifeblood. Please help us not only to continue our work, but to expand it with each issue of the *Review* and each new title. We are only able to publish in direct ratio to the amount of money we have in the kitty at any given time and how much we owe others. Please help! - now!

The Englishman (Financial adviser to C.P. pubs.)

Financial Position (August 1977)

	Dr.	Cr.
Loans		950
Sales		7000
Purchases	6782	
Post (year)	1080	
Packing (year)	220	
Phone (year)	640	
Stationery	250	
Artwork	250	
Advertising	150	
Petty Cash	150	
Wages	600	
Creditors		7840
Fixtures	6500	
Stock	7333	
Stock	2801	
Capital		2
	<u>£26756</u>	<u>£15792</u>
		<u>£10964</u> Deficit c/f
		<u>£26756</u>

(The above figures do not include the costs of the current issue of the *Review* - appx. £1500!)

Albert Meltzer

AIMS AND PRINCIPLES OF ANARCHISM

The Historical Background of Anarchism

It is not without interest that what might be called the anarchist approach goes back into antiquity; nor that there is an anarchism of sorts in the peasant movements that struggled against State oppression over the centuries. But the modern Anarchist Movement could not claim such precursors of revolt as its own more than the other modern working class theories. To trace the modern Anarchist movement we must look closer to our own times. While there existed libertarian and non-Statist and federalist groups, which we would now call anarchist, before 1869, it was only in or about that year that they first became what we now call Anarchist.

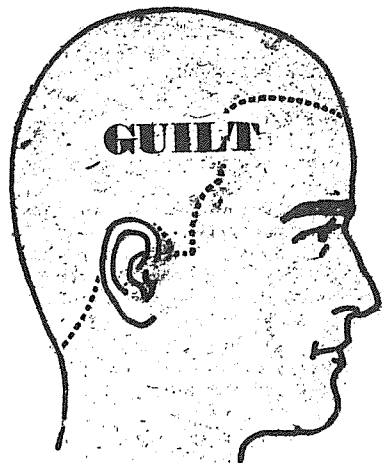
In particular, we may cite three philosophical precursors of Anarchism: Godwin, Proudhon and Hegel. None of the three was in fact an Anarchist, though Proudhon first used the term in its modern sense (taking it from the French Revolution, when it was first used politically and not entirely pejoratively). None of them engaged in Anarchist activity or struggle, nor knew of such a thing as "Anarchism". One of the poorest though objective books on Anarchism, Eltzbacher's *Anarchism*, describes Anarchism as a sort of hydra-headed theory some of which comes from Godwin, or Proudhon, or Stirner, or Kropotkin, and so on. The book may be tossed aside as valueless except in its descriptions of what these particular men thought. Proudhon did not write a programme for all time; nor did Kropotkin in his time write for a sect of Anarchists.

Godwin is the father of the Stateless Society Movement; which we may begin at once by saying diverged into three lines. One, that of the Anarchists (with which we will deal). Two, that of American Individualism, which included Thoreau and his school, sometimes thought of as anarchistic, but which equally gives rise to "Rugged Individualism" of the Goldwater school and to Tolstoyanism (so-called) and Ghandism. This second line of descent from Godwin is responsible for the "Pacifist Anarchist" approach or the "Individualist-Anarchist" approach that

differs radically from revolutionary anarchism in the first line of descent. It is too readily conceded that "this is, after all, anarchism". Pacifist movements, and the Gandhian in particular, are usually totalitarian and impose authority (even if by moral means); the school of Benjamin Tucker — by virtue of their "individualism" — accepted the need for police to break strikes so as to guarantee the employer's "freedom". All this school of so-called Individualists accept, at one time or another, the necessity of the police force, hence for government, and an *a priori* definition of anarchism is *no government*. The third school of descent from Godwin is simple liberalism.

Dealing here with the "first line of descent" from Godwin, his idea of Stateless Society was introduced into the working class movement by Ambrose Cuddon. A revolutionary "internationalist", and non-Statist socialism came along with the late days of English Chartism. It had some sympathy with the French Proudhonians. Those who in Paris accepted Proudhon's theory did not consider themselves Anarchists, but Republicans. They were for the most part master artisans, running one-man productive businesses. The whole of French economy was geared both to the peasantry and to the master artisan. Independent, individualistic, and receiving no benefit from the State save the dubious privilege of paying taxes and fighting, they were at that time concerned to find out an economic method of survival and to withstand encroaching capitalism.

These French and English movements came together in the First International. The International Workingmen's Association owed its existence to Marx, indirectly to Hegelian philosophy. But within the International, there was not only the "scientific socialism" of Marx, but also Utopian Socialism, Blanquism, English Trade Unionism, German authoritarian and opportunistic socialism, Republicanism, and the various "federalistic" trends. Bakunin was not the father of anarchism, nor the "Marx" of anarchism, as often thought. He was not an anarchist until late in life. He learned his federalism and socialism from the Swiss workers of the Jura, and gave expression to the ideas of the Godwinian and Proudhonian "federalists" or non-State socialists. In many countries, Spain and Italy in particular, it was Bakunin's criticism of the ideas of Marx that gave the federalist movement its definition. (While to Anarchists, Marx is of course "the villain of the piece" in the International, it must be granted that without Marx, clearly defining one form of socialism, there would have been no direct clash, no Bakunin clearly defining an opp-



osite). There had grown up by 1869 a very noticeable trend within the International that was called "Bakuninist", but which was very clearly in one line of descent from Godwin and in another line from Proudhon. When the Paris Commune exploded in the face of the International, it was the parting of the ways (though this was deferred a little longer, and seemed to follow personal lines). From then on, Anarchists and Marxists knew by their different analyses and interpretations and actions during the Paris Commune, that they were separate.

For many years, all the same, Anarchists continued to form part of the Socialist Movement. Marx had not succeeded in building a mass movement. The German socialist movement was more influenced by Lassalle; English socialism by the reformist and Christian traditions of Radical Nonconformity. Only after Marx's death, when Marxism was the official doctrine of German social-democracy, were Anarchists excluded from Socialist Internationals; Social-Democracy marched on to its own schism, that between English Liberalism masquerading as Labour on the one hand, and Social Democracy on the other; and that between Majority Social Democracy (Bolshevism) and reformism. There were no more schisms in the anarchist movement; popular opinion made such figures as Tolstoy into an Anarchist (he was not; neither was he in the normal sense of the term a Christian nor a Pacifist, as popularly supposed), but he derived, if he were such, very clearly from the "second line" of Godwinism. What we may perhaps call "mainstream Anarchism" was singularly coherent and united, and it was given body by the writings of a number of theoreticians, such as Peter Kröpotkin.

After the bloody suppression of the Paris Commune, and the repressions in many parts of the world, Anarchism passed into its well-known stage of individual terrorism; it fought back, and survived, and gave birth to (or was carried forward in) the revolutionary syndicalist movement which began in France. It lost ground after the First World War, both because of the growth of reformist socialism, and the rise of fascism; and while it made a certain contribution to the Russian Revolution, it was defeated by the Bolshevik counter-revolution. It was seen in both a destructive and constructive role in the Spanish Revolution of 1936.

By the time of the Second World War, Anarchism had been tried and tested in many revolutionary situations and labour struggles. Alternative forms had been tried and discarded. The German Revolution had introduced the idea of Workers' Councils; the experience of the American IWW had shown the possibilities inherent in industrial unionism. Moreover, the "flint against flint" in the argument against Marxist Communism, the lessons of what

socialism without freedom meant in Russia, and the failure of reformist socialism everywhere, helped to shape the anarchist doctrine.

There were never theoreticians of Anarchism as such, though it produced a number of theoreticians who discussed aspects of the philosophy. Anarchism has remained a creed that has been worked out in practice. Very often, a bourgeois writer comes along and writes down what has already been worked out in practice by workers and peasants; he is attributed by bourgeois historians as being a leader, and by successive bourgeois writers (citing the bourgeois historians) as being one more case that proves the working class relies upon bourgeois leaders.

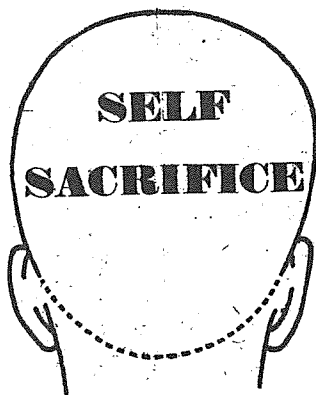
The idea of Anarchism survived the failure of anarchist organisation. The reconstituted I.W.M.A. ("the Berlin International") became in effect reformist; exiled organisations were reduced to impotence; in some cases the name became fashionable but the idea unknown or ignored.

JUSTIFICATION OF ANARCHISM

That Man is born free

Our rights are inalienable. Each person born on the world is heir to all the preceding ages. The whole world is ours by right of birth alone. Duties, imposed as obligations or ideals, such as patriotism, duty to the State, worship of God, submission to higher classes or authorities, respect for inherited privileges, are lies.

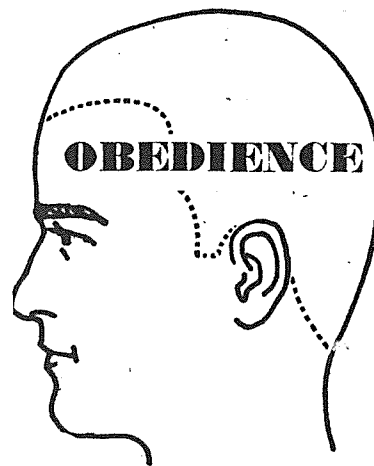
If man is born free, slavery is murder
Nobody is fit to rule another. It is not alleged



that Man is perfect, or that, merely through his natural goodness he should not be submitted to rule. There are no supermen or privileged classes who are "above imperfect Man" and are capable or entitled to rule the rest of us. Submission to slavery means surrender of life.

As slavery is murder, so property is theft
The fact that Man cannot enter into his natural inheritance means that part of it has been taken from him; either by means of force (old, legalised conquest or robbery) or fraud (persuasion that the State or its servants or an inherited property owning class is entitled to privilege). All present systems of ownership mean that some are deprived of the fruits of their labour. It is true that, in a competitive society, only the possession of independent means enables one to be free of the economy (this is what Proudhon meant when, addressing himself to a master artisan, he said "property is liberty" which seems at first sight in contradiction with his dictum that it was theft.) But the principle of ownership, in that which concerns the community, is at the bottom of inequity.

If property is theft, government is tyranny
If we accept the principle of a socialised society, and abolishing hereditary privilege, and dominant classes, the State becomes unnecessary and unnecessary government is tyranny. "Liberty without socialism is exploitation; socialism without liberty is tyranny" (Bakunin).



If government is tyranny, anarchy is liberty
Those who use the word "anarchy" to mean disorder or misrule are not incorrect. If they regard Government as necessary, if they think we could not live without Whitehall directing our affairs, if they think politicians are essential to our well-being and that we could not behave socially without policemen, they are right in assuming that anarchy means the opposite to what government guarantees. But those who take the reverse opinion, and consider government to be tyranny, are right too in considering anarchy, no-government, to be liberty. If government is the maintenance of privilege and exploitation and inefficiency of distribution its tool then only anarchy is order.

THE CLASS STRUGGLE

Revolutionary anarchism is based upon the class struggle, though it is true that often even the best of anarchist spokesmen, striving to avoid Marxist phraseology, may express it differently. It does not take the mechanistic view of the class struggle taken by Marx and Engels. It does not take the view that only the industrial proletariat can achieve socialism, and that the victory of this class represents the final victory. On the contrary: had anarchism been victorious in any period before 1914, it would have been a triumph for the peasants and artisans, rather than the industrial proletariat amongst whom it was not widespread. Marxists accuse the artisans of being petit bourgeois which is a phrase used at the time by Marx; but there was a vast difference between the petit bourgeois of that day — cobblers, tailors, bookbinders, one-man printers, goldsmiths, saddlers, etc., all productive men engaged on their own account, and the non-productive "petit bourgeoisie" (Civil Servants, manufacturers, etc.) of today.

Any class may be revolutionary in its day and time; only a productive class may be libertarian in nature, because it does not need to exploit. The industrialisation of most Western countries has meant that the industrial proletariat has replaced the old "petit bourgeoisie"; and what is left of the "petit bourgeoisie" has become capitalist instead of working class, or the functionaries of the State.

As this happened, so the anarchist movement developed into anarcho-syndicalism, i.e. the idea that combinations of workers could, by organising themselves at their place of work and ultimately by running their own places of work, be the means of by-passing a State-run economy at the same time as eliminating a ruling class.

It has never been claimed (even, and especially, by Marx) that the working class were an idealised class (this belonged to the Christian Socialists, not the anti-idealistic Marxists of Bakuninists). Nor was it ever suggested they alone could be

revolutionary; or that they could not be reactionary. It would be trying the reader's patience too much to reiterate all the "working-class are not angels" statements in repudiation of working class struggle which purport to refute that the working class could not run their own places of work. Suffice it to say that only in heaven would it be necessary for angels to take over the functions of management.

ORGANISATION AND ANARCHISM

Those belonging to or coming from authoritarian parties find it hard to believe that it is possible to organise without "some form" of government. Therefore they conclude, and it is a popular argument against anarchism, that "anarchists do not believe in organisation". For instance:

"They break up other people's organisations but are unable to do anything because they do not believe in building their own"

They may well break up organisations because they are dangerous, hierarchical or useless, but it is true to say they do not believe in building their own. It can well be admitted that particular people in particular places may have failed in such a task. It is true that in Great Britain, for instance, the anarchists have not yet succeeded in building up an effective organisation. This is a valid, internal criticism. But it is untrue to say that there *cannot be such a thing* as anarchist organisation. An organisation may be democratic or dictatorial; it may be authoritarian or libertarian; and there are many libertarian organisations, not necessarily anarchistic, which prove that all organisation need not be run from the top downwards.

It is significant that many trade unions, in order to keep their movement disciplined, and their members in an integral part of capitalist society, become (if they do not start as) authoritarian; but how many employers' organisations impose similar discipline? They cannot; because their members would walk out. They must come to free agreement, because the members have their independence ("property is liberty").

Only the most revolutionary unions of the world (I.W.W. of America, C.N.T. of Spain, etc.) learned how to keep the form of organisation of mass labour movements on an informal basis, with a minimum of central administration, and with every decision referred back to the workers on the job.

THE ROLE OF THE ANARCHIST IN AN AUTHORITARIAN SOCIETY

The only place for a free man in a slave society was in prison, said Thoreau (after spending a night inside). It is a stirring affirmation, but not one to live by. The revolutionary must indeed be prepared for persecution and prosecution, but only the masochist would welcome it. It must always remain an individual action and decision as to how far one can be consistent in one's rebellion; it is not something that can be laid down. Anarchists have pioneered or participated in many forms of social rebellion and social reconstruction: libertarian education, the formation of labour movements, collectivisation, individual direct action in its many forms, and so on.

When advocating anarcho-syndicalist tactics, it is because social change for the *whole* of society can only come about through a change of the economy. Individual action may serve some liberatory purpose for the individual; for example one may retire to a country commune, surround oneself with likeminded people and ignore the world. One may then, indeed, live in a free economy. But one will not bring about social change. It is not because we think that "the industrial proletariat can do no wrong" that we advocate action by the industrial proletariat;

it is simply because they have the effective means to destroy the old economy and build a new one, in our type of society at least. The Free Society (which we shall later describe) will come about through workers' councils taking over the places of work and by conscious destruction of the authoritarian institutions.

Workers' Control

When advocating workers' control of the places of work, we divide from those who merely want a share of management, or imagine there can be an encroachment upon managerial function by the workers. We want no authority supreme to that of the workers' council, consisting of all the workers and not of their delegates. We reject "nationalisation" — State control.

It should not be (but is, alas) necessary to explain that there are, of course, ways of personal liberation, and in some cases these may be necessary lest one starve, other than by mass action. But none of these can ultimately *change* society. The master artisan no longer plays an important part in production, as he did in Proudhon's day. One can get more satisfaction by working on one's own; one may indeed have to do so by economic necessity; but the means of changing society rest with those who are working in the basic economy. The "gang system" of Coventry is sometimes advocated as a means of workers' control. But it is partial control only: power remains with the financial boss. It can become a more pleasant method of working, within the capitalist system; but it cannot be a means of overthrowing the system. By all means let the system be alleviated; we do not oppose the reform of conditions of work. But we do not pretend either that this has anything to do with building the free society.

The Anarchist as Rebel

It is not unknown for the individual Anarchist to fight on, alone, both putting forward his own principles and acting as a catalyst of rebellion. Examples come to mind of M.P.T. Acharya, in India, and J.W. Fleming, in Australia, fighting on for their anarchist ideas, alone, the only one in the country. But it was not of their choice. Mostly, anarchists tend to form groups based upon the locality in which they live. They may participate in other struggles (anti-militarism, anti-imperialism, etc.) or solely within the context of the class struggle (as "agitators" at work) or they may form organisations.

It is no part of the case for anarchism to say that the profession of its ideas changes peoples' character; or that the movement invites itself to be judged on anyone who happened to be around at the time. Organisations may become reformist or authoritarian. People may become corrupted by money or power. All we do say is that ultimately such corruption leads them to drop the name "anarchist" as standing in their way. (If ever the term became "respectable", no doubt we would have to choose a fresh one, equally connotative of libertarian rebellion!).

In all organisations, personalities play a part, and it may be that in different countries different schisms may occur. Some will say that there are different types of Anarchism — syndicalism, communism, individualism, pacifism. This is not so. If one wishes to cause a schism, purely because of personal reasons or because one wishes to become more quietist or reformist, it is no doubt more convenient to pick a name as a "banner". But in reality there are not different forms of anarchism. Anarchist-Communism, in any definition (usually that of Kropotkin) means a method of socialisation without government. An alternative idea, Anarchist-Collectivism (favoured by the Spanish Anarchists) was found in practice to be no different. If one is going to have no rule from above, one cannot lay down a precise economic plan. Communism, in the sense used by the

Anarchists, is society based on the commune, i.e. the locality. Collectivism, based upon the place of work, is a division of the commune. But few anarcho-communists would dispute that unless the commune were very small (based upon the village, not upon the town) it would have to be sub-divided into smaller units, collectives, in order that all might participate and not merely their elected representatives. Otherwise, it would become merely industrial democracy. Whilst communism is an aim, syndicalism is a method of struggle. It is the union of workers within the industrial system, attempting to transform it into a free communistic society.

Whilst in a largely peasant country, like Bulgaria, the anarchist movement was "anarcho-communist" because its natural form of organisation was the village commune, it could not be said that the aim of the Bulgarian anarcho-communist movement was any different from that say of the Italian anarcho-syndicalist movement. It is true that just as communism is not *necessarily* anarchist (we do not speak of the Russian type of Statism, State communism, but of authoritarian communism in its genuine form), so syndicalism need not necessarily be revolutionary. Moreover, even revolutionary syndicalism (the idea that the workers can seize the places of work through factory organisation) need not be libertarian; it could go hand in hand with the idea of a political party exercising ultimate control.

Non-Violence

Is pacifism a trend within the anarchist movement? The pacifism of Gandhi etc., is essentially authoritarian. The cult of non-violence as such always implies an elite, the Satyagrahi, who keep everyone else in check either by force or by moral persuasion. The general history of the orthodox pacifist movements is that they always attempt to dilute the revolutionary movement; but may come down on the side of force either in an imperialist war or by condoning aggressive actions by the governments it supports. However, it would be true to say that many Anarchists do consider it compatible with their Anarchism to be pacifists, in the sense that they advocate the use of non-violent methods (though usually nowadays advocating this on the grounds of expediency or tactics rather than principle). This type of pacifist-Anarchism might be considered a difference of policy rather than of ideas; it should not be confused with the "Tolstoyan Anarchism" (neither advocated by Tolstoy nor anarchistic) which elevates non-violence as an idol in itself.

Immediate Aims of the Anarchist

A "reformist" is not someone who brings about reforms (he usually does not); it is someone who can see no further than amelioration of certain parts of the system.² It is often necessary to agitate for the abolition of certain laws.

Sometimes the law is more harmful than the thing it legislates against and there is a danger that abolition of the law, bad as it is, might imply approval of the act itself (e.g. suicide). But this is a risk that the libertarian must take. No laws are worth passing; even those which are socially beneficial on the surface (e.g. against racial discrimination) are quite likely to be used wrongly. The Race Relations Bill and the Public Order Bill were pressed for by liberals, and were used against them. The Anarchist seeks to change attitudes and minds. When those are altered, laws become obsolete and unnecessary. At a certain point, the lawyers will be unable to operate them. At a later date, the politicians will re-codify their laws so as to be able to continue in business. The refusal of juries to convict thieves accused of theft above a certain amount, led to the ending of the death penalty for theft. The Witchcraft Act remained on the books until

a mere 30 odd years ago, but the Public Prosecutor only dared rely on a few of its clauses, for fear of public ridicule. The Tories passed the Trade Disputes Act in vindictiveness after the General Strike, but public opinion was so much against it they never could use it and until a solid trade unionist became Minister of Labour, it was worthless. The "1381" Act was useful for squatters to trip up the council. To go to jail shouting "You can't do this, it's against the law of 1381" can only be regarded as a gesture.

It is necessary to carry on a resistance to any form of tyranny. It has been shown, too, very clearly in recent years that it is often useful to provoke the allegedly democratic forces of government into a position where it shows its true face of violence and repression. When governments see their privileges threatened, they drop the pretence of benevolence which most politicians prefer.

"Anarchists are able to bring about disorder, but cannot seize power. Hence they are unable to take advantage of the situation they create. . . and the bourgeoisie, regrouping its strength, turns to fascism." A Marxist

Anarchists can, of course, "seize power" quite as much as strict teetotallers can get blind drunk. Nothing prevents them doing so, but they would require another name afterwards. Anarchists in power would not necessarily be any better or worse than socialists or liberals; they might be as bad as communists or fascists; they would, we hope, be totally ineffective because unprepared. Their task is not to "seize power" (and those who use this term show surely that they seek personal power for *themselves*) but to abolish the bases of power. For power to *all* means power to nobody in particular.

It is true that if one leaves the wild animal of State power partially wounded, it becomes a raging beast that will destroy or be destroyed. It is this logic that causes anarchists to form organisations to bring about revolutionary change. The nature of anarchism as an individualistic creed has often caused many to view the question of such organisation as one that might well be left to "spontaneity", "voluntary will", and so on. In other words, to say that there can be no organisation (save that of propaganda only) until the entire community forms its own organisations. But it is shown by events that a unity of resistance is needed against repression; that there must be united forms of action even if there are diversified forms of propaganda; and that even when, for instance, workers' councils are formed, there are divisions between them on political grounds. Each political faction has its representatives — united outside on party lines — which are able to put forward a united front within such councils and to dominate and ultimately subordinate them. There must therefore be an organised movement of anarchists if they are to be able to withstand the forces of authoritarianism. Such an organisation might well be obliged to rely upon acts of individual terrorism (such as used in China and Spain) to defend itself.

Workers' Self-Defence

The Marxist Leninists in times of revolution prefer to rely upon the formation of a Red Army — a classic misuse of revolutionary terms. Under the control of one party, the "Red" Army is the old army under a red flag. We can see only too clearly how this can become a major instrument of repression. (Poland, after the first world war; Hungary, etc., after the Second). The very formation of an Army, to supersede workers' militias, will destroy the Revolution (Spain 1936). The newest romantic idea of a Red Army is the Guevarist notion of a peasants' army — combining the spontaneity and freedom of the Makhnovists

and Zapatista/Magonista (anarchistic) peasant armies with the discipline of the Party intellectuals. It has appealed immensely to the intellectuals but found less favour amongst the peasants; it finds even more favour among intellectuals than the fewer peasants there are! Regis Debray derides the workers' "self-defence" notions of anarcho-syndicalism. Briefly, these are that the workers use arms in their own defence, against the enemy at hand: it is the idea of the people at work, armed, during periods of social transformation. (The Israelites have taken over the "self-defence" idea with major success — not as libertarians but out of national efficiency; indeed, so far as military action is concerned, they have shown that it can sometimes wage aggressive war successfully, or defeat a Red Army led invasion. For purely political reasons, Debray declined to take this into account; although it is an example more apposite to Western industrial countries than is the Castro movement, for instance. That the Israeli Army is nationalistic is beside the point. Its mode of organisation within the nation state is largely voluntary. It follows patterns laid down by General Orde Wingate who understood guerrilla tactics better than Che Guevara, for all the fact that he was an imperial soldier. The lack of discipline in the workers' militias does not necessarily imply inefficiency.

How Will a Revolution Come About?

We do not know. When a revolutionary situation presents itself — as it did with the occupation of the factories in France in 1968 (or 1936); as it did in Spain in 1936 with the fascist uprising; or with the break down of the Russian Armies in 1917; or in many other times and places; we are either ready for it, or we are not. Too often the workers are partially ready, and leave the "wounded wild animal" of capitalism or Statism fiercer than ever. It may be purely individual action that sets off the spark. But only if, at that period, there is a conscious movement towards the free society, that throws off the shackles of the past, will that situation become a Social Change.

BRINGING ABOUT THE NEW SOCIETY

What constitutes an authoritarian society?

EXPLOITATION — MANIPULATION — SUPPRESSION. The organs of repression, which consist of many arms of "The Establishment", for example:

The Apparatus of Government — the legislature, the judiciary, the monarchy, the Civil Service, the Armed Forces, the Police, etc.

The Apparatus of Persuasion — the Church,* the Press, TV, Radio, etc.

The Apparatus of Exploitation — the monetary system, financial control, the Banks, the Stock Exchange, individual and collective and State employers.

Most political reformers have some part of the unfree system that they wish to abolish (Republicans would abolish the Monarchy; Secularists would abolish the Church; Socialists would, or used to wish to, abolish the apparatus of exploitation; Pacifists would abolish the Army). Anarchists are in fact unique in wishing to abolish all. Nobody but the Anarchists wishes to abolish the Police. The Police (or the police in ultimate practice, which includes the Armed Forces) are the cornerstone of the State. Without control of the police, debates at Westminster become as sterile of result as debates of the West Kensington Debating Society (and probably far less interesting). With German money, supplied by Helphand Parvus, Lenin was able to return to Russia and to pay

* Of course, the Church can be, in some societies, an instrument of Government itself. It probably would be in the absence of a secular State.

Lettish mercenaries to act as police. He was the only one who could do so and in this one fact Bolshevik success is constituted.

Can one do without the State?

It seems to be generally agreed we can do without *some* organs of the State; can we do without them all, altogether? One cannot do the work of another (if the monarchy does not have an army, it cannot save you from foreign invasion; and the police will not get you into heaven if you do not have a church!) Any common sense codification of conduct would be better than the farrago of laws we have at present, which occupy both the lawyers and the politicians, the one interpreting the apparent desires of the other.

It is true that government does take over certain necessary social functions. The railways were not always run by the State; they belonged to capitalists, and could equally in a future society belong to the workers. Even the police at times fulfil some necessary functions: one goes to the police station to find lost dogs simply because it happens to be there. It does not follow we should never find lost dogs if there were no policing, and that we need to be clubbed over the heads in time of social unrest so that old ladies need not lose their dogs.

There was an old superstition that if the Church excommunicated a country, it was under a terrible disaster. One could not be married, buried, leave property, do business in safety, be educated, be tended whilst sick, whilst the country was excommunicated. It was not an idle superstition: so long as people believed in the Church, if it banned a country from the communion of believers, the hospitals (run by the Church) were closed; there could be no trust in business (the clerics administered oaths); no education (they ran the schools); children could indeed be begotten, but not christened and were therefore barred from the community of believers; and unmarried parents could not leave property to their illegitimate children. One did not need the physical reality of Hell to make excommunication effective. We are wiser now. But our superstition has been transferred to belief in the State. If, we were to reject government there would be no education (for the government controls the schools), no hospitals (ditto); nobody could carry on working because the government regulates the means of exploitation, and so on. The truth all the time has been that *not the Church and not the State but the People* have worked for everything we have got; and if we have not done so, *they* have not provided for us. Even the privileged class has been maintained by *us* not *them*.

The myth of taxation

The State myth calls into creation a second-hand myth, the money myth. According to this legend, all the wealth of the country is to be found at Waterlow's printing works. As the notes roll off the presses, so our wealth is created; and if this ceased, we should be impoverished! An alternative but dated version was that these notes had to correspond with a quantity of gold buried deep in a mysterious vault (but it has long since been found that the government "welshed" on that angle!) A secondary myth is involved: that the rich help the poor (and not vice versa): that by means of *taxation* taken from the rich, those who are poor are "subsidised". The widespread belief in subsidisation is so great that it defies reasoned attack. Many worthy people believe that if Lady X did not spend her money on her yacht, that yacht could mysteriously be transformed into an X ray apparatus for the local hospital. They do not understand that yacht builders cannot produce X ray equipment. Others think that those on National Assistance are being supported by those at work). Yet the margin of unemployment is plainly needed by the State to make the

system of exploitation work. It is as necessary as the Armed Forces. Still more people believe there is a relation between the way their wages go up and down and the wages received by other people. In fact, in a competitive society, they get what they are able to command.

The Abolition of the Wage and Monetary Systems
To abolish the system of financial control, it is necessary first to understand it. We put it here in a simple fashion. The Government, or the effective financial controller which may in some cases be over the Government (the banks), assess the national wealth. A corresponding number of bank notes are printed, coin is struck, credits are granted to financial houses. According to the degree of efficiency or inefficiency of the government (which is the stuff of day to day press political sloganeering, but need not concern us), the assessment, or budget, may be correct or incorrect. The Chancellor of the Exchequer may be "generous" or "niggardly", but according to his assessment, so is the national "cake", and so are our various "slices". Salaries and wages are determined by social convention, tradition, Government patronage, economic competition, hereditary influence, trade union bargaining, individual enterprise and wildcat strikes, changing of jobs, and by various other means. According to their effectiveness, so is the "slice" of cake each receives. The cake is, of course, the same.

In time of war, under "fair" rationing, such a system need not apply. In the second world war, we had "fair rations", under which everyone, no matter what his income, received only so many coupons for meat, reckoned by weight. This was because it had been decided that meat should be shared equally, irrespective of income. The coupons had no value in themselves. Today they are only souvenirs in Carnaby Street. Then, they were highly important.

Many communal products are equally available to all, either on payment of a fixed sum, or free. The highways are free; it would probably make no economic difference if the underground railway was also free, bearing in mind the cost of ticket collecting. We pay water rates, but may draw as much as we like (it is rationed in the Sahara and may be costly).

A FREE SOCIETY would vastly extend the range of communal products that would be free. It might be that some products were in short supply and would have to be rationed by some means. It could be by "labour value" tickets (an hour's work per ticket, as a means of exchange) as suggested by the collectivists; it could be by ordinary "fair rationing" in the case of many items, food included; it might be that some means of exchange, similar to money but not based upon the wages system which immediately brings equality, might be used. We cannot lay down economic laws for a future free society. The authoritarian economist can do so ("so long as I, or my party, are in power, the Pound Sterling will be worth 100 new pence"); the libertarian can only make such statements as "if you have inequality, you must have a privileged class and government" — not because the must is his dictum, but because it is something that follows logically (just as does the statement that if there are 100 new pence in the pound there will be four lots of 25 new pence, whatever you might call them).

A free society is not exactly an anarchist society, and far from being a perfect society (utopia) if the latter is possible. It is a society free from repressive institutions. Only in such a society can we build up anarchism. The UTOPIAN SOCIETY is one on which we should aim our sights. That is the direction in which we should be moving, and the criterion by which we justify

our success and failure. No anarchist seriously expects that one Monday morning he will read that capitalism has been abolished and that the State will fall before Tuesday when the rent-collector is due. Nor does he accept the Marxist-Leninist argument that there is needed a "transitory stage" in which the State and bureaucracy must be strengthened, beyond all previous extent, so that it may wither away when unnecessary (as if any bureaucrat would ever find he was unnecessary). Transition is the period through which we are moving: the State will be superseded as the places of work are occupied (and re-started under self-management) and as free organisms replace direction from above.

Even the fascist has his utopia, a militarised society divided into class and racial strata. While he may never achieve it, his actions are determined by his vision of what he wants. The same applies to all who are not entirely deluded (in that they want one thing as a future utopia but entirely different actions are undertaken meanwhile; they perhaps peace "but prepare for war"). Even if the anarchist does not succeed within his lifetime, he does, to the extent that he is successful, modify society, mitigate tyranny, reform some evils.

The Employers do not give work

Since the first Enoch Powell speech, many have by accepting his exploitation of racial differences, also accepted his anti-socialism. "Send the blacks home," they say, basically because they are afraid of the unknown and don't wish to know more; then they try to justify this. "They are taking our jobs" etc. Work is not something, however, that is given by the employer. He may have the legal right to distribute work, but only because a demand for it has been made. *The wealth of the country is due to the workers.* The immigrants help to contribute to it (it is the emigrants who do not, but nobody objects to them!) It may be that in some technological society of the future, run by the State, in a sort of boss utopia, the working class will be displaced as a productive force. But this has not yet come about. It may be that technology will reduce us, as a productive class, to mere turners of switches and openers of the scientists' car-doors; to secretaries and receptionists; to janitors and clerks. Insofar as that happens, we must smash that society. Those who revolt against ALIENATION see the signs already.

Objections to Anarchism

Whenever one attacks present day society, one senses the fears and prejudices of the average audience. They know that society is a jungle today, but do not like to admit it. Once one speaks of anarchism they bring forward objections which are, in fact, criticisms of present-day society, but which they think of as objections to a free society of the future.

They fear murder, rape, robbery, violent attack — if there were no government to prevent it. And yet we all know the government cannot prevent it. (Read the "News of the World"!) It can only punish where it finds it out, while its own methods of repressive action causes far more damage. The "cure" is worse than the disease. "What would you do without a police force?" — Society would never tolerate the murderer at large, whether it had a police force or not. The institutionalisation of a body to look after crime means not only that it "looks after" (and nourishes) crime, but that the rest of society feels itself absolved. A murder next door is the State's business, not mine! Responsibility for one's neighbour is reduced in an authoritarian society, which wishes to be solely responsible for our behaviour.

"Who will do the dirty work?" — This is a question society has to ask itself, not merely

the anarchist society. There are dirty jobs which are socially unacceptable and poorly paid, and nobody wants to do them. People are therefore forced to do them (by slavery); or there is competition and the jobs become better paid (and therefore socially acceptable); or there is conscription for such jobs; or (as in England today) the capitalist introduces immigration, thus putting off the problem for a generation or two, or the jobs don't get done (the street gutters aren't swept any more and we get deluged with water shooting out from cars driven by graduate psychologists). Only a clairvoyant could tell what an anarchist society would do; it is plain to all of us what it could not do (use force, since it would lack the repressive machinery). The question implies a criticism of prosperity and freedom, which bring problems in their train.

"If the Anarchists do not seize power, and have superseded other forms of socialism that would, they objectively make way for fascism." There is really only one answer to dictatorship, and that is by the personal removal of the dictator. Anyone will seize power if given the opportunity; but if the seat is hot enough they might try to desist. We do not want to see a privileged class, and cannot put forward any claim that we would make a better privileged degree of leadership than any other.

Leadership

This is often a vexed question: do anarchists believe in leadership or not? Obviously not, because the leadership principle leads to the elite party, and the elite party to government. Yet for all that, there is such a thing as leadership. Some people, in some circumstances, do naturally "give a lead". But this should not mean they are a class apart. Any revolutionary, in a factory where the majority have no revolutionary experience, will at times "give a lead". But no anarchist would form an INSTITUTIONALISED LEADERSHIP. Neither too should he wait for a lead, but give one

Can public opinion itself be of an authoritarian nature?

Most certainly. Even in a free society? Certainly. But this is not an argument against a free society. There might well be, in a society controlled economically by the producers, prejudice against some minorities, for instance. But there would be no means of codifying prejudice, no repressive machinery against non-conformists. Only within a free society can public opinion become superior to its prejudices. The majority is not automatically right. The manipulation of the idea of a majority is part of the government technique.

Unity

One last objection is made against Anarchism, usually by those about to "come over". Why disunity in the ranks of those who take up a similar position on many stands? Why cannot we be all one libertarian left? Why any division at all?

Insofar as we form councils of action — workers industrial councils — even social groups based upon radical activity — we can be united with others of the libertarian left, or indeed (in the case of workers' councils) with people of reformist or reactionary points of view. The expression of our anarchist opinions does not make us hermits. We still mix within society with people of all opinions and none. Anarchist groups need to keep alive their individual identity, but only a party machine could keep us from "speaking to outsiders".

Albert Meltzer

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OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

THE MARXIST-LENINIST CRITIQUE OF ANARCHISM

It is very difficult for Marxist-Leninists to make an objective criticism of Anarchism, as such, because by its nature it undermines all the suppositions basic to Marxism. If Marxism is held out to be indeed *the* basic working class philosophy, and the proletariat cannot owe its emancipation

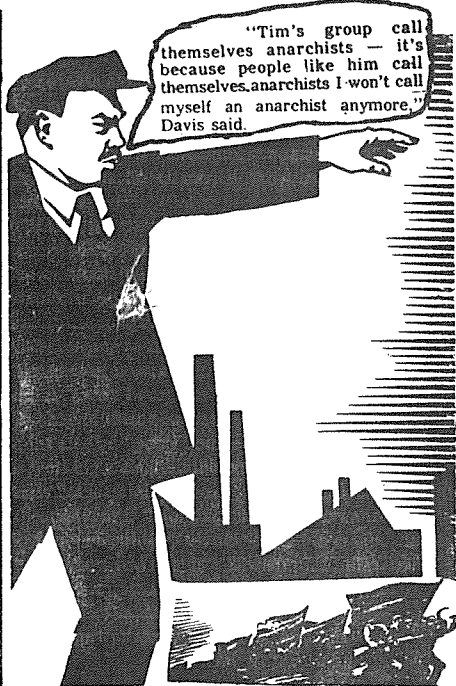
to anyone else but itself, it is hard to go back on it and say that the working class is not yet ready to dispense with authority placed over it. Marxism, therefore, normally tries to refrain from criticising anarchism as such – unless driven to doing so, when it exposes its own authoritarianism (“how can the workers run the railways, for instance, without direction – that is to say, without authority?”) and concentrates its attack not on *anarchism*, but on *anarchists*.

It has – whether one agrees with it or not – a valid criticism of the anarchists in asking how one can (now) dispense with political action – or whether one *should* throw away so vital a weapon. But this criticism varies between the schools of Marxism, since some have used it to justify complete participation in the whole capitalist power

structure; while others talk vaguely only of “using parliament as a platform”. Lenin recognised the shortcomings of Marxism in this respect and insisted that the anarchist workers could not be criticised for rejecting so philistine a Marxism that it used political participation for its own sake and expected the capitalist state to let itself be voted out of existence peacefully. He therefore concentrated on another aspect, which Marx pioneered, viz. criticism of particular anarchists; and this has dominated all Leninist thinking ever since.

Because of the lack of any other criticism of the Anarchists, Leninists – especially trotskysts – to this day use the *personal criticism* method. But as Lenin selected only a few well-known personalities who for a few years fell short of the ideals they preached, the latter-day Leninists have to hold that all anarchists are responsible for everyone who calls himself or herself an anarchist – or even (such as the Russian Social Revolutionaries) were only called such (if indeed so) by others. They, however, are responsible only for fully paid up members of their own party.

Someone pointed out to me a new Leninist body called “World Revolution” which was carrying out a “criticism” of both trotskysts and anarchists. It had the same weary old trotskyst arguments against anarchists – making them responsible for any and every so-called anarchist – but they themselves could not take responsibility for anyone outside their own group of unknown students numbering a dozen at most. You could repeat this method over and over again.



This wrinkle in Leninism has produced another criticism of anarchism (usually confined to trots and maoists): anarchists are responsible not only for all referred to as anarchists, but for all workers influenced by anarchist ideas. The C.N.T. is always quoted here, but significantly its whole history before and after the civil war is never mentioned; solely the period of participation in the government. For this, the anarchists must forever accept responsibility! But the trots may back the reformist union U.G.T. without accepting any responsibility for any period in its entire history. In all countries (if workers) they presumably join or (if students) accept, the reformist trade unions. That is alright. But: a revolutionary trade union must forever be condemned for any one deviation. Moreover, if broken, it must never be rebuilt; the reformist union must be rebuilt in preference. This is the logical consequence of all trot thinking on Spain or other countries where such unions exist, proving their preference for reformist trade unionism (because of the reformist unions negative character which lends itself to a leadership they may capture; as against a decentralised union which a leadership cannot capture).

Petty Bourgeois

Notwithstanding this preference for non-revolutionary unions, and condemnation of the anarchists for unions built from the bottom up, all Marxist-Leninists have a seemingly contradictory criticism of anarchists, namely "they are petty bourgeois".

This leads them into another difficulty: How can one reconcile the existence of anarcho-syndicalist unions with "petty bourgeois" origins - and how does one get over the fact that most Marxist-Leninists today are professional gentlemen studying for or belonging to the conservative professions? The answer is usually given that because anarchism is "petty bourgeois" those embracing it - "whatever their occupation or social origins" must also be "petty bourgeois"; because Marxism is working class, its adherents must be working-class "at least subjectively". This is a sociological absurdity, as if "working class" meant an ideological viewpoint. It is also a built-in escape clause.

Yet Marx was not such a fool as his followers. "Petty bourgeois" in his day did not mean a solicitor, an accountant, a factory manager, sociologist or anything of that sort (they were

"bourgeois" - the term *small* it was, "petit", not "petty" that qualified the adjective - meant precisely that these were not the same as bourgeois). The small burgher was one who had less privileges, economically, than the wealthy - but had some privileges by virtue of his craft. Anarchism, said Marx, was a movement of the *artisan worker* - that is to say, the self-employed craftsman with some leisure to think and talk, not subject to factory hours and discipline, independently minded and difficult to threaten, not backward like the peasantry. In England, these people tended to become Radicals, perhaps because the State was less oppressive and less obviously unnecessary. In many countries, however, they were much more extreme in their radicalism and in the Swiss Jura, the clockmakers, anarchism prospered. It spread to Paris - and the Paris Commune was above all a rising of artisans who had been reduced to penury by Napoleon III and his war. As the capitalist technique spread throughout the world, the artisans were ruined and driven into the factories. It is these individual craftsmen entering industrialisation who become anarchists, pointed out successive Marxists. They are not conditioned to factory discipline which produces good order, a proletariat prepared to accept a leadership and a party, and to work forever in the factory provided it comes under State control.

That this observation was true is seen by the crushing of the communes in Paris and in Spain and throughout the world, especially in places like Italy, in the Jewish pale of settlement in Russia, and so on. It should be the task of an anarchist union movement to seize the factories, but only in order to break down mass production and get back to craftsmanship. This is what Marx meant by a "petty bourgeois" outlook, and the term having changed its meaning totally, the Marxists misunderstand him totally.

Vanguards

The reluctance of Marxist-Leninists to accept change is, however, above all seen in the acceptance of Lenin's conception of the Party. (It is not that of Marx). Lenin saw that Russia was a huge mass of inertia, with a peasantry that would not budge but took all its suffering with an Asiatic patience. He looked to the "proletariat" to push it. But the "proletariat" was only a small part of the Russia of his day. Still he recognised it as the one class with an interest in progress - provided he felt it had a direction - of shrewd, calculating, ruthless and highly educated people (who could only come from the upper classes in the Russia of the time). The party they created should become, as much as possible, the party of the proletariat in which that class could

organise and seize power. It had then the right and the duty to wipe out all other parties.

The idiocy of applying this policy today - in a country like Britain - is incredible. One has only to look at the parties which offer themselves as the various parties of the proletariat (of which, incidentally, there could be only one). Compare them with the people around. The parties' membership are far behind in political intelligence and understanding. They are largely composed of shallow, inexperienced, youthful enthusiasts who understand far less about class struggle than the average worker.

Having translated the Russian Revolution into a mythology which places great stress on the qualities possessed by its leadership, they then pretend to possess that leadership charisma. But as they don't have it there is a total divorce between the working class and the so-called New Left, which has, therefore, to cover itself up with long-winded phrases in the hope that this will pass for learning; in the wider "Movement" with definitions at second-hand from Marxist-Leninism they scratch around to find someone really as backward and dispossessed as the *moujik*, and fall back on the "Third World" mythology...

The one criticism applied by Marxist-Leninists of anarchism with any serious claim to be considered is, therefore, solely that of whether political action should be considered or not. This is a purely negative attitude by anarchists. Wherever anarchists have undertaken it, because of circumstances, it has ended in disaster and betrayal of the revolutionary movement much as when Marxists have undertaken it.

THE SOCIAL-DEMOCRATIC CRITIQUE OF ANARCHISM

The early socialists did not understand that there would be necessarily a difference between anarchism and socialism. Both were socialists, but whereas the latter hoped to achieve socialism by parliamentary means, the latter felt that revolutionary means were necessary. As a result many early anarchist and socialist groups (especially in Britain) were interchangeable in working class membership. Something might come from political action; something by industrial methods; the revolution had to be fought as soon as possible; the one therefore was complementary to the other though it was recognised that they might have to follow separate paths.

This, however, changed because the face of socialism changed. It dropped its libertarian ideas for Statism. "Socialism" gradually came to mean State control of everything and therefore, so far from being another face of anarchism, was its direct opposite. From saying originally that "the

VOICES OF THE REVOLUTION

CLIP & SAVE. Read nightly.

We must affirm anew the discipline of the Party, namely:

- (1) the individual is subordinate to the organization;
 - (2) the minority is subordinate to the majority;
 - (3) the lower level is subordinate to the higher level; and
 - (4) the entire membership is subordinate to the Central Committee.
- Whoever violates these articles of discipline disrupts Party unity.

--Mao Tse-tung, "The Role of the Chinese Communist Party," October, 1938



anarchists were too impatient", therefore, the parliamentary socialists turned to a criticism of the anarchists levelled at them by people who had no desire to change society at all, whether sooner or later. They picked up what is essentially the conservative criticism of anarchism: which is essentially that the State is the arbiter of all legality and the present economic order is the only established legal order. A stateless society – or even its advocacy – is criminal of itself! (To this day, a police constable in court – or a journalist – will, for this reason, refer to anarchism as if it were self-evidently criminal).

Most upholders of any parliamentary system deliberately confuse it with democracy – as an ideal system of equal representation – as if it already existed. Thus ultra-parliamentarism is "undemocratic" and even the elementary exercise of industrial bargaining can be held to be "undemocratic" – as if a few hundred men and a few dozen women selected at random alone had the right of exercising control over the rest of the country.

Since the Russianisation of "Communism", turning it away from both parliamentarism and democracy, it has suited the social-democrat to speak of criticism from the revolutionary side as being necessarily from those wanting dictatorship. The anarchists, who can hardly be accused of dictatorship – except by politically illiterate journalists who do not understand the differences between parties, must therefore be "criminal" and whole labour movements have been so stigmatised by the Second International. This has been picked up by the U.S. Government with its "criminal syndicalism" legislation which is similar to that in more openly fascist countries.

No more than the Marxist-Leninists, the Social-Democrats are unable to state that their real objection to Anarchism is the fact that it is against power and privilege and so undermines their whole case. They bring up, if challenged, the objection that it is "impossible". If "impossible", what have they to fear from it? Why – in countries like Spain and Portugal, where the only chance of resisting Communist tyranny is the Anarchist Movement – do Social-Democrats prefer to help the Communist Party? In Spain up to the appearance of a Socialist Party when it was politically profitable the British Labour Party helped the communist-led factions but will do nothing for the anarchists.

Dictatorship of the proletariat is "possible" – only too much so. When it comes it will sweep the socialists away. But if the anarchists resist, the socialists will at least survive to put forward their alternative. They fear only the consequences of that alternative being decisively rejected – for who would choose State Socialism out of the ash-can for nothing if they could have Stateless Socialism instead?

In the capitalist world, the social-democrat objects to revolutionary methods, the "impatience" and alleged "criminality" of the anarchists. But in the communist world, social-democracy is by the same conservative token equally "criminal", indeed more so, since it presumably postulated connection with enemy powers. The charge of "impatience" can hardly be levelled since there is no way of effecting a change legally; and the whole idea of change by parliamentary methods is a farce. Social-democracy, in the face of Marxist Leninism, gives up the fight without hope. It has nothing to offer. There can be no change from Fascism to Social-Democracy because no constitutional methods offer themselves – but at least in that case, they could in the past rely on foreign support changing the system. Their interpretation of socialism apparently forbids them to take this view in regard to the Soviet

Union and its satellites. They have no ideas on how to change. They hope that nationalists and religious dissidents will put through a bit of liberalism that will ease the pressure. Yet anarchism offers a revolutionary attack upon the communist countries that is not only rejected by the social democrats; in power, they unite with other capitalist powers to harass and suppress that attack.

THE LIBERAL-DEMOCRATIC OBJECTION TO ANARCHISM

Liberal-Democracy is afraid to make direct criticisms of anarchism because to do so undermines the whole reasoning of liberal democracy. It therefore resorts to falsification: anarchists are equated with Marxists (and thereby the whole Marxist criticism of anarchism ignored). The most frequent target of attack is to suggest that Anarchism is some form of Marxism plus violence, or some extreme form of Marxism.

The reason liberal democracy has no defence to offer against real anarchist argument is because liberal democracy is using it as its apologia in the defence of "freedom" yet circumscribing walls around it. It pretends that parliamentarism is some form of democracy, but though sometimes prepared to admit (under pressure) that parliamentarism is no form of democracy at all, occasionally seeks to find ways of further democratising it. The undoubtedly dictatorial process that a few people, once elected, by fair means or foul, have a right to make decisions for the majority, is covered up by a defence of the Constitutional Rights or even the individual liberty, of those members of Parliament. . . Burke's dictum that they are representatives, not delegates, is quoted ad nauseum (as if this reactionary politician had bound the British people for ever, though he, as he is self-admitted, did not seek to ask their opinions on the matter once).

Liberal economics are almost as dead as the Dodo. What rules is either the monopoly of the big firms or of the State. Yet laissez faire economics remain embodied aspirations of the Tory Party which they never implement. They object to the intervention of the State in business. But they never care to carry the spirit of competition too far. Enoch Powell commented on the fact that there was no logical reason why there should be any restriction on the movement of currency and this is good Tory policy (though never implemented! Not until the crisis is over!) Why should we not be able to deal in gold pieces or U.S. dollars or Maria Theresa thalers or francs or Deutschmarks or even devalued Deutschmarks? The pound sterling would soon find its own level, and if it were devalued, so much the worse for it. But why stop there? If we can choose any currency we like free socialism could co-exist with capitalism and it would drive capitalism out.

State socialism can co-exist with capitalism as long as the State gives a place to the existence of capitalism (it drives it out in Russia, allows a small place in other Communist countries).

But once free socialism competes with capitalism – as it would if we could choose to ignore the State's symbolic money and deal in one of our own choosing which reflected real work values – who would choose to be exploited? Quite clearly no laissez-faire economist who had to combine his role with that of party politician (and therefore practical man) would allow things to go that far. All Powell was doing was contrasting State intervention with non-intervention. He had no intention of letting the State go by default. Indeed, as a politician (if not exactly a party one, or if so, it is hard to say which one) he is for State repression of the most direct and brutal kind.

Liberal democracy picks up one of the normal arguments against anarchism which begin on the right wing; namely it begins with the objections against socialism – that is Statism – but if there is an anti-Statist socialism that is in fact more liberal than itself, then it is "criminal". If it is not, then it seeks law to make it so.

This argument is in fact beneath contempt, yet it is one which influences the press, police and judiciary to a surprising extent. But in fact anarchism as such (as distinct from specific anarchist organisations) could never be illegal, because no laws can make people love the State. It is only done by false ideals, such as describing the State as a "country".

The fact is that liberal democracy seldom voices any arguments against anarchism as such – other than relying upon prejudice – because its objections are purely authoritarian, and unmask the innate Statism and authoritarianism of liberalism. Nowadays conservatives like to appropriate the name "libertarian" to describe themselves as if they were more receptive to freedom than socialists. But their libertarianism is confined to keeping the State out of interfering in their business affairs. Once anarchism makes it plain that it is possible to have both social



justice and to dispense with the State they are shown in their true colours. Their arguments against State Socialism and Communism may sound "libertarian", but their arguments against Anarchism reveal that they are essentially authoritarian. That is why they prefer to rely upon innuendo, slanders, and false reporting, which is part and parcel of the Establishment anti-anarchism, faithfully supported by the media.

THE FASCIST OBJECTION TO ANARCHISM

The fascist objection to anarchism is, curiously enough, more honest than that of the Marxist, the Liberal or the Social Democrat. Most of these will say – if pressed – that Anarchism is an ideal, perhaps imperfectly understood, but either impossible of achievement or possible only in a distant future. The Fascist, on the contrary, admits its possibility; what is denied is its desirability.

The right wing authoritarian (which term includes many beyond those naming themselves fascists) worships the very things which are anathema to Anarchists, especially the State. Though the conception of the State is idealised in fascist theory, it is not denied that one could do without it. But the "first duty of the citizen is to defend the State" and it is high treason to oppose it or advocate its abolition.

Sometimes the State is disguised as the "corpor-

ate people" or "the nation" giving a mystic idea of the State beyond the mere bureaucratic apparatus of rule. The forces of militarism and oppression are idealised (after the German Emperor who said that universal peace was "only a dream — not even a good dream.") Running throughout right wing patriotism is a mystical feeling about the "country", but though Nazis in particular sometimes have recourse to an idealisation of the "people" (this has more of a racial than a popular connotation in German) — it is really the *actual soil* which seems to be held sacred, thus taking the State myth to its logical conclusion. For the Anarchist this, of course, nonsense. The nonsense can be seen in its starkest form with the followers of Franco who have killed off so many Spaniards, hanker for the barren rock of Gibraltar; especially in General Millan de Astray who wanted to kill off "bad Spaniards" and eradicate Catalans and Basques — in the name of unitary Spain (thus, as Unamuno pointed out, making Spain as "one-armed and one-eyed" as the notorious General was himself).

Anarchism is clearly seen by Fascists as a direct menace and not a purely philosophic one. It is not merely the direct action of Anarchists but the thing itself which represents the evil (the media is just getting round to picking up these strands in fascist thinking, ironing them out nicely, and presenting them in the "news" stories). Hitler regarded the authoritarian state he had built as millennial (the thousand year state) but he knew it could be dismembered and rejected. His constant theme was the danger of this, and while he concentrated (for political reasons) attacks on a totalitarian rival, State Communism (since Russia presented a military menace), his attacks on "cosmopolitanism" have the re-iterated theme of anti-anarchism.

"Cosmopolitanism" and "Statelessness" was one of the "crimes" with which he associated Jews (as indeed does the totalitarian communism of Russia), though plainly since his day large numbers of them have reverted to nationalism and a strong state. The theme of "Jewish domination" goes hand in hand with "anarchistic destruction of authority, morals and discipline", since for him personal freedom was bad in itself. (Only national freedom is permissible). Insofar as one can make sense of his speeches (which are sometimes deceptive since he follows different strands of thought according to the way he could sway an audience), he believes "plunging into anarchy" of a country (abolition of State restraints) will lead to chaos, which will make it possible for a dictatorship other than one in the people's interests to succeed.

This Nazi propaganda is echoed by the media today "plunging the country into anarchy would be followed by a Communist or extreme right-wing dictatorship" — which is taken from a current newspaper leader, and echoed almost

daily.

Hitler did not confuse State Communism with anarchism (as Franco did deliberately, for propaganda purposes, to try to eradicate anarchism from history). He equates communism with "Jewish domination" and the case against the Jews (in original Nazi thinking) that they are a racially pure people who will gain world conquest over helots like the Germans if a "Master Race" does not control the Germans and keep the rival State out. In a condition of freedom the German "helots" would revert to anarchy, just as the racially "inferior" Celts of France threw out the Norman Nordic overlords (the Houston Chamberlain version of the French Revolution). Later, of course, when Nazism became a mass party it was expedient to amend this to saying the *Germans* were the Master Race, but this was not the original Nazi philosophy nor was it privately accepted by the Nazi leaders ("the German people were not worthy of me.") But they could hardly tell mass meetings that they were all "helots".

To sum up the fascist objection to Anarchism: it is not denied the abolition of the State can come about, but if so, given economic, social and political freedom, the "helots"; — who are "naturally inclined" to accept subjection from superior races — will seek for masters. They will have a nostalgia for "strong rule".

In Nazi thinking, strong rule can only come from racially pure members of the "Master Race" (something a little more than a class and less than a people), which can be constructive masters (i.e. the "Aryans"), or a race which has had no contact with the "soil" and will be thus destructive. (This identification of the Jews would have to be completely revised in light of present day Israel).

In other types of Fascist thinking, given freedom, the people will throw off all patriotic and nationalistic allegiances and so the "country" will cease to be great. This is the basis of Mussolini's fascism, and of course, it is perfectly true, bearing in mind that "the country" is his synonym for the State and his only conception of greatness is militaristic. The frankest of all is the Spanish type of fascism which sought to impose class domination of the most brutal kind and made it plain that its opposition to anarchism was simply in order to keep the working class down; if necessary, the working class may be decimated in order to crush anarchism.

It is true of all political philosophies and blatant with the fascist one that its relationship to anarchism throws a clear light upon itself.

THE AVERAGE PERSON'S OBJECTIONS TO ANARCHISM

Generally speaking the ordinary people pick up their objections to anarchism from the press, which in turn is influenced by what the Establishment want. At present, in this country there is

a definite ruling on transcribing Anarchism and Marxism, or Anarchism and Nationalism, so that the one must be referred to the other, in order to confuse. This has been borne out in many exposures in *Black Flag* showing where avowed Marxists are described in the Press as "anarchists" while avowed Anarchists are described as "Marxists" or "Nationalists" (the latter usually in Catalonia and sometimes in Euzkadi). On some occasions Nationalists are called "anarchists" but usually when the word "anarchist" is being used as if to describe oneself as an anarchist was to make a confession of guilt. This, as we have seen, is picked up from the liberal-democratic attitude to anarchism; but it is flavoured strongly with the fascist attitude too. Because of it, the phrase "self-confessed anarchist" has to be used by the Press to describe a person who is an anarchist as opposed to someone whom they have merely labelled anarchist in order to confuse.

Generally, therefore, the average person takes the fascist view of anarchism, as picked up in its entirety by police officers and others, as genuine; but tempered with the fact that they do not take it quite as seriously. Sometimes they confuse the word "revolutionary", and assume all who protest are thereby anarchists. This ignorance, however, is more often displayed by journalists than it is by the general public.

When it comes down to an objection to anarchism as it is as distinct from objections to a mythological anarchism as imagined or caricatured by the authoritarian parties or Establishment, there are not many serious objections from the general public. They may not think it practical of realisation if presented in a positive way to them; but they usually do so if presented in a negative way — i.e. describing the tyranny of the State, the fact that we could dispense with authoritarian parties, the worthlessness of politicians, and so on. The sole main objection is perhaps the feeling that they want to make the best out of life as it is; that they do not feel strong enough to challenge the State or to face the struggle involved in bringing about a free society, or put up with the many vicissitudes, major and minor, that make up the life of a militant or someone reasonably committed to an ideal. The temptations to conform and to accept the bribes which the capitalist class can now hold out are too great; only when the State wants its last ounce of blood do they wake up to the need for resistance, but then it is too late, and also, of course, the State then takes on the pretence of being "the country" in order to be loved instead of hated or disliked. When the State clearly goes against "the country" they do tend to rebel.

These attitudes of the people as a whole cannot be lightly dismissed; if they could be, there would be no problem of a free society; when they can be, we shall be well on the way to it.

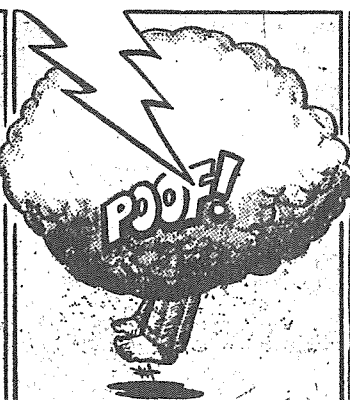
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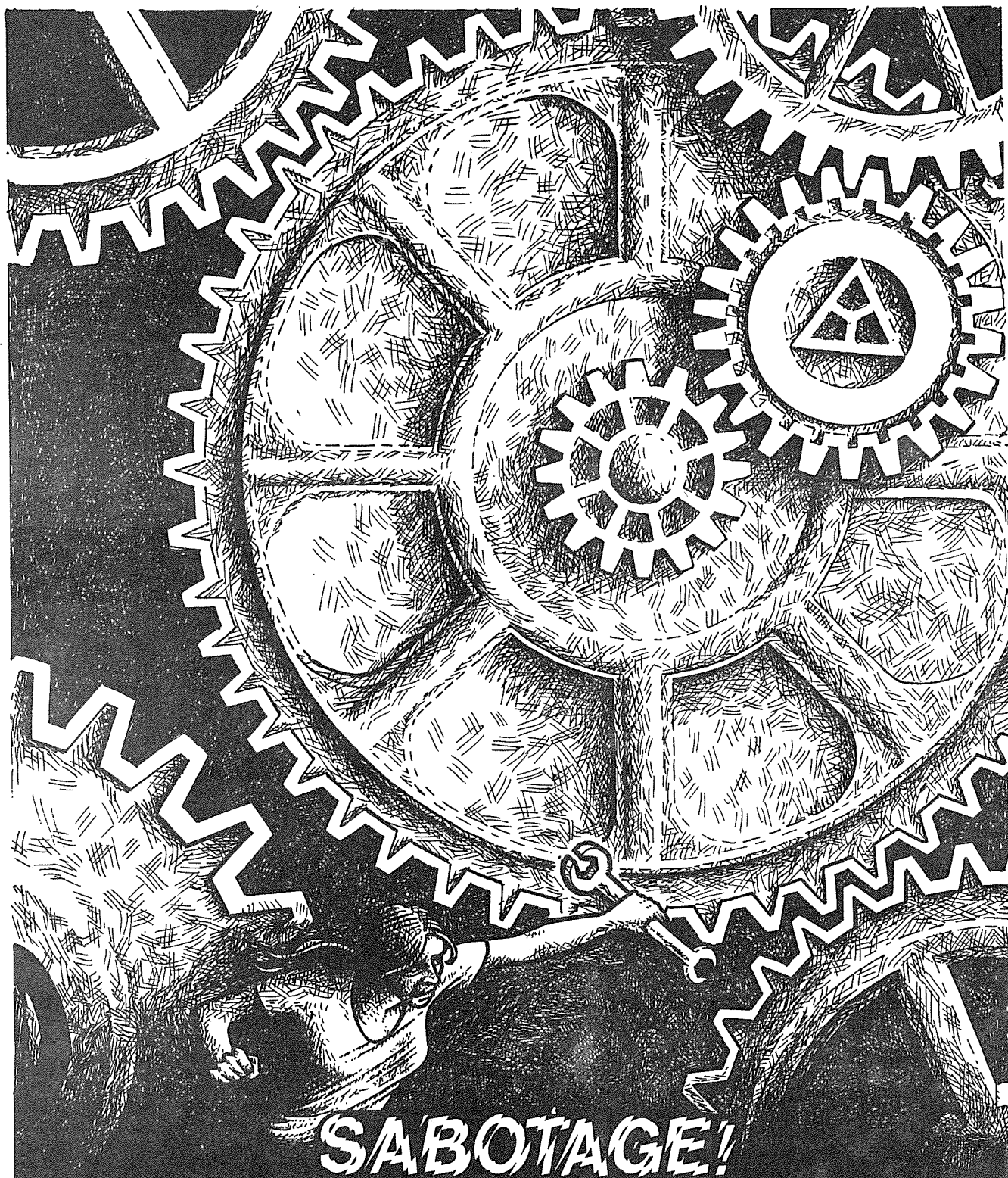
SPECIAL ORIGIN STRIP!!
V.I. OULANOFF -
MILD-MANNERED
WRITER-JOURNALIST,
FAMEY MAN,
AT THE MENTION
OF THE WORD
'OPPRESSION'
IS TRANSFORMED
INTO
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REVOLUTIONARY
AND AGENT OF
THE THIRD
INTERNATIONAL.

"SO I SAID TO THE
WIFE, 'SWEETIE...'


"OPPRESSION..."


POOF!


"IS THE FORCE WHICH WILL
INSURE THAT THE SOCIALIST
SYSTEM WILL PREVAIL
OVER THE CAPITALIST
SYSTEM..."

SABOTAGE!

The Industrial Workers of the World began using the words "Sabotage", "Direct Action" and "Passive Resistance" in 1910 – five years after its formation, – in reference to a number of strikes, picket line fights and production line fixing to assist strikers. In 1912-13 "Sabotage" occurred in reprints of French CGT articles and the review of Pouget's work "Sabotage" which appeared in the IWW press.

The IWW Spokane Washington group published the following article by Walker C. Smith in 1912 and it was advertised the same year in *Solidarity*, the Cleveland and Chicago IWW paper, and *Industrial Worker*, the West Coast paper. In 1915 Elizabeth Gurley Flynn published a book on the subject in Cleveland and in Los Angeles the IWW published a paper

called "*The Wooden Shoe*".

However, the official policy of the IWW was *not* to use the term, or if they did to explain it. Big Bill Haywood: "Sabotage means to bend back or break off the fangs of capitalism." In the big treason trials of 1918-19, the "Red Scare" of 1919-20 and the "Criminal Syndicalism" trials of IWW rank-and-file militants by local state courts between 1917 and 1924 "Sabotage" was the main charge brought against the men which sent them to prison for periods usually not less than twenty years and, in many cases led to Wobs being lynched by mobs. However, the most important proponents of sabotage were the Australian IWW who were destroyed following the 1915-16 "Treason Trials".

No theory, no philosophy, no line of action is so good as claimed by its advocates nor so bad as painted by its critics. Sabotage is no exception to this rule. Sabotage, according to the capitalists and political socialists, is synonymous with murder, rapine, arson, theft; is illogical, vile, unethical, reactionary, destructive of society itself. To many anarchist theorists it is the main weapon of industrial warfare, over-shadowing mass solidarity, industrial formation and disciplined action. Some even go so far as to claim that sabotage can usher in the new social order. Somewhere in between these two extreme views can be found the truth about sabotage.

Three versions are given of the source of the word. The one best known is that of the striking French weaver who cast his wooden shoe

called a sabot — into the delicate mechanism of the loom upon leaving the mill. The confusion that resulted, acting to the workers' benefit, brought to the front a line of tactics that took the name of *Sabotage*. Slow work is also said to be at the basis of the word, the idea being that wooden shoes are clumsy and so prevent quick action on the part of the workers. The third idea is that sabotage is coined from the slang term that means 'putting the boot' to the employers by striking directly at their profits without leaving the job. The derivation, however, is unimportant. It is the thing itself that causes commotion among employers and politicians alike. What then is Sabotage?

Sabotage is the destruction of profits to gain a definite, revolutionary, economic end. It has many forms. It may mean the damaging of raw materials destined for a scab factory or shop. It may mean the spoiling of a finished product. It may mean the displacement of parts of machinery, or the disarrangement of the whole machine where that machine is the one upon which other machines are dependent for materials. It may mean working slow. It may mean poor work. It may mean mis-labelling packages, giving overweight to customers, pointing out defects in goods, using the best of materials where the employer desires adulteration and also the telling of trade secrets. In fact, it has as many variations as there are different lines of work.

Note this important point however. *Sabotage does not seek nor desire to take human life.* Neither is it directed against the consumer except where wide publicity has been given to the fact that the sabotaged product is under the ban. *A boycotted product is at all times a fit product for sabotage.* The aim is to hit the employer in his vital spot, his heart and soul, in other words his wallet. The consumer is struck only when he interposes himself between the two combatants.

On the other hand, sabotage is simply one of the weapons in labour's arsenal. It is by no means the greatest one. Solidarity action is mightier than the courageous acts of a few. Industrial class formation gives a strength not to be obtained by mere tactics. Self-discipline and co-operative action are necessary if we are to build a new social order as well as destroying the old. Sabotage is merely a means to an end; a means that under certain conditions might be dispensed with and the end still gained.

Sabotage will sometimes be misused, flagrantly so; the same is true of every one of the weapons of labour. The main concern of revolutionists is whether the use of sabotage will destroy the power of the masters in such a manner as to give the workers a greater measure of industrial control. On that point depends its usefulness to the working class.

Sabotage is not a form of action brought forth from French conditions. It dates back to the earliest days of human exploitation. It is born of class struggles — of man's inhumanity to man. From serfdom to wage slavery the enslaved class has instinctively tried to render less to the master than was expected of it. This unconscious sabotage shows the irreconcilable antagonism between capitalist and labourer — master and slave.

Sabotage was not formally baptised as a word to describe a formula of social struggle until the end of the Confederal Congress of Toulouse in 1897. Open advocacy of the idea and conscious sabotage in place of instinctive action began in France about this time. It had been preached in England and Scotland for many years before that, under the name of 'ca' canny'. This phrase meant 'go slow', or to be more literal, 'don't

hurry up'. From a publication, 'The Social Museum', an instance is gained of the use of sabotage by the Scottish.

"In 1889 the organised dockers of Glasgow demanded a 10% increase of wages, but met with the refusal of the employers. Strike breakers were brought in from among the agricultural labourers and the dockers had to acknowledge defeat and return to work on the old wage scale. But before the men resumed their work, the secretary of the union delivered the following address to them:

"You are going back to work at the old wage. The employers have repeated time and time again that they were delighted with the work of the agricultural labourers who had taken our places for several weeks during the strike. But we have seen them at work; we have seen that they could not even walk a vessel, that they dropped half the merchandise they carried, in short, that two of them could hardly do the work of one of us. Nevertheless, the employers have declared themselves enchanted by the work of these fellows; well then, there is nothing left for us but to do the same, and to practise Ca' Canny. Work as the agricultural labourers worked. Only they often fell in the water; it is useless for you to do the same."

"This order was obeyed to the letter. After a few days the contractors sent for the general secretary of the dockers and begged him to tell the dockers to work as before, and that they were ready to grant the 10% increase."

Balzac, writing three-quarters of a century ago, gave a good illustration of sabotage in describing the bloody uprising in Lyons in 1831.

"There have been many things said about the uprising of Lyons, of the republic cannonaded in the streets, but no one has told the truth. The republic seized the movement as an insurgent seizes a rifle.

The commerce of Lyons is a commerce without courage; as soon as an ounce of silk is manufactured it is asked for and payment is made at once. When the demand stops, the workers are dying of starvation; when they are working they earn barely enough to live upon. The prisoners are often more happy than they.

After the July revolution misery reached the point where the workers were compelled to raise a standard: 'Bread or Death!' — a standard which the government should have considered.

The republicans had felt out the revolt and they organised the spinners who fought in double shifts. Lyons had its three days. Then everything became normal again and the poor went back to their dog kennels.

The spinners who had, until then, transformed into useful goods the silk which was weighed to them in cocoons, laid aside probity. They began to grease their fingers with oil. With scrupulous ability they rendered the correct weight, but the silks were all specked with oil. The commerce of the silk manufactures was infested with greasy goods which caused a loss to Lyons and to a portion of the French commerce."

This action, as Balzac points out, was nothing more than the workers taking revenge for having been the victims of bayonets when they asked for bread. But sabotage is something more than simply the equivalent of an oppression received; it has an economic foundation.

There exists today a labour market in which the wage workers sell their power to perform various tasks asked of them by the purchasers — the employing class. The labour power of the workers is a commodity. In selling their merchandise the workers must sell themselves along with it. Therefore they are slaves — wage slaves. In purchasing goods from a merchant one receives inferior quality for a low price. For a low price — poor products. If this applies to hats and shoes, why not equally to the product sold by the labourer? It is from this reasoning that there arises the idea: *For poor wages — bad work.* This thought is a natural one even to those who agree with society as it is now constituted. To those who do not look upon the wage system as a finality and who have come to regard the employers in their true light — as thieves of the labourer's product — the idea of sabotage commends itself even more strongly. It is a logical weapon for the revolutionist.

Economists have shown that the wages of the workers are not determined by their product. Wages are simply the market price of the commodity called *labour power*. Wages are not lowered or raised as the productivity of the worker ebbs and flows. They are conditional upon the supply and demand, the standard of living where the wages are paid, and the relative strength of the organisations of workers and employers. Not many wage workers have studied the deeper economists, but the ditch digger knows that when he has finished the ditch upon which he is at work he must hunt another master. He instinctively slows up. His action has value from a class standpoint, for either more ditch diggers must be employed to complete the work within a given time, or else there is less competition in the labour market for those extra days he laboured.

Many who condemn sabotage will be found to be unconscious advocates of it. Think of the absurd position of those who decry sabotage, and, almost in the same breath, condemn the various efficiency systems of the employers! By opposing "scientific management" they are doing to potential profits what the saboteurs are doing to actual profits. The one prevents efficiency, the other withdraws it. Incidentally, it might be said that sabotage is the only effective method of preventing the deterioration of the worker that is sure to follow for performing the same monotonous task minute after minute, day in and day out. Sabotage also offers the best method of combatting the evil known as 'speeding up'. None but the best workers know how great this evil is. It is one of the methods by which employers coin wealth from death, consuming the very lives of the toilers. By payment of a slightly higher wage to the stronger and more dexterous slave, the rest are forced to keep pace. Those who fall by the way are unceremoniously cast aside to beg, steal or starve. One method used by the saboteur to stop this form of slavery is illustrated by the following occurrence:

Building labourers were wheeling barrows of material to an electric hoist, following the rate of speed set by their higher paid taskmaster. The pace became so swift that those who were weaker could no longer keep up. During the lunch break one of the men stepped up to the wheelbarrow of the speeder and tightened the burrs on the wheel. Upon resuming the task master started at his usual pace but was soon obliged to slow down through sheer weariness. No class conscious worker will join the moralists and vote-catchers in condemning this action.

In the steel mills the speeding up process has become so distressing to the average workers that still greater steps are taken for self-protection. In fact, in speaking of these class traitors, it is often remarked that "something dropped on

their feet often affects their heads". There are many points of similarity between the favoured steer in the stockyards who is trained to lead the other steers into the killing pens, and the task-master.

England offers a practical method of limiting output. Due to effective, widespread, systematic sabotage, the brick masons lay as a days work less than one third the number of bricks required from their brother craftsmen in America. Any reduction in pay is met with a counter reduction in the work. Sabotage means therefore, that the workers directly fight the conditions imposed by the masters in accordance with the formula "Poor wages - bad work".

Actions which might be classed as "capitalist sabotage" are used by the different exploiting and professional classes. The market gardener packs his best fruit and vegetables on top. The merchant sells inferior articles as 'something just as good'. The doctor gives harmless concoctions where symptoms are puzzling. The builder uses poorer material than demanded in the specifications. The manufacturer adulterates foodstuffs and clothing. All these are for the purpose of gaining more profit. Carloads of potatoes were destroyed in Illinois recently; cotton was burned in the Southern states; coffee was destroyed by the Brazilian planters; bargeloads of onions were dumped overboard in California; apples are left to rot on the trees of whole orchards in Washington (and similarly were left in the orchards of Kent in the summer of 1970); and hundreds of tons of foodstuffs are held in cold storage until rendered unfit for consumption. All to raise prices. Yet it is exploiters of this character who are loudest in condemnation of sabotage when it is used to benefit the workers.

Some forms of capitalist sabotage are legalised, others are not. But whether or not the various practices are sanctioned by law, it is evident that they are more harmful to society as a whole than is the sabotage of the workers. Capitalists cause imperfect dams to be built, and devastating floods sweep whole sections of the country. They have faulty bridges erected, and wrecks cause great loss of life. They sell boat tickets, promising absolute security, and sabotage the life saving equipment to the point where hundreds are murdered, as witness the Titanic. The General Slocum disaster is an example of capitalist sabotage on the life preservers. The Iroquois Theatre fire is an example of sabotage by the exploiters who assured the public that the fire curtain was made of asbestos. There are also the Primero, the Drakesboro, the Cherry mine disasters and the terrible Triangle Shirtwaist tragedy. The cases could be multiplied indefinitely. Those capitalist murderers constitute themselves the mentors of the morals of those slaves who "have nothing to lose but their chains". Only fools will take their ethics from such knaves. *Capitalist opposition to sabotage is one of its highest recommendations.*

Capitalist sabotage aims to benefit a small group of non-producers, while working-class sabotage seeks to help the whole body of producers at the expense of the parasites. The frank position of the class conscious worker is that capitalist sabotage is wrong because it harms the workers; working class sabotage is right because it aids the workers. This view comes from the position the proletarians occupy in the class war. A word about that class war.

To the rebellious toiler the class war is no mere theory. It is a grim reality. To him it is not a polite sparring match according to Marquis of Queensbury rules with four years between each round. It is a love of liberty, and war against the exploiters.

Because the revolutionist has discarded the moral code of the master class and has spit in the face of bourgeois ethics, it does not necessarily follow that there is no rule regulating his conduct. He is, in fact, so strongly actuated by an ideal that he has left the arena of words to enter the realm of action. *Sabotage is a direct application of the idea that property has no rights that its creators are bound to respect.* Especially is this true when the creators of the wealth of the world are in hunger and want amid the abundance they have produced, while the idle few have all the good things of life.

However, secret must be sabotage, when used by the individual instead of the whole body, it is taking its place in the rising moral code of the propertyless toilers just in proportion as it is being openly advocated. The outspoken propaganda of sabotage and its widespread use are true reflections of economic conditions. The current ethical code with all existing laws and institutions, is based upon private property in production. *Why expect those who have no stake in society, as it is now constituted, to continue to contribute to its support?*

The charge that sabotage is immoral, unethical, uncivilised, and the like, does not worry the rebellious workers so long as it is effective in inflicting injury to the employers profits. As it aids the workers in their fight it will find increasing favour in their eyes. In war the strategic move is to cut off the opposing force from its base of supplies. Sabotage seeks to curtail profits and in conjunction with other weapons to abolish finally the surplus value, or unpaid labour, that is the source of the employer's power.

"You are immoral" cry employers and politicians alike. Our answer is that today all morals are based upon private property. Even so-called sexual immorality is condemned while universally practised, because it violates the principle of inheritance of property and is in defiance of customs generally accepted but seldom inquired into. When the workers accept their morals from the capitalist class they are in a sorry way indeed. The question is not: Is sabotage immoral? But does sabotage get the goods?

"You are destroying civilisation" is likewise hurled against us, to which we reply in the language of the street: "We should worry!" Civilisation is a lie. A civilisation that is built upon the bending backs of toiling babes; a civilisation that is reared upon the sweating, starving, struggling masses of mankind; a civilisation whose very existence depends upon a constant army of hungry, servile and law-abiding unemployed, is scarcely worthy of consideration at the hands of those whom it has so brutally outraged. The saboteur carries on his work in order to hasten the day of working class victory, when for the first time in history we shall have a civilisation that is worthy of the name.

What is more civilised than for the workers to create powder that refuses to explode?

What is more civilised than to spike the guns when they are trained on our working class brothers in other lands?

What is more civilised than to work slow and thus force employers to give a living to more of the unemployed?

What is more civilised than to waste the adulterations given the workers in place of food, thus making it unprofitable to sell impure products?

Sabotage will civilise the soldier, the police, the speeder, the slave driver, the food poisoner, the shoddy manufacturer, the profit grabber of high and low degree, and even the politician.

Those who oppose sabotage on ethical grounds are supporters of capitalist theft and are the faithful watchdogs of the strong boxes where

the masters store their stolen wealth. Revolutionists have no time to waste in taking lessons in correct manners from those who do no useful labour in society. In advocating sabotage we hope to show that the workers should rid their minds of the last remnant of bourgeois cant and hypocrisy and by its use develop courage and individual initiative. From sabotage to gain better conditions it is a logical step to direct sabotage against the repressive and perverting forces of capitalism.

The press is one of the greatest agencies used by the employers to keep the workers in subjection. It is dominated by the industrial masters. Sometimes the press is owned directly, sometimes through a mortgage or a secured loan. More often the subsidisation of the press is accomplished through advertising patronage. But at all times the power of the capitalist press depends upon the servility of the slaves who do all the work of setting up, printing and distributing the lies of the masters. Sabotage is the most effective weapon for the stopping of newspaper attacks upon the workers and their organisations.

Reporters are sometimes favourable to the workers. But they have to follow the policy of the paper to hold their jobs. They can use sabotage on the masters by their handling of the news. The editors of the various departments will colour the matter anyhow, in accordance with the wishes of advertisers or stockholders of the paper. But when an article is written that is harmful to the working class there are many ways in which it can be sabotaged. The linotype operator can misplace a portion of the copy. The proofreader can insert or remove the word 'not' and thus change a knock to a boost. The make-up man can place another article where it was intended the lie should go or he can insert a part of another article under the offending heading so that it will apparently read correctly and yet will not contain the harmful material. The stero typer can damage the face of the offending article so that it will not print. These are but a few of the many methods that might be used. All of these 'accidents' are happening every day in publishing plants and it but remains to direct them to a revolutionary end. With more class consciousness along these lines the employers will find it does not pay to lie about the workers.

One of the repressive forces of capitalism, the army, can be made useless by the extension of the use of sabotage. One saboteur can make harmless toys of the entire equipment of a company. When a trainload of soldiers are dispatched to a strike somewhere, where they always act in the interest of the employers, the train can be sabotaged. In Parma, Italy, for example, the farm labourers struck. Soldiers were ordered to the scene. The engineers refused to pull the train from the depot. Volunteers to man the engines were secured from the ranks of the soldiers. When these scabs entered the cab they found that some of the vital parts of each engine had been misplaced. They were forced to walk to Parma. Bridges disappeared in advance of the line of march. When the weary and disgusted soldiers arrived at the scene of the agricultural strike they found that the strikers had won and were back at work.

Realising that the railroads are the arteries of commerce the capitalists of this country have practically purchased the engineers by a high wage and the establishment of an aristocracy of labour. But a few rebels are bound to creep into their ranks. Even if every one of them remained a traitor to the workers by being loyal to the employers still they could not escape sabotage. A bar of soap in the boiler would keep the soldiers at home or else force them

to march to the strike. If this were not possible, then there are water tanks where the tender must be filled and the saboteur can "Let the Gold Dust Twins do the work".

In case of wars, which every intelligent worker knows are wholesale murder of workers to enrich the master class, there is no weapon so forceful to defeat the employers as sabotage by the rebellious workers in the two warring countries. *Sabotage will put a stop to war when resolutions, parliamentary appeals and even a call for general refusal to serve are impotent.* But, as stated before, sabotage is but one phase of the question. Anti-military and anti-patriotic agitation must be carried on.

Sabotage is a mighty force as a revolutionary tactic against the repressive forces of capitalism, whether those repressions be direct or through the state.

"It is guerrilla warfare," is another cry against sabotage. Well, what of it? Has not guerrilla warfare proven itself to be a useful thing to repel invaders and to make gains for one or other of the opposing forces? Do not the capitalists use guerrilla warfare? Guerrilla warfare brings out the courage of individuals, it develops initiative, daring, resoluteness and audacity. Sabotage does the same for its users. It is to the social war what guerrillas are to national wars. If it does no more than awaken a portion of the workers from their lethargy it will have been justified. But it will do more than that; it will keep the workers awake and will incite them to do battle with masters. It will give added hope to the militant minority, the few who always bear the brunt of the struggle.

The saboteur is the sharpshooter of the revolution. He has the courage and the daring to invade the enemy's country in the uniform of a "loyal", that is to say — subservient, worker. *But he knows that loyalty to the employer means treason to his class.* Sabotage is the smokeless powder of the social war. It scores a hit, while its source is seldom detected. It is so universally feared by the employers that they do not even desire that it be condemned for fear the slave class may learn still more its great value.

Indeed, it can be seen that the masters are powerless in the face of this weapon. In the realm of production the masters do not enter except by indirection. The creation of wealth is the work of the wage slave class, and every tendency of this class is toward sabotage.

The time clock has come as a sign that the boss recognises the instinctive sabotage that is universal. In many establishments there is even a time clock in front of each toilet, with a time limit for the toilers to remain inside. But where is there a factory that has not its saboteurs who show their class solidarity by ringing in time for some of their fellow workers? In many establishments the time clock has an unaccountable habit of getting out of order and so costing the firm more than the amount of labour time saved otherwise. As a check against the spread of sabotage the employers have their paid writers to tell tales of how success in life is sure to attend the worker who does not watch the clock and who endeavours at every opportunity to save money for the employer. But there are more of the workers who are coming to see that any saving that is made is not reflected in their pay envelopes; but simply means larger profits to those who are already getting the good things in life already getting the bulk of the good things of life. They also know that where one might possibly forge ahead by being a "boss-lover", the same line of action on the part of the whole force would reduce the number of employees needed

and probably result in their dismissal. Knowing this they are scornful of veiled preachments against sabotage.

Those who denounce sabotage as "unfair" are also seen to be supporters of the kind of unions that notify the employers six months in advance of a strike, thus allowing them to procure scabs or to stockpile so as to have material with which to supply the demand for goods while the workers are starving. The same moralists also hold that it is wrong for the miners to call out the pumpmen on strike because the mines would flood, ignoring the fact that such action would quickly bring the employer to terms.

In wartime a flank movement is always feared by each of the opposing forces. In the social war sabotage is the best kind of flank movement upon our enemy — the employing class. An actual instance will serve to illustrate the point.

On an orchard farm in the state of Washington a disagreement arose over conditions on the job. A strike took place. The I.W.W. members among the strikers immediately telephoned to the union in the nearest city. When the employer arrived in town looking for a new crew he was rather surprised at his speedy success. Full fare was paid for the men and the railway train was boarded. At the first stop, about two miles from the city, the whole crew deserted the train. They were all members of the union. Returning to the city the farmer picked up a second crew. He arranged to have them pay their own fare, same to be refunded upon their arrival at the farm. This crew went through all right and worked for a while under the farmer's direction. Thinking the strike was successfully broken the employer finally busied himself with other matters for the rest of the day. Next morning upon visiting the work the farmer was surprised to see that 1000 young trees had been planted upside down, their roots waving to the breeze as a mute evidence of solidarity and sabotage. No further argument was needed to convince the farmer of the "justice" of the demands of the original crew.

This instance also shows that sabotage is not always an individual action. It oftentimes develops into mass action. Slowing up on the job is the most frequent form of mass sabotage, but a commonly related incident shows one of its other forms.

A gang of section men working on a railroad in Indiana were notified of a cut in their wages. The workers immediately took their shovels to the blacksmith shop and cut two inches from the scoops. Returning to the work, they told the boss: "Short pay — short shovels."

Every cut in wages is met by a decrease in efficiency on the part of the workers. It remains for the militants to show that mass sabotage can be used to counteract the decreased wages that do not appear in terms of money but arise from the higher cost of living. When this is plain to the workers it will be only a step for them to use sabotage as a lever by which to raise wages and, in the hands of the most rebellious, as a means to destroy profits utterly. For the piece workers other methods must be used. They, naturally enough, are not interested in diminishing their product. Sabotage can be used in the quality or upon the materials or the tools. It is useless to try to give all the different methods that are capable of being used. Each line of work dictates its own methods.

The one point must be borne in mind, however, is that sabotage is not directed towards the consumer. The reason for sabotage is to strike a blow at the employing class profits and that is the thing that must always be uppermost in the mind of the saboteur. But take a theatre strike,

where the patrons are fully aware that a boycott is on and the consumer — the playgoer — is then considered an ally of the employer and therefore to be treated as an enemy. The motion picture operators, especially in Chicago, have used sabotage to good advantage to clear the houses of unfair patrons. They simply dropped some vile smelling chemicals upon the floor during the performance and then made a quiet and speedy exit. The audience generally followed the example within a short time. This method was used only after an extensive boycott of the theatre in question had been advertised.

It is quite natural that the employing class try to have it generally understood that sabotage means poisoning soup, putting ground glass in bread, dynamiting buildings and the like, so the revolutionists must at all times emphasise the point that *sabotage is not aimed at the consumer but at the heart and soul of the employing class — the pocketbook.*

"It will be met by the lockout", is another argument advanced against the use of sabotage. That is to say, the employer, finding sabotage in use at his factory, will cut off all of his profits in order to try to save a portion of them! But let a lockout be used, and will not wage workers have to be employed as soon as operations are resumed? Will not the employer have to hire the same saboteurs, who have remained unknown to him? If workers are imported, cannot saboteurs get on the job in the guise of scabs?

A little thought on the subject shows that a lockout is impracticable in the face of sabotage. No employer locks out his force with the intention of keeping them out permanently. The workers must be re-employed. Their lockout experiences will drive home the class struggle more than would a thousand lectures on the subject, and many of them will return to work, as was predicted in the Lawrence strike, "with bitterness in their hearts and emery dust in their pockets." The employers, however, resort to the lockout only when all else has failed. Even when using this weapon they seek to have it appear as a strike, and they launch it at a time favourable to themselves in every particular, and therefore unfavourable to the workers. They hope, by such a lockout, to cause the workers to lose faith in the strike as a weapon; failing to note the fact that workers strike because they must, and not through mere desire. *They do not know that no agitator can cause a strike, no writer can call sabotage into use, no social revolution can be created and consummated, unless all the socially necessary elements of discontent are present.*

The direct lockout, even when it serves the immediate end of the employers, is harmful to their class interests as a whole. Even Gompers would scarcely dare preach "mutual interests" to locked out workers. Instead of blaming themselves for having struck, or placing the blame upon inefficient strike leadership, all the hatred of the workers is directed against the employers. *Armed with a knowledge of sabotage the workers return to their task, more terrible in defeat than in victory.*

Nor can the military forces be successfully employed against sabotage. The employers could not long afford to have a soldier to guard each worker. The workers, in fact, would immediately rebel when placed under such espionage. Neither is there any surety that sabotage will not have permeated the army. It is there already and it is growing in favour. Even were the workers to allow the military rule it might mean that sabotage would cease for the time being, to break out all the more fiercely the moment the soldiers were withdrawn, but more likely the natural resentment against such espionage would lead to

an increased amount of sabotage. Wealth cannot be created with bayonets. The employers well know that their rule rests upon the peaceful acquiescence of the workers. They will scarcely undermine their own foundation by employing soldiers to massacre an entire force when a militant minority use sabotage.

Now that the capitalist class are ceasing even to perform the slight task of nominal superintendence in the industries to which they hold legal title, they are entitled to absolutely no consideration at the hands of the actual producers of wealth. Their withdrawal also means that the slight remaining check to sabotage is removed.

Eliminating all the obviously master class objections there remain but two pertinent questions from the point of view of the class conscious worker. Does sabotage destroy working class solidarity? Will sabotage continue to disarrange industry when the workers have taken possession?

Taking up the two questions in turn it can be shown that sabotage is not a boomerang that will return to slay those who use it.

Working class solidarity is simply the result of consciousness of power. Sabotage, by arming the workers with a weapon which the masters cannot wrest from them adds greatly to the feeling of strength.

Mass sabotage is in itself a sign of solidarity. *The concerted withdrawal of efficiency, by slowing down or other means, is sure to bind the workers closer together.* This is true whether they are organised or not. In case they are organised it gives to the workers a greater sense of security as well as additional industrial control.

Individual acts of sabotage, performed to the end that class benefit be derived, can in no way militate against solidarity. Rather they promote unity. The saboteur involves no one but himself and is impelled to take the risk by reason of his strong class desires.

Solidarity between the capitalists does not seem to be affected by their use of sabotage. That they fight each other with that potent weapon is quite evident. That they use it upon the workers is also easily seen. But nowhere can it be shown that there has been a division in the ranks of their fighting organisations, when the workers were doing battle for them, as a result of their use of sabotage.

Various cases of this capitalist sabotage might be quoted. Competitors of the Standard Oil Company often found that legal documents had been improperly executed for them. Rivals of the Sugar Trusts had foreign materials introduced into their shipments, and in the fight of Havemeyer against Spreckels the latter's machinery had an unaccountable habit of getting out of order. A Denver brewing company almost ruined a competitor by hiring men to spread the story that a decomposed body had been found at the bottom of its rival's brew vat. But when it comes to robbing the wage workers these capitalist saboteurs are "banded together like thieves at a fair".

Several of the so-called 'muck raking' magazines have been forced to suspend through the use of sabotage. *Hampton's* was killed in that manner by those capitalists who saw their interests menaced. *The Appeal to Reason* has been a sufferer at the hands of capitalist saboteurs who stole their mailing lists and played havoc with the mailing room generally. Just imagine the effects upon capitalism were the *Appeal* to have its millions of readers apply the same tactics!

Upon learning that 'accidents' had happened to fifty thousand yards of cloth, during the trial of Ettore, Giovannitti and Caruso, William Wood is reported to have said "They are beating us at our own game." Surely no one can seriously

claim that sabotage in the textile industry did not help to cement the various workers all the more closely together.

Even were it true that sabotage worked against solidarity to some extent, still it would have to receive consideration as an economic factor. It is sure to remain in use. It is co-existent with human slavery. *No analysis of the labour movement is complete where sabotage is not accepted as a weapon.*

Just as sabotage must differ in each industry so also must it change with industrial development. Should capitalism create an oligarchy to crush out all labour organisation the attempt would be met by destructive sabotage. The degree of destruction would depend on the measure of repression.

But should matters follow their present course, with the possibility of the workers gaining an ever increasing amount of industrial control, then labour's tactics will develop accordingly, with constructive sabotage as a result.

To every positive there must be a negative and in all cases destruction must precede construction. Therefore, there is no absurdity in the term "constructive sabotage".

Sabotage may mean the direct destruction of property. Again it may mean indirect destruction through organised inefficiency. Or as an alternative it may proceed from a greater degree of efficiency than is desired by the employing class. This last is the point toward which sabotage tends when coupled with class solidarity.

The direct destruction of property for immediate individual benefit or to make a gain for a small group is but the following out of the theory of economic determinism. As such no revolutionist can condemn it. The indirect destruction of property for group benefit may also be a class weapon. It may be abused, but so may any other means of warfare. Like the strike, the fear of its use has as great a power as its direct application. The constructive qualities, in such a case, comes from its power to solidify labour. *A consciousness of economic might springs from the knowledge thus gained, that the employers have no force save that given by the labour of the slave class.*

As solidarity is produced there comes an added feeling of responsibility upon the organised workers. Gaining more and more the control of industry they realise that before long the management of the whole of society will rest in their hands. Sabotage, which is sure to be used as long as a slave class exists, will then take on a definitely constructive character.

It is already the trend for sabotage to be directed more against the product than the machine. As the idea of an injury to one being an injury to all sinks in more thoroughly we shall see products sabotaged in a different manner — constructively.

The workers are coming to see that their class is the one to whom adulterated food, shoddy clothing and rotten materials are sold, and by refusing to adulterate products they not only destroy the employers profits but safeguard their own lives as well. The bakers can gain the same result by putting the best of materials in the bread and pastry as they can by inserting coal oil. The secret refusal of packing house workers to handle rotten meats certainly is constructive from a class or social viewpoint. Yet such actions are fatal to the employer's profits as is the direct destruction of products. In fact it does mean the destruction of alum in bakeries, of 'slunk' calves in packing houses, of 'shoddy' in the woollen mills, and the destruction of capitalist property in profits.

The mass of workers are already propertyless. No tie binds them to our so-called civilisation. Sabotage, for protection as well as for revenge,

appeals to them. They have nothing to lose and much to gain by its use. Their economic conditions call for sabotage as a weapon against oppression. This mass must be impregnated with the ideal of working class control of industry so their sabotage may take on a constructive character. That ideal is already firing the brains and nerving the hands of thousands of migratory workers.

Without apologising for sabotage in any form, it can be said that constructive sabotage is destined to be a vital power in the class struggle from now until Capitalism falls and the industries are operated by the producers of all wealth.

With the workers in full control of industry it is evident that all able bodied adults will be required to take part in the productive process. This means an end to classes and class rule; the disappearance of the political state; and the carrying on of production for use instead of for profit. Industrial brotherhood will have ended the terrible civil war in industry and sabotage will naturally cease when the reason for its existence is removed. In an industrial democracy, where the productivity of the whole body would be reflected in the life of the individual and the acts of the individual in turn would be a contribution to all of society, it is inconceivable that sabotage would still be carried on. Any continuation of its use over an extended period would show the necessity for another industrial adjustment to secure the real objects of the revolution.

Should the victory of the workers be forestalled by State Socialism, or governmental ownership of industry, it would be a signal for an increased use of sabotage on the part of the industrialists. The governmental tendency to regard a strike of state employees as treason to be curbed by court martial, would be met by a strike on the job through the medium of sabotage. Many of the present congressmen have already stated that they regard the formation of a labour union among postal employees as illegal and that a strike would mean nothing less than treason to the government. The postal employees need run no risk of being court martialled or even dismissed from the service. In mass sabotage they have a weapon which may be used in an entirely legal but none the less effective manner. They can obey all rules. The example was given by some Austrian postal workers some two years ago, as reported in the Saturday Evening Post.

In order to gain certain demands, without losing their jobs, the Austrian postal workers strictly observed the rule that all mail matter must be weighed to see if proper postage was affixed. Formerly they had passed, without weighing, all those letters and parcels which were clearly underweight, thus living up to the spirit of the regulation but not to its exact wording. By taking each separate piece of mail matter to the scales, carefully weighing it and then returning it to its proper place, the postal workers had the office congested with unweighed mail on the second day. This method is more effective than striking, especially when used on a large scale.

In 1905 the railway workers of Italy gave a good example of the value of legal sabotage. They simply remained at their accustomed places and obeyed all the rules and regulations. When a person purchased a ticket they had to present the exact money. When they failed to comply, the rule in question was read to them. The gate closed exactly on the set time, leaving long lines of waiting passengers. Inside the yards the same thing was going on. Every carriage was examined to make sure it was in good condition. Every nut and bolt was tested before a carriage was allowed to leave the yard. Switching engines moved at the rate of speed called for in the regulations. When the indignant passengers tried to

leave the carriages they were held by the station guards and were shown the rule that forbade them to leave. Trains were thus held for hours, and finally when released from the station they were not allowed to run beyond the legal rate of speed and all signals were scrupulously observed. The service was completely demoralised within a short time.

So sabotage may be expected not only to form an increasingly popular weapon against capitalism, but also to be a means of bringing about the speedy downfall of any governmental ownership schemes that may be hatched for the purpose of blocking the road to industrial freedom. *Only with the gaining of industrial freedom will sabotage stop.*

When a strike breaks out the employers are quick to seize some prominent figures in the fight to place under arrest on serious charges. This in itself is not a bad thing for it has the immediate effect of solidifying the strikers. But when these arrests are multiplied to such an extent that special publicity cannot be had in each case, and conviction results, the workers are weakened. The increasing contempt for legal procedure will automatically shut off funds to support such cases unless it can be shown that the propaganda value of the trials is equal to the amount of cash expended. Yet it is certain that no organisation proclaiming that "An injury to one is an injury to all" can abandon any of the victimised workers. New tactics must be employed in such cases. *Sabotage is the most logical weapon to force a discontinuance of the practice of arresting strike leaders.*

Let the capitalist be reasonably certain that any attempt to judiciously strangle the spokesmen of the workers will be met by a prolonged series of mishaps in the industries, and their hands will be stayed. Let the depriving of the workers of their liberty be a signal to deprive the employer of all profits, and arrests will cease to multiply. Law is a thing in which the wage slave plays no part, but industry is the place where the employers are impotent when the workers decide to act. The same thing may be applied to cases where active union men, shop delegates, etc., are sacked. The employer generally starts his blacklist work when a strike is undesirable from a working class viewpoint, and the sackings may even be for the purpose of provoking a premature strike. Sabotage should be the answer to the disruptive attempts of the employers. Then again, there are minor grievances in the shops which the employer refuses to adjust and which are scarcely serious enough to warrant the tying up of industry. After due notification sabotage can be employed to gain the demands. This is especially true where the whole body are not class conscious enough to engage in an intermittent or irritation strike.

Sabotage has been called a confession of weakness because of its use when a strike has failed, where a strike is not advisable, or where the organisation is without mass power because of being in the process of formation. Admitting the charge, is it not true that the workers are still largely without the consciousness of power? It would be suicidal to act on the theory that we are today clothed with the might for which we are struggling. Being weak we must guard our embryonic organisation, using every means within our grasp save that of compromise with our enemy, the employing class.

Another childish charge is that sabotage cannot gain any benefit for the workers that could not as well be gained through industrial organisation. Can the battles of the present be fought with the weapons of the future? We are not armed today with thorough organisation, but every toiler in

the industries has sabotage at his command.

With thorough industrial organisation there would be no wage system, and it is idle to suppose that the capitalists will allow the workers to build a union to displace them without making strenuous attempts to wreck the structure. Sabotage can be used as a means of fighting capitalism in its attempts to stop the creating of a new society. The above mentioned argument sounds strangely like that of the socialist politician. We are told to elect an M.P. to prevent violence against striking workers. Suggesting that the police would still be sent to protect private property, we are told that a socialist Prime Minister is the necessary article to win strikes with. Then to crown it we are told by some that strikes will cease when a socialist is Prime Minister, while other maintain that such a Prime Minister will abolish Parliament and turn the industries over to the workers.

But strike leaders are being jailed and active rebels victimised now, and we must meet conditions as they exist and not as they will be when the present system is overthrown. Sabotage is a weapon of the existing daily combat between the masters and the slaves.

"Open Mouth" sabotage shows the weapon in its best form, a form which allows the spy but little place to act; which does not allow use of police; which strikes at the fraudulent practices on which Capitalism is based.

Commerce today is founded on fraud. Capitalism's standard of honesty demands that the wage slave lie to everyone except his employer. An honest businessman is a myth and an honest clerk could not sell the shoddy goods of the merchants. There is not a single portion of the commerce of the entire world where exact truthfulness would not spell financial ruin under present conditions.

In the foodstuffs industry open mouth sabotage is peculiarly potent. Its use will at once enlist the support of a large portion of the public. It becomes one of the highest social acts. Let the workers, instead of striking, or even when on strike, expose the methods of manufacture and the boss will soon come to terms.

Let the workers in the sweet factories tell of the glucose, terra alba and other poisonous substances in the sweets, and the consumer becomes hostile to the manufacturer.

Let the cooks tell how food is prepared for the table: of how foul meats are treated with chemicals so they may be served; let the dishwashers, waiters and other hotel and restaurant workers tell of conditions under which dishes are "washed" and the orders "prepared", and the employers will be forced into submission.

Let the building workers make known the substitution that invariably takes place in erecting structures by contract.

Let the factory workers tell of goods piled up beyond the fire limit. The workers engaged in the building of bridges, dams, reservoirs and structures of a similar nature, can tell of inferior materials used therein and of methods of construction not according to specifications, often being the direct cause of many deaths. Workers can tell of faulty engines, unsafe trestles. Marine transport workers would do well to tell of the insufficient number of lifeboats, of inferior belts, and so forth. The textile worker can tell of the shoddy that is sold as good cloth.

The persistent use of open mouth sabotage, besides gaining the demands of the workers, will be more effective in bringing about the stoppage of adulteration of foods than "pure food laws" or other remedial legislation.

Nor does open mouth sabotage end there. The workers carry with them the secrets of the masters.

Let them divulge these secrets, whether they be the secret methods of manufacture that competitors are striving to learn, or acts of repression directed against the workers. *Let the masters know that henceforth they must deal with industrial mutiny.*

Both France and this country can record cases where it has been found expedient to have loyal workers pose as detectives so as to ferret out the secrets of the masters' guardians. The famous case in Boise, Idaho, is one example; and in nearly every great battle the working class forces are forewarned of some of the intended attacks.

With this effectual form of sabotage we do not think that even the reformer can quarrel. In fact, he is a party to it at all times as he justifies it on humanitarian grounds.

CONCLUSION

Labour produces all wealth – all wealth belongs to labour

We, the workers, mental and manual, with our muscle, mind and skill, wrest raw materials from the breast of nature and with infinite pain fashion them into things of social value. We are the creators – to us belong the products. So far as actual productive processes are concerned we are in possession of industry, yet we have neither ownership nor control because of an absurd belief in property rights.

We stand aghast at the things of our own making. We create property and let it master us. We build things great and small and we who are greater than all stand in abject fear of our own creations, foolishly thinking them to have some supernatural power – some force outside ourselves.

Property and precedent rule us all today and the precedents rest, one and all, upon a property basis. Things of flesh and blood and bone and sinew and tissue are held cheap as compared to the things of iron and steel and stone and brick and wood. "Property is robbery", said Proudhon. If this means that reverence for "property rights" is the basis for all exploitation, then Proudhon was right. The idea that wealth is greater than its creators has enslaved the world's toilers.

We have damned ourselves because we have thought that the right of the baker's shop and the bread was greater than the right of the working man's empty stomach. That same foolish belief has crowded countless thousands into death dealing tenements, while on the healthy outskirts of the city there are numerous vacant dwellings. Garment workers are out at the elbows while the warehouse shelves groan beneath their load of clothing. "Property" is indeed a hideous Frankenstein which will destroy us unless we are first able to destroy the sanctity with which it is surrounded.

Sabotage is discredited by those who believe in property rights. It is the weapon of those who no longer reverence the thing that fetters them. Its advocacy and use help to destroy the "property illusion". The parasites, who have property, oppose sabotage, while the producers, who have poverty, are commencing to wield that potent weapon.

Is the machine greater than its makers? Sabotage says "No!"

Is the product greater than the producers? Sabotage says "No!"

Sabotage places human life – and especially the life of the only useful class – higher than all else in the universe.

Will you keep private property and public poverty, master class morals and working class misery, capitalism and crime – or will you arise in your outraged manhood and take a stand for sabotage, solidarity and a new social order in which there will be neither master nor slave? *For sabotage or for slavery? Which?*

ANARCHISM IN GREEK PHILOSOPHY

At first sight the title "Anarchism in Greek Philosophy" may seem somewhat of a contradiction. Our attitudes towards Hellenism, conditioned as they are by nineteenth century romanticism, have accustomed us to regard Greek thought as the complete antithesis of anarchism. This is the result of close study of Plato and Aristotle at the expense of other philosophers; such study leads to the impression that the beliefs of either of these thinkers were typical of Greek speculation. If we remember that over one thousand years separates the Ionian physicists from the closing of the schools by Justinian and if we do not lose sight of the fact that during that period philosophy ran the gamut from scientific or quasi-scientific speculation to the esoteric ritualism of the Hermetic Brotherhood, then we shall not find it so surprising that some Greek thinkers evolved theories which led them to adopt an anarchistic position.

Before proceeding to an account of these thinkers I should like to make some preliminary points. Firstly, the purpose of this article is historical, not critical. It is not my aim to give an analytical discussion of anarchist theories in Greek philosophy but rather to give an account of one of the doctrines, chiefly those held by the Cynics, which might be termed anarchistic. Secondly I am not in any way concerned to give a comprehensive view of the growth of Greek philosophy during the 4th and 3rd century B.C. Those who wish to pursue this field of study may refer to the standard works of reference. My intention is solely to bring to notice some aspects of the branch of Greek philosophy which seem to have been overlooked by most modern writers.

In order to gain an overall perspective of the period it will be necessary to give a brief sketch of the course of Greek history up to the 3rd century B.C. Prior to the conquests of Phillip of Macedon, the Greeks were city-state dwellers, owing allegiance to one or other of the polis* each of which was a political and social entity, autonomous and economically self-sufficient. No matter how complex the superstructure of government became, the basic nature of the polis remained and when Athens by her imperial ambitions, trespassed upon the privileges of the polis, Greek sentiment was outraged to the extent of declaring war. This is not, of course, the only reason for the Peloponnesian War. It would be foolish to put forward such a simplification: Nevertheless Athens, by annexing the members of the Delian League placed upon them a restraint which the military power of Sparta hesitated to place on the members of her own federation: It was this restraint and its implications for the autonomy of the polis which may be said to be at the root of the ill-feeling among the non-Athenian states. Ironically the subsequent conflict and the rise of Macedon led to the destruction

* Nothing to do with the Glasgow constabulary

of the city state as a political reality or a philosophical ideal. The trend was to a world-state and Greek philosophy, which had previously been conditioned to situations which might arise in a city-state, was forced to adjust to meet the new demands. As a result world systems such as Stoicism and Epicureanism were evolved, systems which attempted to discover philosophical positions which might explain or rationalise the new political and social situations which the Alexandrian empire had created. The chief characteristic of these two world systems was in their recognition of one universal end for all men and in their acceptance of all men as brothers within the bonds of the system. Unlike the theories of Plato and Aristotle which were designed for the improvement of the few, Stoic and Epicurean beliefs made no barrier to any man's acceptance provided that he followed the tenets of the faith. A third system, Cynicism, suggested a position very similar to that which we regard as classical anarchism in the form enunciated by Bakunin and Kropotkin. It is, however, not possible to speak of a Cynic school as we can speak of Stoics or Epicureans. There was never a connected corpus of theoretical writings which might be described as Cynic nor was there ever any agreement among the Cynics themselves as to the correct methods of interpreting their founders' doctrines in practice: In this refusal to elevate one particular formulation of belief into a Cynic canon, the Cynics were quite atypical of 3rd Century philosophical systems.

In order to understand the Cynic position it is essential to understand the connotations of two Greek words *Physis* and *Nomos*. These may best be translated as Nature and Custom but their semantic developments are most involved. *Physis* can mean the natural form an object takes as a result of normal growth, it can refer to a person's nature or character, it can be used of animals' instinct and it can mean the natural order of things, the regular order of nature. *Nomos* on the other hand means usage, or law, or the established authority or body of ordinances which govern a set of circumstances. It can be seen that some of the meanings of these two words are widely contradictory while others reconcile these two concepts. Ionian physics was concerned to perceive the order in nature, the Sophists were concerned to unite Nature and Law in the ideal man. Plato preached a life "according to Nature" a cry which was adopted by the Cynics themselves, and Aristotle devoted a lifetime to the imposing of order upon the natural occurrence of things. The important thing for us to realise is that Greek philosophical systems except the Cynics' attempted to reconcile the two concepts. The Cynics alone rejected *Nomos* and sought a life which might be lived purely by the dictates of Nature. It is illuminating to read such a work as Kropotkin's *Mutual Aid* in the light of Cynic doctrine. It is

even more instructive for our immediate purpose to examine the implications for the Greeks of a rejection of *Nomos*.

One of the results of a political system which is based on a small unit such as the city-state, is that appeals to a common interest are less likely to deceive the people than they would in a large system such as our own. In the polis the citizens would be acquainted with each other's prejudices and aspirations, and opportunities for the destruction of one's enemies or the elevation of one's friends would be more readily available. One result of this was that the Greeks never sought to bolster their legal penalties by appeals to divine inspiration or motivation; the notion of custom or usage was never quite submerged in the notion of law. By rejecting the validity of *Nomos*, the Cynics were not rejecting any theological system, but rather the rule of custom or convention. However, because the Greek saw through appeals to common interest, once a particular *nomos* had been accepted as forming part of the general body of *Nomos*, it was almost impossible to reject this without undermining the whole basis of organised society. The strongest appeal a Greek lawyer can make is to what is customary. Therefore in rejecting *Nomos* the Cynics were rejecting organised society and denying the right of established authority to prescribe the limits of their actions. When Diogenes slept with prostitutes in the street he was offending far more than the sensibilities of squeamish bystanders. His action struck at the foundations of ordered social existence as Greeks knew it.

This is not easy for 20th Century man to understand. We are used to the idea that laws are formulated in order to preserve a status quo which is divinely commanded. The Greek might have said that the order of the world pleased the Gods but he would not have been likely to claim that the order of the world was established and maintained by the Gods. Disorder, chaos or anarchy was an offence against man's reason and this was a much more serious affair than irreligion. Of course religion was supported by the state but it is significant that while Socrates is charged with atheism and impiety the real sting of the accusation is that he teaches the worse to appear the better case, that is he perverts what is the "natural order of things".

We have seen, therefore, that Greek philosophy as a whole was concerned with uniting the forces of Nature and Custom while Cynicism rejected the latter out of hand and preached the life according to Nature. It is now-time to examine some of the individual doctrines which the Cynics professed, and to discover what qualities in them may be termed anarchistic:

D.R. Dudley points out that, despite the claims of antiquity that Antithesis was the founder of Cynicism, Diogenes of Sinope must be regarded as the true formulator of the Cynic way of life.

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I have no time to discuss the numerous stories which connected themselves with Diogenes' eccentric way of practising his doctrines. These stories come mostly from later writers whose main aim is to denigrate Cynicism and may thus be discounted. Perhaps the most important gift which Diogenes bequeathed to the Cynic brotherhood was his insistence on the practical application of his beliefs. He was no armchair philosopher, no academic theorist divorced from the exigencies of real life situations. The very fact that so many stories grew up around his personality indicates the degree to which he carried his preaching into practice. For the Cynics Diogenes became a heroic figure only second in importance to Hercules their patron. In view of his importance it will be of value to examine those opinions which can reasonably be assigned to him from the mass of conflicting evidence.

One of the most famous paradoxes of Diogenes is his command "Deface the Currency." In order to understand fully the implications of this phrase it is necessary to realise that the word for currency is nomisma, a word derived from Nomos. The Greek system of currency was not standardised and coins minted according to various standards were in circulation: Attic, Aeginitian and Euboic coin-standard were all accepted as valid currency. However, this flux of currency standard meant that counterfeiting or defacing the coinage was a much more serious offence than it is today since its consequences were more far-reaching. Therefore in commanding his followers to deface the coinage Diogenes was enjoining a wholesale attack on prevailing conventions in all spheres of human activity. "The standard of value of society is wrong", proclaims Diogenes, and his

solution is the complete rejection of such a standard. Such a policy demands complete freedom of speech and action and these became the two qualities most associated with the Cynics. Stories illustrating Diogenes' possession of both these qualities abound in the literature of antiquity but the burden of all of them is the same; without fear of any consequence Diogenes pursued his policy of attacking conventional mores no matter into what apparently gross position this might lead him.

Moreover, this freedom was didactic in purpose. The aim of Diogenes and his fellow Cynics was to change the situation which seemed to them so full of evil. They were in other words moralistic in their intent and they preached that if their precepts were to be followed, social happiness would result.

This seems very close to the ideas of 19 century anarchism as practised by Kropotkin and is in sharp contrast to professed Libertarian principles although Libertarian practice often comes very close to proselytising and evangelising. The Cynics, in setting out a programme for happy existence were following the tendency of the other world systems. Greek philosophy from the 16th century B.C. onwards was always concerned to find for mankind a way in which the demands of society could be met satisfactorily. The Cynics rejected these demands out of hand, they denied the competence of courts to judge their actions and they propagated the doctrine that all social laws, hierarchies and standards were invalid. If we read the works of Malatesta or Bakunin or examine the motives of the Anarcho-Syndicalist movements in the Spanish anti-fascist conflict a great many parallels will become apparent.

We have seen that in their insistence on absolute freedom of speech and action the Cynics formulated an idea which is characteristic of Anarchistic thought. Another parallel idea was the relative concept of law. As Sayne says "Since laws were made by men and might have been other than what they were, and since customs varied in different countries, the Cynics held that laws and customs had no validity. They did not consider that the mere fact that observances were required by law and custom gave them a moral validity."

Sayne's book on Diogenes, written as it is from a condemnatory point of view, is most instructive for it shows up the parallels between Cynicism and Anarchism. Julian says in one place, speaking of the Cynic Oenomaus "This then is his aim, to do away with all reverence to the gods, to bring dishonour on all human wisdom, to trample on all law that can be identified with honour and justice, and more than this, to trample on those laws which have been as it were engraved on our souls by the gods. . . Robbers take cover in desert places, whereas the Cynics go up and down in our midst subverting the institutions of society (7.209 - 210). It is clear that much of the Cynics' purpose finds its counterpart in Anarchist theory.

In the course of what has been a most sketchy account of some aspects of the subject I have been concerned merely to show some similarities between Cynic thought and Anarchist theory. I have not assayed completeness nor have I attempted criticism. Those who are interested to pursue Cynicism further may find D.R. Dudley's book *A History of Cynicism* of value.

D. Ferraro

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ANARCHISM AND FREEMASONRY

Bowler hats and Black bandanas

The Masonic secret societies are seldom given serious consideration in relation to the overall problem of the class struggle. There is a faint air of the ridiculous about them in the English speaking countries and many wonder why Catholic reaction has spent so much time and effort complaining about them, and why fascists have linked them with a mythical "Jewish world conspiracy." An Englishman viewing a clerical demonstration in Vienna in the Dolfuss era and hearing the cry "Down with the Freemasons!" is said to have asked naively, "Why not down with the Surbiton Cricket Club?"

Yet even "knife and fork" careerist Masonry has to be taken seriously. True, it is amusing to find, for instance, portly members of the rag trade giving secret signs as they roll into their snobbish social gatherings, a combination of club, trade monopoly and benefit society, but its influence within the police force, security services and judiciary is serious indeed.

Where the "Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite" persists, in the English speaking countries, Masonry accepts the Deity — "The Grand Architect of the Universe" — and has in effect no "secrets" to preserve though they do preserve the mummery designed to hide "secrets", and in the main exists as a rich man's club designed to maintain contacts and improve business and career prospects. Similar cabals of mutual back scratching proliferate outside Masonry; it is endemic to many minorities seeking their own power spheres.

There is indeed an offshoot in Scottish (and Northern Irish) circles where career masonry

is replaced by a working class masonry which preserves the original anti-Catholicism: the Orange Lodge managed to achieve support for the Establishment amongst workers, at any rate until recent challenges.

The Grand Orient is different again from this type of Masonry. It is closer to the original concept of Freemasonry going back, as it does, to the days of the French Encyclopaedists, and represents the rise to power of the bourgeoisie in its struggle against feudalism, especially as represented by the Church. The secret societies were, in the nineteenth century, much wider than the Freemasons — who latched onto other traditions in tracing their ancestry, mythically, as far back as the construction of Solomon's Temple and, more plausibly but still inaccurately, to the chivalrous orders of the Crusades such as the Knights Templar.

The secret societies really consisted of masons, and of other crafts, which preserved the mysteries of their craft: which were a craft pioneer of trade unionism and a model of guild socialism in their day. It is these secret societies which many revolutionists — such as Bakunin contacted — despite the disbelief by academic researchers such as Professor Carr who put it down to his fertile imagination... yet which meant that in Spain, for instance, Bakunin could send an emissary not speaking Spanish and in the course of one meeting "convert", apparently miraculously, thousands of workmen all over the country. The truth is, of course, they were already there in secret societies, not only in Spain — as Benjamin Disraeli knew, for instance, and warned of as a serious threat to

conservatism. They represented a fourth type of masonry: unlike career Masonry of England, working-class and non-esoteric Masonry of Scotland and Northern Ireland (Canada too); and the Masonry of the Continent, though it is fair to say that there too, as in forms of trade unionism, the English variant is appearing and growing. It is this last type of Masonry which has been prominent in French politics and the Spanish Republic — being proscribed by Franco (whose brother was, incidentally, reputed to have been a prominent member). It is this freemasonry which is pioneering the capitalist thrust in Spain and within many parliamentary democratic parties, and may yet face a showdown from clerical reaction.

But what sort of force is it. The following essays appeared in the influential French anarchist journal *Noir et Rouge* (Nos. 23/11/63 & 27/5/64 and the question had been dealt with earlier in an entire edition of N&R (No. 5, 1958). The reason for dealing with the subject in the first place was to clarify the confusion which existed within the French anarchist movement as to the real nature of Freemasonry and its attempts to "recuperate" anarchism in France. Although Freemasonry does not present a direct threat to the anarchist movement in the English speaking world — directly, anyway, — its manoeuvres and ideology throws considerable light on the motivation of "libertarians" who wish to "organise" the anarchist movement within a leninist structure leading to, at best, its inevitable collapse, or, at worst, a self-perpetuating and machiavellian mockery of its original aims and aspirations.

Freemasonry — according to its own statements. Although it pretends to have no ideology, a certain number of attitudes and common beliefs serve as a basis of agreement between Freemasons. It is enough to allow Freemasonry to speak for itself: let us begin with the Article no.1 of its Constitution (1877 Declaration):

"Freemasonry, which is an essentially philanthropic, philosophical and progressive institution, has as its aim the search for truth, the study of ethical behaviour and the practice of solidarity; it works for the material and moral improvement and the intellectual and social perfection of mankind.

It holds as fundamental the principles of mutual tolerance, respect for others and oneself and absolute freedom of conscience. Believing metaphysical convictions to be the exclusive domain of the individual appreciation of its members it refuses to make any dogmatic assertions.

Its motto is: Liberty, Equality, Fraternity."

That is already a statement of principles. Let us go a little further, taking as an example the radio broadcasts made by the Grand Orient of France (G.O.F.) and the Grand Lodge of France. (These broadcasts were later produced as pamphlets).

"... Among our ranks one may meet atheists, spiritualists, materialists, and, contrary to certain assertions, the Grand Orient of France professes neither atheism nor materialism any

more than it does belief in God. It refrains from telling its members to stick to any particular principle or not to believe in any other. It calls on them merely to think..."

"... All expressions of thought, all setting forth of opinions may come to it, provided that they are sincere..."

"... Beside aspirations of the heart it also shelters all speculations of the mind, but it does not adopt or recommend any..."

"This kind of eclecticism, this spectrum of studies should convince all men of good faith that when the Grand Orient of France works in search of truth then it rejects every pre-conceived idea, every dogma, and the imposition of any conclusion." (Broadcast 5/8/62 — G.O.F.)

The same thoughts have been developed and elaborated time and time again both in speech and in writing by the Freemasons. We may summarise them in selecting from their own sources:

"Freemasonry is a universal alliance in which every man of goodwill may find his place, whatever his race, his trade, his beliefs or convictions.

"more than international, it is universal..."

"Every human association has two goals — devotion to a creed and defence of a common interest. Freemasonry on the contrary, has no dogma and no material or worldly interest..."

"Freemasonry is the natural enemy of all those who dare, through violence or trickery,

to impose their authority on other men. Freemasonry is a universal alliance for free men against every despotic regime..."

"It sets no limits to its search for truth. It would not dream of affiliation to any sect or of taking sides on behalf of any school of thought. It is a self-governing and autonomous institution.

"Liberty, Equality, Fraternity!"

"Liberty: above all freedom of thought and the freedom of the citizen who should have to bow to no-one, only before the law; lastly, freedom from fear and from hardship.

Equality: Men should be equal before the law. Equality should establish equity in the distribution of material goods.

Fraternity: the supreme rule." (broadcast of 7/12/47). (Distributed by the G.O.F. and the Grand Lodge).

"Recent experiments made on a world scale have attempted to prove that the happiness of the masses could be achieved through the annihilation and the negation of the rights of man. We believe the contrary..." (broadcast of 4/1/48. G.O.F.)

"... It seems useful to us to underline the apolitical character of Freemasonry and especially of the G.O.F. The idea is bandied about that the Freemasons are nothing but common carpet-baggers. If politicking is to wish for the coming of a nobler humanity and a more enlightened one, the Freemasons willingly accept this reproach... Many Masons think

that their political activity is in the nature of transposing into the City or the Countryside a slice of their Masonic ideal . . .

"It isn't Freemasonry which plays politics, then, but that the political parties, inasmuch as they are able really to look forward to human liberation (and this has not been thoroughly proved), are pursuing Freemasonry . . ." (broadcast 1/2/48. G.O.F.)

Men are not essentially distinguishable through differences in language they speak, clothes they wear, countries they inhabit. The whole world is only one large Republic in which each nation is a family, and each individual a child." (broadcast 7/3/48. G. O. F.)

" . . . But in order for a man to be free, it is necessary for the city where he lives to put forth just laws to him and offer solid guarantees of liberty of conscience. After which, if it is, as they say, playing politics to refuse to lower oneself and to keep up a passionate regard for the great interests of the Homeland with one's free will, then, yes, Freemasonry dabbles in politics." (5/9/48. G.O.F.)

"The founders of the secular school were Freemasons: Jules Ferry, Paul Bert, etc. Secularism equals tolerance. In the recent history of France, four times a republican regime and freedom of conscience have been established and three times self-seekers overthrew the Republic and strangled freedom., (Napoleon I, 18 Brumaire, Napoleon III, Pétain). The highest authorities of the Catholic and Apostolic Roman Church have lent a hand each time in establishing tyranny." (3/9/48).

"It is merely a question of reconciling – as the movement should – the most sharp-edged feelings of patriotism with the sense of the community of all human beings. The internationalism of political parties is a means of struggle, they call their members 'militants', the others are only enemies to put down or to fight. They can never gather together the whole of humanity.

Our enemies? They are the fanatics and dogmatists who believe that they alone possess the truth and who do not accept the freedom to scrutinise or the critical spirit, the ignorant ones who regard Freemasonry as "a self-help society" which puts in practice the principle of "mutual back-scratching."

Freemasonry should not hesitate to discuss any principle, whatever it may be; there is no sacred dogma for us men of free thought, no more that of property than that of the family; we have the right to discuss them all." (Couvent G.O. 1926).

Our Scrutiny: "Critical and Free"

After this somewhat lengthy exposition we can identify some of the essential points of the masonic philosophy: universalism as a criterion of truth, humanism, free enquiry, tolerance, anti-dogmatism, anti-authoritarianism, republican democracy, apolitical approach whilst at the same time struggling for an ideal, for Freedom, Equality, Fraternity, and for free thought; concern for the human individual; no dogma laid down, free enquiry as the motive of action, equality of the members.

Any libertarian can see the great resemblance between these principles and libertarian principles. Libertarian thought – at least for a certain number of comrades – is very alert to this attitude of mind and this mode of expression. What more beautiful than this seeking for truth, a search both impassioned and free to all; what more inspiring than this ardent love of humanity? In our inhuman, cold, dogmatic, tyrannical age . . .

Even if one takes care over the difference between the public teachings and the private teachings (reserved only for the initiated) it is still easy to "come under the spell" of Freemasonry. There were, and there are surely still, some libertarian freemasons (but we shall return to that). What takes precedence over the interest of certain individuals is the necessity for exactness, for precision in ideological and tactical demarcation between ourselves and the others. We in 'Noir et Rouge' wish to place our work in that perspective and to try to respond to that need. Hence our interest in studying Freemasonry.

Let us therefore make a critical examination of the Masonic position, beginning with the philosophical search for truth, for it is this which is at the same time the most important and the most ambiguous. Let us attempt for a moment to separate philosophy from social, economic, historical and human reality (which already is to take an idealist stance: ideas taking priority in conditioning reality – therefore already unacceptable to us, whilst acceptable to them). It is easy to proclaim opposition to all dogma, to every preconceived idea, to every concept forced upon one but how does one arrive on the purely philosophical plane – necessarily arbitrary, abstract and speculative? Can one really position oneself beyond and above all theory, every hypothesis, every concept and get beyond one's era in any real way in order to contemplate in a just, detached and objective way, the philosophical games and struggles without taking sides? In saying that one accepts no system or principle one is already elaborating a principle. The most detached philosophers – even the mystics – have always concluded by holding to a conception, a position or a system of positions vis-a-vis debated ideas (still in the special world of ideas).

This pretence of discovering absolute truth, total and objective, dates from the 18th century and the first half of the nineteenth; it is intimately connected with metaphysical preoccupations (the essence and transcendental reality of things) – indeed, even with alchemical ones (the philosopher's stone). For more than a century, science has recognised increasingly the absurdity of absolute concepts: with Einstein's relativity theory, Heisenberg's uncertainty principles, the impossibility of objective introspection and observation in psychology; with the relativism even of the most "objective" laws – that is, the laws of physics in macrocosm and microcosm; in rejecting monism and in accepting, more and more, dynamic relations between numerous factors which interact with each other . . .

We are far from concluding that freedom, initiative, equality and revolt are outmoded notions which are now absurd, completely relative and dialectically unreal. They exist and will exist as long as there are men, for they form part of man himself (he has need of liberty, of emotional development and intellectual development as he has need of food and sleep), but to be exact they are part of real man, biological and social man, taken in his individual fullness and in his social relations.

Social Point of View

We leave nebulous speculations therefore to get a grip again on reality. If we have doubts about the means and aims and the necessity or even the possibility of that philosophical approach, these doubts disappear when we place the Freemasonry movement in its true perspective: not only as a philosophical focal point but also as participating in political life –

in practical, everyday terms. The Freemasons accept that they should descend into the political arena to defend their principles and to try to make their ideal a reality; their self-classification into "practical freemasonry" (the freemasons of the Middle Ages) and "philosophical freemasonry" (starting from 1717 and 1773) is based on another, mythological and popular-traditional, level.

Our attitude needs to be clearly understood; we are saying that Freemasonry is politically involved. Not that that is a reproach, not at all, for their endeavours, their knowledge, their sacrifices are engaged in the service of mankind. It is not entirely or exclusively an abstract philosophical science unconnected with life.

We are also politically involved in the service of mankind; we also strive to bring libertarian ideas "into the arena" so that they can become known, relevant and capable of being put into effect. What we are discussing and what we believe is worth discussing are the methods of serving humanity, the resources upon which they rely and the obstacles which prevent the realisation of this "brotherhood of man," the germ of the society of the future.

"Philosophical and philanthropic" Freemasonry may be, but it is moreover an "institution" ("progressive"? – we shall see later), a social institution with its own tactics, its goals, methods etc. . . "the most ancient association of private individuals in our country with its 226 years of existence."

Their history confirms what we were saying: certain ideas, certain schemes, certain laws, having been worked out in their "workshops" have been finding their way into political and social life. But we cannot give a historical account here of those 226 years of Masonic activity in France, (still less in the whole world), of its real or imaginary role, of its myths and of the realities of this "respectable" institution (others like Pierrefitte, have done that). It is for us to underline certain facts, however, taking historical interpretations into careful account, especially masonic interpretations:

"One can make History say pretty well whatever one wishes. Above all when it's a question of the history of ideas. The masons of the 18th century talked and wrote a lot. It is easy to find something to support one theory or another." (Georges Allary, "The Trench-Mortar" ["Le Crapouillot"] no.20 – issue devoted to secret societies).

The starting point for the Freemason Movement is this:

"Freemasonry is not hostile to any form of democratic government. The English have traditionally maintained a traditional monarchy which has maintained the democratic freedoms. In France . . . their preference is for a republican and genuinely democratic form." (G.O.F., 2 May 1948).

"That is no doubt why humane governments so often call upon our members to take office. One sees them, in fact, in America as in Europe or in Asia, occupying the highest posts in the State." (G.O.F. 5/9/48).

"A mason is a peace-loving subject before the civil authorities, wherever he resides or works, and he should never get mixed up in plots laid by conspirators against the Peace and Well-Being of the Nation or neglect his civic duties."

"This is why if a brother rebels against the State it would not be right to support him in his rebellion, whatever sympathy he might inspire as an unhappy man." ("Anderson's Constitution" – Art. II: "Of the Civil Magistrate.")

"It is this Love of one's Country which is

finally the one characteristic, proper to Freemasonry all over the world in all its various disciplines, which distinguishes it from communism: that, and respect for the laws of the country where it is allowed to function freely. It recommends moreover to all its adherents, as citizens and masons, to submit to the laws of the country where they have the freedom to meet together without hindrance and to be ready for all the sacrifices which their Homeland may demand . . ." (1st chapter of the constitution of the Grand Lodge – after the Convention of Luxembourg. One of the 5 points of all the great European orders on "the recognition of services to the Homeland.")

Their ideal and preference is, therefore, a republican or monarchist *democracy*. In their Constitution (drafted by Anderson and checked in 1722 and 1723), in the second section, the "Old Charges" it is said that "*the mason should respect the civil power and will avoid entering into conspiracies against the peace or well-being of the nation.*"

Their democratic ideal is therefore not revolutionary but educational, legislative (they are constantly talking of laws) through the intermediary of the existing social structures. And yet Freemasonry lays claim noisily to the paternalism of the *French Revolution of 1789*, saying that the ideas of the Revolution had been "worked out" in its "workshops" and that Condorcet, Mirabeau, Marat, Robespierre were Freemasons. It is undeniable that *French Freemasonry played a large part in the Revolution*; at that time it had progressive ideas coming from the French Encyclopaedists, from English Protestants, from American revolutionaries and from philosophers of the period. But even this progressive aspect shows some peculiarities: the Grand Masters of Freemasonry were, among others, the Chevalier Ramsay, the Duke of Artois, Louis de Bourbon-Conde, the Duke of Chartres (future Philippe-Egalite); in 1780 Mirabeau presents his memoir in the Dutch Lodge in which the great theories of the Revolution were already sketched out (the well-being of all men, against despotism). But in 1782 Joseph de Maistre, monarchist and conservative, also presents a Memoir on "Transcendental Christianity" . . . It seems to us that at that time there must have been a great brewing and boiling up of ideas which were present and even emphasised in Freemasonry. Nevertheless it should be said that *Freemasonry formed the minds of those who were leaders in the 1789 Revolution*. But the Freemasons were soon to be overtaken by what they had wished for, which is not very surprising: in his Memoir of 1780 Mirabeau wishes for a gradual and educational modification to the system. In any case the Masons were soon to become incapable of directing the movement; so it was disoriented in 1792, French Freemasonry was to hold its last General Assembly the following year, in 1793, and the Grand Master of Freemasonry, Philippe Egalite, was even to publish a letter of self-accusation (which did not spare him the scaffold like his cousin Louis XVI, although he voted for the death of the latter).

The responsibility attributed to Freemasonry as regards the French Revolution alienated both the clergy and the nobility from it; it came to represent the middle class more and more; the Grand Revolution had already been made with the principles and drive of the middle class, but the evolution of the internal workings of Freemasonry was slow: thus it was that after 1796 the 'Grand Orient' was formed with more democratic tendencies and the 'Supreme

Council' with more aristocratic ones. They survived until our own day through many vicissitudes, the Grand Orient always remaining more secularist and democratic while the Grand Lodge kept a Deist character (Grand Architect).

As we are calling up history, it must be said that the 1848 revolution was greeted with enthusiasm by Freemasonry: a delegation went officially to the Guildhall where it was received by the Provisional Government of which a fair number were freemasons. However, the great age of Freemasonry was above all that of the "belle époque", the full flowering of the middle-class, reign of the radicals secular struggle. The G.O.F., officially claimed the majority of statesmen as members during this period, such as the President of the Republic in 1914, their brother Rene Viviani . . . who prepared for war. The freemasons also took positions at certain times: 28th June 1917, the Congress of Allied and Neutral Masons took place in Paris, during the course of which the general outlines of the future "Charter of a League of Nations" were drawn up, promulgated by brother Wilson. On 15th August 1939 the proposed "International Conference for Peace" called for by brother Roosevelt to set up a "Federated Europe" did not take place, Hitler having refused to take part in it.

Some Conclusions:

We have undertaken this brief historical resume in order to come at the end of it to a number of general conclusions:

1) "*Freemasonry is the International of the Middle Class*" M. Bakunin wrote.

Freemasonry was born with the "Age of Enlightenment" and it derived its enlightenment from this period, the period of the Encyclopaedists (yet one must note that D'Alembert, Diderot, Balbach were not, it would seem, freemasons themselves) of the freethinkers, of Voltaire (Freemasonry claims him by giving as the date of his admission into one of the Lodges of Paris – proposed by a canon, moreover, – the 7th April 1778, but omitting to tell us that Voltaire then was 84 years old, and that he died the same year).

In its time, Freemasonry was progressive. It was still in the vanguard of the rising middle-class involved in the French Revolution of 1789-92, and of 1848.

In 1870, (Gambetta was a Freemason, at least for a while) things were the same, just as in the last years of the 19th century and at the beginning of the 20th. *But it foundered as a progressive force with the exhaustion of the middle class itself*. Even today, with all its "spectrum of studies" it continues in its main extent to be only the expression of the views of the middle class – a sensitive, enlightened, even liberal middle class . . . but in no case is it *progressive in the sense in which we understand progress*. It has never questioned in a serious fashion and with thorough logic the basis of the bourgeois regime, nor envisaged opposing it.

It has never accepted the proletariat as a force or a factor in social progress; it has only accepted a few proletarians more concerned with their pseudo-philosophical preoccupations than their social conscience.

On this point, we cannot then be allied with Freemasonry if we continue to hold that in present-day society the middle-class is responsible for what we reject: capitalism, poverty, class division, oppression, inequality, state bureaucracy, nationalism, militarism etc., . . . The responsibility of Freemasonry here is undeniable, although indirect.

2). However, the responsibility of Freemasonry is also *direct*; not only does it feel itself to be "enlightened" but it proposes to enlighten society with its vision. To this end aided by its evangelistic and proselytizing tendency (not to mention its philosophical bent!) it envisages and puts into practice the tactic of *taking power by infiltration*. It does not refuse power, it seeks it, being sincerely convinced that the freemasons will be the best administrators, the best managers, the best governors in the interests of society. And they actually end up, as they boast themselves, by becoming "good statesmen."

What can the libertarian possibly have to do with such people! It is, of course, clearly an improvement in society, even that of today, if there is relatively more social justice (the Freemasons claim that since the beginning of the century they have worked on legal projects to set up social security schemes, etc.); a more democratic government is relatively more easily tolerated than government by a tyrannical dictatorship. But beyond that, to go to the point of participating in management schemes and projects for social control, and of conscientiously practising the exercise of power, already accepted in principle, is, for every libertarian, to cross an unacceptable divide, an ideological abyss.

3) To safeguard peace between all men is, on the one hand, to ignore *class divisions, class struggle*, and, on the other, to *accept the basis of present day social existence*, whilst still working to alter a few details. We have spoken already elsewhere of the bourgeois character of Freemasonry.

On the basis of these two principles, the *power principle* and the rejection of the capitalist and statist system, and the principle of *classes*, of the difference between classes and the class struggle, we can accept no compromise with Freemasonry, nor with the other "progressive forces", without denying our own libertarian ideal.

This confusion, power/opposition, acceptance/criticism, class/alliance, shows itself at every step, in every action of the Freemasons. How could that well-known search for truth be achieved, for example, if in the same Lodge were to be found Marshal Joffre, Ex-Prefect Baylet, the former King of England, Prince Murat (cousin to Napoleon III) who left the Hotel at 16 Rue Cadet to the G.O.F., and at the same time Voltaire, Mozart, Stendhal, Bolivar etc. This truth will be of necessity a compromise and will therefore not be a real truth at all, nor could it be.

Libertarians and Freemasonry.

It is logical for us to assume that there can be no confusion between libertarians and freemasons. And yet confusion there is, in the minds of some libertarians. Let us take up the debate by looking as it from the other side: libertarians who have participated or who are still participating at one time in both an anarchist movement and a masonic institution invoke – almost always in a rather roundabout way – three different attitudes in their own justification:

1. *Freemasonry "needs to rejuvenate and modernise itself"; it has represented and still represents a progressive element. Therefore:*

" . . . Under no pretext should men of the left or of the extreme left, however impatient and revolutionary they may be, make themselves party to the anti-masonic campaign, even in a passive way. That campaign aims to destroy all the democratic

and proletarian freedoms by hitting at Freemasonry. To combat Freemasonry is to play the clericalist and fascist game. This would be sheer madness. Reactionary gentlemen would do well not to count upon such blindness on our part . . . " (Andre Lorulot - 'For or Against Freemasonry', p.62 - conclusion.)

It is true that Lorulot is above all a free-thinker and that this pamphlet dates from 1935 - the time of the anti-masonic persecution made by the Nazis. But this solidarity between victims is not a sufficient excuse; all the more since Lorulot in that pamphlet does not only believe that.

"... Freemasonry should rejuvenate and modernise itself. It should extend its former limits, eliminate whatever is decrepit, break with the use of rites and phraseology hardly compatible with rationalism. Freemasonry will of course be led to act more "in the open," it will show more courage and militancy in the service of the great struggles which tomorrow will overthrow the old order." (ibid. p.62).

But he is "helping" them to become what he would very much like them to become:

"Freemasons would be very wrong in going easy on clericalists, for the latter do not go easy on them." (p.61).

"... The day will certainly come (and I hope it will be soon) when working-class elements will be much more numerous in the Masonic workshops" . . . (p.51).

"... Today socialists are as numerous as radicals in the Lodges." (p.57).

And Lorulot quotes another author, Pierre de Presseac, who writes:

"... Socialism has transformed Freemasonry. It has stripped it of that ceremonial and closed aspect. It has lowered the subscription rates and to some extent has opened it to all. The organisation has remained the same, the power and extent of it are the same, but traditional Freemasonry has virtually disappeared." (p.58).

Lorulot himself thinks that M. de Pressac "is exaggerating slightly."

2. *The second rationale* is the following: if in the first place, libertarians should not carry on an anti-masonic struggle, in the second place libertarians *should actually join* the movement to give a hand personally with this "transformation." It seems that we may distinguish two kinds of people reasoning in this way:

- those who know neither the true character of anarchism nor that of Freemasonry, hence for these any confusion is possible . . . and no discussion.

- those who map out its limits, are more or less aware of possibilities and impossibilities, and who enter it as one enters an external organisation, to establish a presence in order to spread libertarian thinking within it, making an educative effort.

No discussion is possible with those of the first category, as we have said; they wish at all costs to be in the 'avant garde' in everything, they play at being an 'elite.'

One may try to discuss things with those of the second category: when one is sure of oneself and of the value of one's ideas one can go plant them no matter where "at one's own risk": "if I lose, I alone lose; if I win, the whole movement wins." *That holds.* All the more because of the fact that Freemasonry is not a dogmatic and centralised political party and that free discussion is encouraged there.

We will make only one or two comments: the capability of Freemasonry for change and improvement seems to us to be very limited and already held in check. The only tangible

progress is the suppression of the principle of the Grand Architect of the Universe (Deist principle of the Encyclopaedists and of Voltaire) by the Grand Orient of France. This concerns only one of the masonic observances in France which is not even one which is followed abroad. This compromise has, moreover, been made on the philosophical level in order to combat the obstinacy of the Vatican.

It is certainly true that libertarians, as *free thinkers*, can be accepted into Freemasonry. But what will they find there? - a fragmented society, divided into lodges; "brothers" who outside these lodges are far from being our brothers and more often the opposite. Influence them - how? and to what end?

Freemasonry demands, like every well-structured, hierarchical and, moreover, secret organisation, an *almost absolute obedience*. How can one reconcile, or arrange for the co-existence of two different disciplines in the same personality - each demanding much from every militant; there is one which is open, the other, secret; one invited you to plunge into the most abstract kind of philosophy conceivable, the other into the most practical activity possible. Which of the two will predominate?

The tactics and praxis of Freemasonry have been since its inception to copy another "secret society" - the Society of Jesus (and of Ignatius Loyola), the *Jesuits*.

"... I will cite a recent and striking example of what a well-united and wise body can carry out: I am referring to the society of the Jesuits; what has that body not brought about? That was of course with the aim of offering up the freedom of men on the altars of superstition and despotism and then offering up this latter achievement in further sacrifice to its own ambition . . . We have completely opposite aims, those of enlightening men and bringing them to freedom and happiness. But we should and we can succeed in this by the same methods which will help us do for good what the Jesuits have already done for the worse!

"Besides, we have infinite advantages over them: no habitual procedure, no external rite which identifies us, no visible leader who might disperse us. At every storm which menaces us we may dive below the surface and reappear in other places and at other times . . ." (Bro. Mirabeau in 1780 - quoted on p.17 of the Trench Mortar no.20).

The attitude of the Catholic militants of the same era was probably the conditioning factor which brought about this battling "in mirror image," this imitation. It is true that Freemasonry showed itself to be more democratic than the Jesuits (the latter have always ranked themselves behind conservatives and reactionaries). Although today the real activity of the Jesuits is limited to a few States and social levels, *the damage they do*, in the collective human spirit, is far from being cured. Why continue to contaminate our ethics, our conduct, our organisation, our attitudes, with this old poison of hypocrisy, of scheming, of ambition, of underhand in-fighting - not only us as individuals but also us as a grouping of individuals. Despite a superficial resemblance between Freemasons and Libertarians, we believe that there exists an essential difference between us in our ethics, in our organisational principles, in our concerns and our respective goals. And we detect a change in conduct with comrades who for perfectly good reasons are obliged to make common cause with Freemasons - open,

or secret, 'Freethinkers,' 'Rights of Man,' or 'Secular Committee.'

The influence of Masonic thought is also perceptible in the reasoning of certain comrades: they wander off more and more into vagueness, their humanism becomes more and more the abstract humanism of the 18th century philosophers, their pretence to knowledge becomes more and more encyclopaedic (which was probably still possible for Diderot or d'Alembert but which is no longer possible for science today), they develop concern for their individual perfection more than they do for the development of our ideas in general. In a word, they consciously or unconsciously help to lessen the originality of libertarian ideas and make them lose their qualities of social relevance, of realistic, militant, proletarian revolutionary soundness.

3. *The third rationale* in favour of Freemasonry, or at least in favour of the possibility of a "double membership" of a Masonic Lodge or of an anarchist organisation, is the following: *we know many libertarians who have been Freemasons* and that has not prevented them from being excellent libertarians. Therefore your position is false.

But how may I know for certain that somebody is a Freemason, in that a Freemason may militate beside me in a libertarian organisation or in an external and comparable organisation for many years without my being able to know, or at least to be quite sure, that he holds full membership in both!

Francisco Ferrer? - Yes, he was probably a Freemason in the sense of free-thinker and, more especially and more accurately, as a pedagogue and educator. *Michael Bakunin?* Yes, he wrote himself that he was - the only libertarian to our knowledge who took an unequivocal position on this with an exact and conscious aim after a brief period of time: "From the 'International of the Bourgeoisie' the proletarian and libertarian revolutionary movement can expect nothing." That he had the courage to make a public statement is all the more significant, for Freemasonry punishes (in principle!) those of its members who divulge its secrets with death. *Malatesta* also took up a clear position (he never was a Mason):

"I believe also myself that Freemasonry and 'Democrats' in general infiltrate our organisations in the hope that we will not be too hostile to them when the time comes for the regime to change." (written 7th March 1932). *Camillo Berneri and Armando Borghi* published, in March 1939, a pamphlet entirely devoted to "Against the Masonic intrigues in the revolutionary camp" (in Italian). Their very polemical work takes as its starting point the stance and activity of a libertarian woman Maria Rygier who was at one and the same time an open Freemason. Berneri also describes Freemasonry as nationalist in 1914 (Trieste, etc.), then, later, financing Mussolini in order to win him over, ending up declaring itself anti-fascist when this same Mussolini attacked it in 1924. Berneri emphasises:

"Happily the Masonic element in the camp of Italian anarchism is quite negligible.

But there is a considerable minority of anarchists who, enticed by the hope of 'large scale action', allowed themselves to be attracted into the political arena of this equivocal antifascism which ended up with the Garibaldi legions (a nationalist movement for the re-linking of Trieste and Dalmatia which became antifascist . . . after 1924, - Translator's note), then with various movements

which were more or less secret, and who are now pulling in their nets." (Berneri — p.32).

Berneri concludes like Bakunin:

"Freemasonry supports every movement which can aid the middle class and fights everything which can harm it."

Some 'comrades', probably 'brothers', tell us often that Proudhon, Elysee Reclus, Sebastien Faure, Voline etc., were Freemasons. It is possible, but not certain, for they never confirmed it themselves to our knowledge. But what is more probable is that in the libertarian movement, alongside other syndicalist, individualist and similar preoccupations, there has always existed a tendency veering towards humanist-romantic phraseology, metaphysical preoccupations, concerns more speculative than social and revolutionary, a tendency to blur the ideological struggles, the clash of ideas, in envisaging "syntheses" (Voline, Faure), forgetting the nature of the classes in society and our position vis-a-vis these classes — in a word, presenting confusions more Masonic than libertarian.

The Secrets of the Masons

We have not lingered on other aspects of Freemasonry such as its "secret" character, its "rites", its obsession with myth — this kind of thing is for us a very secondary matter. It is necessary to say something, however, of this aspect.

The closed and secret aspect of Freemasonry is an old tale which today scares nobody; on the contrary, after the numerous revelations, publications and exposures, both anti and pro-Masonic, public opinion tends now to consider Freemasons as "sweet and inoffensive loonies" (which is, moreover, false: the influence and role of the Masons are less, but still exist). Freemasonry is not secret, but rather *closed, clandestine and initiatory*: the list of their High Council is laid before the authorities every year, some of their publications are easy to get hold of, they take part in discussion on the radio. The major newspapers recently published the result of the election for Grand Master (J. Mitterand, for the G.O.F.). Their outward/inward character is explained in practice by the struggle they have had since their beginnings with the Catholic Church (the Vatican has published several "bulls" against the Masons), against one section of opinion, their taste for mystery, their metaphysical pretension, (the origin of the Temple of Solomon, the Crusaders, etc.). This is more of an initiatory characteristic: the principles of the chosen, the elite, of degree, of setting apart etc. . . . which are in reality very far from democratic. The Freemasons are not the only more or less secret society: the Trades Unions, the Carbonari, the Cagoule, the Synarchie, . . . the O.A.S., to cite but a few.

The libertarian movement, without being secret or asking for initiation, is often obliged for political reasons to be more or less under cover. Even when conditions for a limited legality are possible, there always exists, as in every revolutionary movement, the necessity of secret work in the movement itself.

Let us pause a moment here. The habit of living secretly, of "watching over" the purity of a movement and of "directing" its line of conduct, brings to the mind of every individual certain changes which are above all ethical in nature. They are imperceptible: one starts with impeccable conduct derived from "pure" motives and a quiet conscience, one is working for the happiness of mankind . . . Steadily, the individual identifies himself with the movement, and

from necessity and reasoning one passes to myth, one symbolises truth in the movement, and fidelity . . . then one single truth and one sole fidelity, exclusiveness, intolerance, expulsion, control and centralism.

This phenomenon is strongest when it is tied to that of power: privileges, honour, pomp, vanity, circumstance — these accelerate this process. But even when there is no question of power, when one is even in principle against power, it is not easy for an individual to escape easily from this myth-making, this self-identification, this becoming a symbol, this glorification. It must be something arising from the basic nature of the human mind. We have seen it take the form of a secret group in our own anarchist federation: the O.P.B. ("Organisation, Thought, Struggle")/"Organisation, Pensée, Bataille" — the book by Berneri) around 1950 (but uncovered particularly by the "memorandum" of the Kronstadt Group of 1954): a group created by certain militants to combat the "lack of organisation" trend in the federation. One may accept the rigour, the "pure intentions", the sincere desire to struggle for a constructive and renewed anarchism. But some comrades were not able to avoid (yes, they themselves, carried them very far from their point of departure, lost them to the movement and provoked a crisis in it which could hardly put itself to rights, which discouraged and disgusted many sincere comrades; it is therefore an important question but one which has made us digress from our subject. In any case, as far as we are concerned, we are desperately distrustful not only of the possible corruption of secret organisations but also of the convolutions of mind of individuals who love to play at secrecy and occult leadership.

As regards the "rituals," the "carnival," the "jargon," "the mystique of the fairground," we hardly have any wish to talk about it: it is medieval. But it would seem that even in the age of rationalism, materialism and science certain human beings still retain a nostalgia for the magic world of their childhood, whether it be historic or personal.

The mania for myth-making, the necessity of appropriating the greatest names in history for more than two centuries, also plays its part in this megalomaniac nexus and shows their nostalgia for the past. The list of famous men claimed as Freemasons is impressive; some years ago the G.O.F., devoted several special broadcasts on the radio to them . . . We are able neither to verify nor to deny the accuracy of the claims as to their membership of the Freemasons but it is part and parcel of their secrecy and their folklore and serves to allure those who cannot live except in the company of famous men, even though they are dead.

As for internal differences and trends within Freemasonry, and for the history of these tendencies and their struggle in France and in the World Union, that is a Masonic business which has very little direct relevance to us. One may simply say that, broadly speaking, in France, the Grand Orient is relatively more "left-wing" than the Grand Lodge, at least as regards the secularist and anti-clerical struggle and the alignment with and recruitment of democrats.

Conclusion

Our conclusion is the same as that of our comrades who edited no.5 of *Noir et Rouge* which was concerned with Free-

masonry. We consider anarchist and Masonic membership and activity to be incompatible. Freemasonry was, at least at the beginning, the particular organisation involved in the 1789 Revolution, in its role as the spearhead of the bourgeoisie.

Today it is living on its past, it is out of joint with what is happening now, it takes part in a more or less conscious and complete way in the bourgeois order.

The anarchist rejects the bourgeois and capitalist order and struggles against it, against class divisions, against the middle class, he cannot therefore in any circumstances mimic the conscious statists of this regime. The mingling of the two concepts in the activity of a militant leads to a partial or total abandonment of our ideas, a tendency towards weakening of the movement, for ideologically this mixture is an absurdity. Theo. (October 1962).

The problem of freemasonry and anarchism was considered sufficiently important in French anarchist circles to be raised again in issue No. 27 of "Noir et Rouge" (June '64).

Freemasonry and Anarchism

"Les Cahiers de l'Humanisme Libertaire" ("Papers on Libertarian Humanism") of February 1964 (no.99) published on page 10 an article "On the subject of Freemasonry" which calls into question our study of the same subject that appeared one year earlier (re-published above). We shall state before anything else that we do not wish to avoid discussion, indeed, on the contrary: we prefer clear statements, even if they are in complete disagreement with our own, rather than indirect and unreasoned insinuations. "Libertarian Humanism" has chosen open discussion and we should be pleased about it.

We wish to reply to several questions:

— Are we "young commentators" who, with our "juvenile stubbornness" play at being "legislators" fixing the norms which tomorrow will be obligatory "forgetting" that which does not fit in with our attitudes?

— Does Freemasonry constitute a progressive force today?

— Can anarchists usefully participate in this work?

— Should one show solidarity with Freemasonry as a "persecuted" element?

— What can be said of the attitude of Bakunin towards this subject?

THE FIRST QUESTION: is the easiest to refute: we have never made the least claim to being legislators, to imposing anything at all, to admitting or excluding. It is enough to run through the pages of N. & R., to see this. The accusation of being "young" and of wishing at the same time to "think through" anarchism is the most serious; in the same issue of "Libertarian Humanism" two pages further on the editors regret that they are only two in number and that they are not younger; they thus do not understand that with this paternalistic spirit and this refusal of others' rights to an opinion — above all, the young — they can only end up where they have. (1).

But at bottom it is not so much the age question that brings prejudice against "Black and Red", it is rather the fact that we sign our articles collectively, that we refuse to accept a well-known "egg-head" who can lay the law down. Collective anonymity is indeed not found very frequently in an environment where, on the contrary, one displays one's personality at its best . . .

We expressed ourselves at sufficient length in our study of *The Progressive Character of Freemasonry* in its beginnings, which correspond with the rise of the middle class and the struggle against the power of the church; that this progressive aspect counted for something in the Revolution of 1789 and also in those of 1830 and 1848, in the universal suffrage, in the separation of Church and State, etc., is certain; a series of books on Freemasonry has appeared recently and they will not contradict this claim.

But we have our doubts (it's not a question of laws or norms) about the progressive character of Freemasonry today, precisely because it has not been able to adapt to new realities such as the working class, socialism, opposition to capitalism etc., through the fact of its essential nature. Or, more exactly, it does adapt very well, but remains on the other side of the barricade – on the side of power, of free enterprise, of unrestricted initiative, which in the social order of today means on the side of capitalism and exploitation.

We do not doubt the good intentions of such and such a "brother," but organically he cannot go farther than his good intentions.

Although the principle of class struggle may be questioned by many anarchists, it is still valuable to us, at least in the sense of preventing us from being in the same Lodge as the Prefect of Police or our own Boss, for example.

Strictly speaking, one may admit "that an anarchist who is self-aware can make a positive contribution in no matter what environment" (some comrades have even found a contradiction in our previous article because we tried there to envisage that possibility). Each comrade is free to make his own decisions, all the more so since membership of the Freemasons is secret (once again the issue of Anarchist Morality!) and that poses a few good problems.

It seems to us that anarchist efforts are better utilised in many other more realistic situations, more open and less compromised with Power: the Trade Unions, the peasant and workers' struggles, education, secularism, the co-operative movement, family planning, local cultural movements, the youth movements, the pacifist movements, the underdeveloped countries, etc., etc.

Solidarity With The Persecuted And The Victims: it is true that Freemasonry has been persecuted by all the authoritarian regimes. Perhaps, because these regimes are above all based on conspiracy and secret cells themselves, they fear that these same proven methods will be employed by others.

There was a time when it was sufficient to shout "who wants to die for liberty" and all the revolutionaries appeared on all the barricades. Thus the anarchists paid heavy sacrifices which did not result in very much, at least in immediate terms; if one is going to fight, one must today choose one's allies more carefully.

And after all, Freemasons have not been as persecuted as all that, at least under the regime here. At their last conference, the platform was decorated with their symbolic insignia and even government ministers took part. The conflict between the Church and Freemasonry is not what it was a century ago, at the last Vatican Council II, the Church Representative from Central America openly posed the issue of a more understanding attitude towards Freemasonry.

Besides, not to agree, or to refuse to fraternise, with Freemasonry does not mean, at least to us, that one must exterminate it (that's a comical way of imagining the anarchists).

If the authors of "On the subject of Freemasonry" think they will "shut our traps" by their knowledge of *Bakunin*, one may indeed say they are far from the mark: study of Bakunin is a constant source of interest for us; perhaps we do not yet know him all that well, agreed, but sufficiently well to be able to discuss him.

We have never had, in any case, an attitude of idolatry, even towards Bakunin; he could be wrong (and he did in fact make mistakes on certain questions) and we have no need of seeking him to hide our own weaknesses behind him.

It is certain that for a while Bakunin belonged to the Freemasons. But when, how, where and for how long it is impossible to say. The comrades from "Libertarian Humanism" say that Bakunin's father was a Freemason (2). It was probably during his stay in Italy and in France, at the end of the 18th century. Arthur Lehning writes, in the first volume of the "Bakunin Archives" (ed. 1960, p.XVI), that "Bakunin had been initiated as a Mason in 1845; he had asked to be relieved of the position in Germany in 1848" (he gives two sources for this information). Malatesta in an article in *Umanita Nova* (7th Oct. 1920) places the period from 1864-65.

At any rate, it is established that as soon as Bakunin came ashore at Florence, on the 27th of January 1864, he established contact with Italian Freemasonry, above all with Giuseppe Dolfi, Giuseppe Mazzoni and Nicolo Io Savio, from the Lodge "Social Progress" (*Il Progresso Sociale*) (v. Lehning, *ibid.* p.XVI).

It is also established that around this period (1865) Bakunin presented a written draft at his Lodge: "Principles and Organisation of the International Revolutionary Society" which was refused (a section of the text of this manuscript is lost, a section can be found in the Works, vol. III in German).

It seems to us, proven therefore, that Bakunin was a Freemason. There is also no doubt that in 1869 he no longer was one; for at that period he published in the journal "Progress" in *Loche* dated 1st March 1869 (the ms. is signed 23 Feb. 1869) a letter addressed "To the Comrades of the A.I.T. of *Loche* and of *La Chaux-de-Fonds*." This publication is continued through several numbers (from 1st March 1869 to 2 October 1869) and was gathered together afterwards under the title "The History of the Bourgeoisie and the Origin of Patriotism". The same text was later re-run under the title "Letters on Patriotism" (in French, Vol. I; in Russian, Vol. 4, in German Vol. 2). This text is well-known and does not need recalling for the editors of "Libertarian Humanism". The comrades who published the first study of Freemasonry in *N.R.* reproduced a passage from it (*N.R.* no.7, pp.124-126); we shall content ourselves by reproducing an extract from it for our readers:

"One would be very much in error if one judged the Freemasonry of last century, or even the Freemasonry of the beginning of the present century, by what it is today. A supremely middle-class institution in its development, through its increasing power to begin with and later in its decadence, Freemasonry has represented to some extent the

development, the power and the decadence of the middle-class intellectually and morally. Brought low today to the sad role of a scheming old woman in her dotage, Freemasonry is a nullity and useless, occasionally harmful and always ridiculous." (Bakunin quoted in *N.R.* no. 7, p.125).

The hypothesis according to which the workers' proletarian movement (the International of the period) and the Social Revolution have played out their role, and that even Bakunin in his last years perceived this – is only a hypothesis which, even today, is not proven..

In our study on Freemasonry we quoted the opinion of Malatesta. Since doing so, we have found additional quotations which we add here, although they may be a little late for the discussion, yet for the reason that, inspired by Bakunin, Malatesta repeated the same moves:

"I was a Freemason when I was a younger chap than I am now, from 19th October 1875 to March/April 1876... I did not wish to submit to the ridiculous initiation rites and I knew that they would be applied to me. In short, they wanted to have me at any price, and in the end I accepted... for the additional reason that the idea came to me to repeat the unhappy experiment of Bakunin to bring back Freemasonry to its original idealistic beginnings and to make of it a truly revolutionary society (1864-5).

I soon noticed that I was merely serving the interests of certain brothers, who were the biggest obscurantists...

But I met there some young enthusiasts who were accessible to socialist ideas and I remained to make propaganda among them, which I did to the scandal and outrage of the principle personalities." (*Umanita Nova*, 7, Oct. 1920, quoted by Max Nettlau: "Errico Malatesta", Buenos Aires, 1923. pp.91-2).

Luigi Fabri, who recalls this same fact in his book on Malatesta (ed. Buenos Aires, 1945) writes that when Malatesta had left the Freemasons, "he fought Freemasonry always as his most intransigent adversary." (p.72).

We hope that we shall not have to keep returning to this subject except to bring something truly positive to the discussion. But above all, we hope to be understood (even if the comrades do not share one or another of our positions) in a spirit of enquiry.

In any case, we have said – and we will repeat – our differences of opinion with the comrades of "Libertarian Humanism" should not prevent us from having good relations with each other.

Noir et Rouge.

(Translated by Geoff Charlton)

(1) N.D.L.R. A comrade from "Noir et Rouge" insists that he has white hair.

(2) We have checked the "Biographical Index of the Russian Freemasons of the 18th and 19th centuries" – a large volume edited in French in 1940, in Russian in 1934-5 – of Tatiana Bakunin (a relative of Bakunin's who presented a thesis in Paris in 1929 – not his sister, who died in 1871). There exist only two Bakunins among the Russian Freemasons: Alexander Pavlovich Bakunin (1797-1860), officer, civil administrator (Governor of Tver, 1840-53) and Vasilie Mikhailovich Bakunin (1795-1863), also an officer. The father of Bakunin, Alexander Mikhailovich, is not mentioned. As his name indicates, the second Freemason mentioned is probably a near relation of M. Bakunin.



George Cheitanov

A SHORT HISTORY OF ANARCHISM IN BULGARIA

A small country of five and a half million population, Bulgaria is a homogeneous nation, with a good balance between mountains, hills and watered plains, but possessing only one outlet to the sea (on the Black Sea). It is a country of small peasant proprietors, hard working and persistent. Eighty three per cent of the population lives by agriculture; 85 per cent of the cultivated land is farmed in units of less than 25 acres, and the most common land measure is the decare (a quarter of an acre); Bulgarian agriculture is really a kind of gardening. Cultivation of grain ranks first: wheat then corn; and a great variety of warm-climate crops: orchards, vineyards, tobacco, sunflowers, flax and hemp, cotton, poppies, mulberries (silk worm culture), roses, truck gardening; and cattle raising.

Industry has developed mostly since the first World War: textiles, tobacco manufacturing, milling, sugar refining, distillation of attar of roses. In a normal year, agriculture not only provides Bulgaria's food requirements, but it is also the basis of its industry. In addition Bulgaria gets enough lignite for its own use from the Pernik and Bobov Dol mines, and even exports some copper, lead and zinc.

When tied in with certain characteristics of the history of the people, these basic economic facts take on a particular significance, for every stage in the development of a people is consistent with its past. Historical and social factors dating from the Middle Ages, associated with specific economic forms, have encouraged the practice of mutual

aid and the love of liberty, and have given the anarchist movement deep roots in the past and a distinctly anarchist-communist colouring.

Thus the spirit of the peasant commune, the slavish *zadruga* (brotherhood) that existed through the Middle Ages and for over a thousand years, still survives in the spontaneous practice, among small peasant proprietors, of communal work and co-operative association. The peasant commune once held the land collectively, the *zadruga* comprised 50 to 100 and even 250 members. Today there are still communities of 15 to 30 persons where parents, sons and descendants live together and cultivate their lands in common.

Feudalism, arising in the 9th and 10th centuries, dealt the death blow to this primitive communism.

The present day communal pasture and woods, the tradition of communal labour, are sturdy lasting traces of primitive communism in the social and economic life of the people. Each year companies of gardeners are formed and travel through the countryside; groups of harvesters descend from northern Bulgaria and the mountain villages into the plains of southern Bulgaria to gather the crops; groups of building and transport workers are formed; all this is collective labour. In many villages the threshing of wheat is still done, as from time immemorial, essentially on the work principles of the *zadrugas*. Corn-husking is a communal, festive occasion; spinning parties, mutual aid in building homes, are every-day events in the life of the Bulgarian village.

Thus it is not accidental that the co-operative movement is very powerful and that in these last years co-operatives to work the land collectively have developed rapidly and achieved great success.

But the movement of particular importance and great historical consequences, not only for Bulgaria, but for the cultural renaissance of Europe as well, was Bogomilism – a movement of the Middle Ages of a distinctly anarchist character.

Bogomilism, a heresy of oriental origin preached by a Bulgarian priest, Jeremiah Bogomil, developed among the impoverished peasant masses at the beginning of the 10th century. It represented social revolt against feudalism, and defence of the peasant commune by passive resistance. As a religion Bogomilism was unoriginal: a mixture and recasting of dualist doctrines and heresies derived from the Orient. But socially it was entirely original: a purely Bulgarian and Yugoslav movement whose revolutionary ideology was (for that time) definitely anti-statist. Categorically and unequivocally, the Bogomiles repudiated all authority: economic (the rich and their wealth), political (the State and the Boyard government), religious (the church and its dogmas and clergies).

Their clandestine writings express modern social ideas that could be inserted without change into the programmes of present-day anarchist movements. The Bogomiles covered all Bulgaria with a network of communes and practiced the principles of free communism.

Manol Vassev, an almost legendary figure in the Bulgarian revolutionary movement due to his untiring commitment to the class struggle. His real name was Jordan Sotirov, but he adopted the former when he was forced into clandestinity after a shop floor struggle spanning 22 years.



After three centuries of war, Bogomilism was exterminated in Bulgaria by fire and sword. But it passed the frontiers and spread into Bosnia and Italy under the names of Patarins and the Cathari, and influenced the Albigenses in France. In Western Europe it prepared the ground for the Renaissance and Reformation.

Bulgaria remained under Turkish domination for five centuries (1393 to 1877). The Bulgarians' servitude was double: political toward the Turks and religious toward the Greeks. Dark ages. But, as always and everywhere, slavery gave birth to revolt and struggle. Political and social conditions unfortunately did not lend themselves to creation of a well co-ordinated social movement. Hence the struggle took the character of individual revolt: the Haiducks, a kind of bandit comparable to the heroes of Schiller's "The Brigands."

The Haiduck movement began in the 15th and 16th centuries; few at first, they became legion. They long preserved the characteristics of individual revolt, of professional semi-banditry, much like Stenka Razin in Russia. Though their revolt later acquired a clearly social character, they could never completely free themselves of the methods of individual struggle.

The great influence of the Haiduk movement on the political and social life of the Bulgarian people is reflected in popular poetry. There the Haiduk is depicted as a romantic hero, combatting violence and exploitation, defending the poor, a sworn enemy of *tchorbadjis* (great landowners and nobles), monopolists and Turkish tyranny. He is a symbol of disinterestedness and love, of limitless self-sacrifice for the people and for liberty. The working masses and their hatred for *tchorbadjis*, exploiters and oppressors formed the social basis of the Haiduk movement. Its historical importance lay in preserving and safeguarding among the oppressed working people the tradition of independence, the spirit of courage, and the hope of coming liberation; and in this way it prepared the first phase of the revolutionary movement.

Directly linked with the Haiduk movement was the "national-revolutionary" movement that emerged during the 19th century and laid the basis of intellectual, cultural and political revival.

This movement was supported by three social forces: the artisans' and merchants' guilds that

developed during the 17th and 18th centuries in the villages and cities of the lower Balkans; the poor and oppressed peasants of the same regions; and the progressive "intelligentsia," especially teachers, of whom the disciples of the Russian socialists of the 1860 period were the vanguard.

The rebirth passed through three principal phases:

1. An intellectual renaissance (1830 - 1840) whose chief accomplishment was the founding of ecclesiastical schools.

2. The struggle for independence of the Bulgarian church (1805 to 1860), culminating in establishment of an independent church and liberation from spiritual servitude to the Greeks (constitution of the exarchate in 1870).

3. A revolutionary movement that developed around 1870 and had both a national-liberation and a purely social character.

The last phase of the Bulgarian revival - the revolutionary movement - has direct influence on the present-day Anarchist movement in Bulgaria.

When the national-revolutionary movement arose, the national problems of Western Europe were nearly all solved and social problems already occupied a primary place. For this reason the national-revolutionary movement was strongly influenced by the socialism of the First International and developed a strong socialist tendency. The first militants of the national-revolutionary movement had been influenced by Russian revolutionists, Bakunin first of all. Cristo Botev, Bulgaria's greatest poet, was the most remarkable revolutionist of the period. He died heroically at the head of a company of partisans in the mountains, 2 June, 1876, two years before the national emancipation. He had studied in Russia, had lived in Rumania with Nechaeff. A disciple of Proudhon and Bakunin, a revolutionist and journalist of great breath, he is today the national hero, the inspiration of Bulgarian youth among whom his deeply moving works have long kindled the flame of idealism and revolutionary social struggle.

In addition to these traditions, the Anarchist movement was favoured by the social and economic structure of the country: the proletariat is small, and small peasant proprietors comprise the largest class by far. Just because of the family character of agriculture, and the extreme dividing up of land, the peasants constituted a working class exploited by crushing taxes and disposed to ideas of liberty, independence and mutual aid.

Finally, one more important factor: the Bulgarians' extreme attachment to liberty.

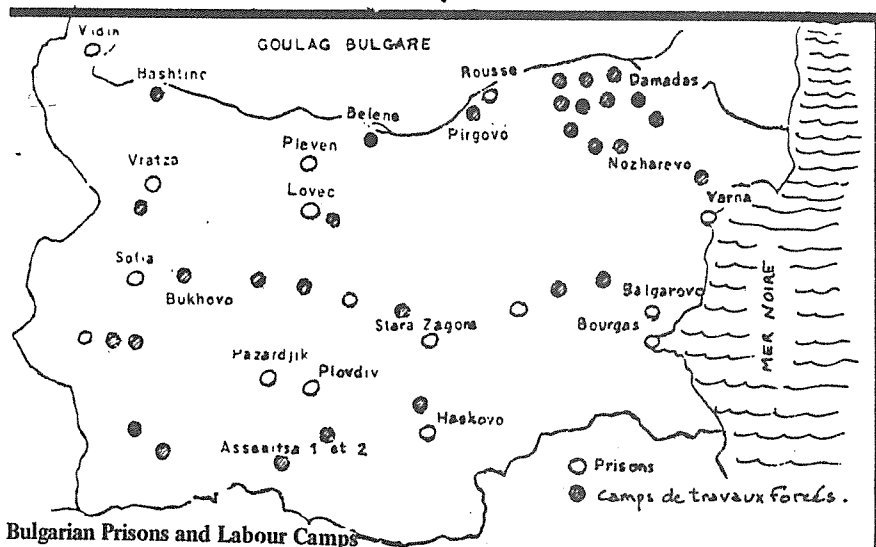
Nevertheless, during the first years after the liberation, until 1923, anarchism and anarcho-syndicalism had only a moderate growth: the influence of Russian terrorism and French "individualism," the Haiduk heritage of individualist action, were irresistible; the elite of Bulgaria's proletarians and intellectuals perished in the struggle. In addition, much of their energy went into the national-revolutionary movement of the Macedonians. Thus the Bulgarian revolutionary movement was deprived of a host of courageous men, a very grave loss; but for all that, this activity was a precious contribution to the Balkan struggles for liberation. The pioneers of this movement were Anarchists, and the Bulgarian public knows that the Macedonian national-revolutionary movement is principally the work of the Bulgarian Anarchists whose clear understanding of the national revolutionary movement never allowed them to isolate the struggle for Bulgarian nation liberation from the social struggle.

Finally, if we can see the retarding effects of terrorism on the growth of the Anarchist movement in the first part of the 20th century, we can see too that the very participation of Anarchists in this action is the basis of the high opinion of anarchism in Bulgaria, for this action was in the spirit of the historical traditions; the unparalleled courage, idealism and self-sacrifice of these great revolutionary figures has drawn the popular masses to anarchism.

During this period, the Socialist movement was equally stagnant: when the Russian Social Democratic party split at the beginning of the century, the Bulgarian Social Democracy also split in two. Partisans of united political action by workers and small peasant proprietors formed (in imitation of the Russians) the clearly opportunistic "Shiroki" Social-Democratic party. Partisans of the conception that the proletariat alone can be a revolutionary class in the Marxist sense formed the "Tensi" Social-Democratic party, verbally revolutionary, actually also opportunistic and electoralist.

At this time the Agrarian Union also absorbed many militants. At first the Agrarian Union was an economic movement of peasants with very advanced co-operative and socialistic tendencies. Later the trend toward participation in political struggles took hold and transformed the Union into a political party, the strongest in the country after the first World War.

Other political parties in Bulgaria at the end of the first World War were the Liberal Party and the Democratic Party - undistinguishable except for phraseology, taking power by turns as the King willed - and an insignificant Radical Party



anxious to take its place among them. There was nothing very democratic, liberal or progressive about any of the three, all servants of the King who vied with each other in repressions against the people. Finally, the most reactionary party, the Narodisak, the party of the big capitalists, although not numerous, exerted great influence on political and economic life. That most of the clergy and nearly all the active and reserve officers of the army were its watchdogs was demonstrated in the coup d'état of June 9, 1923, and the bloody repressions that followed.

The first World War marked a new beginning in the development of the anarchist-inspired revolutionary movement.

Some groups existed before the war, but the movement had been unable to work out a general plan of propaganda and action to reach all sections of the population. The activities of groups were of an individual character: some published pamphlets and books, others were active in the Agrarian Union, others tried unsuccessfully to build a Revolutionary Syndicalist movement. Among high school and university students, Anarchist ideas found their most favoured reception; organised refusal to pay taxes, at Chabla and Duran Kulak, developed into a peasant insurrection; a general strike in the colleges spread throughout the country; finally, in this period, the newspaper *Rabotnicheska Missal* (Workers' Thought), which became the organ of the Anarchist Federation after the war, appeared as the voice of Revolutionary Syndicalism.

During the first World War the Bulgarian government abandoned neutrality to ally itself with the Central Powers. Many Anarchists, judging the war imperialist, refused to fight; some were shot at the front, others in prison. When Bulgaria entered the war, Alexander Stambuliyski, leader of the Agrarian Union, was imprisoned in the Sofia central prison for denouncing King Ferdinand and as a traitor. He liked to talk to the imprisoned Anarchists, enjoyed their company. After the war, as President of the Council, he declared in his famous disclosure from the balcony of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs that power and the State corrupt the most moral individual, and he advised precautions. When the police arrested the audience at a meeting in the Sofia anarchist club, he went, as soon as he learned of it, to release them before the police could employ the form of assassination known as "attempt to escape."

But two years later he was himself corrupted by power and initiated a vast campaign of repression in which many anarchists were assassinated and anarchist clubs burned.

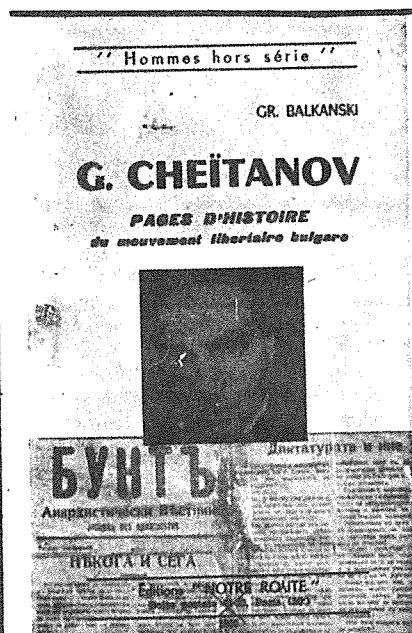
Sober and hard working, the Bulgarian people have little love for the State or for governments. Many popular songs express their deep love of liberty and admiration of the Haidiks, those valiant guerrillas who always gave battle to oppressors and exploiters. The three years of war overflowed the cup of suffering: the people warned the government to sign a separate peace, or else the soldiers would leave the front. The warning went unheeded, and in September, 1918, front-line soldiers deserted en masse and, keeping their arms, set out for the capital to punish the war-makers and especially King Ferdinand — who had abdicated and fled to safety in Germany before their arrival. The subsequent debacle was not thought of as a great national misfortune, quite the opposite; politicians and speculators had enriched themselves scandalously on the war and the "national ideal." The popular masses gave free expression to their discontent and their desire to revolt against not only the profiteers and the war but the bourgeois regime as well. Stambuliyski, who now came to power, enjoyed tremendous popularity, especially among the

peasants, by virtue of his gesture against the King; he believed he could dam up the threatening revolution by dividing the popular masses, country against city, and accomplish a kind of preventive counter-revolution by provoking conflicts between them.

The Russian revolution, whose progress the proletariat followed with enthusiasm, further bolstered the revolutionary spirit.

In this atmosphere the Bulgarian Anarchist Communist Federation was formed, and its influence never ceased to grow.

In September 1919, delegates from anarchist groups met in national conference and founded the Federation of Anarchist Communists in Bulgaria. Under pressure of events all those who had hitherto preferred to devote themselves exclusively to the peasant co-operative movement, to the trade union movement, to the cultural movement and to local propaganda, or even to individual activity, came to realise the urgent need for a federalist organisation that would, by joint study of their problems, co-ordinate educational propaganda and mass organisation with a view to defence of



The frontispiece of a life of Cheitanov written by Gr. Balkanski and published by "Notre Route", the Bulgarian anarchist publishing group in Paris.

the immediate interests of the people and the creation of a better society.

The first conference unified the anarchist-inspired revolutionary movement and gave it powerful impetus.

Intensive propaganda, and increasing participation by militants in social agitation and strike activity, popularised anarchist ideas and tactics. The movement lacked old militants, it lacked experience, but initiative made up for that. To spread their ideas among the people and take part in the struggle for freedom, many high school and university students left school and became workers. The number of sympathisers increased daily, apace with increasingly severe government repression, particularly at the time of the transport strike. From an insignificant movement of small groups and closed circles, the anarchist inspired revolutionary movement was developing into a mass movement. The four Regional Unions arranged regular educational speaking tours and propaganda meetings in all cities and villages. The Federation itself was secret and restricted to militants. Public activity took the form of social studies' groups,

semi-syndicalist producers' groups, and combat groups.

In January, 1923, the Fifth Congress, the first and only public (but illegal) anarchist congress, was held at Jambol; the previous congresses had all been held secretly in the mountains. The congress concluded with a meeting in the town square. At Jambol the movement clearly defined its ideology, tactics and organisation in clearly anarchist-communist terms. Delegates from all over the country reported their organisational and propaganda accomplishments of their respective groups. In Jambol itself, in Nova Zagora, Khaskovo, Kyustendil, Radomir, Kilijarevo and Delebits the majority of the workers were affiliated with the anarchist movement. Great progress was being made at Plovdiv, Sofia, Burgas, Russe, etc.

The quickening of governmental repression against the workers' movement, and especially against the anarchist movement, preoccupied the congress. Once in power, Stambuliyski — president of the Agrarian Union and simultaneously President of the government — had begun to prosecute the Leftists and support the Rightists. His Prefect of Police, Prudkin, of Russian origin and obscure past, manufactured *attentats* to justify reprisals against the workers' movement. Several Communist halls and Houses of the People were burned. To the anarchists Prudkin applied the system of attempted escape: when he considered a militant too "bothersome," he had him arrested and shot in the back of the head; to the press it was announced that such a dangerous individual had been killed attempting to escape. These assassinations became repeated, frequent; a vast fascist-reactionary offensive was obviously under way. This the statements of agrarian militants confirmed. The fascists were presenting the governments with accomplished facts. From careless talk it was also known that in the Macedonian Autonomist Organisation and the Military League something ominous was going on.

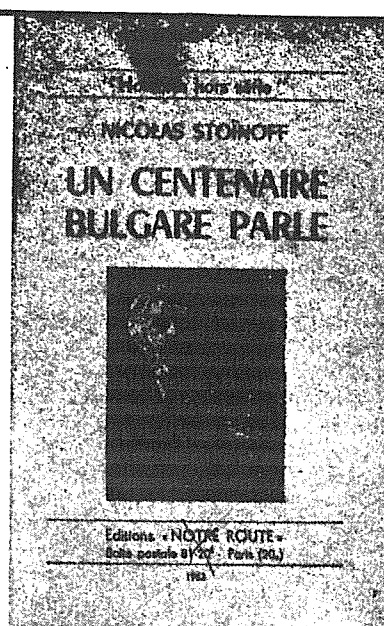
Fascism in Power

It was the eve of decisive events. At the forefront of the struggle, the Anarchists were the first aware of the danger. Against 90 per cent of the population, the reactionary 10 per cent would not have been so dangerous, had the people been armed; and the Anarchists raised the slogan "Armed the People." But they alone understood the new situation, they alone proposed arming the people, the only effective defence against the rising fascism. For all their revolutionary phraseology, the Communist leaders had been won over to electoral opportunism. Already, in 1919-1920, when the revolutionary pressure of the people threatened to overthrow the capitalist regime, the Communist leader and theoretician, Dmitri Blugoff, propounded the famous thesis of the "three fourths from abroad" — so thoroughly did Blugoff misjudge the revolutionary energy of the Bulgarian people who each day gave proof of their determination to put an end to the capitalist regime. The reactionary bourgeoisie took note, redoubled its manoeuvres designed to divide the popular masses.

Similarly, instead of following the example of those who were forming combat groups and demanding that the people be armed, the Communists kept on with their noisy, short sighted propaganda. The Agrarians, intoxicated by power, did not take the fascist danger seriously; their leaders hunted for ways to aggravate the disunity of the masses, and thought of nothing else but of crushing the Communists and Anarchists; they did organise a combat formation, the "orange guard," but it was intended as an instrument of repression against strikers and against demonstrations by workers and revolutionary peasants. The Socialists were the most confused of all the leftist groups — so confused that when the fascist



Nicolas Stoinov



One of the first propagandists of the anarchist idea in Bulgaria was Nicolas Stoinov, a primary school teacher active in the trade union movement. He is also remembered as one of the first conscientious objectors in his country. Stoinov has left an interesting account of his life which was translated into French and published by "Notre Route".

coup d'etat began some of them, under Dimo Kasasoff participated in the fascist project, and Dimo Kasasoff joined the government of the sinister Professor Tzankoff.

Of the revolutionary groups the Anarchists were the most clear-sighted and aggressive. Fearing that a coup d'etat would rally all anti-fascist resistance around the anarchist movement, the fascist leaders decided to utilise their secret agents in the police, and especially their secret League of Regular Army Officers, to liquidate the anarchist movement before attempting the coup.

On March 26, 1923, the anarchist movement convoked the workers of Yamboli to a meeting in the central square of the town to protest the assassinations of militants and to demand the arming of the people. The meeting was forbidden by the military commander; at the appointed hour the square was occupied by troops and troops were posted at strategic points in the town. In small groups, the Anarchists were succeeding in reaching the square; some were already there, including the designated speaker. Judging the moment here, he climbed up on a bench and began to talk. After a single warning, the commander gave the troops the order to fire. At the first volley, the speaker and other comrades were wounded. The audience, instead of running to safety, replied so energetically to pistol and grenade that it was the troops who had to flee. A furious battle lasted two hours. The two regiments stationed in the city were insufficient, the commander had to bring up a regiment of heavy artillery from a town nearby. In spite of the Anarchists' courage and boldness, the superiority of numbers and above all of arms was crushing. They decided to cease fire and scatter under cover of night. Nevertheless the soldiers captured 26 of them and took them to the barracks. Toward midnight, in the barracks courtyard, in a row, facing levelled machine guns, they waited calmly, defiantly. A superior officer arrived, commanded: "Let those who are Anarchists take three steps forward." As one man, the whole line advanced three steps. The officers gave the machine-gunners the order to fire. The 26 men were cut down by bullets and the veil of night covered their corpses. No one would have known

how they were assassinated, without trial or sentence; but, among the victims, the student Obretenoff, wounded, profiting by darkness, managed to crawl through the barbed wire that surrounded the barracks; he reached the hospital where he told what had happened. Among the frightened attendants someone denounced him, and within an hour soldiers came looking for him to finish him off. But the truth was known. The following day the military again succeeded in capturing militants, and shot them. All others hid out in the towns, neighbouring villages, and the mountains. The same morning, before the news could arrive, troops invaded the Sofia Anarchists hall where a meeting was going on and arrested everybody. But finally the Anarchists of all Bulgaria were alerted and took their precautions.

How did public opinion react to this massacre and these fascist proceedings? The assassins of Yamboli were protected by the government, and, to divert attention from himself, Stambuliyski went in person to Sofia to liberate prisoners. Before the Anarchists' magnificent example of courage and self-sacrifice, the Communist press did not modify its customary hostility; the young Communist militant, G. Stoinoff of Yamboli, could no longer stomach the attitude of his party, and committed suicide. The Communists, whose influence on the masses was greater, did not think this struggle important. The bourgeois parties were silent, they understood that the first phase of their fascist offensive had begun.

From then on, events hurry forward: three months later, on June 9, comes the coup d'etat against the Stambuliyski Agrarian government, but mainly against the working class and the revolutionary movement. Embracing representatives of all the bourgeois parties and the Socialist Party, controlling the Military League and the Macedonian Autonomist Organisation and organisations of reserve officers and non-commissioned officers, the Zveno circle - the same that since the "liberation" has shared power with the Communists - successfully executed the coup d'etat. In Sofia the Agrarian ministers were arrested; Stambuliyski, in the country, was captured, murdered. The Orange Guard resisted only a

short time, only at Plevna. The Communist Party preserved its usual passivity, its calm; the Central Committee of the Party declared: "Let the two bourgeoisies (of country and city) kill each other."

The Anarchists, hunted down and shot by the Stambuliyski government and still bearing the scars of Yamboli, tried to resist the coup d'etat: at Kilifarevo they rose, carried the local Communists and Agrarians along with them, and stood off the assaults of the army for several days. They even occupied the city of Drenovo and several villages at the foot of the mountains.

Had the Communist Party joined in these actions, had the Agrarians been better prepared, the uprising bursting out in many places could have put down the coup d'etat. These events are reminiscent of the fascist insurrection in Spain in 1936: a preconceived plan, a massive fascist assault. In Bulgaria, though unprepared for united mass action, the Anarchists put up stubborn resistance: not for direct realisation of their ideal of Libertarian Communism, less still to rescue the Stambuliyski government, but simply to prevent the imposition of fascism.

Later the Bulgarian Communists, spurred by Moscow's reproaches, "took cognizance of their mistakes" and organised an uprising (in September). But the Bulgarian Communists had no experience in revolutionary action and the plans were discovered beforehand by the authorities. The uprising failed. The Anarchists took active part, contributed important successes and many victims. The savagery of the terrified fascist bourgeoisie was unrestrained: barracks, schools and prisons were full of anti fascists. Each night the torturers came looking for victims; black wagons came looking for bodies to throw over a cliff or into a ravine. Each night, for days, weeks and months, prison boats on the Danube threw mutilated corpses on the waters. Among the combatants as among the dead, Agrarians, Communists and Anarchists had their heroes and their martyrs. The number of assassinated anti-fascists - peasants, workers, intellectuals - reached 35,000. The number condemned to death, to life imprisonment, long terms, was very high. One such victim was George Cheitanov, who together with his companion and twelve other comrades was assassinated in June 1925. Cheitanov, who had been living clandestinely in the country for over sixteen years was one of the most influential anarchist propagandists of the time (eds.).

In answer to the butchery, the *attentat* of the Sofia Cathedral was carried out; 220 persons died, among them 13 generals and ministers.

We are here in the darkest years of fascist reaction. There were guerrillas all through the regime. The first Bulgarian partisan units were Anarchists. The Communists, declared enemies of this tactic, busied themselves with electoral battles and again lost interest in the revolutionary struggle. From 1923 - 1924 onward, the anarchists Vassil Ikonov, Vassil St. Popov (Geroi), Tinko Simov, Georgi Popov, the brothers Tumangelov, and many others formed partisan groups that went into the mountains and kept the revolutionary ardor of the Bulgarian people alive. The bloodiest repression could not stamp out what refused to die: love of liberty and the will to struggle to retain it.

Under the fascist regime the first large scale labour action was the successful general strike of tobacco workers. Its principal leader was the Anarchist Ivan Konstantinov, militant of Plovdiv.

The student youth, also, particularly the Federation of Anarchist Students (B.O.N.S.F.), distinguished itself by stubborn activity despite beatings, persecution, assassinations. Finally we must give credit to the passive resistance of the peasants.

For six or seven years they did everything they could to avoid paying taxes, in spite of seizures and public sales. Rarely did anyone dare buy such goods. Tax receipts did not come to even half the budget estimates.

In these bloody struggles the Anarchist movement lost many militants. But there were other losses too, losses resulting from collaboration with politicians, above all with the Communists. The "United Front" tactic is in fact a Communist idea, basically a manoeuvre to swallow up "sister" organisations. Some let circumstances get the better of them, and a "revisionist" tendency developed within the movement; those who practiced close, continual collaboration with the anti-fascist political parties sought self-justification in revision of fundamental Anarchist ideas. Others, hoping to build up an exclusively syndicalist movement, went so far as to assert that the proletariat, through its unions, had the right to organise and direct the life of the whole society — though in Bulgaria the proletariat is only 10 per cent of the population. This period of confusion did, however, give the Federation an experience from which it learned to reject all collaboration with political parties except on the plane of revolutionary action.

In 1931 elections were held. Despite elaborate precautions favourable to fascists and pro-fascists, they were defeated. Bulgaria now had a kind of democratic government; but the omnipotence of army and police was not disturbed. Freedom of speech and association was so circumscribed that this regime was hardly distinguishable from dictatorship. Nevertheless, it did represent a slight improvement over the nine years of avowedly fascist rule.

The anti-fascist groups began to resume activity. In point of members the two strongest were the Agrarian Union and the Communist Party, closely followed by the Anarchist Federation.

Anarchist periodicals and publications, though severely censored and often confiscated, appeared anew: papers, theoretical magazines, pamphlets, books. The movement rebuilt rapidly, but it still had to remain underground, in utmost secrecy. Overtly Anarchist labour, peasant or cultural organisations were forbidden. But skillful subterfuges enabled the movement to make substantial progress; the Anarchist peasant organisation, the *Union Vlassovden*, counted 130 groups; and there were 40 syndicalist groups.

In the cultural field, under fascism, the Anarchists had created the movement of "abstinent youth" who developed an extensive activity under this modest name. They had branches in towns and villages and all the bigger schools. The militants of the Federation had also organised an association of Anarchist and Anarchist sympathetic writers, painters, sculptors, theatre artists, doctors, engineers, scientists and intellectuals.

This activity was broadened and intensified after the mountain congress of September, 1933, that reaffirmed the Anarchist-Communist basis of the Federation. But in May, 1934, the Military League staged a new coup d'état. Hoping to stifle the love of liberty forever, the reactionary bourgeoisie turned to the corporative method of fascism. The military, regimenting every phase of social, economic and cultural life, established the "new order." This "new order" was really very old, the Bulgarian people were not deceived. The totalitarian state strove to bring all social, economic and cultural organisations under its direct control; but when active struggle is no longer possible, passive resistance finds manifold expression. If one could no longer publish a newspaper to one's liking, one did not therefore have to read those of the corporative lie-and-obscurantism factories. If one could not organise an association in harmony with one's ideas and aspirations,

one did not belong to an organisation whose aim was directly contrary. Dues, of course, were collected by the tax-collector like taxes. Still, if one could not always get out of attending meetings, one dispensed with taking part in the discussion. And as to work, one did not strain oneself. Naturally, all that does not solve the problem, it is not enough to end an oppressive regime. There comes a time when one's indignation can no longer be contained; revolt, first individual, then collective; then, also, bullets, prison, the concentration camp.

During the last war, during the German occupation, passive resistance grew tremendously, and at one time the armed resistance very much resembled the 1923 insurrection; when new groups of partisans appeared and the Communists sought to monopolise this form of struggle, the Anarchists joined in this movement. Acting independently or in co-operation with the Communists, they came immediately after the Communists in number of victims. And they took part in the liberation movement of September 9, 1944.

Bulgaria, under occupation till that date, fought the Gestapo and German Nazism. It was an arsenal. The most stringent measures were used to throttle every attempt at protest, but the Bulgarian people gave proof of extraordinary moral force; thousands of peasants and workers were shot, and their houses burned by the fascists. Often, to revenge themselves on a single man of resistance, the fascists killed wife, children, parents, brothers and sisters. In this struggle, the Bulgarian Syndicalists and Anarchists were the vanguard, as much in resistance groups as in sabotage groups within the factories.

The "New Era"

Fascism of the Hitlerian type was liquidated in Bulgaria on September 9, 1944. The Bulgarian people thought they were in a situation full of excellent possibilities. Factory and workshop committees, composed of workers, were created spontaneously. New local committees took responsibility for administration. In the streets and public squares the victorious people openly displayed its revolutionary will. The union movement re-organised.

But Soviet Russia was near, the Russian army occupied the country. And as is their habit whenever people revolt, the leaders of the political parties succeeded in re-taking power. They did not shrink from heavy measures against revolutionists. Slowly but systematically they liquidated all the gains of a people who had hoped to go beyond a simple political turnover.

At the instigation of the Communists, a number of political groups collaborated to form the Fatherland Front. This group took power and became dictators of the new Bulgaria. The character of the groups behind it was often dubious, their past often reactionary. Some of their outstanding members had played a crucial role in the 1934 fascist coup d'état. One of their men, Kimo Georgieff, the new President of the Council, had also been President of the Council after the 1934 coup d'état and had tried to introduce a Mussolini type corporatism into Bulgaria. Afterwards, for personal motives, he had joined some other army men in opposition to the King. With reactionaries of this type the Communists collaborated and shared power. They were creating a transitional situation to clear the way for exclusive appropriation of power by the Communist Party — a process made easier by the proximity of Russia, the presence of Russian troops in Bulgaria, and the oppressive regime that they gradually but pitilessly imposed on the whole country. The facade was patriotic propaganda: Fatherland Front, "National Renaissance."

The programme of the Fatherland Front deliberately masked the reality: it pretended to restore the rights of the people, freedom of press, of meeting, of association; political, cultural and juridical legality. But from the outset there were certain very significant restrictions: only the parties in power or groups supporting them could publish newspapers, magazines and books, or organise meetings, conferences and congresses, or carry on public activity. The other groups had only to work and keep quiet; and if they dared express by word or writing their opinion of social, economic and cultural conditions, or their non-conformist ideas on social change, they could count on being sent to the concentration camp as in the days of fascist rule. Obviously these measures were not aimed at the fascists, for one of their parties, the military clique, was in power; while the Anarchists, though represented on local committees in some places, did not take part in the Fatherland Front.

The Communists aimed at destroying all freedom and taking full power. Later they gained control of a parliamentary majority and are now at work making the Fatherland over into a Single Party; and then the other parties will no longer be tolerated. Bulgaria will have a single party regime analogous to the absolute power of the Communists in the Soviet Union.

One of the chief measures taken by the Communist-directed government has been absolute control of the trade-union movement. In the union statutes their democratic basis is of course affirmed. But the Communists quickly converted the unions into an instrument of government policy. By threat or by violence the members were made to attend meetings and demonstrations and listen to Communist orators. Instead of defending the working class, these faithful servants of the party repeat the official slogans of the Party. By purely fascist methods, all workers were herded into a single union organisation. Membership is now compulsory. All criticism, even the very mildest, of the Party or any of its members is very risky; it leads to the concentration camp. Methods of violence impose silence on the workers. Organised spying and informing among the workers and liberal bourgeoisie perfect these methods.

Any resistance to this policy, so dangerous to the working classes, is called a "fascist plot." The union must unreservedly accept a government policy that cuts wages, introduces piece work, develops the spirit of competition among workers, and aggravates the hierarchical wage system. Thus labour organisation has become a docile tool in the hands of the State, of the government. This is red fascism, pure and simple.

The Anarchists became the target of persecution by this totalitarianism very early, shortly after the Russians arrived. At first the government could not refuse a semblance of liberty; halls were re-opened and the newspaper *Rabotnicheska Missal* reappeared; but not for long, the halls were closed everywhere, the one in Sofia lasted just a little longer than the rest; the newspaper was able to publish only eight issues, after the confiscation of the eighth number it definitely ceased to appear, it was banned. All propaganda, oral or written, all free organisational activity is forbidden. Books and propaganda pamphlets are regularly confiscated and burned. The whole movement has been driven underground again. This was a prepared plan: at the beginning, when the memory of the exploits of the Anarchists were still alive in the hearts of the whole population, the government and police felt the need for pretexts for their arbitrary measures; they sometimes even released prisoners. But they were not very dependable. For example, to give itself

a "democratic" appearance the new government of the Fatherland Front had proclaimed freedom of press and abolition of censorship. But since importation of newsprint had become a State monopoly, the Minister of Information determined allocations. After numerous applications, the organ of the Anarchist Federation was authorised; but very soon its allotment was cut off because of an article asserting that the strongest arm of the working class in the defence of its interests is the strike.

Then the Communists took a series of measures against the militants of the Federation: all locals were closed, and in many towns and villages, as in Plovdiv and Pavel Banya, all those found in the office of the Federation were arrested. When explanations were demanded for these brutal measures, so openly contradictory to the Fatherland Front's September 9 proclamation of free press, meeting, organisation and thought, they replied invariably: "Address yourselves to the Central Committee of the Communist Party," and despite all protests the persecutions continued, in accordance with the orders of the Central Committee of the Party.

To formulate a position in this new situation, the Anarchist Federation convoked a special conference. On the first day of the conference, March 10, 1945, all the delegates present, to the number of 90, were arrested by the Communist militia, sent to concentration camps and put to forced labour; in an atmosphere of moral and physical slavery, they were subjected to tortures and deprived of covering and clothing.

Those still at liberty sent delegations to ministers and leaders of government parties to demand the release of the prisoners. But always the same answer: "Address yourselves to the Central Committee of the Communist Party."

On August 26, under pressure from the United States and England, the government was forced to permit elections, and the police regime was moderated slightly. The prisoners were released, some of them, after having been terribly beaten. For a few days the libertarian press was permitted, and the great interest of the people in this movement was demonstrated by the fact that *Workers' Thought* expanded immediately to 30,000 copies considerable for so small a country. But this was all the more reason for the Communists to suppress it immediately and resume still more severe repression designed to wipe out the movement; for they rightly feared the growth and competition of a true popular movement whose strength and very roots lay in the spirit of liberty and truth.

The anarchists became once more victims of the state, many being confined in concentration camps. In January 1948 the existence of these camps became known through a report written by the Secretary of the B.A.C.F. and smuggled out of the country where it was published by the sub-secretariat of the I.W.M.A.

Communist Concentration Camps in Bulgaria

"All the letters of our alphabet would not be enough to present the true character of the concentration camps in our country, which are intended to exterminate man and his freedom. Alongside our comrades in these camps are thousands of other Bulgarians.

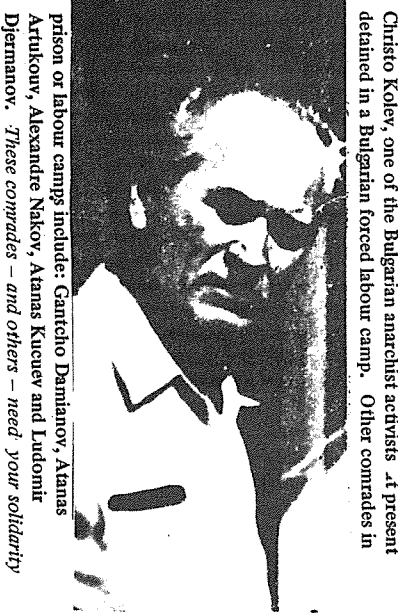
"We shall give some facts and examples that you may judge the reality.

"The camps are composed of barracks made of wood and earthen bricks, and are in two wings. The beds — one above another — are two metres long and 40 cms. wide. On the bed the prisoner must place, at one end and the same time, himself and his baggage, and from the first night onward he is able to understand perfectly the nature of the camps.

"One cannot speak of hygiene, because, in the main, there is insufficient water. In most of the camps water has to be fetched from far off, and there is not enough for everyone to drink. It's a big event when one is able to wash one's clothes — a thing that isn't possible for everyone. Only the strongest are able to wash their linen once a month, or once in two months. Medical aid is given by decree. Doctors are forbidden to prescribe rest in more than the agreed percentage of cases; in the Cuciyan Camp, for example, this is one per cent.

"The quality of the food is beyond description. For example, in the Cuciyan Camp, near the town of Pernik, where the work of mining is very hard and painful, the ration is 600 gr. of bread a day and a soup called 'chorba', which do not give the necessary calories. For several months nothing but cabbage — of the worst quality in Bulgaria — has been cooked in the camp, a witness from the camp tells us. 'Most of our fat and sugar ration is kept by the camp guards,' a cook, recently released from the camp states. The food for nearly 1000 men is cooked in boilers meant to supply 200-250. It is the same in the camp called Bogdanovdol. In boil-

Now!



Christo Kolev, one of the Bulgarian anarchist activists at present detained in a Bulgarian forced labour camp. Other comrades in

ers for 70-80 men is cooked the food for 150-200. The prisoners work 15 hours a day making bricks. The situation in these camps is particularly bad, as food and clothing parcels have been forbidden since January 1st.

"The bad conditions of the dwelling quarters and the food are not the sole causes of the discomfort which the internees are made to suffer. The amount of work required from each one is hard, and is, moreover, accompanied by an inhuman system of punishments. In this matter the two camps cited are the worst. The Cuciyan camp is known as "The Caresses of Death" and Bogdanovdol "The Camp of Shadows."

"The treatment inflicted on the anarchists is particularly bad. They are often forced to do 36 hours' work without halting. Twelve to 16 hours work is the normal thing. Men often fall down of hunger and fatigue, and there have been some deaths in spite of the practice of releasing dying prisoners, so that their deaths take place at home and not at the camp.

"Punishments are so bad, that they are beyond conception. In addition to beatings, supplementary work and imprisonment for several months, the infamous punishment of "counting the stars"

is practiced. The internees are forced to remain standing motionless in front of the guards in the open air, during the night, in rain, frost or snow. This punishment lasts one, two, three, four, five, or ten consecutive nights and those who are undergoing this punishment have to work during the day. These punishments are applied on the slightest pretext.

"For example, one of our comrades was ordered to 'count the stars' because he took an invalid from work and put him in bed. Another elderly comrade received three nights of it for the crime of not rising when one of the camp officers passed through the hall while he was eating at midday.

"Collective punishments" are often applied. For an error by one detainee, a group, a barracks or the whole camp may be punished. These collective punishments are used often against the Anarchists. There are other special punishments. For example, by an order from above, the Anarchist collective has been destroyed and all the means of subsistence confiscated. In September alone more than 100 kilos were confiscated from them.

"What we have already said about the Bulgarian extermination camps would be incomplete without some supplementary details.

"In the Cuciyan camp, for example, a few months ago, two children of 14 spent nearly two months. In Bogdanovdol and Cuciyan ten Turkish children of 15-17 years of age are still detained today. With these children are old people of 60-70.

"As in Franco Spain and monarcho-fascist Greece, a regime of terror and intolerable violence reigns throughout Bulgaria today. The detention of our comrades continues, and this is now without even a charge being brought: 'He who is not with us is an enemy of the people,' declared a Bulgarian Minister recently, 'and against him we must fight pitilessly.'

"It is enough now to be an Anarchist, or simply an honest man, to refuse to call black white, or to recognise the new masters, to be labelled 'Enemy of the people,' 'saboteur' or 'agitator,' and to be taken from your home and separated from your family.

"All free-thinking men throughout the world must raise their voices and protest against these crimes. We ask them to make these facts known so that they can rise with us against the Bolshevik butchery. Down with the masquerade of the false communism and the false communist!

Bulgaria — January, 1948"

By December 1948 the mounting repression against the anarchist movement came to a head with the mass arrest of over 600 militants some days before the Bulgarian Communist Party's Fifth Congress. After several trials these comrades were sent to concentration camps.

After this communist onslaught no open manifestation of anarchism was possible. Comrades either went into hiding to continue the struggle clandestinely or went into exile. Those who left the country gathered in Paris where they began a monthly journal, *Notre Route*, the organ of the B.A.C.F. in exile. Although this publication is in Bulgarian they have also published books and pamphlets in French including a biography of Cheitanov, and the memoirs of Nicolas Steinov, the centenarian anti-militarist and anarchist propagandist.

Despite a never ending communist persecution the anarchist movement is still alive in Bulgaria. In April 1974 seven militants were arrested and condemned to five years internal deportation each, under strict surveillance, in addition they were obliged to sign a declaration that they would refrain from anarchist propaganda. One of these militants was Christo Kolov who has been adopted as a prisoner of Amnesty International.

KANEKO FUMIKO

When Noel and Marie Murray were arraigned on a death sentence in Dublin in June 1976, they took their place as the latest in a long succession of couples whose first vow was to overthrow state oppression, and who fell victim to the particular viciousness of state violence. Japan seems to have had more than its share of such couples: Kotoku Shusui and Kanno Suga, hanged for High Treason in January 1911; Osugi Sakae and Ito Noe, arrested and murdered by the Kempeitai in September 1923; and Kaneko Fumiko and Pak Yul, about whom the following article revolves.

Introduction.

"Life is not just action, but action in response to your own free will. In other words, action is not all of life; thus, simply living in itself is meaningless, and may be said to begin only when conscious action itself begins. An action taken of your own free will, even should it lead to your own physical destruction, is not the negation but the affirmation of life."

"High Treason" in pre-1945 Japan was not merely a political crime, but a revolt against God in the person of its earthly representative the emperor. In March 1926 21-year old nihilist Kaneko Fumiko was convicted of high treason. In response to the judge's sonorous tones pronouncing sentence, she raised both hands in the air and shouted "Banzai!" Preservation of the spirit through the destruction of the flesh: precisely the fate which the last few years of her short, stormy life had been building up to.

When the Catfish Shivers . . .

The story behind the trial goes back ultimately to a childhood scarred permanently by legal brutality, but we can pick it up at a date just two and a half years before the courtroom scene was enacted, on September 1, 1923 — to be precise, at 11.58a.m.

At 11.58a.m. most of Tokyo was getting ready to knock off work for the morning; at home dinner was cooking over charcoal braziers. By a few minutes after 12.00 this everyday scene had been replaced by one of desolation and inferno, for this was the day when the most destructive earthquake in the history of Japan — the Great Tokyo Earthquake — struck. In an apocalyptic outburst of anger, the gods of Japan — many Japanese people at that time still believed that natural disasters were a sign of the gods' displeasure with worldly events — had picked up the earth by its axis as one picks up a cat by the scruff of its neck, and the wood and paper houses of the sprawling metropolis of Tokyo-Yokohama collapsed like a pack of cards. Overhead angry clouds rose like pillars of red smoke. As the aftershocks repeated themselves almost without interval, the cooking stoves overturned amongst the debris transformed the entire urban area into a sea of flame. When the shocks and the firestorms subsided, two thirds of Tokyo and four fifths of Yokohama were destroyed, and some 140,000 people burned to death.

The authorities were not prepared to trust to nature, however.

As the next day dawned upon a scene of burned-out devastation, the cries of fear and grief of the previous day were replaced by a new sound, one that brought more terror to the hearts of those it pointed to than any of nature's wonders could bring:

"Koreans are going about, setting fire to shops, poisoning the drinking water, and raping our women. Korean miners have stolen dynamite, and plan to blow up the whole of Tokyo . . .!" "That's not all . . . They're being egged on by Japanese socialists!"

These rumours, deliberately created and spread by the secret police upon imperial orders had their origin in the need to assign responsibility for the holocaust. In the past emperors had even resigned in penance at such a manifestation of the wrath of their heavenly superiors. For Hirohito, as effectively in control as he is today, though officially still Prince-Regent on behalf of the mad Emperor Taisho his father, abdication was out of the question. Another scapegoat was needed. The enormous Korean immigrant population, either shipped in as forced labour or obliged to come because of colonial oppression since Japan's annexation of Korea in 1910, was ideal. For centuries the Japanese people had been indoctrinated to despise their nearest neighbours, and the rumour that Koreans had offended the Japanese gods was perfectly calculated to bring out their long-harboured hatred.

The government had a specific political motive, too. Since the first organised resistance in Korea to Japanese colonial rule had burst out in the March 1st Independence Movement of 1919, the formation of terrorist groups all over the colony, the inauguration of the Provisional Government in Shanghai soon after, and the various activities of independence-seekers of all shades on the political spectrum — all these had combined to constitute a painful thorn in the side of the Japanese authorities. Even worse, the spread of these activities to Koreans living in Japan and the support given them by Japanese socialists was beginning to create instability at home, which was heightened by the post-war depression still gripping the country.

The insertion of Japanese socialists into the plot was a brainwave, marking the government's recognition of a heaven-sent opportunity to eliminate known militants and cow the rank and file into submission without having to weather the storm of opposition which it knew would blow up if it employed legal means; all casualties could be blamed on the earthquake.

At 6p.m. on September 2nd, 30 hours after the tremors, martial law was declared, ostensibly to deal with the gangs of socialists and Koreans said to be ransacking the city. Vigilante teams were formed everywhere, and terrified people, incensed by long-conditioned racial hatred and incited by government-supported right-wing fanatical death squads, sought out, beat up and cut down in broad daylight every last Korean they could find. Traditional-style Japanese swords were the favourite weapon, and when not available were replaced by fire hooks. "I killed so many!" — "I killed twice that many!" Shouts like these (to be repeated at the rape of Nanking, China, in 1937 and thenceforth over all of Asia) were to be heard in every corner of the working-class districts where most Koreans lived, as mobs of Japanese, sleeves dripping with blood, gathered to assess their gruesome toll. It was a hell beyond imagination, let alone description. Kotoku Shusui's conversion to anarchism had come about after he saw the mutual aid spontaneously practised following the San

Francisco earthquake of 1906. Had he remained alive to see what happened in his own Tokyo, he might have been less sanguinary about the imminence of revolution in Japan.

Late in the day the government, feeling maybe that things had got out of hand, or perhaps reckoning that the heat was now well and truly off Hirohito, announced belated measures to protect Koreans from the atrocities which it itself had engineered. Chief among the measures was "protective custody": read "Auschwitz". The massacres now took place behind police-station doors instead of in the open.

The 6000 or so Koreans estimated to have lost their lives in the days of horror that followed the earthquake were joined by several hundred Chinese and at least 400 socialists — mainly anarchists — known to have perished. As the cells filled, victims were slaughtered to make room. Thus the anarcho-syndicalist Osugi Sakae, his wife Ito Noe and his seven-year old nephew Soichi were strangled and thrown into a well. Thus too, seventeen anarchist workers (some of them Koreans) who refused to stop singing revolutionary songs in their police cells were slashed to death with cavalry sabres. A full list of atrocities has yet to be compiled. On September 3rd Kaneko Fumiko and her common-law husband Pak Yul were picked up at their home, H.Q. of the *Futei Sha* or Society of Rebels, and taken into "protective custody." She was just 19.

Pak Yul

"Revolutionary leaders will undoubtedly seize power in the new society. Right on. As the new power-holders they will certainly create a new order too. And when the people wake up and look around them they will find that once again they are slaves, subject to a new set of masters. And they will say, 'What is a revolution then? Is it, after all, just the replacement of one set of rulers by another?'"

When Fumiko first met the Korean nihilist Pak Yul in the spring of 1922, though still only 17, she had already been into both Christianity and socialism, and come out of each disappointed by the failure of their respective protagonists (both men she had lived with) to live up to the ideals they preached. Hatred of authoritarianism in all its guises, expressed in the sentences quoted above, brought her through anarchism finally to nihilism, and when she and Pak Yul met in a Chinese restaurant in Tokyo it was a coming together of like minds. Having already determined that Pak was the man who would restore her faith in revolutionary principles, when they met again in the same restaurant Fumiko proposed to him that they live together as equal comrades, thus not repeating the experience of her previous relationships. Nevertheless, she took pains to ensure that there would be no mistake:

"Forgive me for speaking so frankly . . . Are you married? If not, then surely someone . . . that you have a lover I cannot doubt. Even if you have, I would like to work together with you as a comrade . . ."

"I am single . . . I have no lover . . ."

"Then . . . I am a Japanese. I try not to have any prejudice against Koreans, but in your own case perhaps you feel some antipathy towards me, don't you?"

"No. Any animosity I have is directed entirely against the Japanese ruling class, not

against the ordinary Japanese. And towards unprejudiced people like you, on the contrary, I feel a great closeness."

"One more question: are you a nationalist? To tell the truth I spent some time in Korea myself, and I think I can understand the feelings cherished by the people active in the nationalist movement. And yet . . . because I am still a Japanese, and haven't suffered oppression by the Japanese government in the same way that the same way that the Korean people have, I find it impossible to fight alongside such people for Korean independence. Accordingly, if you too are an independence fighter, I am sorry to say that it is impossible for me to live with you."

"There are certain aspects of the Korean nationalist movement with which one must be in sympathy. I myself was once a member of that movement. Now I am no longer so. I have my own way of thinking, my own way of working. It is no longer possible for me to fight in the nationalist movement."

* * * *

Fumiko's attraction towards Pak Yul dated from some time earlier when a Korean friend had shown her a copy of a Korean magazine in which Pak's poem 'Dog' was carried. Its effect upon her was devastating. The rebellious sentiments which it expressed were stronger than any she had ever encountered before, and she seemed to feel herself sucked into the very centre of the poem itself. (Unfortunately, no copies of the poem exist today, so we are unable to discover what it was that impressed her so much). In and between its lines, 17-year old Fumiko could feel the revolutionary anger bubbling up, and she made up her mind there and then to somehow make Pak Yul's acquaintance.

Pak Yul, born in Korea in 1902, had moved like her from vague socialism tinted with nationalism, through anarchism to nihilism. In the days of the full bloom of 'Taisho Democracy'(*) he had met and been deeply affected by anarchists like Osugi Sakae and Iwasa Sakutarō, become politicised, and got involved in activities aimed at the overthrow of Japanese imperialism and the ruling class which sponsored it.

In 1920 he and other young Koreans living in Tokyo had organised the *Giketsu Dan* (Righteous Bold Corps), modelled upon a similar group the *Uiyuldan* (Band of Heroes) then operating with great success against Japanese installations in Korea and Manchuria. In the following year a new group, the *Tekken Dan* (Clenched Fist Corps) was formed. By carrying out a campaign of revenge against those who betrayed the Korean people, the aim was to raise Korean national consciousness.

Later in the same year, in close collaboration with Iwasa and Osugi, Pak took part in the creation of the *Kokuto Kai* (Black Waves Society), a group intended to draw together all Korean socialists living in Tokyo. The preponderance of anarchists may be judged by its manifesto:

"We live our lives at all times strictly according to our own will . . . We will oppose to the bitter end and seek with all our strength to smash all the unreasonable and artificial concepts of 'unity' which disregard the free will of each individual and impede the full development of his or her own personality . . . You can keep your Marx, your Lenin, you can even keep your Kropotkin — we have no use for any of that stuff. We have our own precious experiences to rely upon, our own pronouncements to make, and the blood that flows in our own veins to fire our zeal. We have things which we must do, and as for those things we should not do — we will be the judges. No external authority, however strong, can direct our actions."

To The People

Fumiko and Pak began living together soon after their second meeting in the Chinese

restaurant. Before doing so they drew up the following covenant:

1. to live together as comrades;
2. to disregard Fumiko's female sex when engaged in movement activities;
3. to each aid the other in his or her activities, the better to serve the movement;
4. to discontinue their life together should either one of them backslide ideologically or make peace with the authorities.

Their first joint activity was the publication of *Kokuto* (Black Waves), a magazine intended to serve as the organ of the Black Waves Society formed the previous November. They made a living from Pak Yul's ginseng peddling, in which Fumiko now joined him. In open defiance of a society which deemed that the symbol of womanhood was long flowing black hair, Fumiko cut hers short, donned Lupashka trousers (buttoned at the ankle and very wide in the leg, they are still worn today by Japanese workers) and set off to peddle her ginseng carrying a very butch briefcase.

All the editing work on 'Black Waves' was done by Pak Yul, with Fumiko contributing articles and helping with production. In one piece entitled 'Two or Three Things I have Thought About', the biting irony with which she sharply refutes the rationale behind the Japanese annexation of Korea demonstrates both her genius for political dissection and the weight of the tragic events that had shaped her short life. Her rebellion against authority grew out of both these properties.

Even as Pak Yul and Kaneko Fumiko began their joint activities, social conditions in Japan were heading for a major change. Unemployment caused by the post-war depression had put the labour movement on the defensive, and at a conference in Osaka in September 1922 the movement's leadership was seized by a coalition of communists and moderates. The communists through the Japan Communist Party formed the previous June, were criticising the anti-political stand of the anarchists and syndicalists, and advocating "utilising all the bourgeois freedoms and institutions" — in other words, parliamentary struggle. Few as the communists were, their "change of course" had a wide influence in the deteriorating conditions of the time, and from this point on the agitation for universal suffrage (hitherto suffrage had been restricted to males with considerable property) began to increase. Radical groups split down the middle, usually on a strict anarchist — 'Bolshevik' division, and the Black Waves Society was no exception. In September 1922, soon after the Osaka labour congress, it broke up into rival factions, and 'Black Waves' folded after only two issues.

Pak and Fumiko continued their publishing activities with *Futoi Senjin* (first issue came out in October), which they put out entirely under their own steam. The title had its origin in the expression '*Futei Senjin*' (Disorderly Koreans) which the Japanese authorities habitually used in the press to dampen any signs of uppityness among the Korean community. What they really meant by the term was 'Korean radicals', and accordingly, Pak and Fumiko originally intended to use the expression '*Futei Senjin*' for their new paper. The police raised immediate objections, however, and the name was changed even before the first issue appeared to *Futoi Senjin*. The word '*futoi*' can be understood on two levels; on the one hand it carries a similar meaning to '*futei*'; but it also means 'fat,' and by insisting that their paper was addressed to "Fat Koreans" Pak and Fumiko were able at least to make it see the light of day, even if some 40 - 50% of each issue was made illegible by the political censor's pen.

For them, the label '*Futei Senjin*' was synonymous with "people who are burning with the ideals of freedom and independence;" in other words, Koreans who, refusing to be tied down to dependency, fought against the authorities for their freedom.

For all this, neither Pak nor Fumiko thought of themselves as pure nationalists, as we have seen, and after two issues of '*Futoi Senjin*' they felt the need to find a new title. Their comrades included both Koreans and Japanese, and from the government's point of view they were all "disorderly wastrels" anyway, so in March 1923, the name of the paper was changed to *Gen Shakai* (Current Society). At the same time the scope of the paper was expanded and several new comrades came to help on the paper.

Things now began to move very fast. In April Pak brought together some members of the *Kokuyukai* (Black Fellowship Association) which had been formed by him and the other anarchists following the break-up of the Black Wave Society, and with them set up a new group, the *Futeisha* (Society of Rebels). Its objectives were simple: neither Korean independence, nor Korean revolution, but simply defiance, together with the punishment of all pro-Japan Koreans. Secret liaison being impossible due to police surveillance, activities were left up to individual members. The society's official activities were restricted to "research on social problems."

As for Fumiko, after a year of living together with Pak, meeting and working with his association, she was confident that her "marriage" had lived up to her ideals. For her, "service to the movement" came a slow second behind "affirmation of one's life." At the same time the fires of radicalism within her had been stoked high. The more she lived with Pak, the more she came to feel, as she had concluded to him on that day in the Chinese restaurant, that "together we could do many things." In short, Kaneko Fumiko was happy.

Frame-Up

In September came the earthquake. In order to stem the rising tide of anger among Koreans in Japan (Korean workers, mostly casual, were the first to suffer the effects of the depression, and the last to recover from them), and to nip in the bud the efforts of Kaneko Fumiko and Pak Yul to connect this anger to an anti-authoritarian revolution, the authorities pounced. The pair were arrested, taken into "protective custody", and finally charged with treason. For the average Japanese, many of whom went about night and day in a posture, spiritually speaking, of permanent obeisance to the "living god," to merely hear the word "treason" uttered was to go cold with fear. (Even today, in the birthplace of Kotoku Shusui, people go pale when his name is mentioned by unsuspecting visitors).

For that very reason, from the authorities' point of view, nothing could be handier. A treason charge permitted the roping-in of any number of "suspects" (the haul on the charge that finally hung Kotoku was several hundred). It also, in its fearsomeness, stifled opposition and served as an exemplary warning to others still contemplating risking the wrath of their rulers. In Japan's special case, moreover, it constituted more than a mere admonitory law: it was a rite of passage sanctified by the intimacy with which the average Japanese regarded his or her relationship to "Tenno" — the emperor, patriarch-in-chief of the Japanese race.

The treason charge against Pak and Fumiko was totally concocted, and not even introduced until well after their arrests. That they had discussed the need to kill the emperor, and even formed the intention of doing so, was true, but they had never laid their hands upon the means to do it.

They were not alone in harbouring such intentions. To the Japanese terrorist (then as now) assassination of the emperor or, even better in 1923, Prince-Regent Hirohito, was the most obvious thing in the world. Several attempts were made upon Hirohito's life in the mid-1920s, particularly in revenge for the brutal murder of Osugi Sakae by the military police. How much more natural

was it for those whose own soil had been stolen from them, who were forbidden even to speak their own language, who were discriminated against and abused by Japanese colonial masters, and then forced to bow down to the portrait of the emperor which adorned every public place and pay homage to his "benevolence"? How could a Korean not despise this so-called living God?

Pak Yul, nihilist as well as Korean, had indeed secretly contacted members of the already-mentioned Band of Heroes in Shanghai in order to obtain explosives for the attempt on Hirohito, and made a secret trip to Korea, but in fact neither of these efforts had borne fruit by the time of his arrest on September 3rd. Nevertheless, in February 1924, both he and Kaneko Fumiko were indicted on a charge of "contravening the regulations controlling the use of explosive substances" (the original "protective custody" order had been amended in October to a charge of "contravening the Public Order Police Law," under which the entire membership of the *Futei Sha*, deemed an illegal secret society, was picked up).

From the very beginning, the imperial authorities had intended to make a sacrificial offering of Pak and Fumiko, and they now proceeded skillfully and surreptitiously towards enticing the two into a confession. The information that they had considered an assassination attempt had come from a disaffected member of the *Futei Sha*. Fumiko and Pak, as their interrogators' line of questioning drifted perceptibly towards this direction, can hardly have failed to guess the shape of the writing already on the wall.

As a moth is drawn involuntarily towards the light, so Pak and Fumiko found themselves borne towards the gallows. For Pak in particular, it was as if Fumiko had invited him on this last journey; having accepted the invitation, he matched her steps with equal alacrity. Neither made any attempt to save themselves. To the verbal abuse of their interrogators they replied in the affirmative, admitting, in the absence of any concrete evidence against them, that they had planned to assassinate the Prince-Regent, and brandishing openly their hatred of the imperial Japanese state. In doing so they played into the hands of the authorities, now circling vulture-like above them; the proof of the charge against them lay precisely in their refusal, to the bitter end, to abandon their insistence upon the affirmation of life – in other words, their refusal to concede one inch to the executors of state violence. They were living out the creed of the '*Futei Senjin*.'

Trial

Fumiko's statement at the preliminary court of enquiry was not an emotional outburst by someone longing for death, but a cool, philosophical pronouncement by one who has soberly and in full consciousness chosen to die:

"The stronger your affirmation of life, the stronger becomes the capacity for its negation, and with it the capacity for rebellion. That is why I affirm life. Affirm it with all my strength. And precisely because I affirm life, I resist bitterly and all forces which threaten it."

The point of no return on the treason charge was passed in January 1924, at the preliminary questioning, when both Fumiko and Pak began to expand upon their opinions of the emperor system, and to explain why they had intended to kill the Prince-Regent Hirohito. Pak described the imperial family as no more than the top layer of Japan's social class hierarchy, and justified the throwing of bombs at them as follows:

"First, to demonstrate to the Japanese people the fallibility of the emperor, and thus bring his sanctity crashing to the ground. Second, to stimulate within the Korean people the passion for revolutionary independence by overthrowing the Japanese emperor. Third, to spur the now-stagnant Japanese socialist

movement to a sense of revolutionary urgency."

Fumiko, in jail as in liberty, could match every word of Pak's on the need for revolution with ten of her own. When it came to her turn to speak, she unburdened herself in such a flood of seemingly unstoppable eloquence that it could not possibly be repeated here in full. Summarised, it went something like this:

"The so-called 'homeland of the gods' by which label the Japanese imperial state is adorned, in reality amounts to no more than the means by which a tiny privileged class indulges its self-interest. The emperor is just their figurehead. The moralistic ideology of 'loyalty to the ruler and love for the country', so furiously expounded in our schools, disguises with elegant phrases their greedy desire to exploit more and more out of the Japanese people. The job of the emperor is to cloak their greed with a layer of sanctity, inveigling the Japanese people to sacrifice their own existence for the sake of his co-exploiters.

"This incomparable national policy, distinguished by its unbroken imperial line, in reality is a history of shameful infamy, drenched in the blood of the people. This is the real essence of the emperor system. To prostrate oneself in blind adoration of it instead of attacking it is to consent to being the slave of Japan's privileged minority. To overthrow the emperor, this lubricant of the machinery of oppression, every day which is saved will redound to the lasting honour of the Japanese people. If he was a god, he would be in heaven. The emperor is human as any other Japanese, and therefore we decided to prove it to the Japanese people by killing him. We also wanted to show to them that people can make their own world, that people live for their own benefit, and act according to their own needs. There is no maker."

As a result of these pronouncements, indictments against Pak and Fumiko became a foregone conclusion, and were formally handed down in July 1925. Through their uncompromising statements, the courtroom itself became a forum for the impeachment of the emperor and the imperial Japanese state.

On March 25, 1926 sentence was passed: death by hanging for both. Fumiko responded immediately with a shout of "Banzai! Bravo!", Pak with "Thank you for your trouble!" to the chief judge. For the two of them, the death sentence was the logical conclusion to their rebellion, the symbol of their ultimate victory over the Japanese state.

Perhaps for this very reason, ten days after the verdict they were summoned to the prison warden's office to hear that their desire to die for the sake of affirming life was to be thwarted after all: There had been a 'special pardon' . . . sentence was reduced by one degree to life imprisonment. Fumiko exploded immediately with anger: "You handle a person's life as if it were a toy to be played with! What is your 'special pardon'? Do you think you can treat me just as you like?!"

Suicide

"I know Pak and I love him. For all his faults and all his shortcomings, I love him, even while I acknowledge unconditionally here and now that he has sometimes caused me suffering. To Pak's comrades I say: if you think this whole affair was crazy, please feel free to mock us. It was our affair and no-one else's. To the bureaucrats I say: please, allow us to go to the gallows together. I shall be content if I may die alongside Pak. And to Pak I say: however the bureaucrats may try to pull us apart, I will never allow you to die alone!"

In the light of this earlier statement of Fumiko's, made before the judges of the High Court, in which she proclaims loudly and with dignity her love for Pak Yul, one can readily

understand the shock, both emotionally and ideologically speaking, of hearing the sentence commuted to life imprisonment. Not only was her affirmation of life through death to be denied: her separation from Pak Yul was to be permanent. Trapped in the deepest dungeons of the state, doomed to live out her days unable even to write to her beloved Pak Yul – was that life? Or just humiliation and torture?

After transfer to women's prison Fumiko refused all work, even refused food. Her last line of attack was to resign herself to extinction. She had chosen to die because her ideology committed her to resistance to state power. What use did she have for a life restored to her by the state in its 'mercy'? If she was not to betray the ideology which she had lived out hitherto, there was only one means remaining to her . . .

As the first rays of a hot summer sun filtered through the bars of her cell one morning in July 1926, Kaneko Fumiko's body was discovered suspended from the ceiling by a straw rope made in the prison workshop. She was not yet 22.

* * * * *

In the short space of seven years since the women's movement burst onto the Japanese political scene, it has become a force which none of the numerous other anti-establishment movements can ignore. Nevertheless, the life of Kaneko Fumiko, a life which she tried to take into her own hands, standing up boldly in open defiance of her oppressors, has yet to be re-assessed in terms of the criteria of the women's movement. The reason, perhaps, lies in the fact that she lived out her freedom in her own way, a way which did not put her womanhood before all else.

As modern capitalism took root in Japan following the Meiji Restoration of 1968, setting the nation on a course of forced industrialisation, strikes by women workers became common in factories all over the country. With the establishment in 1911 of the first women's political organisation, the 'Bluestockings' (*Seito Sha*), the debate on the 'New Woman' began to fill the pages of the press. "In the beginning, woman was the sun" – the opening statement of the new magazine 'Bluestocking' (*Seito*) marked the birth in Japan of the 'New Woman' idea. From a political and literary magazine, 'Bluestocking' developed gradually into an instrument for women's liberation. Finally, in 1921, the first socialist women's group, the 'Red Billows Society' (*Sekiran Kai*) was formed. Its manifesto proclaimed:

"We announce our stubborn opposition to all kinds of oppression which keeps our brothers and sisters in poverty and ignorance."

Kaneko Fumiko cannot have been unaware of these developments. Yet her disillusionment with the world – even with women themselves – was such as to prevent her from joining those who were attacking men as the oppressors, as much as her disappointment with the workers prevented her from being a socialist. For Fumiko there remained only to do what she wanted to do.

The Making of a Nihilist

The tragic chain of events which led a young girl to nihilism at the age of 18 is recorded in Kaneko Fumiko's prison notes, published in 1931 under the title 'How Did This Happen To Me?' (*Nani Ga Watashi O Ko Saseta Ka*).

Born in the autumn of 1905, from her earliest recollections home was merely the scene of constant bickering and strife between her parents. Her father's sexual promiscuity made the lives of Fumiko and her mother a misery. From time to time he would bring women home and install them in the family house. When Fumiko's mother objected she would be kicked and beaten. On another occasion he disappeared into a brothel for days on end, leaving the family to fend for

itself; finally Fumiko's mother took her by the hand and toured the town's brothel area looking for her husband. When at last they hit the target her father appeared wearing only a night-gown and threw his wife and daughter into the street. Fumiko wrote that in such conditions even her mother had no time for her, jointly oppressed though they were. Her mother, discarded by her husband, was like a kite without a string, and went from one man to the next looking for one she could rely on.

Abused by her mother's male friends, at one point on the verge of being sold to a brothel for a trifling sum, Fumiko herself finally lost all faith in a mother who made only the pretence of caring for her. At the age of fifteen she made her way to Tokyo where, as mentioned earlier, she lodged with first a Christian then a socialist, making a living by selling newspapers.

In point of fact, Fumiko's parents were not officially married at all — very important in Japan. Her father seems to have regarded his relationship with her mother as no more than a temporary arrangement until he found a more suitable woman. The birth of Fumiko destroyed all his plans, and from then on the quarrelling was continuous.

For Fumiko the outcome was even more disastrous: born out of wedlock, she was then unregistrable. In the eyes of the Japanese state an unregistered person does not exist. The bureaucratisation of Japanese society that had started in 1868 with the creation of the first strong, centralised nation state, began with the *Koseki Seido* or family register system, which was extended to subsume every last Japanese individual. The basic unit was the household, every member of which, beginning with the family head — the patriarch — was obliged to enter their name on its roll, which was then deposited in the local government office. The imperial state bestowed special powers upon each family patriarch, bringing them formally into the structure of the patriarchal imperial state itself, and thus extending the web of state control so as to leave no corner of Japan untouched.

Each family patriarch was supreme in his own household, able to regulate not only the disposition of family property but the very lives of family members themselves — and supported where necessary by the law. Family members could take no action whatsoever without asking for express permission, and, since the patriarch was the formal representative of the imperial state, to go against his orders was to attack not only the state but implicitly the supreme patriarch himself: the emperor. Every law, every moral stipulation, the running of every state agency — all were designed to facilitate the smooth operation of this repressive system.

Kaneko Fumiko, as an unregistered person, was therefore an alien in her own country. While this may appear to be an advantage, the gift of freedom from the repressive state, the reality was different. For example, those officially-registered, whatever the strictures placed upon them, had at least the right to go to school and learn to read and write. Fumiko wanted to study more than anything else; the state excluded her from its schools. Even when her mother was able to persuade some private temple school to admit her, the truth soon got around and she was forced to run the gauntlet of catcalls from other pupils.

Thus, above and beyond the ignominy of being ignored by its apparatus, Fumiko's anger at the state grew out of the impossibility of satisfying her simple desire for knowledge. To her this was the most painful of the many abuses heaped upon her. On top of it, however, was the behaviour of her father who, though of course not legally endowed with patriarchal authority, acted nevertheless as though he did and through his high-handedness made her life a misery. As for her mother, who

clung to her husband through all the kickings and beatings, then, when he rejected her for good, went from man to man looking for the right one — Fumiko could pity her, sympathise with her — but never love her. In her own words:

"I felt sorry for her being beaten all the time. But then, he himself was just as pitiful. Why, when their lives consisted purely of bitter fighting, did they continue to live together at all?"

Fumiko's nihilism was arrived at, therefore, not solely because of her disillusionment with the ignorance and weakness of the workers themselves, but also through her disillusionment with women. With this in mind we can better understand the relationship between her and the women's movement.

Ignored by the state, abused by her father, abandoned by her mother — these fifteen years led Fumiko to affirm her life in the only way possible: by cursing and rebelling against the system which had made such things come about — above all, against that symbol of all that is evil: the emperor himself.

"I cursed nature, I cursed society, I cursed every living thing. I sought to bring it all tumbling down around me as I died!"

* * * * *

Epilogue

I first heard the name of Kaneko Fumiko in Seoul, South Korea, in March 1975. Korean comrades I was visiting there told me very excitedly, "At last we've managed to erect a tombstone for Kaneko Fumiko!" and brought out some photographs to prove it. About 100 people, from old militants to young children, gathered around a simple black stone topped by a piece of Korean granite. The inscription on the stone read simply: "The grave of Miss Kaneko Fumiko." On the facing side was a brief resume in Korean of her life, and another side carried a list of members of the 'Committee to Erect the Tombstone of Kaneko Fumiko'. Among the names I could see those of many old militants, veterans of the anti-colonial struggle and fighters for the anarchist cause, like Chong Hwa Am, Lee Chung Kyu, Ha Kee Rak, Chong Nae Dong, Lee Chi Hal, Choi Hak Chu. Another name was that of Kurihara Kazuo, veteran Japanese anarchist who had first published Fumiko's prison notes, 'How Did This Happen To Me?' in 1931. A delegation from Japan had also visited the grave, I heard. It included the author Setouchi Harumi, who has written a novel *Yohaku no Haru* (Blank Spring) about Fumiko and Pak Yul, as well as two others about the lives of Kotoku Shusui and Kanno Suga, and Osugi Sakae and Ito Noe respectively.

The lonely hillside where the tombstone stands overlooks the village where Pak Yul was born. From the time she began living with Pak, Fumiko started a correspondence with his family in Korea, in the course of which she begged them to allow her, after her death, to be buried in the family tomb. Accordingly, in July 1926 her ashes were taken to Korea and preparations made to bury them as she had wished. At this point the Japanese colonial authorities stepped in: "No visiting the grave of a traitor!" If the ashes had been buried in the village cemetery, under the eyes of the secret police agents who kept Pak Yul's old home under constant surveillance, it would have been impossible to go near it even for fear of being arrested for 'anti-government activities'. So, according to Pak's nephew, the grave was dug high in the mountains where those who wished to pay their respects to Kaneko Fumiko could do so in secret. Only now, 50 years after her death, has it become possible to pay one's respects publicly. For this the credit goes to the anarchist movement in south Korea, particularly the old militants (including one former *Futei Sha* member), who challenged the malicious government of Pak Chung Hee by openly honouring a fallen

comrade.

Pak Yul remained in a Japanese prison until the war ended in 1945 and even then the US Occupation Government showed no immediate inclination to release him. In response to strong agitation by socialists and anarchists, to whom Pak was not only a hero of the anti-fascist struggle, but one of the few who had outlived his prison sentence, Pak finally left Akita Prison in October 1945. After a few months' convalescence, he threw himself once again into the struggle for Korean independence.

Things, however, had changed. Instead of a purely anti-Japanese, anti-colonial struggle, the Korean movement (like the Korean peninsula itself) had been split down the middle. The struggle which had begun at home between Russian-supported communists and US supported liberals and right-wingers for mastery over the war-weary Korean people was reflected in the Korean community in Japan. The 'League for Construction of a New Korea' which Pak had helped begin in February 1946 and the 'League of Korean Residents in Japan', started in October 1946, both fell casualties to this new division as the 'Black Waves Society' and others had to the 'Anarchist-Bolshevik' controversy in the 1920s. When Pak expressed himself firmly in favour of the US puppet Syngman Rhee, despite the fact that his provisional government in Seoul had already set about eliminating, with US support, all known radicals in south Korea, communists in the groups staged a coup d'etat and Pak was thrown out from his position as chairman. Soon after this he left for Korea, where he accepted a post in the Rhee government.

Four years later, when north Korean troops pushed the Americans and south Korean forces to the southern-most tip of the peninsula, Pak, for reasons unknown, refused to flee with the rest of the government, and remained in Seoul. There he was arrested and taken back to the north. For a long time nothing was heard of him until, suddenly, his voice began to be heard over Pyongyang Radio lauding the benefits of north Korean socialism. He died in 1974, his death solemnly announced by the north Korean authorities as that of a great national spirit. Of his 72 years, some 20 had been spent incarcerated in a Japanese gaol, and the last 25 in the iron grip of Kim Il Song.

*During the Taisho era (1912-1926) liberal scholarship became very popular, though politics remained as reactionary as ever.

Tohyama Hiroko & Wat Tyler
Osaka, August 1977.



The tombstone of Kaneko Fumiko

Introduction to 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship'

IN HIS ESSAY on the Spanish Civil War Noam Chomsky destroys the prejudices concerning the alleged lack of ability by the workers and the so-called need for the left as an elitist force. His observations are valid not only for Spain but for any popular movement.

Historians in the main ignore this position, for example Hugh Thomas, even in the new edition of his work *The Spanish Civil War*. And it is not really surprising that Gabriel Jackson should persist in his opinion: "In the first place, I should like to say that Professor Chomsky, in his discussion of my book, has created an aunt Sally. I hope no one judges my real opinion of the anarchists or my use of these sources from the distinctly tendentious version he gives (. . .) I have never replied to Chomsky in writing (. . .) anyone who reads what I said concerning collectivisation and what Chomsky has said can see that I am considerably more sceptical as to the long term viability of these collectivisations. The fact is that I give them as much credit for their agricultural and industrial achievements at that time as does Chomsky himself. Therefore, so far as I am concerned there is no ground for any dispute between us." (*Triunfo*, Madrid, 8/3 1975, p. 37)

Gabriel Jackson must have problems with his eyesight because in the Mexican edition of his book (1967) which covers the period 1931-1939 with 413 pages of text (not counting appendices and bibliography), there are barely five and a half which deal with self-management (omitting all references to the attempts of 1932 - 1933 and the theoretical publications); and besides the lack of documents, which are cited in such abundance by B. Bolloten; there is a sort of conclusion taking up four lines which ends with the problem being assimilated by carlism and cantonalism (a coarse imitation of G. Brennan).

Chomsky's study is, therefore, as valid today as it was in 1969 and his argument is very serious.

The fetishism, the worship of elites continues to be evident throughout the world and in all societies: "The West, until now has helped the Soviet Union to avoid a crisis. Because the West dreads such a crisis." (Amalric in *L'Express*, Paris, 28/2/1977, p. 71.) Or, to put it in the words of a French left-wing historian, Marc Ferro, in the event of revolution: "The democratic and conciliatory "head" of the organisations could be submerged by a "base" that swelled up and turned out to be, at top, the support of demagogues, of doctrinaires." (*Le Monde*, Paris, 28/1/1977, p. 15)

This fear of a hierarchic vacuum of intellectuals formed by capitalism is reflected in the implacable condemnations of anarchism by leninists.

I give here two quotations taken from the *Great Soviet Encyclopedia* in Russian. One is the stalinist version of 1953 and the other the "de-stalinised" version of 1970.

On the Spanish War

1953 version: "In the period of the struggle of the Spanish Republic against fascism and Italo/German intervention, 1936-1939, the anarchists, forced by the pressure of the workers who still remained under their influence, fell in with the principle of the Popular Front, bringing into it their explosive work. They undermined all unity with their leftist demands for immediate socialisation of all industries and the violent collectivisation of the peasantry. Certain elements among the anarchists joined with the trotskysts in espionage and other subversive works, participating in the trotskyst counter-revolutionary coup in Barcelona (May 1937) and sowing a spirit of defeat. Together with other traitors and capitulators, they helped the fascists to stifle the Spanish Republic and to establish the bloody Franco regime." (p. 362)

1970 version: "During the national revolutionary war of 1936-1939 in Spain, a section of the anarchists and their leaders (Durruti and others)

took part in the struggle organised against fascism, other leaders rejected the indispensable revolutionary discipline during the national revolutionary war of 1936-1939, abandoning the front, attracting scandals and provocations in the rearguard, demanding "immediate revolution" and "libertarian communism" (that is free from governmental power). These events weakened the Spanish Republic." (p. 574)

On the Present Situation

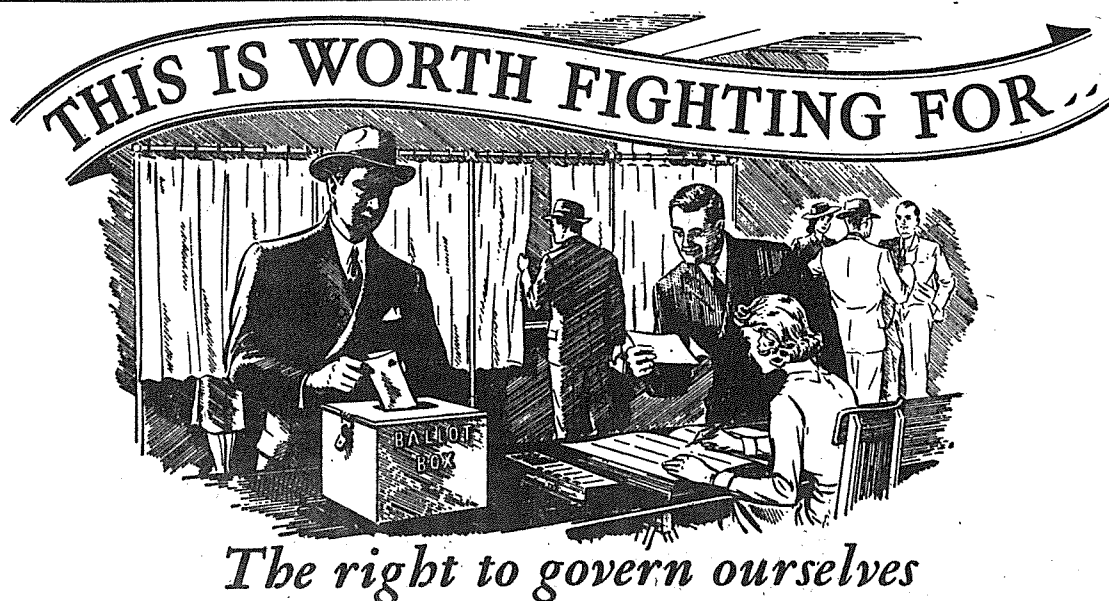
1953: "Finally, liquidated as an ideo-political current in the Soviet union, anarchism has emerged in the capitalist countries as a supporter of the bourgeois parties, attempting in vain to disorganise and demoralise the revolutionary movement."

1970: "Towards the end of the 60's, the increasing number of sections of the population (students and young people in particular) who are becoming involved in the anti-capitalist struggle brought with them strands of thought which were more or less similar to anarchism. These are recuperated by elements opposed to communism and at times directly by the imperialists."

Now, if it is now clear that the capitalist and leninist hierarchies can only attempt to ruin and recuperate any popular movement - why then did the anarchists participate in the Spanish Republican government with elements which obviously had as their main concern the physical elimination of the anarchists and the destruction of the achievements of workers self-management?

Vernon Richards sees the roots of the deviation mainly in two facts: First, a doctrine of action which points more or less to the conquest of power and tends to dismiss self-criticism and discussion. Second, that the struggle between two sections of Spanish anarchists - "treintistas" or reformists and "faistas" or activists - brought about a leadership which ended in an actual bureaucracy during the war.

Personally, I am sure there was confusion in



OBJECTIVITY AND LIBERAL SCHOLARSHIP

NOAM CHOMSKY

THE EXAMPLES OF COUNTERREVOLUTION-ary subordination that I have so far cited have for the most part been drawn from political science and the study of international, particularly Asian, affairs – rather dismal branches of American scholarship, by and large, and so closely identified with American imperial goals that one is hardly astonished to discover the widespread abandonment of civilised norms. In opening this discussion, however, I referred to a far more general issue. If it is plausible that ideology will in gen-

eral serve as a mask for self-interest, then it is a natural assumption that intellectuals, in interpreting history or formulating policy, will tend to adopt an elitist position, condemning popular movements and mass participation in decision making, and emphasising rather the necessity for supervision by those who possess the knowledge and understanding that is required (so they claim) to manage society and control social change. (eds. *italics*) This is hardly a novel thought. One major element in the anarchist critique of Marxism a century ago was the prediction that, as Bakunin formulated it:

“According to the theory of Mr. Marx, the people not only must not destroy [the state] but must strengthen it and place it at the complete disposal of their benefactors, guardians and teachers – the leaders of the Communist party, namely Mr. Marx and his friends, who will proceed to liberate [mankind] in their

own way. They will concentrate the reins of government in a strong hand, because the ignorant people require an exceedingly firm guardianship; they will establish a single state bank, concentrating in its hands all commercial, industrial, agricultural and even scientific production, and then divide the masses into two armies – industrial and agricultural – under the direct command of the state engineers, who will constitute a new privileged scientific-political estate.”¹

(cont. opposite page)

Introduction to “Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship” cont.

the principles of organisation, because decisions were taken by majority vote, and so big unions made a sort of hierarchy. Of course, anarchist groups in the anarcho-syndicalist C.N.T. could produce a tendency to this structure. This situation existed from the beginnings in 1911 to 1936, and was aggravated by the C.N.T.’s prohibition in 1923-30 and the accompanying clandestine struggle.

A comrade, with political experience in Belgium, the Soviet Union, Italy and France, wrote on the C.N.T. in 1931: “The absence of leader worship persists always; unhappily, the control exercised by the base too often shows itself in violent discussions from which are not drawn the necessary concrete conclusions regarding the replacement of those who have not properly accomplished the task they were entrusted with.” (L. Nicolas, *A travers les revolution espagnoles*, Paris, 1972, p. 19)

So it is easy to understand why we see, throughout the history of the C.N.T., the same names: Pestana and Peiro, also Buenacasa, Quintanilla, etc. This tendency was, however, much criticised by younger people – Peirats; still, it is true that, even though there was no bureaucracy in the normal sense of the word – from 1931 to 1936 there was one full time official for an organisation with a membership of up to a million people – there was another big defect; as Bakunin pointed

out: “There exists another kind of corruption (other than the revenues of certain offices) with which, unhappily, the International Association (read C.N.T. – F.M.) is not at all unfamiliar: it is that of vanity and ambition.” (Quoted by Munoz, *Bakounine – La Liberte*, Paris, 1965, p. 203)

During the Civil War, the tension and the urgency of events obliged the C.N.T. leaders to accept the collectivisations carried out by militants as a *fait accompli*. With political participation many C.N.T. militants were nominated to posts in local councils, in economic, military, provincial and governmental committees. At the same time, the more virulent critics of political participation were not accepted for the National Committee of the C.N.T. which tended – certainly – to nominate comrade they felt sure of, who agreed with the tactic of political collaboration.

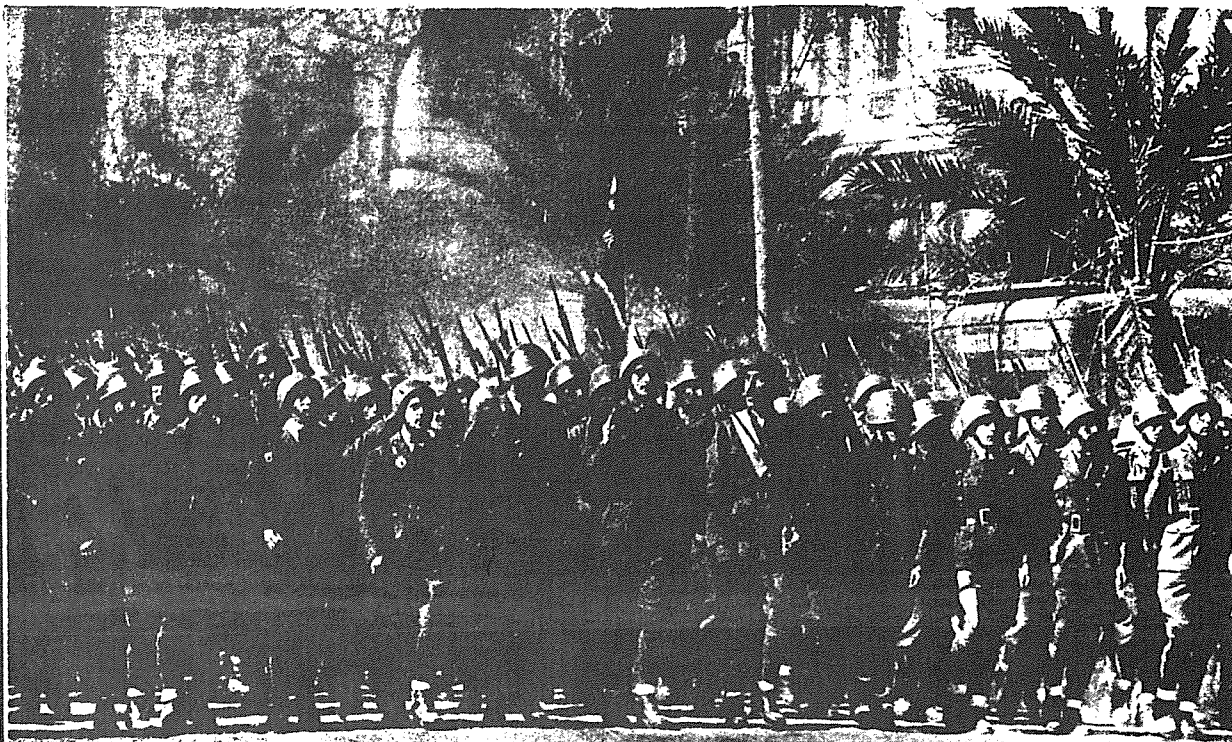
By this method not only did they participate in the running of the State, but they also formed a bureaucracy. Why? Because they carried on exactly like a marxist-leninist group or a democratic political party, with co-option (election of new members of the central committee by the very members of the central committee; as in any bank or commercial company); with the violent and important measures taken due to the “urgency” of the situation; the need to accept, to respect decisions simply to appear as a responsible organisation; the tactics decided by the vote

of the majority, the minorities having to obey and apply tactics which they felt to be negative. . .

Therefore two lessons can be drawn from the experience of anarcho-syndicalist self-management. On the one hand, the profound and lasting formation of the workers, theoretical as much as practical, during more than 60 years (1870-1939) which, when the fascist coup came, gave rise to the generalised reaction by the workers to self-manage the means of production; that is, popular spontaneity, but with many conscious workers mingled with the non-politicised, proposing and not imposing. On the other hand, the lack of respect for the very basis of anarchist ideas of organisation, that is, the revocation and automatic rotation of responsible posts – to avoid the abuse of power and to educate the largest possible number of comrades – brought about the formation of a bureaucracy which revealed itself as closed and obtuse as any other.

In the two cases mentioned, the reaction of the anarcho-syndicalist workers and of the non-politicised workers who adopted their example was to take up the idea of self-management at the same time as they combatted the bureaucracy. War and Revolution at one and the same time, as advocated by, among others, Camillo Berneri, and which Noam Chomsky describes well in the essay which follows.

Frank Mintz, 1/5/77



January 26, 1939 — Italian troops fighting for General Franco enter Barcelona.

One cannot fail to be struck by the parallel between this prediction and that of Daniel Bell, cited earlier — the prediction that in the new post-industrial society, “not only the best talents, but eventually the entire complex of social prestige and social status, will be rooted in the intellectual and scientific communities.”² Pursuing the parallel for a moment, it might be asked whether the left-wing critique of Leninist elitism can be applied, under very different conditions, to the liberal ideology of the intellectual elite that aspires to a dominant role in managing the welfare state.

Rosa Luxemburg, in 1918, argued that Bolshevik elitism would lead to a state of society in which the bureaucracy alone would remain an active element in social life — though now it would be the “red bureaucracy” of that State Socialism that Bakunin had long before described as “the most vile and terrible lie that our century has created.”³ A true social revolution requires a “spiritual transformation in the masses degraded by centuries of bourgeois class rule”;⁴ “it is only by extirpating the habits of obedience and servility to the last root that the working class can acquire the understanding of a new form of discipline, self-discipline arising from free consent.”⁵ Writing in 1904, she predicted that Lenin’s organ-

izational concepts would “enslave a young labour movement to an intellectual elite hungry for power...and turn it into an automaton manipulated by a Central Committee.”⁶ In the Bolshevik elitist doctrine of 1918 she saw a disparagement of the creative, spontaneous, self-correcting force of mass action, which alone, she argued, could solve the thousand problems of social reconstruction and produce the spiritual transformation that is the essence of a true social revolution. As Bolshevik practice hardened into dogma, the fear of popular initiative and spontaneous mass action, not under the direction and control of the properly designated vanguard, became a dominant element of so-called “Communist” ideology.

Antagonism to mass movements and to social change that escapes the control of privileged elites is also a prominent feature of contemporary liberal ideology.⁷ Expressed as foreign policy, it takes the form described earlier (*in the first section of this article — not reproduced here, eds.*) To conclude this discussion of counterrevolutionary subordination, I would like to investigate how, in one rather crucial case, this particular bias in American liberal ideology can be detected even in the interpretation of events of the past in which American involvement was rather slight, and in historical work of very high calibre.

In 1966, the American Historical Association gave its biennial award for the most outstanding work on European history to Gabriel Jackson, for his study of Spain in the 1930’s.⁸ There is no question that of the dozen books on this period, Jackson’s is among the best, and I do not doubt that the award was well deserved. The Spanish Civil War is one of the crucial events of modern history, and one of the most extensively studied as well. In it, we find the interplay of forces and ideas that have dominated European history since the industrial revolution. What is more, the relationship of Spain to the great powers was in many respects like that of the countries of what is now called the Third World. In some ways, then, the events of the Spanish Civil War give a foretaste of what the future may hold, as Third World revolutions uproot traditional societies, threaten imperial dominance, exacerbate great-power rivalries, and bring the world perilously close to a war which, if not averted, will surely be the final catastrophe of modern history. My reason for wanting to investigate an outstanding liberal analysis of the Spanish Civil War is therefore twofold: first, because of the intrinsic interest of these events; and secondly, because of the insight that this analysis may provide with respect to the underlying elitist bias which I believe to be

The Republican Army and anti-fascists cross into France to begin the long years of exile.



Foto: Cappa/Magnum

at the root of the phenomenon of counterrevolutionary subordination.

In his study of the Spanish Republic, Jackson makes no attempt to hide his own commitment in favour of liberal democracy, as represented by such figures as Azana, Casares Quiroga, Martinez Barrio,⁹ and the other "responsible national leaders." In taking this position, he speaks for much of liberal scholarship; it is fair to say that figures similar to those just mentioned would be supported by American liberals, were this possible, in Latin America, Asia or Africa. Furthermore, Jackson makes little attempt to disguise his antipathy towards the forces of popular revolution in Spain, or their goals.

It is no criticism of Jackson's study that his point of view and sympathies are expressed with such clarity. On the contrary, the value of this work as an interpretation of historical events is enhanced by the fact that the author's commitments are made so clear and explicit. But I think it can be shown that Jackson's account of the popular revolution that took place in Spain is misleading and in part quite unfair, and that the failure of objectivity it reveals is highly significant in that it is characteristic of the attitude taken by

liberal (and Communist) intellectuals towards revolutionary movements that are largely spontaneous and only loosely organised, while rooted in deeply felt needs and ideals of dispossessed masses. It is a convention of scholarship that the use of such terms as those of the preceding phrase demonstrates naivete and muddle-headed sentimentality. The convention, however, is supported by ideological conviction rather than history or investigation of the phenomena of social life. This conviction is, I think, belied by such events as the revolution that swept over much of Spain in the summer of 1936.

The circumstances of Spain in the 1930's are not duplicated elsewhere in the underdeveloped world today, to be sure. Nevertheless, the limited information that we have about popular movements in Asia, specifically, suggests certain similar features that deserve much more serious and sympathetic study than they have so far received.¹⁰ Inadequate information makes it hazardous to try to develop any such parallel, but I think it is quite possible to note long-standing tendencies in the response of liberal as well as Communist intellectuals to such mass movements.

As I have already remarked, the Spanish Civil War is not only one of the critical events of modern history but one of the most intensively studied as well. Yet there are surprising gaps. During the months following the Franco insurrection in July 1936, a social revolution of unprecedented scope took place throughout much of Spain. It had no "revolutionary vanguard" and appears to have been largely spontaneous, involving masses of urban and rural labourers in a radical transformation of social and economic conditions that persisted, with remarkable success, until it was crushed by force. This predominantly anarchist revolution and the massive social transformation to which it gave rise are treated, in recent historical studies, as a kind of aberration, a nuisance that stood in the way of successful prosecution of the war to save the bourgeois regime from the Franco rebellion. Many historians would probably agree with Eric Hobsbawm¹¹ that the failure of social revolution in Spain "was due to the anarchists," that anarchism was a "disaster", a kind of "moral gymnastics" with no "concrete results," at best, "a profoundly moving spectacle for the student of popular religion." The most



Francoist Legionnaires occupying Irun, arresting Republican and "Red" sympathisers and then liquidating them without any pretence of trial.



extensive historical study of the anarchist revolution¹² is relatively inaccessible, and neither its author, now living in southern France, nor the many refugees who will never write memoirs but who might provide invaluable personal testimony have been consulted, apparently, by writers of the major historical works.¹³ The one published collection of documents dealing with collectivisation¹⁴ has been published only by an anarchist press and hence is barely accessible to the general reader, and has also rarely been consulted – it does not, for example appear in Jackson's bibliography, though Jackson's account is intended to be a social and political, not merely a military, history. In fact, this astonishing social upheaval seems to have largely passed from memory. The drama and pathos of the Spanish Civil War have by no means faded; witness the impact a few years ago of the film *To Die in Madrid*. Yet in this film (as Daniel Guérin points out) one finds no reference to the popular revolution that had transformed much of Spanish Society.

I will be concerned here with the events of 1936-1937¹⁵ and with one particular aspect of the complex struggle involving Franco Nationalists, Republicans (including the Communist party), anarchists, and socialist workers' groups. The Franco insurrection in July 1936 came against a background of several months of strikes, expropriations, and battles between peasants and Civil Guards. The left-wing Socialist leader Largo Caballero had demanded in June that the workers be armed, but was refused by Azana. When the coup came, the Republican government was paralysed. Workers armed themselves in Madrid and Barcelona, robbing government armouries and even ships in the harbour, and put down the insurrection while the government vacillated, torn between the twin dangers of submitting to Franco and arming the working classes. In large areas of Spain effective authority passed into the hands of the anarchist and socialist workers who had played a substantial, generally dominant role in putting down the insurrection.

The next few months have frequently been described as a period of "dual power." In Barcelona industry and commerce were largely collect-

ivised, and a wave of collectivisation spread through rural areas, as well as towns and villages, in Aragon, Castille, and the Levant, and to a lesser but still significant extent in many parts of Catalonia, Asturias, Extremadura, and Andalusia. Military power was exercised by defence committees; social and economic organisation took many forms, following in main outlines the programme of the Saragossa Congress of the anarchist CNT in May 1936. The revolution was "apolitical" in the sense that its organs of power and administration remained separate from the central Republican government and, even after several anarchist leaders entered the government in the autumn of 1936, continued to function fairly independently until the revolution was finally crushed between the fascist and Communist-led Republican forces. The success of collectivisation of industry and commerce in Barcelona impressed even highly unsympathetic observers such as Borkenau. The scale of rural collectivisation is indicated by these data from anarchist sources: in Aragon, 450 collectives with half a million members; in the Levant, 900 collectives accounting for about half the agricultural production and 70 per cent of marketing in this, the richest agricultural region of Spain; in Castille, 300 collectives with about 100,000 members.¹⁶ In Catalonia, the bourgeois government headed by Companys retained nominal authority, but real power was in the hands of the anarchist-nominated committees.

The period of July through September may be characterised as one of spontaneous, widespread, but unconsummated social revolution.¹⁷ A number of anarchist leaders joined the government; the reason, as stated by Federica Montseny on January 3, 1937, was this: "... the anarchists have entered the government to prevent the revolution from deviating and in order to carry it further beyond the war, and also to oppose any dictatorial tendency, from wherever it might come."¹⁸ The central government fell increasingly under Communist control – in Catalonia, under the control of the Communist-dominated PSUC – largely as a result of the valuable Russian military assistance. Communist success was

greatest in the rich farming areas of the Levant (the government moved to Valencia, capital of one of the provinces), where prosperous farm owners flocked to the Peasant Federation that the party had organised to protect the wealthy farmers; this federation "served as a powerful instrument in checking the rural collectivisation promoted by the agricultural workers of the province."¹⁹ Elsewhere as well, counterrevolutionary successes reflected increasing Communist dominance of the Republic.



The first phase of the counterrevolution was the legalisation and regulation of those accomplishments of the revolution that appeared irreversible. A decree of October 7 by the Communist Minister of Agriculture, Vicente Uribe, legalised certain expropriations – namely, of lands belonging to participants in the Franco revolt. Of course, these expropriations had already taken place, a fact that did not prevent the Communist Press from describing the decree as "the most profoundly revolutionary measure that has been taken since the military uprising."²⁰ In fact, by exempting the estates of landowners who had not directly participated in the Franco rebellion, the decree represented a step backward, from the standpoint of the revolutionaries, and it was criticised not only by the CNT but also by the Socialist Federation of Land Workers, affiliated with the UGT. The demand for a much broader decree was unacceptable to the Communist-led ministry, since the Communist party was "seeking support among the propertied classes in the anti-Franco coup" and hence "could not afford to repel the small and medium proprietors who had been hostile to the working class movement before the civil war."²¹ These "small proprietors," in fact, seem to have included owners of substantial estates. The decree compelled tenants to continue paying rent unless the landowners had supported Franco, and by guaranteeing former landholdings, it prevented the distribution of land to the village poor. Ricardo Zabala, general secretary of the Federation of Land Workers, described the resulting situation as one of "galling injustice"; "the sycophants of the former political bosses still enjoy a privileged position at the expense of those persons who were unable to rent even the smallest parcel of land,



Julian Gorkin, a leader of the anti-Stalinist Marxist party, POUM, accused by the Stalinists of spying for the fascists, photographed at his trial in October 1938.

because they were revolutionaries."²²

To complete the stage of legalisation and restriction of what had already been achieved, a decree of October 24, 1936, promulgated by a CNT member who had become Councillor for Economy in the Catalanian Generalitat, gave legal sanction to the collectivisation of industry in Catalonia. In this case too, the step was regressive, from the revolutionary point of view. Collectivisation was limited to enterprises employing more than a hundred workers, and a variety of conditions were established that removed control from the workers' committees to the state bureaucracy.²³

The second stage of the counterrevolution, from October 1936 through May 1937, involved the destruction of the local committees, the replacement of the militia by a conventional army, and the re-establishment of the prerevolutionary social and economic system, wherever this was possible. Finally, in May 1937, came a direct attack on the working class in Barcelona (the May Days).²⁴ Following the success of this attack, the process of liquidation of the revolution was completed. The collectivisation decree of October 24 was rescinded and industries were "freed" from workers' control. Communist-led armies swept through Aragon, destroying many collectives and dismantling their organisations and, generally, bringing the area under the control of the central government. Throughout the Republican-held territories, the government, now under Communist domination, acted in accordance with the plan announced in *Pravda* on December 17, 1936: "So far as Catalonia is concerned, the cleaning up of the Trotskyist and Anarcho-Syndicalist elements there has already begun, and it will be carried out there with the same energy as in the U.S.S.R."²⁵ — and, we may add, in much the same manner.

In brief, the period from the summer of 1936 to 1937 was one of revolution and counterrevolution: the revolution was largely spontaneous with mass participation of anarchist and socialist industrial and agricultural workers; the counterrevolution was under Communist direction, the Communist party increasingly coming to represent the right wing of the Republic. During this period and after the success of the counterrevolution, the Republic was waging a war against the Franco insurrection; this has been described in great detail in numerous publications, and I will say little about it here. The Communist-led counterrevolutionary struggle must, of course, be understood against the background of the ongoing antifascist war and the more general attempt of the Soviet Union to construct a broad

anti-fascist alliance with the Western democracies. One reason for the vigorous counterrevolutionary policy of the Communists was the belief that England would never tolerate a revolutionary triumph in Spain, where England had substantial commercial interests, as did France and to a lesser extent the United States.²⁶ I will return to this matter below. However, I think it is important to bear in mind that there were undoubtedly other factors as well. Rudolf Rocker's comments are, I believe, quite to the point:

"...the Spanish people have been engaged in a desperate struggle against a pitiless foe and have been exposed besides to the secret intrigues of the great imperial powers of Europe. Despite this the Spanish revolutionaries have not grasped at the disastrous expedient of dictatorship, but have respected all honest convictions. Everyone who visited Barcelona after the July battles, whether friend or foe of the CNT, was surprised at the freedom of public life and the absence of any arrangements for suppressing the free expression of opinion.

For two decades the supporters of Bolshevism have been hammering it into the masses that dictatorship is a vital necessity for the defence of the so-called proletarian interests against the assaults of the counter-revolution and for paving the way for Socialism. They have not advanced the cause of Socialism by this propaganda, but they have merely smoothed the way for Fascism in Italy, Germany and Austria by causing millions of people to forget that dictatorship, the most extreme form of tyranny, can never lead to social liberation. In Russia, the so-called dictatorship of the proletariat has not led to Socialism, but to the domination of a new bureaucracy over the proletariat and the whole people. . .

What the Russian autocrats and their supporters fear most is that the success of libertarian Socialism in Spain might prove to their blind followers that the much vaunted "necessity of a dictatorship" is nothing but one vast fraud which in Russia has led to the despotism of Stalin and is to serve today in Spain to help the counter-revolution to a victory over the revolution of the workers and peasants."²⁷

After decades of anti-Communist indoctrination, it is difficult to achieve a perspective that makes

possible a serious evaluation of the extent to which Bolshevism and Western liberalism have been united in their opposition to popular revolution. However, I do not think that one can comprehend the events in Spain without attaining this perspective.

With this brief sketch — partisan, but I think accurate — for background, I would like to turn to Jackson's account of this aspect of the Spanish Civil War (see note 8).

Jackson presumes (p.259) that Soviet support for the Republican cause in Spain was guided by two factors: first, concern for Soviet security; second, the hope that a Republican victory would advance "the cause of worldwide 'people's revolution' with which Soviet leaders hoped to identify themselves." They did not press their revolutionary aims, he feels, because "for the moment it was essential not to frighten the middle classes or the Western governments."

As to the concern for Soviet security, Jackson is no doubt correct. It is clear that Soviet support of the Republic was one aspect of the attempt to make common cause with the Western democracies against the fascist threat. However, Jackson's conception of the Soviet Union as a revolutionary power — hopeful that a Republican victory would advance "the interrupted movement toward world revolution" and seeking to identify itself with "the cause of the world-wide 'people's revolution'" — seems to me entirely mistaken. Jackson presents no evidence to support this interpretation of Soviet policy, nor do I know of any. It is interesting to see how differently the events were interpreted at the time of the Spanish Civil War, not only by anarchists like Rocker but also by such commentators as Gerald Brenan and Franz Borkenau, who were intimately acquainted with the situation in Spain. Brenan observes that the counterrevolutionary policy of the Communists (which he thinks was "extremely sensible") was:

"the policy most suited to the Communists themselves. Russia is a totalitarian regime ruled by a bureaucracy: the frame of mind of its leaders, who have come through the most terrible upheaval in history, is cynical and opportunist: the whole fabric of the state is dogmatic and authoritarian. To expect such men to lead a social revolution in a country like Spain, where the wildest idealism is combined with great independence of character, was out of the question. The Russians could, it is true, command plenty of idealism among their foreign admirers, but they could only harness it to the creation of a cast-iron bureaucratic state, where everyone thinks alike and obeys the orders of the chief above him."²⁸

He sees nothing in Russian conduct in Spain to indicate any interest in a "people's revolution." Rather, the Communist policy was to oppose "even such rural and industrial collectives as had arisen spontaneously and flood the country with police who, like the Russian OGPU, acted on the orders of their party rather than those of the Ministry of the Interior." The Communists were concerned to suppress altogether the impulses towards "spontaneity of speech or action," since "their whole nature and history made them distrust the local and spontaneous and put their faith in order, discipline and bureaucratic uniformity" — hence placed them in opposition to the revolutionary forces in Spain. As Brenan also notes, the Russians withdrew their support once it became clear that the British would not be swayed from the policy of appeasement, a fact which gives additional confirmation to the thesis that only considerations of Russian foreign policy

Revolutionary sailors of the Spanish Navy arrested their officers, pro-Francoist in the main, and ran the ships themselves.





Andre Marty – “The Butcher of Albacete” – Stalinist commander of the International Brigades.

led the Soviet Union to support the Republic. Borkenau's analysis is similar. He approves of the Communist policy, because of its “efficiency,” but he points out that the Communists “put an end to revolutionary social activity, and enforced their view that this ought not to be a revolution but simply the defence of a legal government . . . communist policy in Spain was mainly dictated not by the necessities of the Spanish fight but by the interests of the intervening foreign power, Russia,” a country “with a revolutionary past, not a revolutionary present.” The Communists acted “not with the aim of transforming chaotic enthusiasm [which Borkenau feels to have been necessary], but with the aim of substituting disciplined military and administrative action for the action of the masses and getting rid of the latter entirely.” This policy, he points out, went “directly against the interests and claims of the masses” and thus weakened popular support. The now apathetic masses would not commit themselves to the defence of a Communist-run dictatorship, which restored former authority and even showed a definite preference for the police forces of the old regime, so hated by the masses.” It seems to me that the record strongly supports this interpretation of Communist policy and its effects, though

Borkenau's assumption that Communist “efficiency” was necessary to win the anti-Franco struggle is much more dubious – a question to which I return below.²⁹

It is relevant to observe, at this point, that a number of the Spanish Communist leaders were reluctantly forced to similar conclusions. Boloten cites several examples,³⁰ specifically, the military commander “El Campesino” and Jesus Hernandez, a minister in the Caballero government. The former, after his escape from the Soviet Union in 1949, stated that he had taken for granted the “revolutionary solidarity” of the Soviet Union during the Civil War – a most remarkable degree of innocence – and realised only later “that the Kremlin does not serve the interests of the peoples of the world, but makes them serve its own interests; that, with a treachery and hypocrisy without parallel, it makes use of the international working class as a mere pawn in its political intrigues.” Hernandez, in a speech given shortly after the Civil War, admits that the Spanish Communist leaders “acted more like Soviet subjects than sons of the Spanish people.” “It may seem absurd, incredible,” he adds, “but our education under Soviet tutelage had deformed us to such an extent that we were completely denationalised; our national soul was torn out of us and replaced by a rabidly chauvinistic internationalism, which began and ended with the towers of the Kremlin.”

Shortly after the Third World Congress of the Communist International in 1921, the Dutch “ultra-leftist” Herman Gorter wrote that the congress “has decided the fate of the world revolution for the present. The trend of opinion that seriously desired world revolution. . . has been expelled from the Russian International. The Communist Parties in western Europe and throughout the world that retain their membership of the Russian International will become nothing more than a means to preserve the Russian Revolution and the Soviet Republic.”³¹ This forecast has proved quite accurate. Jackson's conception that the Soviet Union was a revolutionary power in the late 1930's, or even that the Soviet leaders truly regarded themselves as identified with world revolution, is without factual support. It is a misinterpretation that runs parallel to the American Cold War mythology that has invented an “international Communist conspiracy” directed from Moscow (now Peking) to justify its own interventionist policies.

Turning to events in revolutionary Spain, Jackson describes the first stages of collectivisation

as follows: the unions in Madrid, “as in Barcelona and Valencia, abused their sudden authority to place the sign *incautado* [placed under workers' control] on all manner of buildings and vehicles” (p.279). Why was this an *abuse* of authority? This Jackson does not explain. The choice of words indicates a reluctance on Jackson's part to recognise the reality of the revolutionary situation, despite his account of the breakdown of Republican authority. The statement that the workers “abused their sudden authority” by carrying out collectivisation rests on a moral judgement that recalls that of Ithiel Pool, when he characterises land reform in Vietnam as a matter of “despoiling one's neighbours,” or of Franz Borkenau, when he speaks of expropriation in the Soviet Union as “robbery,” demonstrating “a streak of moral indifference.”

Within a few months, Jackson informs us, “the revolutionary tide began to ebb in Catalonia” after “accumulating food and supply problems, and the experience of administering villages, frontier posts, and the public utilities, had rapidly shown the anarchists the unsuspected complexity of modern society” (pp. 313-14). In Barcelona, “the naive optimism of the revolutionary conquests of the previous August had given way to feelings of resentment and of somehow having been cheated,” as the cost of living had doubled, bread was in short supply, and police brutality reached the levels of the monarchy. “The POUM and the anarchist press simultaneously extolled the collectivisations and explained the failures of production as due to Valencia policies of boycotting the Catalan economy and favouring the *bourgeoisie*. They explained the loss of Malaga as due in large measure to the low morale and disorientation of the Andalusian proletariat, which saw the Valencia government evolving steadily toward the right” (p.368). Jackson evidently believes that this left-wing interpretation of events was nonsensical, and that in fact it was anarchist incompetence or treachery that was responsible for the difficulties: “In Catalonia, the CNT factory committees dragged their heels on war production, claiming that the government deprived them of raw materials and was favouring the *bourgeoisie*.” (p.365).

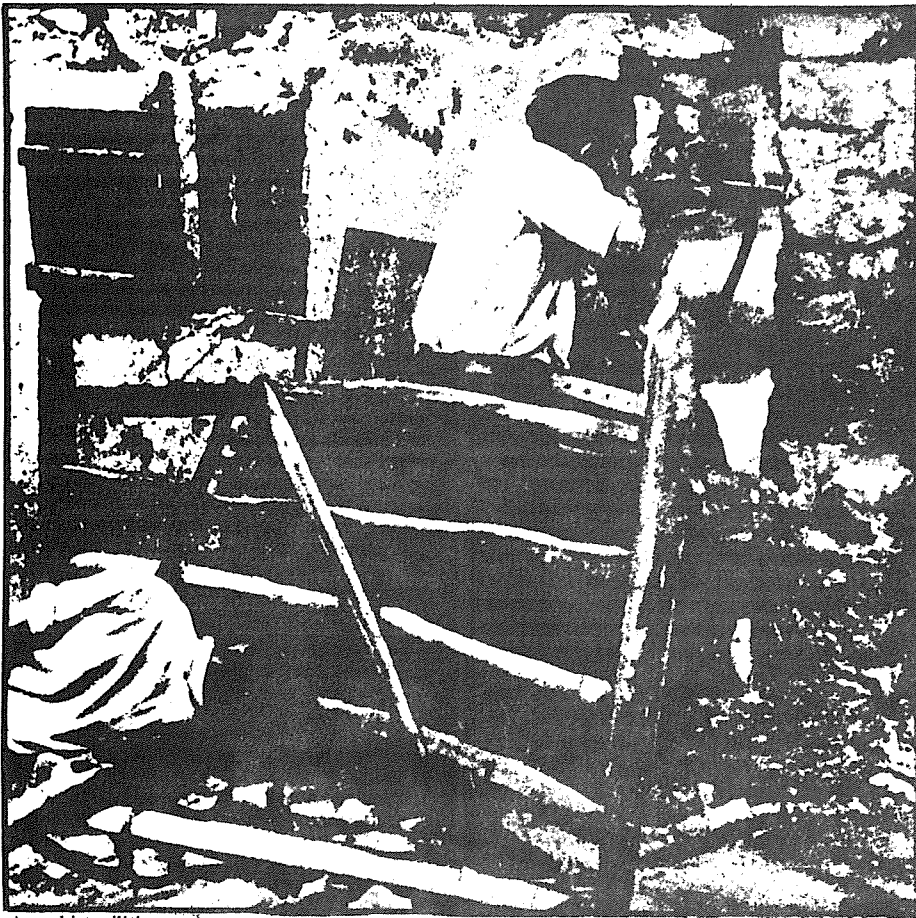
In fact, “the revolutionary tide began to ebb in Catalonia” under a middle-class attack led by the Communist party, not because of a recognition of “the complexity of modern society.” And it was, moreover, quite true that the Communist-dominated central government attempted, with much success, to hamper collectivised industry and agriculture and to disrupt the collectivisation of commerce. I have already referred to the early stages of counterrevolution. Further investigation of the sources to which Jackson refers and others show that the anarchist charges were not baseless, as Jackson implies. Boloten cites a good deal of evidence in support of his conclusion that:

“In the countryside the Communists undertook a spirited defence of the small and medium proprietor and tenant farmer against the collectivising drive of the rural wage-workers, against the policy of the labour unions prohibiting the farmer from holding more land than he could cultivate with his own hands, and against the practices of revolutionary committees, which requisitioned harvests, interfered with private trade, and collected rents from tenant farmers.”³²

The policy of the government was clearly enunciated by the Communist Minister of Agriculture: “We say that the property of the small farmer is sacred and that those who attack or attempt to attack this property must be regarded as enemies



Hans Beimler, Stalinist Commissar of the “Thaelmann Battalion” of the I.B.



Anarchist militiamen.

of the regime."³³ Gerald Brennan, no sympathiser with collectivisation, explains the failure of collectivisation as follows (p.321):

"The Central Government, and especially the Communist and Socialist members of it, desired to bring [the collectives] under the direct control of the State: they therefore failed to provide them with the credit required for buying raw materials: as soon as the supply of raw cotton was exhausted the mills stopped working. . . even [the munitions industry in Catalonia] were harassed by the new bureaucratic organs of the Ministry of Supply."³⁴

He quotes the bourgeois President of Catalonia, Companys, as saying that "workers in the arms factories in Barcelona had been working 56 hours and more each week and that no cases of sabotage or indiscipline had taken place," until the workers were demoralised by the bureaucratisation – later, militarisation – imposed by the central government and the Communist party.³⁵ His own conclusion is that "the Valencia Government was now using the P.S.U.C. against the C.N.T. – but not . . . because the Catalan workers were giving trouble, but because the Communists wished to weaken them before destroying them."

The cited correspondence from Companys to Prieto, according to Vernon Richards (p.47), presents evidence showing the success of Catalan war industry under collectivisation and demonstrating how "much more could have been achieved had the means for expanding the industry not been denied them by the Central Government." Richards also cites testimony by a spokesman for the subsecretariat of munitions and armament of the Valencia government admitting that "the war industry of Catalonia had produced ten times more than the rest of Spanish industry put together and [agreeing] . . . that this output could have been quadrupled as from the beginning of September (The quoted testimony is from September 1, 1937; presumably, the reference is to September 1936). If Catalonia had had access

to the necessary means for purchasing raw materials that were unobtainable in Spanish territory." It is important to recall that the central government had enormous gold reserves (soon to be transmitted to the Soviet Union), so that raw materials for Catalan industry could probably have been purchased, despite the hostility of the Western democracies to the Republic during the revolutionary period (see below). Furthermore, raw materials had repeatedly been requested. On September 24, 1936, Juan Fabregas, the CNT delegate to the Economic Council of Catalonia who was in part responsible for the collectivisation decree cited earlier, reported that the financial difficulties of Catalonia were created by the refusal of the central government to "give any assistance in economic and financial questions, presumably because it has little sympathy with the work of a practical order which is being carried on in Catalonia"³⁶ – that is, collectivisation. He "went on to recount that a Commission which went to Madrid to ask for credits to purchase war materials and raw materials, offering 1,000 million pesetas in securities lodged in the Bank of Spain, met with a blank refusal. It was sufficient that the new war industry in Catalonia was controlled by the workers of the CNT for the Madrid Government to refuse any unconditional aid. Only in exchange for government control would they give any financial assistance."³⁷

Broue and Temime take a rather similar position. Commenting on the charge of "incompetence" levelled against the collectivised industries, they point out that "one must not neglect the terrible burden of the war." Despite this burden, they observe, "new techniques of management and elimination of dividends had permitted a lowering of prices" and "mechanisation and rationalisation, introduced in numerous enterprises, had considerably augmented production. The workers accepted the enormous sacrifices with

enthusiasm because, in most cases, they had the conviction that the factory belonged to them and that at last they were working for themselves and their class brothers. A truly new spirit had come over the economy of Spain with the concentration of scattered enterprises, the simplification of commercial patterns, a significant structure of social projects for aged workers, children, disabled, sick and the personell in general" (pp. 150-51). The great weakness of the revolution, they argue, was the fact that it was not carried through to completion. In part this was because of the war; in part, a consequence of the policies of the central government. They too emphasise the refusal of the Madrid government, in the early stages of collectivisation, to grant credits or supply funds to collectivised industry or agriculture – in the case of Catalonia, even when substantial guarantees were offered by the Catalanian government. Thus the collectivised enterprises were forced to exist on what assets had been seized at the time of the revolution. The control of gold and credit "permitted the government to restrict and prevent the function of collective enterprises at will" (p. 144).

According to Broue and Temime, it was the restriction of credit that finally destroyed collectivised industry. The Companys government in Catalonia refused to create a bank for industry and credit, as demanded by the CNT and POUM, and the central government (relying, in this case, on control of the banks by the socialist UGT) was able to control the flow of capital and "to reserve credit for private enterprise." All attempts to obtain credit for collectivised industry were unsuccessful, they maintain, and "the movement of collectivisation was restricted, then halted, the government remaining in control of industry through the medium of the banks. . . [and later] through its control of the choice of managers and directors," who often turned out to be the former owners and managers, under new titles. The situation was similar in the case of collectivised agriculture (pp.204 f.).

The situation was duly recognised in the West. The *New York Times*, in February 1938, observed: "The principle of State intervention and control of business and industry, as against workers' control of them in the guise of collectivisation, is gradually being established in Loyalist Spain by a series of decrees now appearing. Coincidentally there is to be established the principle of private ownership and the rights of corporations and companies to what is lawfully theirs under the Constitution."³⁸

Morrow cites (pp. 64-65) a series of acts by the Catalanian government restricting collectivisation, once power had shifted away from the new institutions set up by the workers' revolution of July 1936. On February 3, the collectivisation of the dairy trade was declared illegal.³⁹ In April, "the Generalidad annulled workers' control over the customs by refusing to certify workers' ownership of material that had been exported and was being tied up in foreign courts by suits of former owners; henceforth the factories and agricultural collectives exporting goods were at the mercy of the government." In May, as has already been noted, the collectivisation decree of October 24 was rescinded, with the argument that the decree "was dictated without competency by the Generalidad," because "there was not, nor is there yet, legislation of the [Spanish] state to apply" and "article 44 of the Constitution declares expropriation and socialisation are functions of the State." A decree of August 28 "gave the government the right to intervene in or take over any mining or metallurgical plant." The anarchist newspaper *Solidaridad Obrera* reported in October a decision of the department of purch-

ases of the Ministry of Defence that it would make contracts for purchases only with enterprises functioning "on the basis of their old owners" or "under the corresponding intervention controlled by the Ministry of Finance and Economy." 40

Returning to Jackson's statement that "In Catalonia, the CNT factory committees dragged their heels on war production, claiming that the government deprived them of raw materials and was favouring the *bourgeoisie*," I believe one must conclude that this statement is more an expression of Jackson's bias in favour of capitalist democracy than a description of the historical facts. At the very least, we can say this much: Jackson presents no evidence to support his conclusion; there is a factual basis for questioning it. I have cited a number of sources that the liberal historian would regard, quite correctly, as biased in favour of the revolution. My point is that the failure of objectivity, the deep-seated bias of liberal historians, is a matter much less normally taken for granted, and that there are good grounds for supposing that this failure of objectivity has seriously distorted the judgements that are rather brashly handed down about the nature of the Spanish revolution.

Continuing with the analysis of Jackson's judgements, unsupported by any cited evidence, consider his remark, quoted above, that in Barcelona "the naive optimism of the revolutionary conquests of the previous August had given way to feelings of resentment and of somehow having been cheated." It is a fact that by January 1937 there was great disaffection in Barcelona. But was this simply a consequence of "the unsuspected complexity of modern society"? Looking into the matter a bit more closely, we see a rather different picture. Under Russian pressure, the PSUC was given substantial control of the Catalan government, "putting into the Food Ministry [in December 1936] the man most to the Right in present Catalan politics, Comorera"⁴¹ — by virtue of his political views, the most willing collaborator with the general Communist party position. According to Jackson, Comor-

Juan Comorera, secretary-general of the PSUC. He regarded the fight against anarchism as the chief aim of socialist policy in Spain. Appointed Food Minister in December 1936 he abolished the anarchist organised bread committees which led to great hardship among the working class.



era "immediately took steps to end barter and requisitioning, and became a defender of the peasants against the revolution" (p. 314); he "ended requisition, restored money payments, and protected the Catalan peasants against further collectivisation" (p. 361). This is all that Jackson has to say about Juan Comorera.

We learn more from other sources: for example, Borkenau, who was in Barcelona for the second time in January 1937 — and is universally recognised as a highly knowledgeable and expert observer, with strong anti-anarchist sentiments. According to Borkenau, Comorera represented "a political attitude which can best be compared with that of the extreme right wing of the German social-democracy. He had always regarded the fight against anarchism as the chief aim of socialist policy in Spain. . . To his surprise, he found unexpected allies for his dislike [of anarchist policies] in the communists"⁴². It was impossible to reverse collectivisation of industry at that stage in the process of counterrevolution;

Comorera did succeed, however, in abolishing the system by which the provisioning of Barcelona had been organised, namely, the village committees, mostly under CNT influence, which had co-operated (perhaps, Borkenau suggests, unwillingly) in delivering flour to the towns. Continuing, Borkenau describes the situation as follows:

"...Comorera, starting from those principles of abstract liberalism which no administration has followed during the war, but of which right-wing socialists are the last and most religious admirers, did not substitute for the chaotic bread committees a centralised administration. He restored private commerce in bread, simply and completely. There was, in January, not even a system of rationing in Barcelona. Workers were simply left to get their bread, with wages which had hardly changed since May, at increased prices, as well as they could. In practice it meant that the women had to form queues from four o'clock in the morning onwards. The resentment in the working-class districts was naturally acute, the more so as the scarcity of bread rapidly increased after Comorera had taken office."⁴³

In short, the workers of Barcelona were not merely giving way to "feelings of resentment and of somehow having been cheated" when they learned of "the unsuspected complexity of modern society." Rather, they had good reason to believe that they were being cheated, by the old dog with the new collar.

George Orwell's observations are also highly relevant:

"Everyone who has made two visits, in intervals of months, to Barcelona during the war has remarked upon the extraordinary changes that took place in it. And curiously enough, whether they went there first in August and again in January, or, like myself, first in December and again in April, the thing they said was always the same: that the revolutionary atmosphere had vanished. No doubt to anyone who had been there in August, when the blood was scarcely dry in the streets and militia were quartered in the small hotels, Barcelona in December would have seemed bourgeois; to me, fresh from England, it was like a workers' city than anything I had conceived possible. Now [in April] the tide had rolled back. Once again it was an ordinary city, a little pinched and chipped by war, but with no outward sign of working class predominance. . . Fat prosperous men, elegant women, and sleek cars were everywhere. . . The officers of the new Popular Army, a type that had scarcely existed when I left Barcelona, swarmed in surprising numbers. . . [wearing] an elegant khaki uniform with a tight waist, like a British Army officer's uniform, only



a little more so. I do not suppose that more than one in twenty of them had yet been to the front, but all of them had automatic pistols strapped to their belts; we, at the front, could not get pistols for love or money. . . [Orwell had just returned from the Aragon front, where he had been serving with the POUM militia in an area heavily dominated by leftwing (POUM and anarchist) troops]. A deep change had come over the town. There were two facts that were the keynote of all else. One was that the people — the civil population — had lost much of their interest in the war; the other was that the normal division of society into rich and poor, upper class and lower class was reasserting itself."⁴⁴

Whereas Jackson attributes the ebbing of the revolutionary tide to the discovery of the unsuspected complexity of modern society, Orwell's first-hand observations, like those of Borkenau, suggest a far simpler explanation. What calls for explanation is not the disaffection of the workers of Barcelona but the curious constructions of the historian.

Let me repeat, at this point, Jackson's comments regarding Juan Comorera: Comorera "immediately took steps to end barter and requisitioning, and became a defender of the peasants against the revolution"; he "ended requisitions, restored money payments, and protected the Catalan peasants against further collectivisation." These comments imply that the peasantry of Catalonia was, as a body, opposed to the revolution and that Comorera put a stop to the collectivisation that they feared. Jackson nowhere indicates any divisions among the peasantry on this issue and offers no support for the implied claim that collectivisation was in process at the period of Comorera's access to power. In fact, it is questionable that Comorera's rise to power affected the course of collectivisation in Catalonia. Evidence is difficult to come by, but it seems that collectivisation of agriculture in Catalonia was not, in any event, extensive, and that it was not extending in December when Comorera took office. We know from anarchist sources that there had been instances of forced collectivisation in Catalonia,⁴⁵ but I can find no evidence that Comorera protected the "peasantry" from forced collectivisation. Furthermore, it is misleading, at best, to imply that the peasantry as a whole was opposed to collectivisation. A more accurate picture is presented by Bolloten (p. 56), who points out that "if the individual farmer viewed with dismay the swift and widespread development of collectivised agriculture, the farmworkers of the Anarchosindicalist CNT and the Socialist UGT saw in it, on the contrary, the commencement of a new era." In short, there was a complex class struggle in the countryside, though one learns little about it from Jackson's oversimplified and misleading account. It would seem fair to suppose that this distortion again reflects Jackson's antipathy towards the revolution and its goals. I will return to this question directly, with reference to areas where agricultural collectivisation was much more extensive than in Catalonia.

The complexities of modern society that baffled and confounded the unsuspecting anarchist workers of Barcelona, as Jackson enumerates them, were the following: the accumulating food and supply problems and the administration of frontier posts, villages, and public utilities. As just noted, the food and supply problems seem to have accumulated most rapidly under the brilliant leadership of Juan Comorera. So far as the

frontier posts are concerned, the situation, as Jackson elsewhere describes it (p.368), was basically as follows: "In Catalonia the anarchists had, ever since July 18, controlled the customs stations at the French border. On April 17, 1937, the reorganised carabineros, acting on orders of the Finance Minister, Juan Negrin, began to re-occupy the frontier. At least eight anarchists were killed in clashes with the carabineros." Apart from this difficulty, admittedly serious, there seems little reason to suppose that the manning of frontier posts contributed to the ebbing of the revolutionary tide. The available records do not indicate that the problems of administering villages or public utilities were either "unsuspected" or too complex for the Catalanian workers — a remarkable and unsuspected development, but one which nevertheless appears to be borne out by the evidence available to us. I want to emphasise again that Jackson presents no evidence to support his conclusions about the ebbing of the revolutionary tide and the reasons for the disaffection of the Catalanian workers. Once again, I think it fair to attribute his conclusions to the elitist bias of the liberal intellectual rather than to the historical record.

Consider next Jackson's comment that the anarchists "explained the loss of Malaga as due in large measure to the low morale and the disorientation of the Andalusian proletariat, which saw the Valencia government evolving steadily toward the right." Again, it seems that Jackson regards this as just another indication of the naive and unreasonableness of the Spanish anarchists. However, here again there is more to the story. One of the primary sources that Jackson cites is Borkenau, quite naturally, since Borkenau spent several days in the area just prior to the fall of Malaga on February 8, 1937. But Borkenau's detailed observations tend to

bear out the anarchist "explanation," at least in part. He believed that Malaga might have been saved, but only by a "fight of despair" with mass involvement, of a sort that "the anarchists might have led." But two factors prevented such a defence, Lieutenant Colonel Villalba, "interpreted this task as a purely military one, whereas in reality he had no military means at his disposal but only the forces of a popular movement"; he was a professional officer, "who in the secrecy of his heart hated the spirit of the militia" and was incapable of comprehending the "political factor."⁴⁶ A second factor was the significant decline, by February, of political consciousness and mass involvement. The anarchist committees were no longer functioning and the authority of the police and Civil Guards had been restored. "The nuisance of hundreds of independent village police bodies had disappeared, but with it the passionate interest of the village in the civil war . . . The short interlude of the Spanish Soviet system was at an end" (p. 212). After reviewing the local situation in Malaga and the conflicts in the Valencia government (which failed to provide support or arms for the militia defending Malaga), Borkenau concludes (p. 228): "The Spanish republic paid with the fall of Malaga for the decision of the Right wing of its camp to make an end of social revolution and of its Left wing not to allow that." Jackson's discussion of the fall of Malaga refers to the terror and political rivalries within the town but makes no reference to the fact that Borkenau's description, and the accompanying interpretation, do support the belief that the defeat was due in large measure to low morale and the incapacity, or unwillingness, of the Valencia government to fight a popular war. On the contrary, he concludes that Colonel Villalba's lack of means for "controlling the bitter political rivalries" was one factor

that prevented him from carrying out the essential military tasks. Thus he seems to adopt the view that Borkenau condemns, that the task was a "purely military one." Borkenau's eyewitness account appears to me much more convincing.

In this case too Jackson has described the situation in a somewhat misleading fashion, perhaps again because of the elitist bias that dominates the liberal-Communist interpretation of the Civil War. Like Lieutenant Colonel Villalba, liberal historians often reveal a strong distaste for "the forces of a popular movement" and "the spirit of the militia." And an argument can be given that they correspondingly fail to comprehend the "political factor."



Luigi Bertoni, companion of Camillo Berneri, was an untiring anarchist propagandist. From 1900 to 1940 he was the editor, compositor, printer and administrator of the anarchist fortnightly *Le Reveil*.

In the May Days of 1937, the revolution in Catalonia received the final blow. On May 3, the councillor for public order, PSUC member Rodriguez Salas, appeared at the central telephone building with a detachment of police, without prior warning or consultation with the anarchist ministers in the government, to take over the telephone exchange. The exchange, formerly the property of ITT, had been captured by Barcelona workers in July and had since functioned under the control of a UGT-CNT committee, with a governmental delegate, quite in accord with the collectivisation decree of October 24, 1936. According to the London *Daily Worker* (May 11, 1937), "Salas sent the armed republican police to disarm the employees there, most of them members of the CNT unions." The motive, according to Juan Comorera, was "to put a stop to an abnormal situation," namely, that no one could speak over the telephone "without the indiscreet ear of the controller knowing about it."⁴⁷ Armed resistance in the telephone building prevented its occupation. Local defence committees erected barricades throughout Barcelona. Companys and the anarchist leaders pleaded with the workers to disarm. An uneasy truce continued until May 6, when the first detachments of Assault Guards arrived, violating the promises of the government that the truce would be observed and military forces withdrawn. The troops were under the command of General Pozas, formerly commander of the hated Civil Guard and now a member of the Communist party. In the fighting that followed, there were some five hundred killed and over a thousand wounded. "The May Days in reality sounded the death-knell of the revolution, announcing political defeat for all and for certain of the revolutionary leaders."⁴⁸ These events — of enormous significance in the history of the Spanish revolution — Jackson sketches in bare outline as a marginal incident. Obviously the historian's account must be selective; from the left-liberal point of view that Jackson shares with Hugh Thomas and many others, the liquidation of the revolution in Catalonia was a minor event, as the revolution itself was merely a kind of irrelevant nuisance, a minor irritant diverting energy from the struggle to save the bourgeois government. The decision to crush the revolution by force is described as follows:

"On May 5, Companys obtained a fragile truce, on the basis of which the PSUC councillors were to retire from the regional government, and the question of



"In Barcelona, during all those last weeks I spent there, there was a peculiar evil feeling in the air — an atmosphere of suspicion, fear, uncertainty, and veiled hatred. The May fighting had left ineradicable after-effects behind it. With the fall of the Caballero Government the Communists had come definitely into power, the charge of internal order had been handed over to Communist Ministers, and no one doubted they would smash their political rivals as soon as they got a quarter of a chance. . . ." George Orwell, *Homage to Catalonia*, p. 186.

the Telephone Company was left to future negotiation. That very night, however, Antonio Sese, a UGT official who was about to enter the reorganised cabinet, was murdered. In any event, the Valencia authorities were in no mood to temporise further with the Catalan Left. On May 6 several thousand *asaltos* arrived in the city, and the Republican Navy demonstrated in the port.⁴⁹

What is interesting about this description is what is left unsaid. For example, there is no comment on the fact that the dispatch of *asaltos* violated the "fragile truce" that had been accepted by the Barcelona workers and the anarchist and the POUM troops nearby, and barely a mention of the bloody consequences or the political meaning of this unwillingness "to temporise further with the Catalan Left." There is no mention of the fact that along with Sese, Berneri and other anarchist leaders were murdered, not only during the May Days but in the weeks preceding.⁵⁰ Jackson does not refer to the fact that along with the Republican navy, British ships also "demonstrated" in the port.⁵⁰ Nor does he refer to

Orwell's telling observations about the Assault Guards, as compared to the troops at the front, where he had spent the preceding months. The Assault Guards "were splendid troops, much the best I had seen in Spain . . . I was used to the ragged, scarcely-armed militia on the Aragon front, and I had not known the Republic possessed troops like these . . . The Civil Guards and Carabineros, who were not intended for the front at all, were better armed and far better clad than ourselves. I suspect it is the same in all wars — always the same contrast between the sleek police in the rear and the ragged soldiers in the line."⁵²

The contrast reveals a good deal about the nature of the war, as it was understood by the Valencia government. Later, Orwell was to make this conclusion explicit: "A government which sends boys of fifteen to the front with rifles forty years old and keeps its biggest men and newest weapons in the rear is manifestly more afraid of revolution than of the fascists. Hence the feeble war policy of the past six months, and hence the compromise with which the war will almost certainly end."⁵³ Jackson's account of these events, with its omissions and assumptions, suggests that he perhaps shares the view that the greatest danger in Spain would have been a victory of the revolution.

Jackson apparently discounts Orwell's testimony, to some extent, commenting that "the readers should bear in mind Orwell's own honest statement that he knew very little about the political complexities of the struggle." This is a strange comment. For one thing, Orwell's analysis of the "political complexities of the struggle" bear up rather well after thirty years; if it is defective, it is probably in his tendency to give too much prominence to the POUM in comparison with the anarchists — not surprising, in view of the fact that he was with the POUM militia. His exposure of the fatuous nonsense that was appearing at the time in the Stalinist and liberal presses appears quite accurate, and later discoveries have given little reason to challenge the basic facts that he reported or the interpretation that he proposed in the heat of the conflict. Orwell does, in fact, refer to his own "political ignorance." Commenting on the final defeat of the revolution in May, he states: "I realised — though owing to my political ignorance, not so clearly as I ought to have done — that when the Government felt more sure of itself there would be reprisals." But this form of "political ignorance" has simply been compounded in recent more historical work.



Juan Negrín: "unconditional defender of capitalist property and resolute adversary of collectivisation."

Shortly after the May Days, the Caballero government fell and Juan Negrín became premier of Republican Spain. Negrín is described as follows, by Broue and Temime: "... he is an unconditional defender of capitalist property and resolute adversary of collectivisation, whom the CNT ministers find blocking all of their proposals. He is the one who solidly reorganised the carabineros and presided over the transfer of the gold reserves of the Republic to the USSR. He enjoyed the confidence of the moderates . . . [and] was on excellent terms with the Communists."

The first major act of the Negrín government was the suppression of the POUM and the consolidation of central government over Catalonia. The government next turned to Aragon, which had been largely under anarchist control since the first days of the revolution, and where agricultural collectivisation was quite extensive and Communist elements very weak. The municipal councils of Aragon were co-ordinated by the Council of Aragon, headed by Joaquín Ascaso, a well-known CNT militant, one of whose brothers had been killed during the May Days. Under the Caballero government, the anarchists had agreed to give representation to other antifascist parties, including the Communists, but the majority remained anarchist. In August the Negrín government announced the dissolution of the Council of Aragon and dispatched a division of the Spanish Army, commanded by the Communist officer Enrique Lister, to enforce the dissolution of the local committees, dismantle the collectives, and establish central government control. Ascaso was arrested on the charge of having been responsible for the robbery of jewellery — namely the jewellery "robbed" by the Council for its own use in the fall of 1936. The local anarchist press was suppressed in favour of a Communist journal, and in general local anarchist centres were forcefully occupied and closed. The last anarchist stronghold was captured, with tanks and artillery, on September 21. Because of government imposed censorship, there is very little of a direct record of these events, and the major histories pass over them quickly.⁵⁴ According to Morrow, "the official CNT press . . . compared the assault on Aragon with the subjection of Asturias by López Ochoa in October 1934" — the latter, one of the bloodiest acts of repression in modern Spanish history. Although this

is an exaggeration, it is a fact that the popular organs of administration were wiped out by Lister's legions, and the revolution was now over, so far as Aragon was concerned.

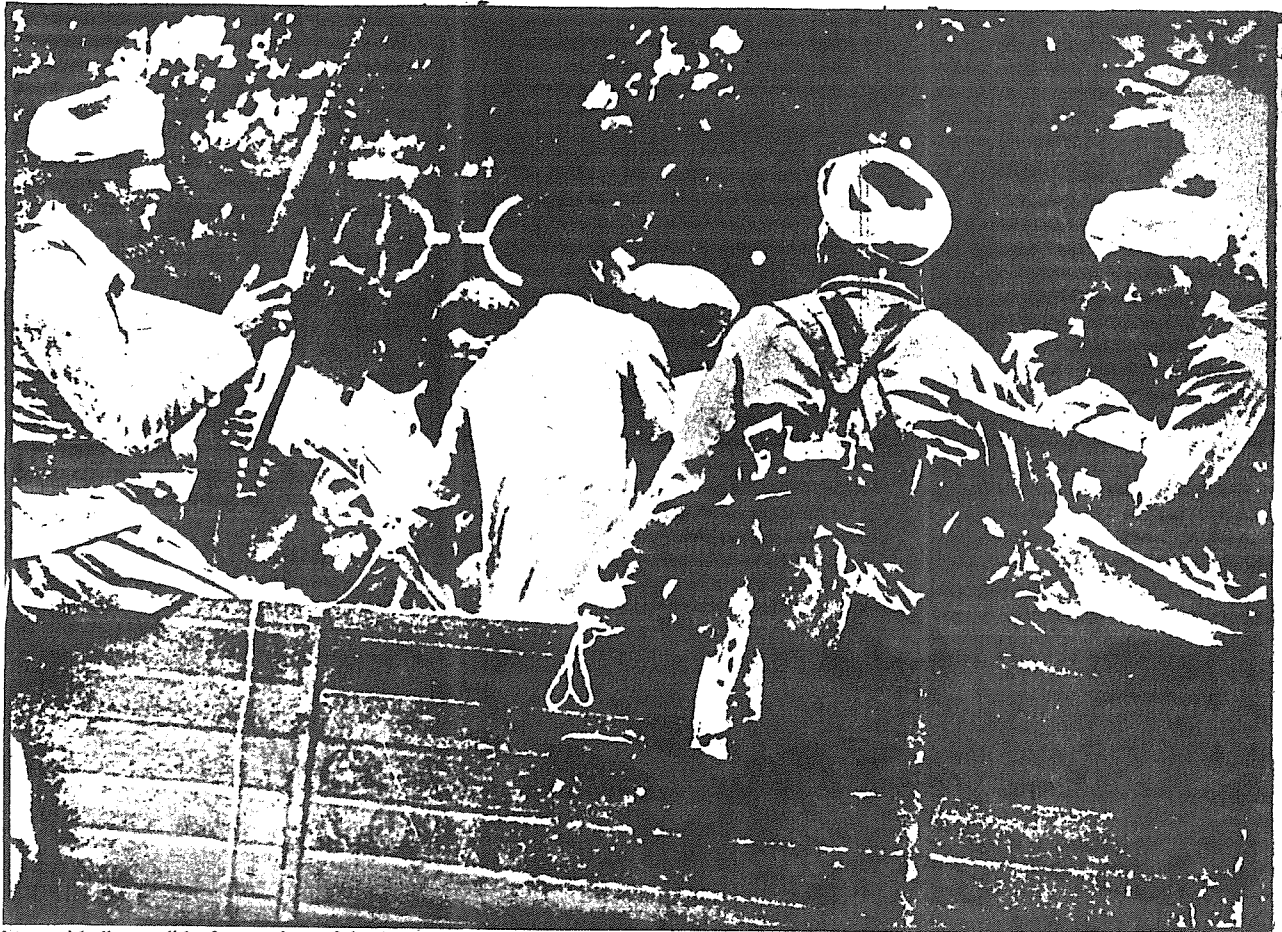
About these events, Jackson has the following comments:

"On August 11 the government announced the dissolution of the *Consejo de Aragon*, the anarchist-dominated administration which had been recognised by Largo Caballero in December, 1936. The peasants were known to hate the Consejo, the anarchists had deserted the front during the Barcelona fighting, and the very existence of the Consejo was a standing challenge to the authority of the central government. For all these reasons Negrín did not hesitate to send in troops, and to arrest the anarchist officials. Once their authority had been broken, however, they were released."⁵⁵

These remarks are most interesting. Consider first the charge that the anarchists had deserted the front during the May Days. It is true that elements of certain anarchist and POUM divisions were prepared to march on Barcelona, but after the "fragile truce" was established on May 5, they did not do so; no anarchist forces even approached Barcelona to defend the Barcelona proletariat and its institutions from attack. However, a motorised column of 5,000 Assault Guards was sent from the front by the government to break the "fragile truce."⁵⁶ Hence the only forces to "desert the front" during the Barcelona fighting were those dispatched by the government to complete the job of dismantling the revolution, by force. Recall Orwell's observations quoted earlier.

What about Jackson's statement that "the peasants were known to hate the Consejo"? As in the other cases I have cited, Jackson gives no indication of any evidence on which such a judgement might be based. The most detailed investigation of the collectives is from anarchist sources, and they indicate that Aragon was one of the areas where collectivisation was most widespread and successful.⁵⁷ Both the CNT and the UGT Land Workers' Federation were vigorous in their support for collectivisation, and there is no doubt that both were mass organisations. A number of non-anarchists, observing collectivisation in Aragon firsthand, gave very favourable reports and stressed the voluntary character of collectivisation.⁵⁸ According to Gaston Leval, an anarchist observer who carried out detailed investigation of rural collectivisation, "in Aragon 75 per cent of small proprietors have voluntarily adhered to the new order of things," and others were not forced to involve themselves in collectives.⁵⁹ Other anarchist observers — Augustin Souchy in particular — gave detailed observations of the functioning of the Aragon collectives. Unless one is willing to assume a fantastic degree of falsification, it is impossible to reconcile their descriptions with the claim that "the peasants were known to hate the Consejo" — unless, of course, one restricts the term "peasant" to "individual farm owner," in which case it might very well be true, but would justify disbanding the Council only on the assumption that the rights of the individual farm owner must predominate, not those of the landless worker. There is little doubt that the collectives were economically successful,⁶⁰ hardly likely if collectivisation were forced and hated by the peasantry.

I have already cited Bolloten's general conclusion, based on very extensive documentary evidence, that while the individual farmer may have viewed the development of collectivised agricul-



Moroccan troops escorting Republican POW's in Seville.

ture with dismay, "the farmworkers of the Anarchosyndicalist CNT and the Socialist UGT saw in it, on the contrary, the commencement of a new era." This conclusion seems quite reasonable, on the basis of the materials that are available. With respect to Aragon, specifically, he remarks that the "debt-ridden peasants were strongly affected by the ideas of the CNT and FAI, a factor that gave a powerful spontaneous impulse to collective farming," though difficulties are cited by anarchist sources, which in general appear to be quite honest about failures. Bolloten cites two Communist sources, among others, to the effect that about 70 per cent of the population in rural areas of Aragon lived in collectives (p. 71); he adds that "many of the region's 450 collectives were largely voluntary," although "the presence of militiamen from the neighbouring region of Catalonia, the immense majority of whom were members of the CNT and FAI" was "in some measure" responsible for the extensive collectivisation. He also points out that in many instances peasant proprietors who were not compelled to adhere to the collective system did so for other reasons: "... not only were they prevented from employing hired labour and disposing freely of their crops... but they were often denied all benefits enjoyed by members" (p. 72). Bolloten cites the attempt of the Communists in April 1937 to cause dissension in "areas where the CNT and UGT had established collective farms by mutual agreement" (p. 195), leading in some cases to pitched battles and dozens of assassinations, according to CNT sources. 61 Bolloten's detailed analysis of the events of the summer of 1937 sheds considerable light on the question of peasant attitudes towards collectivisation in Aragon:

"It was inevitable that the attacks on the collectives should have had an unfavourable effect upon rural economy and upon

morale, for while it is true that in some areas collectivisation was anathema to the majority of peasants, it is no less true that in others collective farms were formed spontaneously by the bulk of the peasant population. In Toledo province, for example, where even before the war rural collectives existed, 83 per cent of the peasants, according to a source friendly to the Communists, decided in favour of the collective cultivation of the soil. As the campaign against the collective farms reached its height just before the summer harvest [1937]... a pall of dismay and apprehension descended upon the agricultural labourers. Work in the fields was abandoned in many places or only carried on apathetically, and there was danger that a substantial portion of the harvest, vital for the war effort, would be left to rot." (P. 196)

It was under these circumstances, he points out, that the Communists were forced to change their policy and — temporarily — to tolerate the collectives. A decree was passed legalising collectives "during the current agricultural year" (his italics) and offering them some aid. This "produced a sense of relief in the countryside during the vital period of the harvest." Immediately after the crops had been gathered, the policy changed once again to one of harsh repression. Bolloten cites Communist sources to the effect that a "short though fierce campaign at the beginning of August" prepared the way for the dissolution of the Council of Aragon. Following the dissolution decree, "the newly appointed Governor General, Jose Ignacio Mantecon, a member of the Left Republican Party, but a secret Communist sympathiser [who joined the party in exile, after the war]... ordered the break-up of the collective farms." The means: Lister's

division, which restored the old order by force and terror. Bolloten cites Communist sources conceding the excessive harshness of Lister's methods. He quotes the Communist general secretary of the Institute of Agrarian Reform, who admits that the measures taken to dissolve the collectives were "a very grave mistake, and produced tremendous disorganisation in the countryside," as "those persons who were discontented with the collectives... took them by assault, carrying away and dividing up the harvest and farm implements without respecting the collectives that had been formed without violence or pressure, that were prosperous, and that were a model of organisation..." As a result, labour in the fields was suspended almost entirely, and a quarter of the land had not been prepared at the time for sowing" (p. 200). Once again, it was necessary to ameliorate the harsh repression of the collectives, to prevent disaster. Summarising these events, Bolloten describes the resulting situation as follows:

"But although the situation in Aragon improved in some degree, the hatreds and resentments generated by the break-up of the collectives and by the repression that followed were never wholly dispelled. Nor was the resultant disillusionment that sapped the spirit of the Anarchosyndicalist forces on the Aragon front ever entirely removed, a disillusionment that no doubt contributed to the collapse of that front a few months later... after the destruction of the collective farms in Aragon, the Communist Party was compelled to modify its policy, and support collectives also in other regions against former owners who sought the return of confiscated land..." (Pp 200-201).

Returning to Jackson's remarks, I think we must conclude that they seriously misrepresent the

situation.⁶² The dissolution of the Council of Aragon and the large-scale destruction of the collectives by military force was simply another stage in the eradication of the popular revolution and the restoration of the old order. Let me emphasise that I am not criticising Jackson for his negative attitude towards the social revolution, but rather for the failure of objectivity when he deals with the revolution and the ensuing repression.

Among historians of the Spanish Civil War, the dominant view is that the Communist policy was in essentials the correct one – that in order to consolidate domestic and international support for the Republic it was necessary to block and then reverse the social revolution. Jackson, for example, states that Caballero “realised that it was absolutely necessary to rebuild the authority of the Republican state and to work in close co-operation with the middle-class liberals.” The anarchist leaders who entered the government shared this view, putting their trust in the good faith of liberals such as Companys and believing – naively, as events were to show – that the Western democracies would come to their aid.

A policy diametrically opposed to this was advocated by Camillo Berneri. In his open letter to the anarchist minister Federica Montseny⁶³ he summarises his views in the following way: “The dilemma, war or revolution, no longer has meaning. *The only dilemma is this: either victory over Franco through revolutionary war, or defeat*” (his italics). He argued that Morocco should be granted independence and that an attempt should be made to stir up rebellion throughout North Africa. Thus a revolutionary struggle should be undertaken against Western capitalism in North Africa and, simultaneously, against the bourgeois regime in Spain, which was gradually dismantling the accomplishments of the July revolution. The primary front should be political. Franco relied heavily on Moorish contingents, including a substantial number from French Morocco. The Republic might exploit this fact, demoralising the Nationalist forces and perhaps even winning them to the revolutionary cause by political agitation based on the concrete alternative of pan-Islamic – specifically, Moroccan – revolution. Writing in April 1937, Berneri urged that the army of the Republic be reorganised for the defence of the revolution, so that it might recover the spirit of popular participation of the early days of the revolution. He quotes the words of his compatriot Louis Bertoni, writing from the Huesca front:

“The Spanish war, deprived of all new faith, of any idea of a social transformation, of all revolutionary grandeur, of any universal meaning, is now merely a national war of independence that must be carried on to avoid the extermination that the international plutocracy demands. There remains a terrible question of life or death, but no longer a war to build a new society and a new humanity.”

In such a war, the human element that might bring victory over fascism is lost.

In retrospect, Berneri's ideas seem quite reasonable. Delegations of Moroccan nationalists did in fact approach the Valencia government asking for arms and material, but were refused by Caballero, who actually proposed territorial concessions in North Africa to France and England to try to win their support. Commenting on these facts, Broue and Temime observe that these policies deprived the Republic of “the instrument of revolutionary defeatism in the enemy army,” and even of a possible weapon against Italian intervention. Jackson, on the other hand, dis-

misses Berneri's suggestion with the remark that independence for Morocco (as for that matter, even aid to the Moroccan nationalists) was “a gesture that would have been highly appreciated in Paris and London.” Of course it is correct that France and Britain would hardly have appreciated this development. As Berneri points out, “it goes without saying that one cannot simultaneously guarantee French and British interests in Morocco and carry out an insurrection.” But Jackson's comment does not touch on the central issue, namely, whether the Spanish revolution could have been preserved, both from the fascists at the front and from the bourgeois-Communist coalition within the Republic, by a revolutionary war of the sort that the left proposed – or, for that matter, whether the Republic might not have been saved by a political struggle that involved Franco's invading Moorish troops, or at least eroded their morale. It is easy to see why Caballero was not attracted by this bold scheme, given his reliance on the eventual backing of the Western democracies. On the basis of what we know today, however, Jackson's summary dismissal of revolutionary war is much too abrupt.

Furthermore, Bertoni's observations from the Huesca front are borne out by much other evidence, some of it cited earlier. Even those who accepted the Communist strategy of discipline and central control as necessary concede that the repressions that formed an ineliminable part of this strategy “tended to break the fighting spirit of the people.”⁶⁴ One can only speculate, but it seems to me that many commentators have seriously underestimated the significance of the political factor, the potential strength of a popular struggle to defend the achievements of the revolution. It is perhaps relevant that Asturias, the one area of Spain where the system of CNT-UGT committees was not eliminated in favour of central control, is also the one area where guerrilla warfare continued well after Franco's victory. Broue and Temime observe⁶⁵ that the resistance of the partisans of Asturias “demonstrates the depth of the revolutionary élan, which had not been shattered by the re-institution of state authority, conducted here with great prudence.” There can be no doubt that the revolution was both widespread and deeply rooted in the Spanish masses. It seems quite possible that a revolutionary war of the sort advocated by Berneri would have been successful, despite the greater military force of the fascist armies. The idea that men can overcome machines no longer seems as romantic or naive as it may have a few years ago.

Furthermore, the trust placed in the bourgeois government by the anarchist leaders was not honoured, as the history of the counterrevolution clearly shows. In retrospect, it seems that Berneri was correct in arguing that they should not have taken part in the bourgeois government, but should rather have sought to replace this government with the institutions created by the revolution.⁶⁶ The anarchist minister García Oliver stated that “we had confidence in the word and in the person of a Catalan democrat and retained and supported Companys as President of the Generalitat,”⁶⁷ at a time when in Catalonia, at least, the workers' organisations could easily have replaced the state apparatus and dispensed with the former political parties, as they had replaced the old economy with an entirely new structure. Companys recognised fully that there were limits beyond which he could not co-operate with the anarchists. In an interview with H.E. Kaminski, he refused to specify these limits, but merely expressed his hope that “the anarchist masses will not oppose the good sense of their

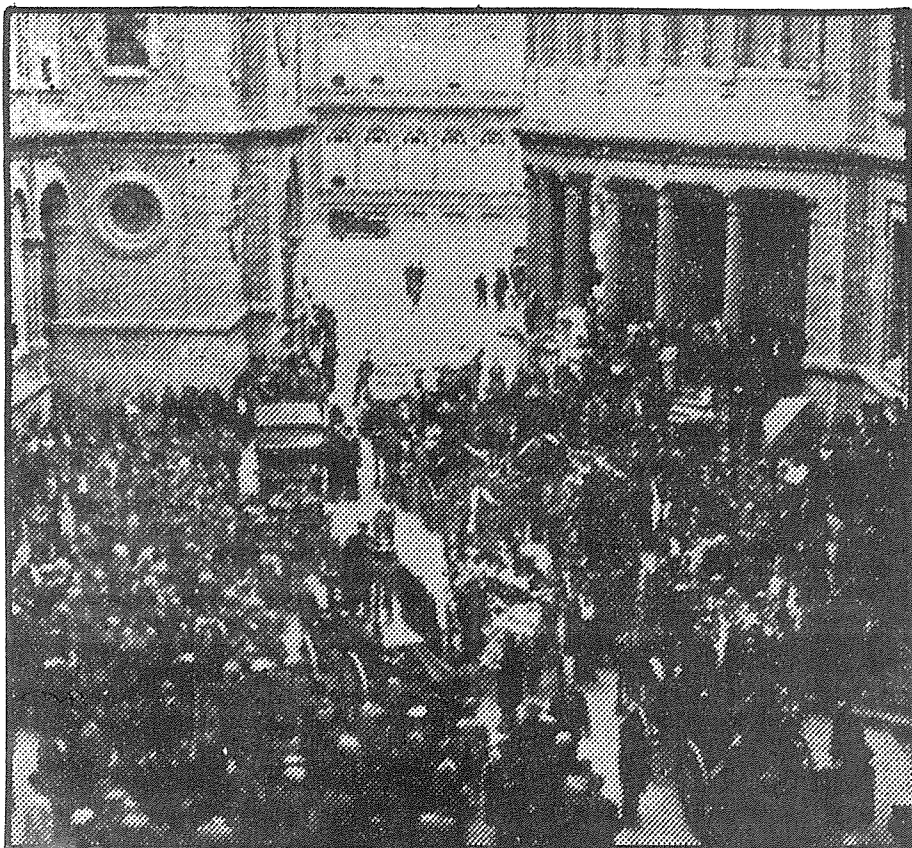
leaders,” who have “accepted the responsibilities incumbent upon them”; he saw his task as “directing these responsibilities in the proper path,” not further specified in the interview, but shown by the events leading up to the May Days.⁶⁸ Probably, Companys' attitude towards this willingness of the anarchist leaders to co-operate was expressed accurately in his reaction to the suggestion of a correspondent of the *New Statesman and Nation*, who predicted that the assassination of the anarchist mayor of Puigcerda would lead to a revolt: “[Companys] laughed scornfully and said the anarchists would capitulate as they always had before.”⁶⁹ As has already been pointed out in some detail, the liberal-Communist Party coalition had no intention of letting the war against Franco take precedence over the crushing of the revolution. A spokesman for Comorera put the matter clearly: “This slogan has been attributed to the PSUC: ‘Before taking Saragossa, it is necessary to take Barcelona.’ This reflects the situation exactly. . . .”⁷⁰ Comorera himself had, from the beginning, pressed Companys to resist the CNT.⁷¹ The first task of the antifascist coalition, he maintained, was to dissolve the revolutionary committees.⁷² I have already cited a good deal of evidence indicating that the repression conducted by the Popular Front seriously weakened popular commitment and involvement in the anti-fascist war. What was evident to George Orwell was also clear to the Barcelona workers and the peasants in the collectivised villages of Aragon: the liberal-Communist coalition would not tolerate a revolutionary transformation of Spanish society; it would commit itself fully to the anti-Franco struggle only after the old order was firmly re-established, by force, if necessary.⁷³

There is little doubt that farm workers in the collectives understood quite well the social content of the drive towards consolidation and central control. We learn this not only from anarchist sources but also from the socialist press in the Spring of 1937. On May 1, the Socialist party newspaper *Adelante* had the following to say:

“At the outbreak of the Fascist revolt the labour organisations and the democratic elements in the country were in agreement that the so-called National Revolution, which threatened to plunge our people into an abyss of deepest misery, could be halted only by a Social Revolution. The Communist Party, however, opposed this view with all its might. It had apparently completely forgotten its old theories of a ‘workers' and peasants' republic’ and a ‘dictatorship of the proletariat.’ From its constant repetition of its new slogan of the parliamentary democratic republic it is clear that it has lost all sense of reality. When the Catholic and conservative sections of the Spanish bourgeoisie saw their old system smashed and could find no way out, the Communist Party instilled new hope into them. It assured them that the democratic bourgeois republic for which it was pleading put no obstacles in the way of Catholic propaganda and, above all, that it stood ready to defend the class interests of the bourgeoisie.”⁷⁴

That this realisation was widespread in the rural areas was underscored dramatically by a questionnaire sent by *Adelante* to secretaries of the UGT Federation of Land Workers, published in June 1937.⁷⁵ The results are summarised as follows:

“The replies to these questions revealed an astounding unanimity. Everywhere the same story. The peasant collectives



May 1937, Barcelona: The funeral of Italian anarchist Camillo Berneri, murdered on the express orders of Communist leader Palmiro Togliatti.

are today most vigorously opposed by the Communist Party. The Communists organise the well-to-do farmers who are on the look-out for cheap labour and are, for this reason, outspokenly hostile to the co-operative undertakings of the poor peasants.

It is the element which before the revolution sympathised with the Fascists and Monarchists which, according to the testimony of the trade-union representatives, is now flocking to the ranks of the Communist Party. As to the general effect of Communist activity on the country, the secretaries of the UGT had only one opinion, which the representative of the Valencia organisation put in these words: 'It is a misfortune in the fullest sense of the word'.⁷⁶

It is not difficult to imagine how the recognition of this "misfortune" must have affected the willingness of the land workers to take part in the antifascist war, with all the sacrifices that this entailed.

The attitude of the central government to the revolution was brutally revealed by its acts and is attested as well in its propaganda. A former minister describes the situation as follows:

"The fact that it is concealed by the coalition of the Spanish Communist Party with the left Republicans and right wing Socialists is that there has been a successful social revolution in half of Spain. Successful, that is, in the collectivisation of factories and farms which are operated under trade union control, and operated quite efficiently. During the three months that I was director of propaganda for the United States and England under Alvarez del Vayo, then Foreign Minister for the Valencia Government, I was instructed not to send out one word about this revolution in the economic system of loyal-

ist Spain. Nor are any foreign correspondents in Valencia permitted to write freely of the revolution that has taken place."⁷⁷

In short, there is much reason to believe that the will to fight Franco was significantly diminished, perhaps destroyed, by the policy of authoritarian centralisation undertaken by the liberal-Communist coalition, carried through by force, and disguised in the propaganda that was disseminated among Western intellectuals⁷⁸ and that still dominates the writing of history. To the extent that this is a correct judgement, the alternative proposed by Berneri and the left "extremists" gains in plausibility.

As noted earlier, Caballero and the anarchist ministers accepted the policy of counterrevolution because of their trust in the Western democracies, which they felt sure would sooner or later come to their aid. This feeling was perhaps understandable in 1937. It is strange, however, that a historian writing in the 1960's should dismiss the proposal to strike at Franco's rear by extending the revolutionary war to Morocco, on grounds that this would have displeased Western capitalism (see earlier reference).

Berneri was quite right in his belief that the Western democracies would not take part in an antifascist struggle in Spain. In fact, their complicity in the fascist insurrection was not slight. French bankers, who were generally pro-Franco, blocked the release of Spanish gold to the loyalist government, thus hindering the purchase of arms and, incidentally, increasing the reliance of the Republic on the Soviet Union.⁷⁹ The policy of "nonintervention," which effectively blocked Western aid for the loyalist government while Hitler and Mussolini in effect won the war for Franco, was also technically initiated by the French government — though apparently under heavy British pressure.⁸⁰

As far as Great Britain is concerned, the hope that it would come to the aid of the Republic was always unrealistic. A few days after the

Franco coup, the foreign editor of *Paris-Soir* wrote: "At least four countries are already taking active interest in the battle — France, which is supporting the Madrid government, and Britain, Germany and Italy, each of which is giving discreet but nevertheless effective assistance to one group or another among the insurgents."⁸¹ In fact, British support for Franco took a fairly concrete form at the very earliest stages of the insurrection. The Spanish navy remained loyal to the Republic (to be more precise, pro-Franco officers were killed, and the seamen remained loyal to the Republic, in many instances), and made some attempt to prevent Franco from ferrying troops from Morocco to Spain. Italian and German involvement in overcoming these efforts is well documented;⁸² the British role has received less attention, but can be determined from contemporary reports. On August 11, 1936, the *New York Times* carried a front-page report on British naval actions in the Straits of Gibraltar, commenting that "this action helps the Rebels by preventing attacks on Algeciras, where troops from Morocco land." (A few days earlier, loyalist warships had bombarded Algeciras, damaging the British consulate.) An accompanying dispatch from Gibraltar describes the situation as it appeared from there:

"Angered by the Spanish factions' endangering of shipping and neutral Gibraltar territory in their fighting, Great Britain virtually blockaded Gibraltar Harbour last night with the huge battleship Queen Elizabeth in the centre of the entrance, constantly playing searchlights on near-by waters.

Many British warships patrolled the entire Strait today, determined to prevent interference with Britain's control over the entrance to the Mediterranean, a vital place in the British "lifeline to the East."

This action followed repeated warnings to the Spanish Government and yesterday's decree that no more fighting would be permitted in Gibraltar Harbour. The British at Gibraltar had become increasingly nervous after the shelling of Algeciras by the Loyalist battleship Jaime I.

Although British neutrality is still maintained, the patrol of the Strait and the closing of the harbour will aid the military Rebels because Loyalist warships cannot attempt to take Algeciras, now in Rebel hands, and completely isolate the Rebels from Morocco. The Rebels now can release some troops, who were rushed back to Algeciras, for duty further north in the drive for Madrid.

It was reported tonight in Gibraltar tonight that the Rebels had sent a transport across the Strait and had landed more troops from Morocco for use in the columns that are marching northward from headquarters at Seville.

This was the second time this year that Britain warned a power when she believed her measure of Mediterranean control was threatened, and it remains to be seen whether the Madrid Government will flout the British as the Italians did. If it attempts to do so, the British gunners of the Gibraltar fort have authority to fire warning shots. What will happen if such shots go unheeded is obvious.

All the British here refer to the Madrid Government as the "Communists" and there is no doubt where British sympathies now lie, encouraged by the statement of General Francisco Franco, leader of the

Rebels, that he is not especially cooperating with Italy.

The British Government has ordered Spaniards here to cease plotting or be expelled and has asked Britons "loyally to refrain from either acting or speaking publicly in such a manner as to display marked partiality or partisanship."

The warning, issued in the official Gibraltar Gazette, was signed by the British Colonial Secretary here.

The warning was issued after reports of possible Communist troubles here had reached official ears and after strong complaints that Spanish Rebels were in Gibraltar. It was said Rebels were making headquarters here and entering La Linea to fight." [Italics mine]

I have quoted this dispatch in full because it conveys rather accurately the character of British "neutrality" in the early stages of the war and thenceforth. In May 1938, the British ambassador to Spain, Sir Henry Chilton, "expressed the conviction that a Franco victory was necessary for peace in Spain; that there was not the

we have to count on complaints of all kinds being brought up in London regarding failure to observe the obligation not to intervene, but we cannot avoid such complaints in any case. It can, in fact, only be agreeable to us if the centre of gravity, which after all has thus far been in Paris because of the French initiative, is transferred to London."⁸⁶ They were not disappointed. In November, Foreign Secretary Anthony Eden stated in the House of Commons: "So far as breaches [of the nonintervention agreement] are concerned, I wish to state categorically that I think there are other Governments more to blame than those of Germany and Italy."⁸⁷ There was no factual basis for this statement, but it did reflect British attitudes. It is interesting that according to German sources, England was at that time supplying Franco with munitions through Gibraltar and, at the same time, providing information to Germany about Russian arms deliveries to the Republic.⁸⁸

The British left was for the most part in support of the liberal-Communist coalition, regarding Caballero as an "infantile leftist" and the anarchists as generally unspeakable.

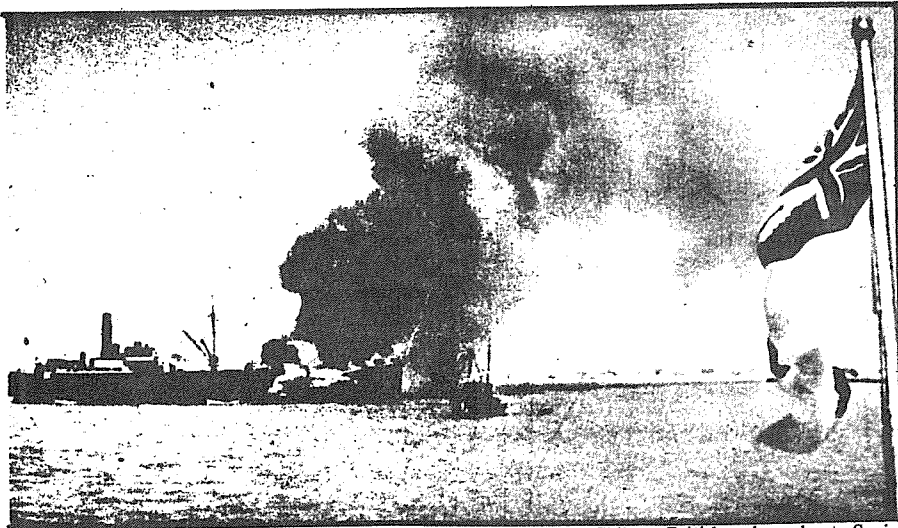
our friend."⁹⁰ In September 1938, the Munich agreement was concluded; shortly after, both France and Britain did welcome Germany as "our friend." As noted earlier (see note 53) even Churchill's role at this time is subject to some question. Of course, the Munich agreement was the death-knell for the Spanish Republic, exactly as the necessity to rely on the Soviet Union signalled the end of the Spanish revolution in 1937.

The United States, like France, exhibited less initiative in these events than Great Britain, which had far more substantial economic interests in Spain and was more of an independent force in European affairs. Nevertheless, the American record is hardly one to inspire pride. Technically, the United States adhered to a policy of strict neutrality. However, a careful look raises some doubts. According to information obtained by Jackson, "the American colonel who headed the Telephone Company had placed private lines at the disposal of the Madrid plotters for their conversations with Generals Mola and Franco,"⁹⁰ just prior to the insurrection on July 17. In August, the American government urged the Martin Aircraft Company not to honour an agreement made prior to the insurrection to supply aircraft to the Republic, and it also pressured the Mexican government not to reship to Spain war materials purchased in the United States.⁹¹ An American arms exporter, Robert Cuse, insisted on his legal right to ship airplanes and aircraft engines to the Republic in December 1936, and the State Department was forced to grant authorisation. Cuse was denounced by Roosevelt as unpatriotic, though Roosevelt was forced to admit that the request was quite legal. Roosevelt contrasted the attitude of other businessmen to Cuse as follows:

"Well, these companies went along with the request of the Government. There is the 90 per cent of business that is honest, I mean ethically honest. There is the 90 per cent we are always pointing at with pride. And then one man does what amounts to a perfectly legal but thoroughly unpatriotic act. He represents the 10 per cent of business that does not live up to the best standards. Excuse the homily, but I feel quite deeply about it."⁹²

Among the businesses that remained "ethically honest" and therefore did not incur Roosevelt's wrath was the Texaco Oil Company, which violated its contracts with the Spanish Republic and shipped oil instead to Franco. (Five tankers that were on the high seas in July 1936 were diverted to Franco, who received six million dollars worth of oil on credit during the Civil War) Apparently, neither the press nor the American government was able to discover this fact, though it was reported in left-wing journals at the time.⁹³ There is evidence that the American government shared the fears of Churchill and others about the dangerous forces on the Republican side. Secretary of State Cordell Hull, for example, informed Roosevelt on July 23, 1936, that "one of the most serious factors in this situation lies in the fact that the [Spanish] Government has distributed large quantities of arms and ammunition into the hands of irresponsible members of left-wing political organisations."⁹⁴

Like Churchill, many responsible Americans began to rethink their attitude towards the Republic after the social revolution had been crushed.⁹⁵ However, relations with Franco continued cordial. In 1957, President Eisenhower congratulated Franco on the "happy anniversary" of his rebellion,⁹⁶ and Secretary Rusk added his tribute in 1961. Upon criticism, Rusk was defended by the American ambassador to Mad-



"A Franco victory is necessary for peace in Spain." — Sir Henry Chilton, British ambassador to Spain.

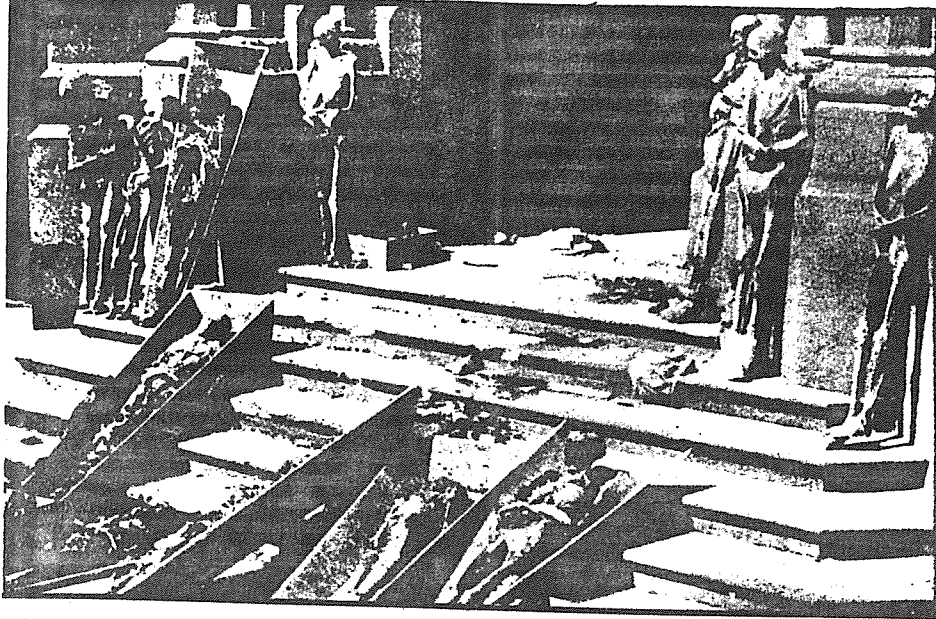
slightest chance that Italy and/or Germany would dominate Spain; and that even if it were possible for the Spanish Government to win (which he did not believe) he was convinced that a victory for Franco would be better for Great Britain."⁸³ Churchill, who was at first violently opposed to the Republic, modified his position somewhat after the crushing of the revolution in the summer of 1937. What particularly pleased him was the forceful repression of the anarchists and the militarisation of the Republic (necessary when "the entire structure of civilisation and social life is destroyed," as it had been by the revolution, now happily subdued).⁸⁴ However, his good feelings towards the Republic remained qualified. In an interview of August 14, 1938, he expressed himself as follows: "Franco has all the right on his side because he loves his country. Also, Franco is defending Europe against the Communist danger — if you wish to put it in those terms. But I, I am English, and I prefer the triumph of the wrong cause, I prefer that the other side wins, because Franco could be an upset or a threat to British interests, and the others no."⁸⁵

The Germans were quite aware of British sentiments, naturally, and therefore were much concerned that the supervisory committee for the nonintervention agreement be located in London rather than Paris. The German Foreign Ministry official responsible for this matter expressed his view on August 29, 1936, as follows: "Naturally,

The British policy of mild support for Franco was to be successful in preserving British interests in Spain, as the Germans soon discovered. A German Foreign Ministry note of October 1937 to the embassy in Nationalist Spain included the following observation: "That England cannot permanently be kept from the Spanish market as in the past is a fact with which we have to reckon. England's old relations with the Spanish mines and the Generalissimo's desire, based on political and economic considerations, to come to an understanding with England place certain limits on our chances of reserving Spanish raw materials to ourselves permanently."⁸⁹

One can only speculate as to what might have been the effect of British support for the Republic. A discussion of this matter would take us far afield, into a consideration of British diplomacy during the late 1930's. It is perhaps worth mentioning now that the "Munich analogy" is being bandied about in utter disregard for the historical facts by Secretary Rusk and a number of academic supporters, that "containment of Communism" was not a policy invented by George Kennan in 1947. Specifically, it was a dominant theme in the diplomacy of the 1930's. In 1934, Lloyd George stated that "in a very short time, perhaps in a year, perhaps two, the conservative elements in this country will be looking to Germany as the bulwark against Communism in Europe. . . Do not let us be in a hurry to condemn Germany. We shall be welcoming Germany as

"The oppressed people put to the torch whatever dens of obscurantism and deception they found in their path. Churches, convents, centres of reaction, whatever smacked of incense and darkness were fuel for the flames." *Ruta*, November 14, 1936.



rid, who observed that Spain is "a nation which understands the implacable nature of the communist threat,"⁹⁷ like Thailand, South Korea, Taiwan, and selected other countries of the Free World.⁹⁸

In the light of such facts as these, it seems to me that Jackson is not treating the historical record seriously when he dismisses the proposals of the Spanish left as absurd. Quite possibly Berneri's strategy would have failed, as did that of the liberal-Communist coalition that took over the Republic. It was far from senseless, however. I think that the failure of historians to consider it more seriously follows, once again, from the elitist bias that dominates the writing of history — and, in this case, from a certain sentimentality about the Western democracies.

The study of collectivisation published by the CNT in 1937⁹⁹ concludes with a description of the village of Membrilla. "In its miserable huts live the poor inhabitants of a poor province; eight thousand people, but the streets are not paved, the town has no newspaper, no cinema, neither a cafe nor a library. On the other hand, it has many churches that have been burned." Immediately after the Franco insurrection, the land was expropriated and village life collectivised. "Food clothing and tools were distributed equitably to the whole population. Money was abolished, work collectivised, all goods passed to the community, consumption was socialised. It was, however, not a socialisation of wealth but of poverty." Work continued as before. An elected council appointed committees to organise the life of the commune and its relations to the outside world. The necessities of life were distributed freely, insofar as they were available. A large number of refugees were accommodated. A small library was established, and a small school of design.

The document closes with these words:

"The whole population lived as a large family; functionaries, delegates, the secretary of the syndicates, the members of the municipal council, all elected, acted as heads of a family. But they were controlled, because special privilege or corruption would not be tolerated. Membrilla is perhaps the poorest village in Spain, but it is the most just."

An account such as this, with its concern for

human relations and the ideal of a just society, must appear very strange to the consciousness of the sophisticated intellectual, and it is therefore treated with scorn, or taken to be naive or primitive or otherwise irrational. Only when such prejudice is abandoned will it be possible for historians to undertake a serious study of the popular movement that transformed Republican Spain in one of the most remarkable social revolutions that history records.

Franz Borkenau, in commenting on the demoralisation caused by the authoritarian practices of the central government, observes (p. 295) that "newspapers are written by Europeanised editors, and the popular movement is inarticulate as to its deepest impulses . . . [which are shown only] . . . by acts." The objectivity of scholarship will remain a delusion as long as these inarticulate impulses remain beyond its grasp. As far as the Spanish revolution is concerned, its history is yet to be written.

I have concentrated on one theme — the interpretation of the social revolution in Spain — in one work of history, a work that is an excellent example of liberal scholarship. It seems to me that there is more than enough evidence to show that a deep bias against social revolution and a commitment to the values and social order of liberal bourgeois democracy has led the author to misrepresent crucial events and to overlook major historical currents. My intention has not been to bring into question the commitment to these values — that is another matter entirely. Rather, it has been to show how this commitment has led to a striking failure of objectivity, providing an example of "counterrevolutionary subordination" of a much more subtle and interesting sort — and ultimately, I believe, a far more important one — than those discussed in the first part of this essay [not published here].

* * * * *

In opening this discussion of the Spanish revolution I referred to the classical left-wing critique of the social role of the intellectuals, Marxist or otherwise, in modern society, and to Luxembourg's reservations regarding Bolshevism. Western sociologists have repeatedly emphasised the relevance of this analysis to developments in the Soviet Union,¹⁰⁰ with much justice. The same sociologists formulate "the world revolution of the epoch" in the following terms: "The

major transformation is the decline of business (and of earlier social formations) and the rise of intellectuals and semi-intellectuals to effective power."¹⁰¹ The "ultra left" critic foresaw in these developments a new attack on human freedom and a more efficient system of exploitation. The Western sociologist sees in the rise of intellectuals to effective power the hope for a more humane and smoothly functioning society, in which problems can be solved by "piecemeal technology." Who has the sharper eye? At least this much is plain: there are dangerous tendencies in the ideology of the welfare state intelligentsia who claim to possess the technique and understanding required to manage our "post-industrial society" and to organise an international society dominated by American superpower. Many of these dangers are revealed, at a purely ideological level, in the study of counterrevolutionary subordination of scholarship. The dangers exist both insofar as the claim to knowledge is real and insofar as it is fraudulent. Insofar as the technique of management and control exists, it can be used to consolidate the authority of those who exercise it and to diminish spontaneous and free experimentation with new social forms, as it can limit the possibilities for reconstruction of society in the interests of those who are now, to a greater or lesser extent, dispossessed. Where the techniques fail; they will be supplemented by all of the methods of coercion that modern technology provides, to preserve order and stability.

For a glimpse of what may lie ahead, consider the Godkin lectures of McGeorge Bundy, recently delivered at Harvard.¹⁰² Bundy urges that more power be concentrated in the executive branch of the government, now "dangerously weak in relation to its present tasks." That the powerful executive will act with justice and wisdom — this presumably needs no argument. As an example of the superior executive who should be attracted to government and given still greater power, Bundy cites Robert McNamara. Nothing could reveal more clearly the dangers inherent in the "new society" than the role that McNamara's Pentagon has played for the past half-dozen years. No doubt McNamara succeeded in doing with utmost efficiency that which should not be done at all. No doubt he has shown an unparalleled mastery of the logistics of coercion and repression, combined with the most astonishing inability to comprehend political and human factors. The efficiency of the Pentagon is no less remarkable than its pratfalls.¹⁰³ When understanding fails, there is always more force in reserve. As the "experiments in material and human resources control" collapse and "revolutionary development" grinds to a halt, we simply resort more openly to the Gestapo tactics that are barely concealed behind the facade of "pacification."¹⁰⁴ When American cities explode, we can expect the same. The technique of "limited warfare" translates neatly into a system of domestic repression — far more humane, as will quickly be explained, than massacring those who are unwilling to wait for the inevitable victory of the war on poverty.

Why should a liberal intellectual be so persuaded of the virtues of a political system of four-year dictatorship? The answer seems all too plain. (Copyright) Noam Chomsky

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Notes to 'Objectivity and Liberal Scholarship'

1. Cited in Paul Avrich, "The Russian Anarchists" (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1967), pp. 93-94. A recent reformulation of this view is given by Anton Pannekoek, the Dutch scientist and spokesman for libertarian communism, in his "Workers Councils" (Melbourne, 1950), pp. 36-37:

"It is not for the first time that a ruling class tries to explain, and so to perpetuate, its rule as the consequences of an inborn difference between two kinds of people, one destined by nature to ride, the other to be ridden. The landowning aristocracy of former centuries defended their privileged position by boasting their extraction from a nobler race of conquerors that had subdued the lower race of common people. Big capitalists explain their dominating place by the assertion that they have brains and other people have none. In the same way now especially the intellectuals, considering themselves the rightful rulers of tomorrow, claim their spiritual superiority. They form the rapidly increasing class of university trained officials and free professions, specialised in mental work, in study of books and of science, and they consider themselves as the people most gifted with intellect. Hence they are destined to be leaders of the production, whereas the ungifted mass shall execute the manual work, for which no brains are needed. They are no defenders of capitalism; not capital, but intellect should direct labour. The more so, since now society is such a complicated structure, based on abstract and difficult science, that only the highest intellectual acumen is capable of embracing, grasping and handling it. Should the working masses, from lack of insight, fail to acknowledge this need of superior intellectual lead, should they stupidly try to take the direction into their own hands, chaos and ruin will be the inevitable consequence."

2. Daniel Bell, "Notes on the Post-Industrial Society: Part I," "The Public Interest," No. 6, 1967, pp. 24-35. Albert Parry has suggested that there are important similarities between the emergence of a scientific elite in the Soviet Union and the United States, in their growing role in decision making, citing Bell's thesis in support. See "The New York Times," March 27, 1966, reporting on the Midwest Slavic Conference.

3. Letter to Herzen and Ogareff, 1866, cited in Daniel Guérin, "Jeunesse du socialisme libertaire" (Paris, Librairie Marcel Riviere, 1959, p. 119.

4. Rosa Luxemburg, "The Russian Revolution" translated by Bertram D. Wolfe (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1961), p. 71.

5. Luxemburg, cited by Guérin, "Jeunesse du socialisme libertaire," pp. 106-7.

6. "Leninism or Marxism", in Luxemburg, op. cit., p. 102.

7. For a very enlightening study of this matter, emphasising domestic issues, see Michael Paul Rogin, "The Intellectuals and McCarthy": "The Radical Specter" (Cambridge, Mass., the M.I.T. Press, 1967).

8. "The Spanish Republic and the Civil War: 1931-1939" (Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press, 1965).

9. Respectively, President of the Republic, Prime Minister from May until the Franco insurrection, and member of the conservative wing of the Popular Front selected by Azana to try to set up a compromise government after the insurrection.

10. It is interesting that Douglas Pike's very hostile account of the National Liberation Front emphasises the popular and voluntary element in its striking organisational successes. What he describes, whether accurately or not one cannot tell, is a structure of interlocking self-help organisations, loosely co-ordinated and developed through persuasion rather than force - in certain respects, of a character that would have appealed to anarchist thinkers. Those who speak so freely of the "authoritarian Vietcong" may be correct, but they have presented little evidence to support their judgement. Of course, it must be understood that Pike regards the element of voluntary mass participation in self-help organisations as the most dangerous and insidious feature of the NLF organisational structure.

Also relevant is the history of collectivisation in China, which, as compared with the Soviet Union, shows a much higher reliance on persuasion and mutual aid than on force and terror, and appears to have been more successful. See Thomas P. Bernstein, "Leadership and Mass Mobilisation in the Soviet and Chinese Collectivisation Campaigns of 1929-30 and 1955-56: A Comparison," "China Quarterly," No. 31 (July-September 1967), pp. 1-47, for some interesting and suggestive comments and analysis.

The scale of the Chinese Revolution is so great and reports in depth are so fragmentary that it would no doubt be foolhardy to attempt a general evaluation. Still, all the reports I have been able to study suggest that insofar as real successes were achieved in the several stages of land reform, mutual aid, collectivisation, and formation of communes, they were traceable in large part to the complex interaction of the Communist party cadres and the gradually evolving peasant associations, a relation which seems to stray far from the Leninist model of organisation. This is particularly evident in William Hinton's magnificent study "Fanshen" (New York, Monthly Review Press, 1966), which is unparalleled, to my knowledge, as an analysis of a moment of profound revolutionary change. What seems to me particularly striking in his account of the early stages of revolution in one Chinese village is not only the extent to which party cadres submitted themselves to popular control, but also, and more significant, the ways in which exercise of control over steps of the revolutionary process was a factor in developing the consciousness and insight of those who took

part in the revolution, not only from a political and social point of view, but also with respect to the human relationships that were created. It is interesting, in this connection, to note the strong populist connection in early Chinese Marxism. For some illuminating observations about this general matter, see Maurice Meisner, "Li Ta-chao and the Origins of Chinese Marxism" (Cambridge, Mass., Harvard University Press, 1967).

I am not suggesting that the anarchist revolution in Spain - with its background of more than thirty years of education and struggle - is being relived in Asia, but rather that the spontaneous and voluntary elements in popular mass movements have probably been seriously misunderstood because of the instinctive antipathy towards such phenomena among intellectuals, and more recently, because of the insistence on interpreting them in terms of Cold War mythology.

11. "The Spanish Background," "The New Left Review," No. 40 (November-December 1966), pp. 85-90.

12. Jose Peirats, "La CNT en la revolucion espanola," (Paris, Ruedo Iberico, 1971), 3 vols. Jackson makes one passing reference to it. Peirats has since published a general history of the period, "Los anarquistas en la crisis politica espanola," (Buenos Aires, Editorial Alfa-Argentina, 1964). An English language edition of this work has just been published by Solidarity books of Toronto and is available from C.P. Bookservice.

13. An exception to the rather general failure to deal with the anarchist revolution is Hugh Thomas's "Anarchist Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish Civil War," in Martin Gilbert, ed., "A Century of Conflict, 1850-1950: Essays for A.J.P. Taylor," (New York, Atheneum Publishers, 1967), pp. 245-63. There is also much useful information in what to my mind is the best general history of the Civil War, "La Revolution et la guerre de l'Espagne," by Pierre Broue and Emile Temime (Paris, Les Editions de Minuit, 1961). A concise and informative recent account is contained in Daniel Guérin, "L'Anarchisme," (Paris, Gallimard, 1965). In his extensive study, "The Spanish Civil War" (New York, Harper & Row, 1961) Hugh Thomas barely refers to the popular revolution, and some of the major events are not mentioned at all (for review of updated edition of Thomas book see elsewhere in this issue).

14. "Collectivisation: l'oeuvre constructive de la Revolution espagnole," 2nd ed. (Toulouse, Editions CNT, 1965). The first edition was published in Barcelona (Editions CNT-FAI, 1937). There is an excellent and sympathetic summary by the Marxist scholar Karl Korsch, "Collectivisation in Spain," in "Living Marxism," Vol. 4 (April 1939), pp. 179-82. In the same issue (pp. 170-71), the liberal-Communist reaction to the Spanish Civil War, is summarised succinctly, and I believe accurately, as follows: "With their empty chatter as to the wonders of Bolshevik

discipline, the geniality of Caballero, and the passions of the Passionaria, the 'modern liberals' merely covered up their real desire for the destruction of all revolutionary possibilities in the Civil War, and their preparation for the possible war over the Spanish issue in the interest of their diverse fatherlands. . . what was truly revolutionary in the Spanish Civil War resulted from the direct actions of the workers and pauperised peasants, and not because of a specific form of labour organisation nor an especially gifted leadership." I think the record bears out this analysis, and I also think that it is this fact that accounts for the distaste for the revolutionary phase of the Civil War and its neglect in historical scholarship.

15. An illuminating eyewitness account of this period is that of Franz Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit," (1938; reprinted Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1963).

16. Figures from Guerin, "L'Anarchisme," p.154.

17. A useful account of this period is given by Felix Morrow, "Revolution and Counter-Revolution in Spain," (1938; reprinted London, New Park Publications, 1963).

18. Cited by Camillo Berneri in his "Lettre ouverte a la camarade Frederica [sic] Montseny," "Guerre de classes en Espagne," (Paris, 1946), a collection of items translated from his journal "Guerra di Classe." Berneri was the outstanding anarchist intellectual in Spain. He opposed the policy of joining the government and argued for an alternative, more typically anarchist strategy to which I will return below. His own view towards joining the government was stated succinctly by a Catalan worker whom he quotes, with reference to the Republic of 1931: "It is always the old dog with a new collar." Events were to prove the accuracy of this analysis.

Berneri had been a leading spokesman of Italian anarchism. He left Italy after Mussolini's rise to power, and came to Barcelona on July 19, 1936. He formed the first Italian units for the anti-fascist war, according to anarchist historian Rudolf Rocker ("The Tragedy of Spain," New York, "Freie Arbeiter Stimme," 1937, p. 44). He was murdered, along with his older comrade Barbieri, during the May Days of 1937. (Arrested on May 5 by the Communist-controlled police, he was shot during the following night.) Hugh Thomas, in "The Spanish Civil War," p.428 suggests that "the assassins may have been Italian Communists" rather than the police. Thomas' book, which is largely devoted to military history, mentions Berneri's murder but makes no other reference to his ideas or role.

Berneri's name does not appear in Jackson's history. (Frank Mintz believes the murders were carried out on the order of Togliatti. We shall be exploring this subject further - together with an examination of Berneri's work - in the forthcoming issue of the C.P. Review - eds.)

19. Burnett Bolloten, "The Grand Camouflage: The Communist Conspiracy in the Spanish Civil War," (New York, Frederick A. Praeger, Inc., 1961), p. 86. This book, by a UP correspondent in Spain during the Civil War, contains a great deal of important documentary evidence bearing on the questions considered here. The attitude of the wealthy farmers of this area, most of them former supporters of the right-wing organisations that had now disappeared, is well described by the general secretary of the Peasant Federation, Julio Mateu: "Such is the sympathy for us [that is, the Communist Party] in the Valencia countryside that hundreds and thousands of farmers would join our party if we were to let them. These farmers . . . love our party like a sacred thing. . . they [say] 'The Commun-

ist Party is our party.' Comrades, what emotion the peasants display when they utter these words" (cited in Bolloten, p. 86). There is some interesting speculation about the backgrounds for the writing of this very important book in H.R. Southworth, "Le mythe de la croisade de Franco," (Ruedo Iberico, Paris, 1964; Spanish edition, same publisher, 1963).

The Communist headquarters in Valencia had on the wall two posters: "Respect the property of the small peasant" and "Respect the property of the small industrialist," (Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit" p. 117). Actually, it was the rich farmer as well who sought protection from the Communists, whom Borkenau describes as constituting the extreme right wing of the Republican forces. By early 1937, according to Borkenau, the Communist party was "to a large extent. . . the party of the military and administrative personnel, in the second place the party of the petty bourgeoisie and certain well-to-do peasant groups, in the third place the party of the employees, and only in the fourth place the party of the industrial workers," (p. 192). The party also attracted many police and army officers. The police chief in Madrid and the chief of intelligence, for example, were party members. In general, the party, which had been insignificant before the revolution, "gave the urban and rural middle classes a powerful access of life and vigour" as it defended them from the revolutionary forces (Bolloten, op. cit., p. 86). Gerald Brenan describes the situation as follows, in "The Spanish Labyrinth" (1943; reprinted Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1960), p. 325:

"Unable to draw to themselves the manual workers, who remained firmly fixed in their unions, the Communists found themselves the refuge for all those who had suffered from the excesses of the Revolution or who feared where it might lead them. Well-to-do Catholic orange-growers in Valencia, peasants in Catalonia, small shopkeepers and business men, Army officers and Government officials enrolled in their ranks. . . Thus [in Catalonia] one had a strange and novel situation: on the one side stood the huge and compact proletariat of Barcelona with its long revolutionary tradition, and on the other the white-collar workers and 'petite bourgeoisie' of the city, organised and armed by the Communist party against it."

Actually, the situation that Brenan describes is not as strange a one as he suggests. It is, rather, a natural consequence of Bolshevik elitism that the "Red Bureaucracy" should act as a counter-revolutionary force except under the conditions where its present or future representatives are attempting to seize power for themselves, in the name of the masses whom they pretend to represent.

20. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 189. The legalisation of revolutionary actions, already undertaken and completed recalls the behaviour of the "revolutionary vanguard" in the Soviet Union in 1918. Cf. Arthur Rosenberg, "A History of Bolshevism," (1932; republished in translation from the original German, New York, Russell and Russell, Publishers, 1965), Ch. 6. He describes how the expropriations, "accomplished as the result of spontaneous action on the part of the workers and against the will of the Bolsheviks," were reluctantly legalised by Lenin months later and then placed under central party control. On the relation of the Bolsheviks to the anarchists in postrevolutionary Russia, interpreted from a pro-anarchist point of view, see Guer-

in, "L'Anarchisme," pp. 96-125. See also Avrich, op. cit., Part II, pp. 123-254.

21. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 191.

22. Ibid., p. 194.

23. For some details, see Vernon Richards, "Lessons of the Spanish Revolution" (London, Freedom Press, 1953), pp. 83-88.

24. For a moving eyewitness account, see George Orwell, "Homage to Catalonia" (1938; reprinted Penguin, 1977; quotations in this article from U.S. Beacon Press edition, 1955). This brilliant book received little notice at the time of its first publication, no doubt because the picture Orwell drew was in sharp conflict with established liberal dogma. The attention that it has received as a cold-war document since its republication in 1952 would, I suspect, have been of little comfort to the author.

25. Cited by Rocker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 28.

26. See Ibid. for a brief review. It was a great annoyance to Hitler that these interests were, to a large extent, protected by Franco.

27. Ibid., p.3.

28. Op. cit., pp. 324f.

29. Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit," pp. 289-292. It is because of the essential accuracy of Borkenau's account that I think Hobsbawm (op. cit.) is mistaken in believing that the Communist policy "was undoubtedly the only one which could have won the Civil War." In fact, the Communist policy was bound to fail, because it was predicated on the assumption that the Western democracies would join the antifascist effort if only Spain could be preserved as, in effect, a Western colony. Once the Communist leaders saw the futility of this hope, they abandoned the struggle, which was not in their eyes an effort to win the Civil War, but only to serve the interests of Russian foreign policy. I also disagree with Hobsbawm's analysis of the anarchist revolution, cited earlier, for reasons that are implicit in this entire discussion.

30. Op. cit., pp. 143-44.

31. Cited by Rosenberg, op. cit., pp. 168-69.

32. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 84.

33. Ibid., p. 85. As noted earlier, the "small farmer" included the prosperous orange growers, etc. (see note 19).

34. Brenan, op. cit., p. 321.

35. Correspondence from Companys to Prieto, 1939. While Companys, as a Catalan with separatist impulses, would naturally be inclined to defend Catalanian achievements, he was surely not sympathetic to collectivisation, despite his cooperative attitude during the period when the anarchists, with real power in their hands, permitted him to retain nominal authority. I know of no attempt to challenge the accuracy of his assessment. Morrow (op. cit., p. 77) quotes the Catalan Premier, the entrepreneur Juan Tarradellas, as defending the administration of the collectivised war industries against a Communist (PSUC) attack, which he termed the "most arbitrary falsehoods." There are many other reports commenting on the functioning of the collectivised industries by nonanarchist firsthand observers, that tend to support Companys. For example, the Swiss socialist Andres Oltmares is quoted by Rocker ("The Tragedy of Spain," p. 24) as saying that after the revolution the Catalan workers' syndicates "in seven weeks accomplished fully as much as France did in fourteen months after the outbreak of the World War." Continuing, he says:

"In the midst of the civil war the Anarchists have proved themselves to be political organisers of the first rank. They kindled in everyone the required sense of responsibility, and knew how by eloquent appeals to keep alive the spirit of sacrifice for the general welfare of the people.

As a Social Democrat I speak here with inner joy and sincere admiration of my experience in Catalonia. The anti-capitalist transformation took place here without their having to resort to a dictatorship. The members of the syndicates are their own masters, and carry on production and the distribution of the products of labour under their own management with the advice of technical experts in whom they have confidence. The enthusiasm of the workers is so great that they scorn any personal advantage and are concerned only for the welfare of all."

Even Borkenau concludes, rather grudgingly, that industry was functioning fairly well, as far as he could see. The matter deserves a serious study.

36. Quoted in Richards, op. cit., pp. 46-47.

37. Ibid. Richards suggests that the refusal of the central government to support the Aragon front may have been motivated in part by the general policy of counterrevolution. "This front, largely manned by members of the CNT-FAI, was considered as of great strategic importance by the anarchists, having as its ultimate objective the linking of Catalonia with the Basque country and Asturias, i.e., a linking of the industrial region [of Catalonia] with an important source of raw materials." Again, it would be interesting to undertake a detailed investigation of this topic.

That the Communists withheld arms from the Aragon front seems established beyond question, and it can hardly be doubted that the motivation was political. See, for example, D.T. Cattell, "Communism and the Spanish Civil War" (1955; reprinted New York, Russell and Russell, Publishers, 1965), p. 110. Cattell, who in general bends over backwards to try to justify the behaviour of the central government, concludes that in this case there is little doubt that the refusal of aid was politically motivated. Brenan takes the same view, claiming that the Communists "kept the Aragon front without arms to spite the Anarchists." The Communists resorted to some of the most grotesque slanders to explain the lack of arms on the Aragon front; for example, the "Daily Worker" attributed the arms shortage to the fact that the "Trotskyist General Kopp had been carting enormous supplies of arms and ammunition across no-man's land to the fascists" (cited by Morrow, op. cit., p. 145). As Morrow points out, George Kopp is a particularly bad choice as a target for such accusations. His record is well known, for example, from the account given by Orwell, who served under his command (see Orwell, op. cit., pp. 209f.). Orwell was also able to refute, from firsthand observation; many of the absurdities that were appearing in the liberal press about the Aragon front, for example, the statement by Ralph Bates in the "New Republic" that the POUM troops were playing football with the Fascists in no man's land. At that moment, as Orwell observes, "the POUM troops were suffering heavy casualties and a number of my personal friends were killed and wounded."

38. Cited in "Living Marxism," p. 172.

39. Bolloten, op. cit., p. 49, comments on the collectivisation of the dairy trade in Barcelona, as follows: "The Anarcho-syndicalists eliminated

as unhygienic over forty pasteurising plants, pasteurised all the milk in the remaining nine, and proceeded to displace all dealers by establishing their own dairies. Many of the retailers entered the collective, but some refused to do so: "They asked for a much higher wage than that paid to the workers... claiming that they could not manage on the one allotted to them" [Tiera y Libertad, August 21, 1937 - the newspaper of the FAI, the anarchist activists]. His information is primarily from anarchist sources, which he uses much more extensively than any historian other than Peirats. He does not present any evaluation of these sources, which - like all others - must be used critically.

40. Morrow, op. cit., p. 136.

41. Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit," p. 182.

42. Ibid., p. 183.

43. Ibid., p. 184. According to Borkenau, "it is doubtful whether Comorera is personally responsible for this scarcity; it might have arisen anyway, in pace with the consumption of the harvest." This speculation may or may not be correct. Like Borkenau, we can only speculate as to whether the village and workers' committees would have been able to continue to provision Barcelona, with or without central administration, had it not been for the policy of "abstract liberalism," which was of a piece with the general Communist-directed attempts to destroy the Revolutionary organisations and the structures developed in the Revolutionary period.

44. Orwell, op. cit., pp. 109-11. Orwell's description of Barcelona in December (pp. 4-5), when he arrived for the first time, deserves more extensive quotation:

It was the first time that I had ever been in a town where the working class was in the saddle. Practically every building of any size had been seized by the workers and was draped with red flags or with red and black flags of the Anarchists; every wall was scrawled with the hammer and sickle and with the initials of the revolutionary parties; almost every church had been gutted and its images burnt. Churches here and there were being systematically demolished by gangs of workmen. Every shop and cafe had an inscription saying that it had been collectivised; even the bootblacks had been collectivised and their boxes painted red and black. Waiters and shop-walkers looked you in the face and treated you as an equal. Servile and even ceremonial forms of speech had temporarily disappeared. Nobody said "Senor" or "Don" or even "Usted"; everyone called everyone else "Comrade" and "Thou", and said "Salud!" instead of "Buenos Dias." Tipping had been forbidden by law since the time of Primo de Rivera; almost my first experience was receiving a lecture from an hotel manager for trying to tip a lift-boy. There were no private motor cars, they had all been commandeered, and all the trams and taxis and much of the other transport were painted red and black. The revolutionary posters were everywhere, flaming from the walls in clean reds and blues that made the few remaining advertisements look like daubs of mud. Down the Ramblas, the wide central artery of the town where crowds of people streamed constantly to and fro, the loud-speakers were bellowing revolutionary songs all day and far into the night. And it was the aspect of the crowds that was the queerest thing of all. In outward appear-

ance it was a town in which the wealthy classes had practically ceased to exist. Except for a small number of women and foreigners there were no "well-dressed" people at all. Practically everyone wore rough working class clothes, or blue overalls or some variant of the militia uniform. All this was queer and moving. There was much in it I did not understand, in some ways I did not even like it, but I recognised it immediately as a state of affairs worth fighting for. Also I believed things were as they appeared, that this was really a workers' State and that the entire bourgeoisie had either fled, been killed, or voluntarily come over to the workers' side; I did not realise that great numbers of well-to-do bourgeois were simply lying low and disguising themselves as proletarians for the time being. . . .

. . . waiting for that happy day when Communist power would reintroduce the old state of society and destroy popular involvement in the war.

In December 1936, however, the situation was still as described in the following remarks (p. 6):

Yet so far as one can judge the people were contented and hopeful. There was no unemployment, and the price of living was still exceptionally low; you saw very few conspicuously destitute people, and no beggars except the gypsies. Above all, there was a belief in the revolution and the future, a feeling of having suddenly emerged into an era of equality and freedom. Human beings were trying to behave as human beings and not as cogs in the capitalist machine. In the barbers' shops were Anarchist notices (the barbers were mostly Anarchists) solemnly explaining that barbers were no longer slaves. In the streets were coloured posters appealing to prostitutes to stop being prostitutes. To anyone from the hard-boiled, sneering civilisation of the English-speaking races there was something rather pathetic in the literalness with which these idealistic Spaniards took the hackneyed phrases of revolution. At that time revolutionary ballads of the naivest kind, all about proletarian brotherhood and the wickedness of Mussolini, were being sold on the streets for a few centimes each. I have often seen an illiterate militiaman buy one of these ballads, laboriously spell out the words, and then, when he had got the hang of it, begin singing it to an appropriate tune.

Recall the dates. Orwell arrived in Barcelona in late December 1936. Comorera's decree abolishing the workers' supply committees and the bread committees was on January 7. Borkenau returned to Barcelona in mid-January; Orwell in April.

45. See Bolloten, op. cit., p. 74, citing the anarchist spokesman Juan Peiro, in September 1936. Like other anarchists and left-wing socialists, Peiro sharply condemns the use of force to introduce collectivisation, taking the position that was expressed by most anarchists, as well as by left-wing socialists such as Ricardo Zabalza, general secretary of the Federation of Land Workers, who stated, on January 8, 1937: "I prefer a small, enthusiastic collective, formed by a group of active and honest workers, to a large collective set up by force and composed of peasants without enthusiasm, who would sabotage it until it failed. Voluntary collectivisation may seem the longer course, but the example of the small, well managed collective will attract the entire peasantry, who are profoundly realistic and practical, whereas forced collectivisation

would end by discrediting socialised agriculture" (cited by Bolloten op cit., p. 59). However, there seems no doubt that the precepts of the anarchist and left-wing spokesmen were often violated in practice.

46. Borkenau, "The Spanish Cockpit", pp. 219-20. Of this officer, Jackson says only that he was "a dependable professional officer." After the fall of Malaga, Lieutenant Colonel Villalba was tried for treason, for having deserted the headquarters and abandoned his troops. Broue and Temime remark that it is difficult to determine what justice there was in the charge.

47. Jesus Hernandez and Juan Comorera, "Spain Organises for Victory: The Policy of the Communist Party of Spain Explained" (London, Communist Party of Great Britain, n.d.), cited by Richards, op cit., pp. 99-100. There was no accusation that the phone service was restricted, but only that the revolutionary workers could maintain a close "check on the conversations that took place between the politicians." As Richards further observes, "It is, of course, a quite different matter when the 'indiscreet ear' is that of the O.G.P.U."

48. Broue and Temime, op cit., p. 226.

49. Jackson, op cit., p. 370. Thomas suggests that Sese was probably killed accidentally ("The Spanish Civil War, p. 428).

50. The anarchist mayor of the border town of Puigcerda had been assassinated in April, after Negrin's carabineros had taken over the border posts. That same day a prominent U.G.T. member, Roldan Cortada, was murdered in Barcelona, it is presumed by CNT militants. This presumption is disputed by Peirats ("Los Anarquistas: see note 12), who argues, with some evidence, that the murder may have been a Stalinist provocation. In reprisal, a CNT man was killed. Orwell, whose eyewitness account of the May Days is unforgettable, points out that "One can gauge the attitude of the foreign capitalist Press towards the Communist-Anarchist Feud by the fact that Roldan's murder was given wide publicity, while the answering murder was carefully unmentioned" (op. cit., p. 119). Similarly, one can gauge Jackson's attitude towards this struggle by his citation of Sese's murder as a critical event, while the murder of Berneri goes unmentioned (cf. notes 18 & 49). Orwell remarks elsewhere that "In the English press, in particular, you would have to search for a long time before finding any favourable reference, at any period of the war, to the Spanish Anarchists. They have been systematically denigrated, and, as I know by my own experience, it is almost impossible to get anyone to print anything in their defence" (p. 159). Little has changed since.

51. According to Orwell (op. cit., 153-54), "A British cruiser and two British destroyers had closed in upon the harbour, and no doubt there were other warships not far away. The English newspapers gave it out that these ships were proceeding to Barcelona 'to protect British interests,' but in fact they made no move to do so; that is, they did not land any men or take off any refugees. There can be no certainty about this, but it was at least inherently likely that the British Government, which had not raised a finger to save the Spanish Government from Franco, would intervene quickly enough to save it from its own working class." This assumption may well have influenced the left wing leadership to restrain the Barcelona workers from simply taking control of the whole city, as apparently they could easily have done in the initial stages of the May Days.

Hugh Thomas comments ("The Spanish Civil War," p. 428) that there was "no reason" for Orwell's "apprehension" on this matter. In the

light of the British record with regard to Spain, it seems to me that Thomas is simply unrealistic, as compared with Orwell, in this respect.

52. Orwell, op. cit., pp. 143-44.

53. "Controversy," August 1937, cited by Morrow, p. 173. The prediction was incorrect, though not unreasonable. Had the Western powers and the Soviet Union wished, compromise would have been possible, it appears, and Spain might have been saved the terrible consequences of a Franco victory. See Brennan, op. cit., p. 331. He attributes the British failure to support an armistice and possible reconciliation to the fact that Chamberlain "saw nothing disturbing in the prospect of an Italian and German victory." It would be interesting to explore more fully the attitude of Winston Churchill. In April 1937 he stated that a Franco victory would not harm British interests. Rather, the danger was a "success of the trotskists and anarchists" (cited by Broue and Temime, op. cit., p. 172). Of some interest, in this connection, is the recent discovery of an unpublished Churchill essay written in March 1939 - six months after Munich - in which he said that England "would welcome and aid a genuine Hitler of peace and toleration" (see "New York Times," December 12, 1965).

54. I find no mention at all in Hugh Thomas, "The Spanish Civil War." The account here is largely taken from Broue and Temime, pp. 279-80.

55. Op cit., p. 405. A footnote comments on the "leniency" of the government to those arrested. Jackson has nothing to say about the charges against Ascaso and others, or the manner in which the old order was restored in Aragon.

To appreciate these events more fully, one should consider, by comparison, the concern for civil liberties shown by Negrin on the second, antifascist front. In an interview after the war he explained to John Whitaker ("We Cannot Escape History", New York, The Macmillan Company Ltd., 1943, pp. 116-18) why his government had been so ineffective in coping with the fifth column, even in the case of known fascist agents. Negrin explained "we couldn't arrest a man on suspicion; we couldn't break with the rules of evidence. You can't risk arresting an innocent man because you are positive in your own mind that he is guilty. You prosecute a war, yes; but you also live with your conscience." Evidently these scruples did not pertain when it was the rights of anarchist and socialist workers, rather than fascist agents, that were at stake.

56. Cf. Broue and Temime, p. 262. Ironically, the government forces included some anarchist troops, the only ones to enter Barcelona.

57. See Bolloten, op. cit., p. 55, n.1, for an extensive list of sources.

58. Broue and Temime cite the socialists Alardo Prats, Fenner Brockway, and Carlo Rosselli. Borkenau, on the other hand, suspected that the role of terror was great in collectivisation. He cites very little to substantiate his feeling, though some evidence is available from anarchist sources. See note 45 above.

Some general remarks on collectivisation by Rosselli and Brockway are cited by Rudolf Rocker in his essay "Anarchism and Anarcho-syndicalism," n.1, in Paul Eltzbacher, ed., "Anarchism" (London, Freedom Press, 1960), p. 266:

Rosselli: In three months Catalonia has been able to set up a new social order on the ruins of an ancient system. This is chiefly due to the Anarchists, who have revealed a quite remarkable sense of

proportion, realistic understanding, and organising ability. . . All the revolutionary forces of Catalonia have united in a program of Syndicalist-Socialist character. . . Anarcho-Syndicalism, hitherto so despised, has revealed itself as a great constructive force. I am no Anarchist, but I regard it as my duty to express here my opinion of the Anarchists of Catalonia, who have all too often been represented as a destructive if not a criminal element.

Brockway: I was impressed by the strength of the C.N.T. It was unnecessary to tell me that it is the largest and most vital of the working class organisations in Spain. That was evident on all sides. The large industries were clearly in the main in the hands of the C.N.T. - railways, road transport, shipping, engineering, textiles, electricity, building, agriculture. . . I was immensely impressed by the constructive revolutionary work which is being done by the C.N.T. Their achievements of workers' control in industry is an inspiration. . . There are still some British and Americans who regard the Anarchists of Spain as impossible, undisciplined uncontrollables. This is poles away from the truth. The Anarchists of Spain, through the C.N.T., are doing one of the biggest constructive jobs ever done by the working class. At the front they are fighting Fascism. Behind the front they are actually constructing the new workers' society. They see that the war against Fascism and the carrying through of the social revolution are inseparable. Those who have seen them and understood what they are doing must honour them and be grateful to them. . . That is surely the biggest thing which has hitherto been done by the workers in any part of the world.

59. Cited by Richards, op. cit., pp. 76-81, where long descriptive quotations are given.

60. See Hugh Thomas, "Anarchist Agrarian Collectives in the Spanish Civil War" (note 13). He cites figures showing that agricultural production went up in Aragon and Castile, where collectivisation was extensive, and down in Catalonia and the Levant, where peasant proprietors were the dominant element.

Thomas' is, to my knowledge, the only attempt by a professional historian to assess the data on agricultural collectivisation in Spain in a systematic way. (Since this article was written comrade Frank Mintz has published "L'autogestion dans l'Espagne Revolutionnaire", a definitive study of self-management in revolutionary Spain. This will be published sometime next year, by Cienfuegos - provided we have the money - under the title of "Self-Management in Revolutionary Spain") He concludes that the collectives were probably "a considerable social success" and must have had strong popular support, but he is more doubtful about their economic viability. His suggestion that "Communist pressure on the collectives may have given them the necessary urge to survive" seems quite unwarranted, as does his suggestion that "the very existence of the war. . . may have been responsible for some of the success the collectives had." On the contrary, their success and spontaneous creation throughout Republican Spain suggest that they answered to deeply felt popular sentiments, and both the war and Communist pressure appear to have been highly disruptive factors - ultimately, of course, destructive factors.

Other dubious conclusions are that "in respect of redistribution of wealth, anarchist collectives were hardly much improvement over capitalism"

since "no effective way of limiting consumption in richer collectives was devised to help poorer ones." and that there was no possibility of developing large-scale planning. On the contrary, Bolloten (op. cit., pp. 176-79) points out that "In order to remedy the defects of collectivisation, as well as to iron out discrepancies in the living standards of the workers in flourishing and impoverished enterprises, the Anarchosyndicalists, although rootedly opposed to nationalisation, advocated the centralisation — or, socialisation, as they called it — under trade union control, of entire branches of production." He mentions a number of examples of partial socialisation that had some success, citing as the major difficulty that prevented still greater progress the insistence of the Communist Party and the UGT leadership — though apparently not all of the rank and file members of the UGT — on government ownership and control. According to Richards (op. cit., p. 82): "In June 1937. . . a National Plenum of Regional Federations of Peasants was held in Valencia to discuss the formation of a National Federation of Peasants for the co-ordination and extension of the collectivist movement and also to ensure an equitable distribution of the produce of the land, not only between the collectives but for the whole country. Again in Castile in October 1937, a merging of the 100,000 members of the Regional Federation of Peasants and the 13,000 members in the food distributive trades took place. It represented a logical step in ensuring better co-ordination, and was accepted for the whole of Spain at the National Congress of Collectives held in Valencia in November 1937." Still other plans were under consideration for regional and national coordination — see, for example, D.A. de Santillan, "After the Revolution" (New York, Greenberg Publisher, Inc., 1937), for some ideas.

Thomas feels that collectives could not have survived more than "a few years while primitive misery was being overcome." I see nothing in his data to support this conclusion. The Palestinian experience has shown that collectives can remain both a social and an economic success over a long period. The success of Spanish collectivisation, under war conditions, seems amazing. One can obviously not be certain whether these successes could have been secured and extended had it not been for the combined fascist, Communist, and liberal attack, but I can find no objective basis for the almost universal scepticism. Again, this seems to me merely a matter of irrational prejudice.

61. The following is a brief description by the anarchist writer Gaston Leval, "Ne Franco, Ne Stalin, le collettività anarchiche spagnole nella lotta contro Franco e la reazione staliniana" (Milan, Istituto Editoriale Italiano, 1952), pp. 303 f.; sections reprinted in "Collectivités anarchistes en Espagne révolutionnaire," "Noir et Rouge," undated.

In the middle of the month of June, the attack began in Aragon on a grand scale and with hitherto unknown methods. . . The harvest was approaching. Rifles in hand, treasury guards under Communist orders stopped trucks loaded with provisions on the highways and brought them to their offices. A little later, the same guards poured into the collectives and confiscated great quantities of wheat under the authority of the general staff with headquarters in Barbastro. . . Later open attacks began, under the command of Lister with troops withdrawn from the front at Belchite more than 50 kilometres away, in the month of August. . . The final result was that 30 percent of the collectives were completely destroyed. In Alcolea, the

municipal council that governed the collective was arrested; the people who lived in the Home for the Aged. . . were thrown out on the street. In Mas de las Matas, in Monzon, in Barbastro, on all sides, there were arrests. Plundering took place everywhere. The stores of the cooperatives and their grain supplies were rifled; furnishings were destroyed. The governor of Aragon, who was appointed by the central government after the dissolution of the Council of Aragon — which appears to have been the signal for the armed attack against the collectives — protested. He was told to go to the devil.

On October 22, at the National Congress of Peasants, the delegation of the Regional Committee of Aragon presented a report of which the following is the summary:

"More than 600 organisers of collectives have been arrested. The government has appointed management committees that seized the warehouses and distributed their contents at random. Land, draught animals, and tools were given to individual families or to the fascists who had been spared by the revolution. The harvest was distributed in the same way. The animals raised by the collectives suffered the same fate. A great number of collectivised pig farms, stables, and dairies were destroyed. In certain communes, such as Bordon and Calaceite, even seed was confiscated and the peasants are now unable to work the land."

The estimate that 30% of the collectives were destroyed is consistent with figures reported by Peirats ("Los anarquistas en la crisis política española," p. 300). He points out that only 200 delegates attended the congress of collectives of Aragon in September 1937 ("held under the shadow of the bayonets of the Eleventh Division" cf Lister) as compared with 500 delegates at the congress of the preceding February. Peirats states that an army division of Catalan separatists and another division of the PSUC also occupied parts of Aragon during this operation, while three anarchist divisions remained at the front, under orders from the CNT-FAI leadership. Compare Jackson's explanation of the occupation of Aragon: "The peasants were known to hate the Consejo, the anarchists had deserted the front during the Barcelona fighting, and the very existence of the Consejo was a standing challenge to the authority of the central government" (bold type mine).

62. Regarding Bolloten's work, Jackson has this to say: "Throughout the present chapter, I have drawn heavily on this carefully documented study of the Communist Party in 1936-37. It is unrivalled in its coverage of the wartime press, of which Bolloten, himself a UP correspondent in Spain, made a large collection" (p. 363 n.).

63. See note 18. A number of citations from Berneri's writings are given by Broue and Temime. Morrow also presents several passages from his journal, "Guerra di Classe." A collection of his works would be a very useful contribution to our understanding of the Spanish Civil War and to the problems of revolutionary war in general.

64. Cattell, op. cit., p. 208. See also the remarks by Borkenau, Brenan, and Bolloten cited earlier. Neither Cattell nor Borkenau regards this decline of fighting spirit as a major factor, however.

65. Op. cit., p. 195, n. 7.

66. To this extent, Trotsky took a similar position.

See his "Lessons of Spain" (London, Workers' International Press, 1937).

67. Cited in Richards, op. cit., p. 23.

68. H.E. Kaminski, "Ceux de Barcelone" (Paris, Les Editions Denoel, 1937), p. 181. This book contains very interesting observations on anarchist Spain by a sceptical though sympathetic eye-witness.

69. May 15, 1937. Cited by Richards, op. cit., p. 106.

70. Cited by Broue and Temime, op. cit., p. 258, n. 34. The conquest of Saragossa was the goal, never realised, of the anarchist militia in Aragon.

71. Ibid., p. 175.

72. Ibid., p. 193.

73. The fact was not lost on foreign journalists. Morrow (op. cit., p. 68) quotes James Minifie in the "New York Herald Tribune," April 28, 1937: "A reliable police force is being built up quietly but surely. The Valencia government discovered an ideal instrument for this purpose in the Carabineros. These were formerly customs officers and guards, and always had a good reputation for loyalty. It is reported on good authority that 40,000 have been recruited for this force, and that 20,000 have already been armed and equipped. . . The anarchists have already noticed and complained about the increased strength of of this force at a time when we all know there's little enough traffic coming over the frontiers, land or sea. They realise that it will be used against them." Consider what these soldiers, as well as Lister's division or the "asaltos" described by Orwell, might have accomplished on the Aragon front, for example. Consider also the effect on the militiamen, deprived of arms by the central government, of the knowledge that these well-armed, highly trained troops were liquidating the accomplishments of their revolution.

74. Cited in Rocker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 37.

75. For references, see Bolloten, op. cit., p. 192, n. 12.

76. Cited in Rocker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 37.

77. Liston M. Oak, "Balance Sheet of the Spanish Revolution," "Socialist Review," Vol. 6 (September 1937), pp. 7-9, 26. This reference was brought to my attention by William B. Watson. A striking example of the distortion introduced by the propaganda efforts of the 1930's is the strange story of the influential film "The Spanish Earth," filmed in 1937 by Joris Ivens with a text (written afterwards) by Hemingway — a project that was apparently initiated by Dos Passos. A very revealing account of this matter, and of the perception of the Civil War by Hemingway and Dos Passos, is given in W.B. Watson and Barton Whaley, "The Spanish Earth of Dos Passos and and Hemingway," unpublished, 1967. The film dealt with the collectivised village of Fuentiduena in Valencia (a village collectivised by the UGT, incidentally). For the libertarian Dos Passos, the revolution was the dominant theme; it was the antifascist war, however, that was to preoccupy Hemingway. The role of Dos Passos was quickly forgotten, because of the fact (as Watson and Whaley point out) that Dos Passos "had become anathema to the Left for his criticisms of communist policies in Spain."

78. As far as the East is concerned, Rocker ("The Tragedy of Spain," p. 25) claims that "the Russian press, for reasons that are easily understood, never uttered one least little word about the efforts of the Spanish workers and peasants at social reconstruction." I cannot

check the accuracy of this claim, but it would hardly be surprising if it were correct.

79. See Patricia A.M. Van der Esch, "Prelude to War: The International Repercussions of the Spanish Civil War (1935-1939)" (The Hague, Martinus Nijhof, 1951), p. 47, and Brennan, op. cit., p. 329, n. 1. The conservative character of the Basque government was also, apparently, largely a result of French pressure. See Broue and Temime, op. cit., p. 172, no. 8.

80. See Dante A. Puzzo, "Spain and the Great Powers: 1936-1941" (New York, Columbia University Press, 1962), pp. 86 f. This book gives a detailed and very insightful analysis of the international background of the Civil War.

81. Jules Sauerwein, dispatch to the "New York Times" dated July 26. Cited by Puzzo, op. cit., p. 84.

82. Cf., for example, Jackson, op. cit., pp. 248f.

83. As reported by Herschel V. Johnson of the American embassy in London; cited by Puzzo, op. cit., p. 100.

84. See Broue and Temime, op. cit., pp. 288-89.

85. Cited by Thomas, "The Spanish Civil War," p. 531, no. 3. Rucker, "The Tragedy of Spain," p. 14, quotes (without reference) a proposal by Churchill for a five year "neutral dictatorship" to "tranquillise" the country, after which they could "perhaps look for a revival of parliamentary institutions."

86. Puzzo, op. cit., p. 116.

87. Ibid., p. 147. Eden is referring, of course, to the Soviet Union. For an analysis of Russian assistance to the Spanish Republic, see Cattell, op. cit., Ch.8.

88. Cf. Puzzo, op. cit., pp. 147-48.

89. Ibid., p. 212.

90. Ibid., p. 93.

91. Op. cit., p. 248.

92. Puzzo, op. cit., pp. 151 f.

93. Ibid., pp. 154-55 and n. 27.

94. For some references, see Allen Guttman, "The Wound in the Heart: America and the Spanish Civil War" (New York, The Free Press, 1962), pp. 137-38. The earliest quasi-official reference that I know of is in Herbert Freis, "The Spanish Story," (New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1948), where data is given in an appendix. Jackson (op. cit., p. 256) refers to this matter, without noting that Texaco was violating a prior agreement with the Republic. He states that the Amer-

ican government could do nothing about this, since "oil was not considered a war material under the Neutrality Act." He does not point out, however, that Robert Cuse, the Martin Company, and the Mexican government were put under heavy pressure to withhold supplies from the Republic, although this too was quite legal. As noted, the Texaco Company was never even branded "unethical" or "unpatriotic," these epithets of Roosevelt's being reserved for those who tried to assist the Republic. The cynic might ask just why oil was excluded from the Neutrality Act of January 1937, noting that while Germany and Italy were capable of supplying arms to Franco, they could not meet his demands for oil.

The Texaco Oil Company continued to act upon the pro-Nazi sympathies of its head, Captain Thor-kild Rieber, until August 1940, when the publicity began to be a threat to business. See Feis, op. cit., for further details. For more on these matters, see Richard P. Traina, "American Diplomacy and the Spanish Civil War" (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1968), pp. 166 f.

95. Puzzo, op. cit., p. 160. He remarks: "A government in Madrid in which Socialists, Communists, and anarchists sat was not without menace to American business interests both in Spain and Latin America" (p. 165). Hull, incidentally, was in error about the acts of the Spanish government. The irresponsible left-wing elements had not been given arms but had seized them, thus preventing an immediate Franco victory.

96. See Jackson, op. cit., p. 458.

97. Cf. Guttman, op. cit., p. 197. Of course, American liberalism was always proloyalist, and opposed both to Franco and to the revolution. The attitude towards the latter is indicated with accuracy by this comparison, noted by Guttman, p. 165: "300 people met in Union Square to hear Liston Oak [see note 77] expose the Stalinist role in Spain; 20,000 met in Madison Square Garden to help Earl Browder and Norman Thomas celebrate the preservation of bourgeois democracy," in July 1937.

98. Ibid., p. 198.

99. To conclude these observations about the international reaction, it should be noted that the Vatican recognised the Franco government "de facto" in August 1937 and "de jure" in May 1938. Immediately upon Franco's final victory, Pope Pius XII made the following statement: "Peace and victory have been willed by God to Spain. . . which has now given to proselytes of the materialistic atheism of our age the highest proof that above all things stands the eternal

value of religion and of the Spirit." Of course, the position of the Catholic Church has since undergone important shifts - something that cannot be said of the American government.

100. See note 14.

101. See, for example, the reference to Machajski in Harlod D. Lasswell, "The World Revolution of Our Time: A Framework for Basic Policy Research" (Hoover Institute Studies; Stanford, Cal., Stanford University Press, 1951); reprinted, with extensions, in Harold D. Lasswell and Daniel Lerner, eds., "World Revolutionary Elites: Studies in Coercive Ideological Movements" (Cambridge, Mass., The M.I.T. Press, 1965), pp. 29-96. Daniel Bell has a more extensive discussion of Machajski's critique of socialism as the ideology of a new system of exploitation in which the "intellectual workers" will dominate, in a very informative essay that bears directly on a number of the topics that have been mentioned here: "Two Roads from Marx: The Themes of Alienation and Exploitation, and Workers' Control if Socialist Thought," in "The End of Ideology," pp. 355-68.

102. Lasswell, op. cit., p. 85. In this respect, Lasswell's prognosis resembles that of Bell in the essays cited earlier.

103. Summarised in the "Christian Science Monitor," March 15, 1968. I have not seen the text and therefore cannot judge the accuracy of the report.

104. To mention just the most recent example: on January 22, 1968, McNamara testified before the Senate Armed Services Committee that the "evidence appears overwhelming that beginning in 1966 Communist local and guerrilla forces have sustained substantial attrition. As a result, there has been a drop in combat efficiency and morale. . .". The Tet offensive was launched within a week of this testimony. See I.F. Stone's Weekly, February 19, 1968, for some highly appropriate commentary.

105. The reality behind the rhetoric has been amply reported. A particularly revealing description is given by Katsuichi Honda, a reporter for "Asahi Shimbun," in "Vietnam - A Voice from the Villages," 1967, obtainable from the Committee for the English Publication of "Vietnam - A Voice from the Villages," c/o Mrs. Reiko Ishida, 2-13-7, Nishikata, Bunkyo-Ku, Tokyo.



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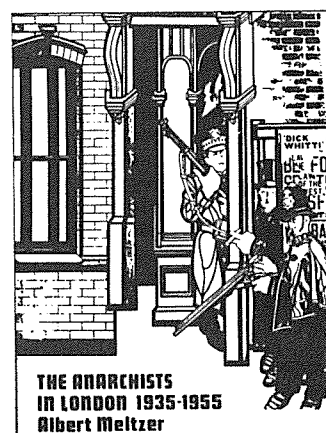
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francisco ferrer

AN INTRODUCTION

This account of the life and death of Francisco Ferrer Guardia was written by William Archer for the October and November issues of *McClure's Magazine* for 1910. Archer, a freelance journalist, had been commissioned by the magazine editor to go to Spain to find new material on the Ferrer case, as public interest in the affair had been revived. During his stay in Spain, Archer was able to interview both Ferrer's family and friends, as well as his opponents. He was also able to consult the many new books on the Tragic Week that had, at the time, just been published, and the official trial report, *Juicio Ordinario Seguido... contra Francisco Ferrer Guardia*. It is therefore to Archer's credit, that on his return from Spain, he was able to write a very fine and well documented article.

Yet while describing the events and trial that lead up to the murder of Ferrer by the vindictive Spanish Catholic state Archer has ignored the true personality of Ferrer, both as an anarchist and an educationalist. Archer was not an anarchist and had little sympathy for Ferrer on that score. Yet Ferrer's anarchism is never mentioned in any great detail, nor his connection with the anarchist movement in Spain. Ferrer the educator is dismissed as being crude "*Ferrer was not a great educator*" Archer writes "*he was not a great man; his thoughts were crude, his methods were crude.*" This in fact is far from the truth. In this short introduction we will examine both these aspects of Ferrer's life. This will show a Ferrer very far removed from the man portrayed by Archer.

Firstly, Ferrer the anarchist: Ferrer's anarchism has never been examined to any great length, no doubt because his writings on anarchism are few. Nevertheless though, he was a militant despite Woodcock's misleading assertion in *Anarchism*, that Ferrer was "adopted" by the anarchists only after his death.

Most probably Ferrer became an anarchist while in France after his break with Ruiz Zorrilla. On his return to Spain in 1901, he founded with Ignacio Clavia, the newspaper *La Huelga General*, the first issue of which appeared in Barcelona on the 15th November. The paper was to last until 1903 and its collaborators included Anselmo Lorenzo, M. Castellote and Ricardo Mella. In *La Huelga General* Ferrer was able to express fully his anarchism and in the first issue, under the pseudonym of Cero he wrote:

"... It is a well known fact that peoples' knowledge about the condition of their lives is limited to what the master class desire them to know. Very few are those who think about what they read, and fewer still those who had an opportunity to study the anarchist ideal.

In the opinion of the great majority of people the Anarchists are either assassins paid by the Jesuits or mean, unworthy, low persons, criminals and degenerates.

People are still inclined to think that should the day come when the Anarchists shall "rule" nobody would be safe in his person and nobody could feel sure in the possession of the smallest thing, since they aim at the "destruction" of property.

Yet it must be remembered – and we ought to repeat this as often as we can – that in a well organised society, viz – an Anarchist society, everyone will have his own house, his furniture, his clothes, his works of art, his tools, everything in fact that will help to make his life comfortable and happy.

We shall not pass from the absurd and foolish system of today, founded on authority and property, to one of solidarity and the fraternity as rapidly as things are done on the stage, by a quick change of scenery: on the contrary it will require all the propaganda all the *teaching*, and, above everything, all the example that we can afford to give in order to make an impression upon the mentality of the irrational unreflective beings who today form the great majority of the population.

We Anarchists desire to destroy property as it exists today because it is the result of the exploitation of man by man, of privilege assisted by the state and of the unjust right of the stronger.

We Anarchists think it is not just that there should be side by side owners of vast estates and people who have not a piece of land on which to stretch themselves: persons on whom all riches of the world descend by right of birth, and persons to whom all the sorrow and misery of the world are the only heritage.

We Anarchists do not think that a title-deed or a will is sufficient justification for a person to spend his life without working and without contribut-

ing to the common welfare.

In the Anarchist society the education and the instruction of children shall be such as to point out to them the duty and necessity of work, and that from this duty only those shall be exempt who are physically incapable.

Since in the anarchistic society there will not be any longer the bad example and the perverting influence of the sight of people slaving away all the day long side by side with others whose whole occupation is the change of amusements: since there will no longer be the disturbing moral influence that comes from daily seeing and taking for granted that there should be side by side hungry people and people over-fed, everybody will – as a matter of course – contribute to the production of the common social wealth, in proportion to his abilities and power, and food will be assured to all.

It will then be quite easy to the teachers and educators of the day to impress upon the young mind the duty, the pleasure and the necessity of work.

Mankind having attained to a certain degree of reasonableness it will also be comparatively easy to find out a working arrangement by which everyone could retain possession of the things he likes and cherishes, even without harm resulting to anybody from this right to a form of personal property, or that it should create a supremacy of a class of men over another.

In a few words: many today oppose Anarchism for no other reason than they are unable to conceive a rational and well-organised society..."

In 1907 Ferrer, in collaboration with Anselmo Lorenzo, Jose Prats and Enrique Puget founded *Solidaridad Obrera*. Ferrer lending a large sum of money for the renting of an editorial office. In the 1930's *Solidaridad Obrera* was to become, as the organ of the C.N.T., the best known Spanish anarchist newspaper.

Secondly, Ferrer the educationalist: Ferrer began to formulate his educationalist ideas in parallel with the development of his anarchism. While a teacher of Spanish in France he began to see, by close observation, that the injustice and exploitation in society was not *only* the result of authoritarian educational methods, *but more importantly* the result of what was taught by these authoritarian methods. Ferrer soon understood that as long as the education of children, the adults of tomorrow, was left in the hands of both the church and the ruling classes there would be no hope of attaining the libertarian society that he, as an anarchist, longed for. Reform of the existing school system, he thought, was futile. Explaining the working of this system in his little book *La Escuela Moderna* (to be published soon by Cienfuegos Press), published after his death, he wrote:

"... One word will suffice to characterise it (the existing school system) – Violence. The school dominates the children physically, morally, and intellectually, in order to control the development of their faculties in the way desired, and deprive them of contact with nature in order to modify them as required. This is the explanation of the failure; the eagerness of the ruling class to control education and the bankruptcy of the hopes of reformers. "Education" means in practice domination or domestication. I do not imagine that these systems have not been put together with the deliberate aim of securing the desired results. That would be the work of a genius. But things have happened just as if the actual scheme of education corresponded to some vast and deliberate conception; it could not have been done better. To attain it teachers have inspired themselves solely with the principles of discipline and authority, which always appeal to social organisers; such men have only one clear idea and one will – the children must learn to obey, to believe, and to think according to the prevailing social dogmas. If this were the aim, education could not be other than we find it today. There is no question of promoting the spontaneous development of the child's faculties, or encouraging it to seek freely the satisfaction of the physical, intellectual and moral needs. There is question only of imposing ready-made ideas on it, of preventing it from ever thinking otherwise than is required for the maintenance of existing social institutions – of making it, in a word, an individual rigorously adapted to the social mechanism..."²

and describing the teachers he wrote:

"... The teachers are merely conscious or unconscious organs of their (the ruling classes) will, and have been trained on their principles. From their

tenderest years, and more drastically than anybody, they have endured the discipline of authority. Very few have escaped this despotic domination; they are generally powerless against it, because they are oppressed by the scholastic organisation to such an extent that they have nothing to do but obey...³

He was, therefore, convinced that the only way to regenerate society was through a new system of education. An education Ferrer preferred to call rationalist, which we would call libertarian, free from all dogmas and systems whether they be religious, political, nationalistic, republican or what you will. To this end, on being left a substantial sum of money, Ferrer returned to Spain where, after much preparation, his school, *La Escuela Moderna*, was opened in Barcelona in September 1901.

The *Escuela Moderna* was by no means the first example of libertarian education. It was preceded in France by Paul Robin's experimental school at Cempuis which ran from 1880 to 1894 (Robin's example was to influence Ferrer) and later Sebastian Faure's *La Ruche* (1906-1916).⁴ But it was *La Escuela Moderna* that was to become the most well-known, no doubt because of the stand it made against the church in Spain and the savagery of Ferrer's murder. It must be remembered also that the French examples were working when a system of secular state education had already been introduced in France.

From the outset Ferrer was determined that the children in *La Escuela Moderna* would have an education that would prepare them fully for their adult life, a life, he hoped, that would be free of ignorance and prejudice.

"... Neither dogmas nor systems, moulds that confine vitality to the narrow exigencies of a transitory form of society, will be taught. Only solutions approved by the facts, theories accepted by reason, and truths confirmed by evidence, shall be included in our lessons, so that each mind shall be trained to control a will, and truths shall irradiate the intelligence, and, when applied in practice, will benefit the whole of humanity without any unworthy and disgraceful exclusiveness..."⁵

Beginning, in the first year, with 30 children the numbers increased to 266 by the third year, boys and girls being both taken in complete equality, as were children of the working and middle classes. Ferrer saw the very great importance of co-education:

"... In my own mind, co-education was of vital importance. It was not merely an indispensable condition of realising what I regard as the ideal result of rational education; it was the ideal itself, initiating its life in the Modern School, developing progressively without any form of exclusion, inspiring a confidence of attaining our end. Natural science, philosophy, and history unite in teaching, in face of all prejudice to the contrary, that man and woman are two complementary aspects of human nature, and the failure to recognise this essential and important truth has had the most disastrous consequences... Woman must not be restricted to the home. The sphere of her activity must go out far beyond her home; it must extend to the very confines of society. But in order to ensure a helpful result from her activity we must not restrict the amount of knowledge we communicate to her; she must learn, both in regard to quality and quantity, the same things as man. When science enters the mind of a woman it will direct her rich vein of emotion, the characteristic element of her nature; the glad harbinger of peace and happiness among men..."⁶

This on its own was a radical change from a vast number of school systems in operation at the time, but by far the most important innovation introduced into the *Escuela Moderna* was made by Ferrer in his position to punishment and scholastic examination:

"... Having admitted and practised the co-education of boys and girls, of rich and poor — having, that is to say, started from the principle of solidarity and equality — we are not prepared to create a new inequality. Hence, in the Modern School there will be no rewards and no punishments; there will be no examinations to puff up some children with the flattering title of "excellent" to give others the vulgar title of "good", and to make others unhappy with a consciousness of incapacity and failure... Since we are not educating for a specific purpose, we cannot determine the capacity or incapacity of the child. When we teach a science, or art, or trade, or some subject requiring special conditions, an examination may be useful, and there may be reason to give a diploma or refuse one; I neither affirm nor deny this. But there is no such specialism in the Modern School. The characteristic note of the school, distinguishing it even from some which pass as progressive models, is that in it the faculties of the children shall develop freely without subjection to any dogmatic patron, not even to what it may consider the body of convictions of the founder and teachers; every pupil shall go forth from it into social life with the ability to be his own master and guide his own life in all things.

Hence, if we were rationally prevented from giving prizes, we could not impose penalties, and no one would have dreamed of doing so in our school if the idea had not been suggested from without. Sometimes parents came to me with the rank proverb, "Letters go in with blood," on their lips, and begged me to punish their children. Others who were charmed with the precocious talent of their children wanted to see them shine in examinations

and exhibit medals. We refuse to admit either prizes or punishments, and sent the parents away. If any child were conspicuous for merit, application, laziness, or bad conduct, we pointed out to it the need of accord, or the unhappiness of lack of accord, with its own welfare and that of others, and the teacher might give a lecture on the subject. Nothing more was done, and the parents were gradually reconciled to this system, though they often had to be corrected in their errors and prejudices by their own children...

... The teachers who offer their services to the Modern School, or ask our recommendation to teach in similar schools, must refrain from any moral or material punishment, under the penalty of being disqualified permanently. Scolding, impatience, and anger ought to disappear with the ancient title of "master". In free schools all should be peace, gladness and fraternity. We trust that this will suffice to put an end to these practices, which are most improper in people whose sole ideal is the training of a generation fitted to establish a really fraternal, harmonious, and just state of society..."⁷

This is what set the *Escuela Moderna* apart from most schools past and present.

The *Escuela Moderna* though was not without teething problems. Firstly over teachers and secondly over text books. The problem with teachers at the beginning was perplexing. Ferrer saw the drawback of employing professional teachers because of their traditional attitude towards the child-teacher relationship, and even more of employing volunteers who understood the importance of the school but had had no teaching experience. Ferrer, therefore, founded a Rationalist Normal School for the training of teachers, both men and women. This was to be closed down at the same time as the *Escuela Moderna*.

Textbooks also presented a problem. The books available for Spanish schools at the time were of no use whatsoever. Take, for example, geography. Ferrer wrote to Elisee Reclus asking him to recommend a text book for the teaching of that subject. Reclus replied that he did not know of one book that was not tainted with religious or patriotic poison, or, what is worse, administrative routine. He therefore recommended that the teachers should use no textbooks at all.⁸ This was only one subject out of many. Ferrer therefore sought the help and collaboration of the most progressive educators and scientists of the time, and had their works translated into Spanish, and where necessary, he requested that they write new works specifically for the school. In this way the collaborators and supporters of the *Escuela Moderna* included Odon de Buen, Letourneau, Jean Grave, Elisee Reclus, Charles Albert, Charles Malato, Clemence Jacquinet, Martinez Vargas, Anselmo Lorenzo, Tarrida del Marmol and C.A. Laisant (the grandfather of the present publication director of *Le Monde Libertaire*). It is of interest to note that one of the most popular books in the school was *The Adventures of Nono* by Jean Grave.

This then, in brief, was the work and ideas of Ferrer. The *Escuela Moderna*, he wrote just after its foundation, would not be the perfect type of the future school of a rational state of society, but a precursor of it. In spite of this modest statement the example of Francisco Ferrer and his *Escuela Moderna* shines out today in a world where children are still educated with the same ignorance and prejudice that he tried, once and for all, to eradicate.

Ferrer's influence began before his death. Through him many Modern Schools were founded in Spain based on his *Escuela Moderna*. In Lausanne a Ferrer school was founded by an anarchist teacher, Jean Wintsch,⁹ which lasted from 1910 to 1919. But his ideas were put into practice on the largest scale by the anarchists during the Spanish Civil War.

Dave Poole

Notes:

1. This article was first translated and published in *The Anarchist* December 27th 1912, Vol. I, No. 31.
2. Francisco Ferrer, *The Origin and Ideas of the Modern School*, pp. 49-50.
3. *ibid* p. 49
4. For an excellent study of these two great examples of libertarian education see Paul Robin et l'Education integrale in "*Le Monde Libertaire*" nos. 124, 125 and 127 (August, September, October and December 1966) and Sebastian Faure et la Ruche, "*Le Monde Libertaire*" nos. 136 and 137 (November and December 1967) both by Rene Bianco.
5. Ferrer, *op. cit* p. 80.
6. *ibid* p. 25 and 30.
7. *ibid* pp. 55-56 and 59.
8. *ibid* p. 68.
9. See Le Dr. Wintsch et l'ecole Ferrer de Lausanne, "*Le Monde Libertaire*" no. 130 (March 1967) by Rene Bianco.

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the life and death of FERRER

BY WILLIAM ARCHER

FERRER AND THE BARCELONA RIOTS

On October 9, 1909, Francisco Ferrer was sentenced to death on the charge of being the "author and chief" of what is known as the "Revolution of July" in Barcelona. On October 13th the sentence was executed in the trenches of the fortress of Montjuich. Instantly there arose in almost all the principal cities of Europe a storm of protest. In Paris there was fighting in the street, resulting in one death and many injuries. In London a demonstration took place in Trafalgar Square, and the police had some difficulty in protecting the Spanish Embassy from attack. Great meetings of protest were held in Rome, Lisbon, Berlin, Brussels, Zurich and many other places. Demonstrations took place in front of the Spanish Consulate in almost every seaport of France and Italy. The execution was denounced as a judicial crime of the blackest type, and Ferrer was glorified as a martyr of free thought, done to death by a sinister and vindictive clericalism. Nine days later the Maura Cabinet resigned, its fall being due in great measure to the evil repute it had brought upon itself and upon Spain by hurrying Ferrer to his death. But, when the tempest of popular fury had subsided, the Roman Catholics of all countries came forward to the rescue and vindication of their Spanish brethren. They said (quite truly) that not one in twenty of the people who shouted themselves hoarse in honour of the atheist martyr knew anything of the facts of his case. They said that Ferrer was a notorious evil liver, who had left his wife and children to starve while he spent with his mistresses the wealth which he had wheedled out of a too confiding old maid by a hypocritical pretence of piety and philanthropy. They said that he had certainly been concerned in Morral's attempt upon the King and Queen of Spain, though he had so skilfully covered his tracks that the crime could not be brought home to him. They said that he had engineered the Barcelona revolt in order to make money by a stock-exchange gamble. And finally, they said that, after a trial conducted in strict accordance with the law of the land, he had been proved beyond a doubt to have acted as organiser and director of an insurrection which

had been accompanied by murder, sacrilege, and unprecedented scenes of rapine and havoc. "Did anyone ever deserve death," they asked, "if this man did not?"

Assuredly he deserved death, by the laws of all nations, if he was the instigator and director of the rising. But was he? That is the point which we have to investigate.

It was in this character, and in no other, that he was condemned. The prosecution formally renounced at the outset all attempt to bring home to him any individual act of violence. It was as "author and chief of the rebellion" — "*autor y jefe de la rebelion*" — that he was found guilty and shot. The phrase occurs not only in the actual sentence of death, but

nearly twenty times in the three speeches for the prosecution, published with the sanction of the Spanish Government¹. Other accusations brought against him have, then, no real relevance. But, as he was unquestionably surrounded by a dense atmosphere of evil report — an atmosphere which breathes from every page of the "Process," — it may be well, before examining the essential points of the case, to analyse this atmosphere, and distinguish between the elements of truth and of falsehood in its composition.

Marriage and Morals

Francisco Ferrer (born January 10, 1859, at



The Execution of Ferrer in the moat of Montjuich Castle

Allela, a village twelve miles from Barcelona) came of peasant stock and received the education of a peasant. He was for some time a shop-boy in Barcelona, then ticket inspector on the railway between Barcelona and the French frontier. He very early embraced Republican and anti-clerical opinions, and became a trusted agent of the Republican leader, Ruiz Zorrilla, then living in exile. In 1885, having been concerned in one of the many revolutionary attempts of that period he went to Paris, kept a wine-shop until 1889, and afterwards made his living by giving lessons in Spanish, while acting as unpaid secretary to Zorrilla. He had married young, a woman older than himself; and his marriage was extremely unhappy. I have closely investigated its story, and have convinced myself — mainly, though not solely, on the evidence of his eldest daughter — that the major part of the blame lay with the wife. On June 12, 1894, she fired three shots at him with a revolver, wounding him slightly. For this she was sentenced to a year's imprisonment, but the sentence, under a first-offender's act was at once remitted. She then went off to Russia, taking her youngest daughter with her, and contracted what is sometimes called a marriage with a Russian whom she had known in Paris.

The two elder daughters, Trinidad and Paz, indignantly deny that Ferrer was a neglectful father. On the contrary, he was extremely affectionate and indulgent. Anxious to remove them from a home that was in every way undesirable, he consigned them, in early girlhood, to the care of his brother Jose, who was in business as a market-gardener at Bendigo, Australia. He maintained a constant correspondence with them, and twice, in 1896 and 1898, he went to Australia to see them, submitting to great privations in order to scrape together the passage money. To the end, his relations with them were excellent, though the younger, Paz, did not share his ideas. The elder, Trinidad, prosecuted, before the Civil Tribunal of Charleville, the printer of an anonymous libel upon her dead father which described him as "*miserable comme pere*". The defendant had to pay four hundred francs in damages and advertise the judgment in various ways.

Ferrer tried hard, but in vain, to obtain a divorce from his wife. In Spain it was impossible; and he could not obtain the naturalisation which would have made it possible in France. After the affair of the revolver, he entered upon a "free union" with a French lady, which lasted until 1905. The dissolution of this partnership was far from amicable, and the lady (with whom I have had a long conversation, followed by correspondence) is a hostile witness as regards Ferrer's personal character. But she does not believe him capable of the crimes imputed to him. "He was a man of very advanced ideas," she says, "but he was not an Anarchist, and he never wanted to do harm to any one." After the rupture with this lady, Ferrer formed a second union with Soledad Villafranca, an ardent disciple and co-worker, who was his companion to the end. It is perfectly true, then that he was a man of irregular life; nor can the irregularity be explained away on the grounds that he could not free himself from his disastrous marriage. Though we find him, even as late as 1898, making efforts to obtain a divorce, it cannot be pretended that he suffered greatly under his disability, or that he was averse on principle from the "free unions" in which he lived.

Mademoiselle Meunier's Money

We come now to the story of his fortune. Among his pupils in Paris was a middle-aged maiden lady, Mlle Ernestine Meunier, pious artistic, and wealthy. Ferrer, who had a passion for propaganda, tried to convert her to his ideas, and was in great measure successful. We know exactly the measure of his success, from a letter written by Mlle Meunier on November 2, 1899, and quoted by the prosecution at Ferrer's trial (see "Process") in which she states that her reverence for the clergy is dead, that her admiration for the army is dead, that her respect for constituted authority is dead; but that she still clings to her faith in a beneficent God. This document scatters to the winds the suggestion that Ferrer deceived her as to the nature of his ideas. She became an intimate friend of the lady who was then sharing Ferrer's life, and in the autumn of 1900 she determined to devote part of her fortune to the furthering of the educational projects which (as we shall see) had taken absolute hold of Ferrer's mind. Her intended donation *inter vivos* was never carried out; but on January 21, 1901, she made a will leaving to Ferrer, without any condition whatever, a house in Paris (11 Rue des Petites Ecuries) producing a yearly revenue of about seven thousand dollars. This was, roughly, half her fortune. To the religious institutions, to which in bygone days she had been a liberal benefactress, she bequeathed nothing at all; but she left six hundred dollars to be devoted to the saying of masses for her mother's soul and her own. The frame of mind indicated in her will is exactly that of the letter above cited. Ferrer has convinced her understanding, but not her feelings; and, while she is desirous of contributing to the advancement of his educational ideal, she still clings to the conception of God, and to the practices consecrated by the fuller faith in which her mother died. The will was so clear and businesslike that when Mlle Meunier died (April 12, 1901) her executor and residuary legatee, an ardent Italian clerical, could not contest it, but, with very ill grace, put Ferrer in possession of his legacy.

Enthusiast or Hypocrite?

Ever since the death of Zorrilla in 1895, Ferrer had been feeling more and more strongly that political revolutions were of no use in Spain until the people were sufficiently educated to benefit by them. More than fifty per cent of the Spanish population is illiterate, and most of those who can read and write have been miserably taught by underpaid masters, in unsanitary and ill-provided schools. Few people will differ from Ferrer in thinking that, until this crying evil is remedied, all changes of political machinery must be premature and futile. With this idea strong in his mind, he ceased to take any active part in politics, and devoted himself with almost fanatical zeal to education. Mlle Meunier's legacy he regarded as a trust, to be applied to this great purpose; and only six months after her death he started the now famous *Escuela Moderna* (Modern School) at Barcelona. Though now a rich man, he in no way changed the simple style of his living. His farm-house at Mongat would, in a colder climate, be reckoned little better than a hovel. In Paris he stayed at the most modest hotels; in London at a middle-class boarding-house. Nothing can be further from the truth than the legend which pictures him living in luxury on the spoils of his hypocrisy.

But was his whole enthusiasm for education a still deeper hypocrisy, designed as a mask for the seditious prosecution of violent anarchism? That may be briefly termed the "theory of the police." It is a theory that has been communicated by the Spanish police to their English colleagues; but I cannot find that the latter at any rate, have an atom of evidence to support it. If it be a true theory, Ferrer was certainly one of the profoundest hypocrites on record. He declared his conversion from politics to education in letters to private friends whom he had no interest in deceiving. He not only started the *Escuela Moderna*, but he published something like forty volumes of educational and scientific books destined for use in his own school and others modeled upon it. He published a monthly *Boletin* devoted entirely to educational subjects. When his school was closed by the Government, he started, in Brussels, an educational review, "*L'Ecole Renouvee*," and he founded a "League for the Rational Education of Youth," of which Anatole France was honorary president. He projected a normal school in Barcelona for the training of teachers; and he had gone some way in his preparations for publishing a great educational encyclopedia. His letters, published and unpublished (of the latter I have seen many), are full of education. It was the obsession, the craze, of his later life. I do not see how any one who has gone into the evidence can believe for a moment that his enthusiasm was insincere and adopted as a mask for ulterior designs.

The Training of Revolutionists

But there is education and education, and an educator may be at once very sincere and very unwise. Unquestionably the teaching administered in the *Escuela Moderna* was of a kind that could not but excite the utmost horror in clerical and conservative minds. Ferrer was from first to last an ardent revolutionist. He never for a moment denied it. He had come to think that Spain was not yet ripe for revolution; but the whole object of his work was to correct her unripeness by educating revolutionists. Was his revolutionism synonymous with violent anarchism — what is called in Spain *anarquismo de accion*? That is one of the questions upon which our judgment as to the justice or injustice of his execution will have to turn. For the present I can only say that, after a pretty extensive search, I have found only one brief article in the publications of the *Escuela Moderna* that can be construed as inciting to violence. It is a translation from the French of Dr. Meslier, a Socialist deputy, in which tyrannicide is defended, when a people has no other resource against intolerable wrongs. It contains no sentiments that have not been uttered a hundred times in every college debating club; but it is undeniably a palliation of political crime, and might not unreasonably have been cited against Ferrer at the Madrid trial of 1907.

It is unfortunate that the word "anarchism" is so closely associated in the popular mind with the throwing of bombs. In Spain, where a great majority of the working class are Anarchists, in the sense of being opposed to a centralised state, people have tried to escape from the ambiguity by employing another word, *acratism*, which may be interpreted "opposition to power." An acratist Ferrer certainly was, and his whole teaching was directed toward the inculcation of dogmatic acratism. It was anti-religious, anti-monarchical, anti-patriotic, anti-militarist, anti-capitalist,

Though opposed on principle to rewards no less than to punishments, he broke through his principle and offered a reward for an inscription, to be placarded in his school-rooms, showing the absurdity of doing homage to the national flag. Such observances were "atavisms" (a favourite word of his) which he detested.

He deceived himself in thinking that his method of teaching left the child's intelligence to develop freely. The extracts which he himself published from the essays of his pupils show plainly that they were crammed with dogmas, just as they would have been in a clerical school; only the dogmas happened to be rationalistic and libertarian. There are very few countries in which teaching so openly hostile to the existing form of government and to the whole social order would be endured. One can scarcely imagine what would happen if such a school were established, and found numerous imitators, in America or England; but assuredly the principle of toleration would be strained to its limit. Ferrer however, carried on his campaign unmolested for five years. One of the best known "acratists" in Barcelona said to me: "In this country, so long as everything is quiet, we are freer than you are in England; but the moment public order is disturbed we are in the grip of tyranny."

Public order was disturbed on May 31, 1906, by the throwing of a bomb at the wedding procession of the King and Queen of Spain. They escaped uninjured, but fifteen people were killed and many wounded. The perpetrator of the crime, Mateo Morral, had for some time been librarian in the Escuela Moderna. Ferrer was arrested and the school was closed. Every effort was made to have him tried by a military tribunal, but the efforts failed. After spending a year in prison, he was acquitted by a civil tribunal, which held that the prosecution had "failed to establish any link between the presumption engendered by the opinions of the accused and the actual misdeed committed."

Prohibited from reopening his school, Ferrer devoted himself to the publishing business which he called the *Librería de la Escuela Moderna*, and the work of educational propaganda already referred to. Thus he passed two years tranquilly enough; until, on July 9, 1909, "a scrimmage at a border station" in Morocco started the train of events which was destined to lead to his destruction.

Barcelona

As the tragedy approaches it is time to set the scene.

On a strip of gently sloping seaboard, about four miles wide, between the Mediterranean and the coast range of Catalonia, Barcelona and its suburbs occupy one of the finest situations imaginable. Naples and Genoa are more picturesque, inasmuch as they rise more abruptly from the sea. But here nature seems to have beveled the coast expressly for the convenience of a great city. Down by the harbour lies the old Barcelona, with its gloomy grand Cathedral and its narrow streets. Its outline is, roughly speaking, oval, and it is bisected, along the shorter axis, by the magnificent shady promenade of the Ramblas, three quarters of a mile long, and certainly one of the most animated thoroughfares in the world. Old Barcelona, however, is merely the nucleus of the modern town, laid out on the rectangular American plan, but saved from monotony by splendid diagonal boulevards, and by the fact that every here and there one comes upon the old streets of one of the many villages — Sans, Gracia, San Martin de

Provensals etc., — now embraced in the city limits. The planning of the *ensanches* or extensions, as the new parts of the city are called, is extraordinarily spacious and noble; and nearly every street has its double row of plane trees. At about three miles inland the gentle slope becomes steeper, and we soon find ourselves among the gullies of some low foothills, covered with gay and often fantastic villas. Then, from the foothills, the escarpments of Tibidabo and Vallvidrera suddenly and almost precipitously rise to a height of over seventeen hundred feet; and if we take the funicular railway up to Tibidabo, we find in the hinterland nothing but a vast corrugation of mountain ranges, with the majestic Montserrat towering in the middle distance. Amid these ranges, however, there lurk several busy and populous manufacturing towns.

To the north the low coast-line runs off with an eastward curve, the mountains drawing gradually nearer to it; and for some fifteen miles the beach is lined by an almost unbroken string of long villages, flat and unpicturesque, seldom extending more than a stone's throw inland. Among them are Mongat, Masnou, and Premià de Mar, all scenes in the coming story. And to the southward — what? To the southward nothing but Montjuich. Its fort-crowned bluff, rising out of the sea to a height of seven hundred and fifty feet, closes the vista from almost every point. The poorer streets of the old town of Barcelona crowd close up to its flanks; and from distant Premià, beyond the curving coast and smoke-veil of the city, it is still seen frowning on the horizon. With its sinister associations, it dominates the whole region. As soon as the boy Ferrer looked abroad upon the world, he must have seen Montjuich on the horizon of his life. From the home of his later years, he could not take a hundred steps without its confronting him. It loomed daily and hourly before the eyes of the terror-stricken villagers whose testimony did him to death.

Populace and Priesthood

In the city thus sloping to the morning sun, between the mountains and the sea, there are more than half a million industrious but excitable and turbulent people. There is great wealth. On the Paseo de Gracia and other magnificent avenues the rich merchants and manufacturers have built themselves houses that in point of expensiveness would do credit to Fifth Avenue, though the Neo-Catalan architecture is often too hideous in its eccentricity. In the lower quarters of the town, on the other hand, one gathers — what I believe to be the fact — that there is little or no very dire poverty. The Catalonian workman is exceptionally well off. The climate of Barcelona is almost perfect; unemployment is rare; food is cheap, lodging not extravagantly dear. The so-called Paralelo, a noble boulevard largely given up to workmen's cafes, theatres, and variety shows, affords at night the most brilliant and animated spectacle of its kind I ever saw. For a few cents the workman can spend his evenings in a really palatial cafe, debating, playing games, and imbibing highly coloured but not too poisonous refreshments. Drunkenness is very rare; so are "crimes of passion." But beneath this smiling and prosperous surface there lurks every form of faction and discontent. Of the bomb plague I do not speak. In its present phase it is literally a plague, a disease, which somehow settled on Barcelona. It is pretty certain that no political party is responsible for it,

though every party now and then lays it to the charge of its opponents. The terrorists are in all probability a tiny group — if a group they can be called — of political Jack-the-Rippers. Certainly they are not to be confounded with the Anarchists, who form a large majority of the working population. Then there are Socialists, comparatively weak, Republicans, strong among the middle classes, Catalan Home-Rulers, Carlists, and other parties whose tenets it would take too long to expound. The only party a little hard to discover is the party which is at all warmly attached to the monarchy and the existing order of things. This is a point which it is only just that we should clearly bear in mind. In most English-speaking countries we have forgotten what it means to have to deal with any considerable political party whose avowed aim is revolution, the overthrow of the whole frame of government. In Catalonia, on the other hand, the existing order, instead of being "broad-based upon the people's will," has only a minority in its favour, and rests upon military force, aided by the dissensions of the disaffected majority. One cannot but wonder what forms our own political life would assume if the party or parties of progress were a party or parties of open seditious.

And dotted everywhere — facing us at every turn — throughout this city of modern industrialism are monasteries, convents, religious houses of one sort or another, some humble and unpretending enough, but many of them vast and splendid. Some are devoted to education, others to works of charity; but none, it would seem, has succeeded in earning the respect, much less the love, of the working classes, who accuse the *frailes* of humiliating and exploiting the children they profess to teach and train. Exempt from taxation some of the religious houses compete in the production of certain commodities and this unfair competition is keenly resented by the people. Then the secrecy of the conventual life gives scope for strange imaginings as to what passes behind the impenetrable walls. At the present moment, in Barcelona, one of the books most prominently exposed on every kiosk is "*El Tormento en los Conventos*" by Fray Gerundio — no mere catchpenny, but a serious indictment. Behind and beneath all suspicions and resentments, however, there doubtless lies the feeling that this monastic host, with its hoarded wealth, is in active alliance with capitalism, militarism, and all the enemies of social justice, as it hovers before the exalted imagination of the Catalan workman. He sees in the congregations an ideal which he rejects with loathing, ensconced behind high-piled bastions of privilege. They are, in truth, almost entirely outside the law; and the populace in moments of revolt, is apt to pronounce — and execute — sentence of outlawry upon them.

Ferrer Abroad and at Home

We have now to trace the two currents of events, one private, the other public, which, flowing together at the fated hour, swept Francisco Ferrer to his destruction.

On April 21, 1909, Ferrer and Soledad Villafranca arrived in London. In a letter which he immediately sent to his intimate friend, Tarrida del Marmol, he said, "We are here for a time of rest." As a matter of fact, he devoted himself mainly to learning English, with a view to selecting some English books to be added to his educational library. He spent a good deal of time with an English

friend, William Heaford and his family, with Tarrida del Marmol, and the Kropotkins. On Labour Day, May 1, he went to Hyde Park, and heard Tarrida among others, speak at the International Platform, but took no active part in the proceedings. It is clear that he was more or less "shadowed" during his stay in London, but there is no evidence that he associated with any persons more dangerous than those mentioned. On June 9 he wrote from his Bloomsbury boarding-house to his friend Charles Albert at Paris, stating that his stay in London was indefinite, and indicating that it would in all probability outlast the month; but two days later he wrote to the same friend that his plans had been upset by bad news from his Spanish home. His sister-in-law and niece had been stricken down by typhoid, and he must hurry back to Mas Germinal. He spent one day in Paris (the 13th) and left for home on the morning of the 14th. On the 17th he wrote from Mas Germinal to Charles Laisant: "Here we are installed, finding our sister-in-law out of danger, but not so our niece, who remains in a very critical condition." Poor little Layeta, born to Jose Ferrer in far-off Bendigo, died on the 19th, aged eight years.

For what followed we may turn to a letter from Ferrer to William Heaford, written from the Carcel Celular of Barcelona less than a week before his trial:

..... There was I quietly at Mongat, from the middle of June, with my wife tending our poor sister-in-law, who was very much broken by her own illness and the loss of her daughter. I diverted my mind, and passed, I must own, some delightful moments, in reading the six English books I had brought with me from London. I think so well of them that I have resolved to have them translated into Spanish, and to publish them, of course after obtaining authorisation. All the six, I take it, are recommended by the *Instruction Morales Ligue*? I am not quite clear as to its name... Two in particular have charmed me — "Children's Magic Garden" by Alice...? and "Magic Garden's Childhood." [The books referred to are Miss Alice Chesterton's "Children's Magic Garden" and "Garden of Childhood"] They can be published in Spanish with the single suppression of a tale about Santa Claus which I did not consider good for the children. Then the 1st and 2nd series of Gould's "Morals Lecons" which are also very good, except where he speaks of Christ, very little, which I should simply suppress... Then come two volumes, intended for teachers, of which I do not quite recall the titles. "The Teacher's Handbook of Morals Lecons"? One is by Mr. Walldgrave? — admirable this one, and resting on a large philosophic basis. To be published without a single note. The other is by Mr. Reid, too English in its character, but fitted for publication with a good many editorial notes.

(Where are they now, these dear books, annotated by me and ready for translation — where are they after the searches and seizures at Mas Germinal? I trust I shall find them again some day.)

This letter is interesting, not only for its account of Ferrer's employments, but for the glimpse it gives into what may be called the puritanic, not to say pedantic, rationalism of his habit of thought. As his English was very imperfect, he would scarcely have much time left over from his editorial labours; but he went once a week to Barcelona (distant some eleven miles) to attend to his publishing business at 596 Calle Cortes. He was seeing

through the press "L'Homme et la Terre" by Reclus, and was making arrangements for the production of an illustrated translation of Kropotkin's history of "The Great Revolution."

It may be said that Ferrer's own retrospect of his occupations, written at a time when he knew that his neck was in danger cannot be accepted as evidence. Even the corroboration of his friends is subject to discount. But mark this! On July 7, many days before any human foresight could have anticipated the revolt, Ferrer wrote from Mas Germinal to Alfred Naquet:

..... I might tell you, too, of the comic surveillance to which I am subjected by the authorities at Barcelona, who every day send a *pareja de civiles* (pair of gendarmes) to take count of my comings and goings, and policemen who attend me to the station and accompany me wherever I go. But I attach no importance to this, accustomed as I am to it ever since my Madrid trial.

The fact that he was under surveillance was confirmed at his trial, so that a false account of his occupations could easily have been contradicted. As no such attempt was made, there is not the slightest reason to doubt that in his letter to Heaford, and several other letters to precisely the same effect, he was telling the simple truth.

So much for the stream of private events³ — perfectly smooth save for the death of little Layeta. We must now follow the converging and very agitated current of public affairs.

The Melilla Adventure

Certain mines in the Riff region of Morocco, some twenty miles from the Spanish settlement of Melilla, had for over a year been worked intermittently and "under precarious circumstances" by an inextricably complicated group of capitalists, mainly, but not exclusively, Spanish. A railway was in course of construction from Melilla to the mines; and on July 9, 1909 — nearly a month after Ferrer had left London for Barcelona — a body of Moors attacked the workmen engaged on the line and killed three or four Spanish subjects. The military governor of Melilla, General Marina, at once sallied forth to punish the marauders — and found himself in a hornets' nest. A few far-sighted politicians and military men professed to have foreseen some such development; but to the Spanish nation as a whole, the war came like thunder from a clear sky. It is absolutely grotesque to suppose that any foresight of this trouble⁴ can have had anything to do with Ferrer's return from London; yet the Chief of the Barcelona Police did not hesitate to make this suggestion to the Military Tribunal.

It was evident that reinforcements, and large reinforcements, were urgently needed in Melilla. Already on July 11, two days after the opening incident, a royal decree authorised the Minister of War to call out the reservists in such numbers as he should deem necessary. Regiments were hastily brought up to their full strength and hurried to the coast. It was natural that Barcelona should be one of the chief ports of embarkation; but had the Government understood its temper, they would at all costs have avoided using it for this purpose. From the 14th onward, transports left the harbour every day; and on Sunday the 18th the departure of a local battalion was accompanied by scenes of wild lamentation and protest. Similar outbreaks occurred at many other points throughout Spain. On the

20th the populace of Madrid attempted to prevent the entrainment of a regiment, and the Southern Station was the scene of a serious riot. Meanwhile Republicans, Socialists, Anarchists, and workmen's organisations of all sorts were everywhere trying to hold meetings of protest against the war, and the authorities were everywhere sitting on this safety-valve. The news from Melilla, as it filtered through the censorship, grew every day more ominous. Since it was evident that the truth was not being told, rumour set to work to correct official reticence with its usual fertility or lurid invention. The fact that the Cortes were not sitting left the Maura Cabinet the unchecked despots of Spain; and the fact that Senor Maura declined to summon the Cortes showed that this despotism was essential to the carrying through of this policy.

The Workmen and the War

In most countries the working class, on the outbreak of a war, are apt, for a time at least, to yield to the contagion of patriotic fervour, and shout themselves hoarse with war-cries and war-songs. Why was the sentiment of the Spanish working class so utterly different? The reasons are clear, and may be grouped under three heads. In the first place, the Anarchism which is dominant among Spanish operatives is essentially internationalist and pacifist doctrine. Its very name declares it anti-patriotic. It regards the flag without emotion, and considers the "national honour" a myth invented by the soldiers and priests who conspire with the capitalists in that process of exploitation which they call government. In this respect too, the views of the Socialists are practically identical with those of the Anarchists. Both parties accept the principle laid down at the Congress of Stuttgart: "Better insurrection than war." In the second place, this particular campaign had all the appearance of a war of sheer aggression undertaken at the dictation of a group of millionaires, closely allied with the Government, whose interests were inexpressibly indifferent to the Spanish workman. It was believed, too, rightly or wrongly, that many of the mining shares were held by, or for, the Jesuits. In the third place, — and it was this that brought the women in their thousands into the ranks of the protesters, — the incidence of military service was exasperatingly unjust. On the one hand, the son of the bourgeois, who could afford to pay three hundred dollars for exemption, need not join the army at all; on the other hand, most of the reservists now being called out were men who, after two years with the colours, had been permitted to return to civil life and to marry. They were now torn from their wives and families, to throw away their lives — as seemed only too probably — in an ill-omened war, undertaken for the enrichment of a few financiers. That was how the campaign represented itself to the popular mind, especially in Catalonia. What wonder if the women who crowded the wharves of Barcelona on Sunday the 18th cried to their sweethearts and husbands, as they marched through the throng: "Throw away your rifles! Don't embark! Let the rich men go! All or nobody!" Some kind Catholic ladies who boarded the transports, dressed in their Sunday finery, to distribute scapularies and other appropriate trifles to the soldiers, were shocked to see their benefactions thrown into the sea.

Another week passed — the 18th to the 25th — in much the same fashion. News

was suppressed, troops were mobilised and despatched. The *Times* correspondent telegraphed from Madrid on July 23 that the "nervousness" of the public had no effect on the Ministry, "whose policy was to pour troops into Melilla until the resistance of the tribes was broken." Reuter announced on the 25th that the Minister of the Interior had ordered provincial governors to seize any editions of newspapers that contained news of the war, or of the departure of troops, other than that officially communicated. Even the official communications failed to maintain any plausible air of cheerfulness.

On Friday, the 23rd there was to have been a general assembly of delegates of the *Solidaridad Obrera*, a federation of workingmen's societies of all shades of opinion, the Catalan counterpart of the French *Confederation Generale du Travail*. The Civil Governor, Don Angel Ossorio, decided to prohibit the meeting; and it was probably this prohibition which determined the outbreak. A Strike Committee of three was instantly formed, representing Socialists, Syndicalists (trades-unionists), and Anarchists; but the *Solidaridad Obrera*, as such, was not represented. Who these three men were is perfectly well known. I have had long talks with one of them. They scout the idea that it would ever have occurred to them to take Ferrer into their confidence. Each of the three had a lieutenant; each lieutenant was to communicate with four delegates; each delegate with four others, and so on. By this simple but effective means the call to a general strike for Monday the 26th spread through the manufacturing towns of Catalonia. It was nominally to be a pacific protest, lasting twenty-four hours only, against the Moroccan adventure. There were doubtless many who hoped and believed that it would not end there; but of actual organisation for anything further no one has discovered a trace. "In Barcelona," says Don Angel Ossorio, the Civil Governor before mentioned, "no one prepares a revolution for the simple reason that it is always prepared . . . Of conspiracy, of plan, of concerted action, of casting of parts, of recruitment, of payment, of distribution of arms, of issuing of orders, in preparation for the events of the 26th, I have not heard a single word."³

The Strike and the Revolt

I shall now give a rapid sketch of the course of events, leaving Ferrer, for the moment, entirely out of it.

In the early hours of Monday the 26th some workshops and factories resumed work as usual; but as soon as the news spread that the strike was actually taking effect, work was everywhere abandoned. In some cases the employers themselves ordered the workmen out, fearing to have their windows broken. Bands of women went from shop to shop and from office to office, demanding that they should close; and they seem to have met with no refusals. But — unfortunately, as it proved — there was one large body of workers which refused to stand in with the rest. Throughout the morning the electric cars ran as usual, and the servants of the company declined to quit their posts. Had they done so quietly, the day might have passed in peace, and work might have been resumed on the morrow. It was in stopping the tramway service that the first acts of violence took place. Cars were overturned and burnt; rails were torn up; and the police and gendarmes, in trying to protect the car service, came into frequent conflict with the crowd. There was a good deal of

shooting on both sides, and blood began to flow in several parts of the city. By three in the afternoon the street-car service had entirely ceased. Cabs, too, had been driven from the streets, and two at least of the railways connecting Barcelona with the outside world were put out of action. It was not till next day that the isolation of the city, whether by rail or wire, was rendered practically complete.

How, in the meantime, were the authorities employing themselves? They were undoubtedly in rather a tight place. The military garrison had been depleted by the war, but there remained eight hundred regular troops in Barcelona. Of policemen there were eight or nine hundred, and of gendarmes (*Guardias Civiles*, a fine body of men) about one thousand. These forces were certainly none too many to hold in check a rebellious populace of half a million, in a city covering forty square miles of ground. A considerable number had to be immobilised for the protection of arsenals, military stores, etc.; and the soldiers, as a whole, were not greatly to be relied upon, as the people insisted on cheering them wherever they appeared, and treating them as the victims of governmental oppression. Under the circumstances, the best policy would probably have been one of conciliation. The disturbance might have been treated as a more or less legitimate movement of protest, all measures being directed toward securing the peaceful resumption of work the next morning. If this policy ever occurred to anyone, it was negated by a telegram from the Minister of the Interior, Sr. La Cierva, urging that the strike must not be treated like an ordinary economic manifestation, but repressed with vigour, as a rebellion. At mid-day the Junta (a small body of officials) assembled, and, outvoting the Civil Governor, determined to declare the state of siege. Thereupon the Governor resigned in a pet, and absolute authority devolved upon the Captain General, Don Luis de Santiago y Manescáu. This officer signed a proclamation of the state of siege, which at four o'clock was placarded on all the walls. The opinion of the Junta had been that the proclamation would at once terrorise the people into quietude; but it had no such effect. Throughout the afternoon and evening there were constant skirmishes between the forces of order and the people. The proclamation declared that all "groups" formed in the streets would be broken up by force; and in carrying out this policy the authorities successfully embittered the popular irritation.

The Tragic Tuesday

When night fell on Monday, however, no very great harm had been done. It seems pretty clear that a little tact and conciliation might still have secured the resumption of work on the Tuesday morning; but, as a matter of fact, the authorities were hopelessly out of touch with the people. The morning of Tuesday the 27th passed by quietly enough; and, but for the absence of all wheel traffic, the non-appearance of the newspapers, and the constant patrolling of the streets, the city wore almost its normal aspect. It was not until after one o'clock on Tuesday that the actual revolt broke out. The movement had by this time quite got out of the hands of the Strike Committee. They had not, indeed, ordered the resumption of work, because, in the absence of telegraphic news, wild rumours and wild hopes were abroad as to the success of the revolution in other parts of Spain, and they wanted to await the development of events. But it was no order of the chiefs that led to the ultimate outbreak. It was partly the impatience of the

reservists, who preferred fighting in Barcelona to fighting in Africa. It was partly the fact that the official Radical-Republican leaders held aloof in dismay, and gave their partisans no lead at all. It was partly a rumour which got abroad that ten Catalan soldiers who had taken part in the scenes of Sunday the 18th had been led out and shot on their arrival in Melilla. But mainly, I suspect, the sudden effervescence of Tuesday afternoon was the inevitable result of prolonged nervous tension, lacking the safety valve of work. "Satan finds some mischief still for idle mobs to do."

Be this as it may, between one and three on Tuesday afternoon barricades sprang up in many streets and active fighting began on a quite different scale from that of the previous day — arms having been obtained by the looting of gun stores, pawn shops, and at least one armoury. Almost at the same time, first one great column of smoke, and then another, went up into the blue air.⁵ It was the splendid building of the *Padres Esculapios*, and the convent and church of the *Jeronimas*, that were burning. From that time onwards, for about sixty hours, anarchy reigned in Barcelona. The street fighting was incessant, save for a sort of truce in the early mornings; and almost every hour saw a fresh ecclesiastical building of one sort or another given to the flames. On the night of the 27th, from the surrounding hills, the spectacle of Barcelona dotted all over with conflagrations must have been at once superb and terrible. But there was no strategy in the fighting, no method in the convent burning. It was all desultory, planless, purposeless: an uncontrollable ebullition of rage and mischief. The authorities were still in telegraphic communication with Madrid by way of the Balearic Islands; and one line of railway had either not been cut or had been restored. Troops reached the city from distant parts of Spain, who were more to be trusted than local levies. Artillery was brought into play against the barricades. By Thursday evening the revolt had pretty well exhausted itself. Business began to be resumed on Friday, though conflicts still occurred in the streets in certain quarters. By Monday the city had resumed its normal aspect, and the "tragic week" was over. More than fifty ecclesiastical buildings — churches, colleges, convents, etc. — lay in ruins. The total death roll, however, was comparatively small. It is generally placed between sixty and seventy; but the Minister of the Interior, in the Cortes, stated it at one hundred and four. Apparently marksmanship was not the strong point of the combatants on either side; and the riders were very scantily armed. The losses among the soldiers and the police seem to have been absolutely insignificant — not more than four or five all told. The wounded on both sides were, of course, very much more numerous.

Why Convents Were Burnt

Many people have written and spoken as though some sinister mystery underlay the fact that the protest against the Melilla adventure took such a violently anti-clerical turn. There is really no mystery in the matter. For reasons above indicated, the religious houses were chronically and intensely unpopular. The clergy were supposed (and rightly) to be hand in glove with the militarists. A most unwise attempt had also been made in some quarters to represent the war in the light of a crusade of the Christian against the infidel — a piece of hypocrisy that deceived no one and irritated many. At a meeting of four thousand workmen held at Tarrasa, a manufacturing town in the immediate neighbourhood of Barcelona, a few days before the outbreak, a resolution was passed protesting against the

"sending to war of citizens productively employed and, as a rule, indifferent to the triumph of 'the Cross' over 'the Crescent,' when it would be easy to form regiments of priests and monks who, besides being directly interested in the success of the Catholic religion, have no family or home, and are of no utility to the country."

In view of such a resolution as this, we need scarcely look much further for the connecting link between anti-militarist and anti-clerical manifestations. But it happens that we know precisely whence the immediate suggestion of incendiarism proceeded. On Sunday the 25th, the day before the strike and two days before the revolt, Sr. Lerroux's newspaper, *El Progreso*, the most influential in Barcelona, contained an article, headed with the English word

!REMEMBER!

recalling the fact that that day was the anniversary of a great outburst of convent burning in 1835, and deploring that, in these degenerate times, there was no likelihood of its repetition! No one who has read this article can have the smallest doubt as to who lit the first torch. Ferrer, I may remark, was at this time on bad terms with the Republicans and their organ, *El Progreso*. Not the slightest attempt has been made to connect him with the (literally) incendiary article. Yet he is in his grave, while the responsible editor of *El Progreso*, Don Emiliano Iglesias, is in the Cortes.

No Massacre and No Sack

As to the constitution and behaviour of the convent burning mobs, there is an almost ludicrous conflict of evidence, or rather of assertion. The clericals try to make them out worse than fiends, the anti-clericals depict them as almost angelic in their chivalry and humanity. On August 4 the *Correspondencia* of Madrid published a communication from its Barcelona correspondent in which he declared that, on the night of July 27th, "mad drunk with blood, wine, lust dynamite, and petroleum, with no other desire than to kill for killing's sake," the rebels destroyed the convents and massacred their inmates.

"Who can tell the number of dead, wounded, and burnt who are buried beneath the ruins? . . . Spare me the recital of the details of the martyrdom of the monks, of the ill treatment of the nuns, of the brutal way in which they were sacrificed. . . . I can only say that many died at the foot of the altar, stabbed by a thousand women; that others were torn to pieces, their limbs being carried about on poles; that not a few were tortured to death; and that all passed to another life with the crown of martyrdom."

This is a fair specimen of history as it was written on the days immediately succeeding the outbreak; and, though everyone now admits that it is delirious nonsense, the clerical party, while abandoning the details, still writes as though the general picture were a true one. As a matter of fact, the hetacomb of martyrs reduces itself, even by Catholic computation, to four: two priests shot, one suffocated in the cellar of his burning church, and one nun brutally killed. For the last outrage the evidence seems to be very insufficient; for the death of the three priests, and the mutilation of the body of one of them, the evidence is pretty strong. It is absurd, then, to pretend, as some people do, that the mob was absolutely seraphic in its ardour; but it is certainly very remarkable that, in such a wild outbreak, murder, and even fatal accident, should have been so infrequent. There is abund-

ance of evidence, from the mouths of priests and nuns themselves, that the general temper of the mob was not in the least homicidal, and that they took pains to have the buildings cleared of their inmates before setting fire to them. Even so, no doubt it was sufficiently alarming and distressing for hundreds of religious ladies to be forced to quit their sanctuaries at a moment's notice, and see them delivered to the flames. It is with no view of defending the conduct of the rabble that I insist upon the essential difference between burning an empty convent and burning it over the heads of its inmates.

But, if the revolt was far from being a massacre, at least, say some, it was a scene of unbridled rapine. On this point, too, the opposing parties take up violently contradictory positions. It would be ridiculous to suppose that in a great city like Barcelona, not noted at any time as a home of all the virtues, the destruction of half a hundred rich ecclesiastical buildings should be wholly unaccompanied by robbery. There is no reason to doubt that the dregs of the populace, the camp followers of the revolt, committed many depredations. But there is clear evidence that robbery was not the motive of the main body of incendiaries. They were bent on destruction, not on theft. They made bonfires, not only of objects of sanctity, but of objects of value. No bank was attacked; no store, other than gun stores; not one of many splendid houses of the commercial magnates of Barcelona. The word "sack" is no more justly applicable to the events than the word "massacre"

The Mob and the Mummies

But while the mob, as a whole, was neither murderous nor rapacious, it was blind and superstitious in its rage against all things associated with religion. Its deeds show no trace of any rational leadership. It did not, for instance, single out for destruction those institutions which competed unfairly in confectionery, laundry work, or other industries. The great majority of the buildings destroyed lay under no such suspicion. Some were inoffensive houses of retreat; not a few were charitable institutions for the benefit of the working classes themselves. One (I am credibly assured) was a crèche or day nursery for infants, which is now sadly missed. But, while this proves the lack of reason in the crowd, it also proves the failure of these charitable institutions to establish themselves in popular esteem. Priests and nuns engaged in education complain bitterly that the parents of some of their pupils, and even the pupils themselves, were prominent among the rioters — a fact that may clearly be interpreted in more ways than one. But the main allegation against the mob — now that the charge of massacre proves to be unfounded — is that they desecrated tombs and paraded the streets with the embalmed bodies of religious ladies. The fact is undoubted. In more than one convent the niches of the crypts were broken into and bodies dragged to light, to the total number, it is said, of about thirty five. But it is no less certain that the motive of this profanation was a desire to ascertain whether there was any sign of the nuns having been tortured, or even buried alive. It was found, as a matter of fact, that many of the bodies had their hands and feet bound together; and, though this is susceptible of a quite innocent explanation, it was not unnaturally taken as first confirming the most sinister rumours. To the Anglo-Saxon mind it would seem that when a community walls itself in from the world, and admits no intervention of the law, no public inspection of its practices, whether in life or death, it should not complain if suspicions arise as to the nature

of these practices. The alleged design of the rioters was to take the bodies to the *ayuntamiento*, or town hall, that their condition might be publicly verified. Few, if any, of them seem to have reached that destination; but, with sharp fighting going on in the barricaded streets, this was scarcely surprising.

I am inclined to believe that the mob, in its summary researches, discovered no good evidence of torture or other malpractices in the religious houses. A so-called "roasting bed" in the Magdalen Convent — a bed of sheet iron screwed down to the floor, under which it was said that gas jets could be lighted — was examined by Mr. Henry Nevison of the London *Daily News*, who satisfied himself that the gas apparatus was imaginary, and that, in all probability, the bed was intended for insane patients, who might have used loose iron slats to do an injury to themselves or others. Similarly, a "coining apparatus" found in one of these monasteries was probably a machine for striking schoolboys' medals. It was, of course, said that materials for the making of bombs had been discovered; but I do not know that any serious attempt has been made to substantiate this charge. There is more evidence for the assertion that some of the *hombres de los terrados* — mysterious persons who devoted themselves to "sniping" from the housetops — were, in fact, clerics who desired to enrage the troops against the townspeople. But, even if it be true that one or two mischievous fanatics were caught at this game, it would be unfair to make the Catholic Church responsible for them. The clerical no less than the anti-clerical host would naturally have its fringe of malefactors.

What Ferrer Was Doing

It is now time to return to Ferrer, whom we left living peaceably at Mas Germinal and smiling at the spies who were set to watch his movements. On July 22 — just four days after the Sunday that witnessed the first scene of protest against the war and four days before the Monday of the general strike — he wrote a letter to Miguel Moreno, formerly a teacher in the Escuela Moderna, who desired to discuss with him the possible foundation of a farm school. Here is the letter in full (I have seen the original):

Mongat, 22/7, 1909.

Friend Moreno:

I have so many things to arrange and put in order here at Mongat that I intend to go very little to Barcelona until I have finished.

In order to see me, the best plan would be for you to come here on some holiday afternoon. But, if that does not suit you, I would come to Barcelona on Sunday morning, by a train that arrives at nine. In that case let me know beforehand and meet me at the station.

I repeat that I am your affectionate
FERRER.

We have recently lost a niece eight years old, to our no small sorrow, as you may suppose.

Here we find "the author and chief of the rebellion," four days before its outbreak, not even mentioning public affairs, or expressing a wish to avoid coming to Barcelona. Moreno, however, in his reply, suggested a meeting at the station, not for Sunday, but for Monday morning; and to this Ferrer agreed. We may be absolutely sure that he did not visit Barcelona in the interval; for if he had done so, the police spies would have reported the fact, and the prosecution would not have failed to make much of it. But perhaps all the time he was plotting the revolt by correspondence? No one who has any experience of the Spanish post office will believe this possible.

We must remember, too, that immediately after the "tragic week" the police made hundreds, if not thousands, of domiciliary visits without discovering a single letter of Ferrer's inciting to, or in any way bearing upon the disturbances. The prosecution, in short, though it admitted that Ferrer was under close surveillance, did not even attempt to bring home to him a single act of preparation or organisation during the critical days before the outbreak. What could a jury have thought of this omission?

Well, on the morning of the fateful 26th Ferrer betook himself to Barcelona, and Moreno met him, as arranged, at the Estacion de Francia. Here it was that the two streams of private and public events definitely flowed together. Moreno was, in fact, one of the most actively concerned in the organisation of the strike. He naturally told Ferrer what was afoot; and he strongly asserts that this was the first Ferrer had heard of it.

"What did he say?" I asked.

"He said," Moreno replied, "that if it was a serious movement that was going to lead anything, it had all his sympathy; but if it was to be a mere flash in the pan, he regretted it."

On parting from Moreno, Ferrer, according to his own account (confirmed by his employees and by independent witnesses), proceeded to his publishing office in the Calle Cortes. He had not been long there when a band of women appeared, demanding that the office should be closed. He at once agreed, and only a side door was left open. Then he went out to procure samples of paper for his projected edition of Kropotkin's "Great Revolution," after having instructed his secretary, Cristobal Litran, to arrange with an engraver to meet him at the office at four in the afternoon, with reference to the illustrations for the same work. He lunched alone at the Maison Doree, a well known restaurant in the Plaza de Catalunya. At four he kept the appointment with the engraver at his office, and asked the office messenger, a youth named Meseguer, to carry to the station for him a cardboard box "containing a dress for his wife." This the young man did, preceding Ferrer to the station; but when Ferrer arrived, in time for the six o'clock train, behold! he found a notice stating that the line was cut and no trains running. Meseguer, seeing that he was much put out by this, offered to walk to Mongat and to tell his family that all was well with him. He at first demurred, saying that it was too far to walk; but the lad insisted, and Ferrer at last accepted his offer. Then he went and dined at the Hotel Internacional on the Ramblas, spent the evening with friends at a cafe, and at last, soon after midnight, set forth to walk home, arriving at Mas Germinal at about five in the morning.⁷

But here it must be said that, although Ferrer told nothing but the truth as to his employments on the 26th, he did not tell the whole truth. For instance, he said nothing of his meeting with Moreno; and we shall see later that there were several other incidents on which he was silent. The reader shall judge for himself as to whether these incidents in any way told against him. Assuming, in the meantime, that they did not, we may ask what was the reason for his silence? The answer is pretty obvious: he was extremely careful not to compromise any of his friends. His deposition was taken while he was in solitary confinement, absolutely ignorant as to who might or might not be in the hands of the police, and knowing only that a bitter campaign of vengeance was in full swing. Moreno, as a matter of fact had escaped; but it would have been a clear disloyalty on Ferrer's part to allude to his share in

the disturbances. Even people whom Ferrer knew to have taken no part in the events might have been made to suffer for the mere fact of his naming them. We see that he did not even give the name of the messenger who carried the dress-box to the station for him.

Ferrer Disappears

At Mas Germinal — according to Ferrer's account and that of his family — he remained throughout Tuesday the 27th. Whether this be true or not is a crucial point in the case which we shall discuss in due time. On Wednesday the 28th, at about eleven in the morning, all parties agree that he went (as was his custom every Wednesday and Saturday) to a barber's shop, in the neighbouring village of Masnou; to be shaved. Thence he proceeded, a distance of some two miles, to the village of Premià de Mar, where he remained about a quarter of an hour; and then he returned to Mas Germinal, having been absent, in all, between two and three hours. There is no dispute as to these bare facts; but the question of what he said to the persons whom he met at Masnou and Premià is another — or rather the other crucial point in the case. On Thursday the 29th one of the household at Mas Germinal returned from Alella in great excitement, reporting that she had heard a young woman declare that she had, with her own eyes; seen Ferrer at the head of a band of incendiaries burning a convent at Premià — where, in fact, no convent had been burnt. This was the first whisper of the legend connecting Ferrer with the revolt, which was soon to swell to such huge proportions.⁸ He was at first inclined merely to laugh at it; but, at the entreaty of Mme. Villafranca, he finally agreed to go into hiding until a calmer frame of mind should prevail. He had no wish to undergo another year's imprisonment, if he could help it.

As to the place and manner of his concealment, I know more than I am even now at liberty to tell. For more than a fortnight his disappearance was so complete that he was generally believed to have escaped to France — a belief in which the authorities fully shared. Early in August his publishing office was visited and searched, and his secretary, Litran, arrested, but set at liberty after a two hours' examination. On either the 11th or 12th of the month⁹ twenty one policemen and gendarmes presented themselves at Mas Germinal and spent twelve hours ransacking the house for incriminating documents, without finding anything of the slightest importance. "Before Ferrer left," says Mme. Villafranca, "he and I had been careful to make a great clearance of papers. Not that there was anything that could justly be called compromising; but we knew how the police would try to twist everything, not only to his disadvantage, but to that of his correspondents." The search party, however, carried off a collection of three hundred letters from Ferrer to his brother Jose — a "find" that must have proved disappointing, as we hear no more about it.

The Banishment to Teruel

On the 16th of August Ferrer ought to have transacted certain financial business with a bank in Barcelona, on pain of forfeiture of some valuable securities. On that day Mme. Villafranca saw his agent in Barcelona, and received from him a paper for Ferrer's signature. A romantic story is told of the way in which the signature was obtained. It is largely fictitious, and need not detain us. The essential point is that three days later, on August 19, the paper signed, was handed to Jose Ferrer in the market place in Barcelona, and by him delivered to the bank. Evidently the authorities had instant notice

of this fact, which proved that Ferrer was not far off. Their next move was made no later than the following day, and was a pretty sweeping one.

It must be explained that a favourite method of dealing with any condition of unrest in Spain is to "suspend the constitutional guarantees," and so leave the liberty of the subject entirely at the mercy of the bureaucracy. The constitutional guarantees had been suspended by royal decree, in the three Catalan provinces, as early as the 28th of July. Therefore the new Governor of Barcelona, Don Crespo Azorin, was within his rights when he ordered the instant deportation of Soledad Villafranca and her brother, Jose Ferrer and his wife and child, and the whole staff of Ferrer's publishing house, including the aged and infirm Anslemo Lorenzo with his wife and daughters — fourteen or fifteen persons in all. Here is the warrant under which the operation was effected:

In virtue of the powers conferred on me by Article 9 of the Law of Public Order, now in force by reason of the suspension of constitutional guaranties, I decree your banishment [*destierro*], and that of your family, to a distance of more than 245 and less than 250 kilometers¹⁰ from the city of Barcelona. You are to be immediately conducted, under the surveillance of the public forces, to the limit of the radius of 245 kilometers. God preserve you many years! Barcelona, 19 August, 1909.

CRESPO AZORIN

Jose Ferrer was not even allowed to send for his son, who happened to be away bathing, when the "public forces" arrived at Mas Germinal. The whole party, not one of them charged with the smallest illegality, was hurried off, first to Alcaniz, and afterward to Teruel, the capital of Aragon. They had to find food and lodging at their own expense, and were, as a matter of fact, on the verge of starvation. They were constantly watched by the police and gendarmes, who built a temporary guard house in front of their place of abode. No one was allowed to visit them or communicate with them, except in the presence of the police. Their correspondence was tampered with, and they were subjected to every sort of annoyance and humiliation. For a week Jose Ferrer, his wife, and Soledad Villafranca were actually put in prison, on no charge and for no discoverable reason; then they were released again, equally without reason. The immediate motive of the "banishment" was no doubt to drive Ferrer from his concealment by cutting him off from communication with his friends; but afterward, as we shall see, it proved extremely convenient to have everyone who could give evidence in his favour safely removed to a distance of not less than 245 kilometers. The "banishment" lasted eighty seven days.

Having thus happily disposed of the occupants of the Mas Germinal, the authorities made several descents on the house, in further search for incriminating documents. On one occasion, about August 27, ten policemen and gendarmes took possession of the farm house for three days and two nights, broke open the floors and the walls, cut the drain pipes, emptied the cisterns, and left the place in a wreck.¹¹ It is quite evident that, under such conditions, the requirement of the law that search shall always be conducted in the presence of representatives of the accused or of responsible and impartial witnesses could not possibly be fulfilled. The only occupant of the house was Mme. Villafranca's mother; and it can scarcely be conceived that she kept sleepless watch on her ten visitors for sixty hours. There is not the slightest reason to presume the genuineness of any document purporting to have been found on this occasion

(continued on page 70)



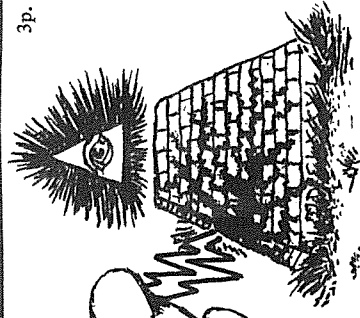
Weather
Changeable

Thought for Today
*If Voting Could Change the System
It Would Be Against the Law!*

THE THUNDER

(Pub. H. Celine & "The Eat the Rich Gang")

Serving Anarchism from the North



EASTER CANCELLED CHRIST'S BODY FOUND

Workers revolt as anarchy sweeps world

JERUSALEM — UPI — The Christian Faith lies in ruins today as the central myth of the world-wide religion — the Resurrection of Christ — was shattered by the discovery of a 2,000 year old corpse and its positive identification as that of Jesus of Nazareth.

Western civilisation has been rocked to its core by the revelation and although reports from Rome remain sketchy, several startling announcements have been made from the Vatican. At 3.00 pm Rome time the papal secretary announced the official cancelling of the Easter holiday. "After all," said Monsignor Luigi Pasta, "if you don't have a Resurrection and Ascension, you don't have much of an Easter, do you?"

Pasta also stated that the Pope and the College of Cardinals had resigned and that the Vatican's remaining skeleton staff was going about the dismantling of the Catholic Church.

Earlier in the day when mobs of disillusioned Christians stormed the Vatican they found the Pope's apartment bare with the exception of an airline receipt for two tickets to Argentina. Throughout the rest of Europe and North America, revolutionary mobs have toppled government after government claiming that political states and religious beliefs had robbed them of their human potential. (See story this page.)

The discovery that toppled Christianity began just two days



Religion collapses as western world shaken

WASHINGTON, D.C., LONDON, PARIS, BERLIN, MADRID, MOSCOW, WARSAW — UPI, AP — The future of governments, capitalist and socialist, remains in doubt today as waves of anti-authoritarian rebellion reverberate across Europe and North America.

Falling like dominoes in the wake of the news that Christianity was based on fraud, nine European governments have been toppled in the last 18 hours. In Latin America and the United States uprisings in the major cities put the forces of tradition in grave jeopardy at this moment of writing. In every major European city, councils of armed workers have proclaimed the end of all authority of one group or class over another. In the West, cries of "Down with capitalism," rang through the streets of Paris and London. In Prague and Moscow, hundreds of thousands marched for the first time shouting "No More Bureaucrats." In every city pledges to end wage labour, commodity production and the factory system brought joyous dancing in the streets as main intersections became the scenes of festive celebrations. How the wave of anti-Christian feeling rapidly developed into stronger anti-political sentiment was expressed by a Belgian office worker, "They had our minds mucked up with all that God and Jesus shit. We thought they were everything and we were nothing," he said. "When that

Fatima myth exposed

LISBON — UPI — OUR LADY OF FATIMA, one of the most renowned shrines of Catholicism, was revealed yesterday to be a gigantic hoax.

Spokesman for the Anarchist Black Cross, an international anarchist group, which seized official records after the fall of Portugal's government today, said the Fatima hoax was perpetrated by the Portuguese government and the Church in 1906, after church attendance in the small town had dropped below 2 percent of the population.

The religious legend has it that the "Virgin Mary" appeared before three Portuguese children in the little town of Fatima just after the turn of the century. On one of these visits, she is reported to have given them a prophecy in a sealed envelope. On that visit, she, or someone looking like her, went to the townspeople to show them the power of faith. So awed were they by the sight that they built a shrine to her memory.

A crude candle-powered projector with a hand-tinted slide showing Mary floating on a cloud was found yesterday in a cellar in Lisbon, raising anger at the Church to a new high. So great was the parishioners' rage at being tricked that it is reported there is not one religious object left in all Portugal. Crucifixes are being used for paint-stirrers in Oporto. Novena candles have been reported being used as (cont. on p. 123)

Treasures found

ROME — AP — What was originally thought to be merely a construction site containing the body of Jesus Christ has now been found to also contain valuable relics, according to Tel Aviv's leading archeologist, Dr. Irving Smith.

Next to the body of the "Saviour of Mankind" was found a journal, believed to have been written by Christ's own hand, which gives the world new information concerning his "lost years." These were the years between 12 and 25 when his exact whereabouts were completely unknown. Sample passages indicate some of the heretofore unspectacular places where Jesus lived during his middle years. For instance, a passage in the first part of the journal indicates some knowledge of downtown Baghdad. It reads, "Yea, verily doth I tread passageways and hidden halls of the temples of pleasure, so too doth the fallen women follow in my footsteps out of Bhazghadian (Baghdad) to my camp where we held lectures late into the night."

Further on is a description of an Egyptian banquet where Christ beseeches the noble men, "So I say unto you, what good does it do a man to gain all the wealth of the world only to lose his soul? Thou must strip thyself of all worldly goods in order to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. For that purpose I have brought two chariots which thou can begin filling with thine unwanted luxuries."

Papal fleet repelled

PAGO, PAGO, AMERICAN SAMOA — AP — Much like the legendary man without a country, the papal fleet of Boeing 747's carrying the Vatican's major domo's wander the globe searching for a place to call home. Refused landing clearance by the Pago-Pago islanders last night, the total number of countries to refuse them permission to land now stands at over 103.

Coming on the heels of a stunning aerial defeat at the hands of the Wake Islanders, flying vintage WWII Japanese Zeroes, this was, as one observer called it, "like condemning them to Purgatory." An informed source, on hand when the Pope received word of the defeat, reported that the Pontiff took it extremely well. "What you gonna do?" The Pope said philosophically, "I know I'm no Walt Disney in the hearts of the people but I was only trying to make a buck. Sure, once in a while I pulled their leg but it was all in good fun. We should let bygones be bygones."

of an apartment complex kidnappers' complex, he noticed Digging by candle-light in the early morning hours, he noticed a sandal-clad foot protruding from a drainage ditch and, digging further, Bournemouth unearthed the cadaver's head still bearing the legendary Crown of Thorns.

Bournemouth told UPI, "It's nothing to me, I'm a Moslem, but I thought others would like to know."

The anger of many ex-Christians stemmed from the obvious attempts of the Pope and others first to deny and then downplay the discovery. Even after medical, archeological, religious and historical experts had confirmed the half-decomposed corpse was that of Jesus, Pope Paul had insisted that to announce the bitter truth would be to bring havoc to the Christian world.

Word finally leaked out from one of the panel of experts and the Vatican was forced to make the announcement admitting that the central tenet of their religion, the redemption of sin through the sacrifice of Christ, in their words, "was inoperative."

Worse yet was the report filed by Dr. Vera Similitude, of the United Nations medical team, who was one of the first to examine the body from a medical standpoint. In it she stated that Christ had not died from wounds inflicted by Roman Centurions, as reported in the Christian Bible, but rather had died from complications of an advanced stage of syphilis.

Speculation is high among informed sources that the entire New Testament was simply faked after the natural death of Jesus, who was one of the many Hebrew religious fanatics preaching in Palestine during that period.

The truth concerning what took place between the time Pope Paul was informed of the devastating discovery in the Middle East at 4 am Rome time and the time he finally relented and made the information public may never be known, but ash-faced Romans arriving at St. Peter's in the early morning hours were greeted by a sight they will long remember: the historic shrine of the Catholics everywhere and the base of Christian faith was boarded up and 'for sale' signs from an Argentine realtor dotted the huge plaza.

But as a small band of black-garbed, elderly Italians hopelessly said their rosaries in the muted night, radical Italians took other action. Forming a loose coalition of leftists, atheists and cynical ex-Christians, they broke down the sealed doors of the Vatican and rushed into the former seat of Catholic power. Untold millions of dollars worth of art objects and precious metals were literally stripped from the walls in what must have been one of the fastest turnarounds in the otherwise quiet career of Pope Paul. So sudden was the departure that early arrivals at the once sumptuous residence report a projector in the cinema room still running, endlessly repeating "King of Kings."

Coming on the eve of Christianity's holiest occasion, Easter, this betrayal by Vatican City has spurred repercussions unheard of in modern-day society. Howling mobs of Catholics stormed their churches in city after city only to find 'for sale' signs and announcements of car washes to be built on the sites of their former houses of prayer. As one Roman businessman put it, "This is a Watergate that dwarfs any other cover-up in the history of mankind."

That the "Jesus Christ Cover-up," as it is now being called in European capitals, is the most pervasive ever known goes without saying. Informed sources in the Vatican report that when the crowds broke through to the inner chambers of St. Peter's radical groups were carting off literally tons of (cont. on p. 123)

before, but the examples of our brothers and sisters in the West just set the example for us. Now we can set up real communism and get rid of all the "marxist" politicians."

Germany today is a place where no priest is safe from the diatribes of angered citizens. Portugal has become a no-man's land where nuns are run out of town like so many beggars. To no one's memory, even those weaned on World War II, has there been anything to match the scorn and bitterness the average citizen feels towards those in power.

Political leaders of the surviving nations are barricaded at this hour in a Swiss chalet, hurriedly mapping out plans for a last stand on the European continent. Men who once held such high positions as Prime Minister of England and Chancellor of Germany were seen being smuggled into the highly-guarded chalet by horse-cart.

Anti-religious rebels, intoxicated by the unprecedented

collapse of organized religion, have seized power in many areas. Rail and communication lines in most of the U.S. are said to be in the hands of atheists. A first hand report by fleeing nuns in France indicates that local villagers have reacted to the news from Vatican City by seizing the churches and burning them.

Crowds estimated at over 500,000 swept through downtown Madrid today shouting revolutionary slogans and holding anti-religious demonstrations. In one instance, throngs were seen pulling a makeshift trailer with a replica of a crude outhouse containing statues of Franco and Pope Paul IV.

World stock market crashes

GENEVA — UPI — World stock market prices plummeted day as billions in discounted stocks and securities found their way into an already shaky Eurodollar market.

The sudden abdication of the entire hierarchy of the Christian world had brought about an extremely volatile financial situation in a sensitive world capital market already wracked by double digit inflation and growing world wide workers' revolutions.

When reports from Berne and Geneva indicated that huge amounts of blue chip stocks were being sold in random lots yesterday, speculation had it that the Middle East was ready to explode into war and the Sheiks were attempting to create havoc in the world money markets, particularly those in Europe.

The truth unfolded in the late evening when developments from Rome showed that the entire financial empire of the Holy Roman Catholic Church was being liquidated by unknown Lebanese brokers.

As one New York banker put it, "Sure we knew the Pope had a few bucks to throw around, but we had no idea it was this much."

Truly, an unprecedented amount of (cont. on p. 123)

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The Capture

On August 17 Commandant Vicente Llivina, charged with the duty of preparing the case against the "instigators, organisers, and directors" of the revolt, had issued an advertisement calling upon Ferrer to appear before him; and Ferrer asserted that he thought of obeying the summons, but was persuaded not to do so. On August 29, however, he read in the papers (according to his own account¹²) that the Fiscal (prosecutor) of the Supreme Court, after a visit to Barcelona to investigate the disturbance, had declared, on his return to Madrid, that he, Ferrer, was "the organiser of the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and in the villages on the coast."

Then [he proceeded] I could not restrain myself any longer, and, in spite of the advice of my

friends, I resolved to present myself to the authorities and at last protest against such rumours and such affirmations, from however high a source they might proceed.

He left his hiding place on the night of August 31, intending to walk some seven miles in order to take the inland railway line to Barcelona, his reason being that he was unknown on this line and therefore had a better chance of reaching Barcelona in freedom. His route, however, took him through his native village of Alella; and just outside it he was stopped by the village *somaten* (a sort of local vigilante committee), recognised, and arrested. After many indignities at the hands of his captors, he was taken, not to the examining commandant, as he requested, but to the Civil Governor, and after a brief examination was consigned to the Celuñir Prison.

Can we accept Ferrer's own account of these incidents, and believe that he intended to give himself up? That must depend entirely on our view of his character. In favour of his statement we have the fact that he certainly expressed this intention to the friends who had harboured him, and whom he had no motive in deceiving. We may also remember that when he was "wanted" after the Morral outrage, he voluntarily presented himself to the police. Against this we have to put the undeniable fact that the inland line "on which he was not known" would have carried him to France as readily as to Barcelona. But, knowing that the hue and cry was out after him, would he be likely to take the risk of attempting to cross the frontier? On the whole, the weight of probability seems to be in favour of his statement; but the matter is not susceptible of proof.

the trial and death of FERRER

BY WILLIAM ARCHER PART 2

Ferrer was captured: how was he to be tried? On that everything depended.

A leading Catholic paper, *El Universo*, in an article published immediately before the capture, manifested grave apprehensions lest he should once more, as in the Madrid trial of 1907, slip through the fingers of a civil tribunal. These civil tribunals, it remarked, were in the habit of "insisting on clear, precise, and decisive proofs of guilt"; and it pointed out the superior convenience of military and naval Courts of Honour, which "need not subject themselves to concrete proofs, but are satisfied with a moral conviction, formed in the conscience of those who compose them."

The alarm of *El Universo* was groundless. It had apparently forgotten the *Ley de Jurisdicciones* (Law of Jurisdictions), passed a few years ago by a Liberal ministry, with the aid and countenance of the Conservatives. Under this remarkable act, every offence that concerns the army, the fatherland, or the flag is to be tried by a military court and under military law. That is to say, one of the parties in the case is to sit on the bench and try the other party. If I am rightly informed, the law was specially designed to enable the army to chastise promptly and effectually the audacity of certain journalists who had attacked it. But it was very easy to make the riots a "military rebellion" and to bring everything connected with them under the Law of Jurisdictions. Nor can it be said that this was a straining of the law. As the whole trouble had grown out of the system of conscription and the calling out of the reservists, it certainly was a matter "concerning the army." There was no illegality then in handing Ferrer over to military justice.

What is the procedure of a Spanish military tribunal? The rules that govern it are set forth (not quite fully or frankly, however) in the appendix to the official version of the Ferrer trial ("Process," p. 67).

The *Juicio Ordinario* is called "ordinary" in contradistinction to the *Juicio Sumarísimo*, or drumhead court martial, which disposes of you, with the least possible ceremony. The "Ordinary Process" falls into three parts – the *Sumario*, *Plenario*, and *Vista Pública*. For the first two terms I do not think there is any English equivalent. The *Sumario* is practically what the French call the *instruction* – the private examination of the prisoner and of witnesses by the *juge d'instruction*, or examining magistrate – of course in this case a soldier. The first rule of the *Sumario* has certainly much to commend it:

Before proceedings can be directed against a person there must appear some charge against him [Article 421].

The only other rule that calls for special notice is this: "Domiciliary searches must be conducted in the presence of those interested, or of a member of the family, or of two witnesses [Article 511]." We have seen how this rule was observed at Mas Germinal.

When we come to the second stage of the process, the first rule that meets us is as follows: "The *Plenario* is public [Article 540]." If this means anything, it means that there is a public session of some sort; and we find that, at the *Plenario* of another case, an audience was present, for a statement attributed to one of the witnesses called forth "great laughter among the public." But in the case of Ferrer I cannot discover that any public session was ever held before the final *Vista Pública*. The second rule is: "The accused himself names his Defender [Article 453]." but it is not mentioned that he is required to choose his Defender from a list of officers which is handed to him. Note, too, that during the *Sumario*, while the evidence is being taken, he has no Defender or adviser of any sort. In the *Plenario* he may demand, and the examining commandant may, at his discretion, permit, a "ratification of

the witnesses," which I take to imply a re-examination; but there seems to have been nothing of the sort in Ferrer's case. The Defender, it would appear, never saw a single witness, much less had any opportunity for cross-examination. Ferrer himself, during the period of the *Sumario*, was "confronted" with four of the witnesses, – four out of fifty or sixty, – but the proceedings were confined to affirmation on their part and denial, on his. Of anything like cross-examination there is no trace. Ferrer had, very likely, no skill in that peculiar art; and had he possessed skill, there is nothing to show that he would have been allowed to exercise it.

We proceed now to the *Vista Pública* – the public trial. The court is a "council of war," composed of a colonel (the President) and six captains. They are assisted by an Assessor – an officer who is supposed to be at the same time something of a lawyer. First the report, or *dossier*, of the examining commandant (*juge d'instruction*) is read; then come

The examination by the Fiscal, Assessor, Defenders, President, and members of the Council, of witnesses and experts, and recognition of objects and documents; the accusation and the defence are read; . . . and, lastly, the accused speaks to set forth whatever he may consider opportune.

So runs the order of procedure, as officially stated; and in practice there was only one detail omitted – the examination of witnesses. With this trifling exception, all went according to rule. The portfolio of evidence was read; the Fiscal (prosecutor) read his commentary on the evidence, and demanded the conviction of the accused; the Defender read his reply, which he had been allowed only twenty-four hours to prepare; and, finally, the accused said a few words. Then (strictly according to rule) the court met in secret

session, and the Assessor read his report, which was, in fact, another speech for the prosecution, unchecked by the presence of the accused or his Defender. The court (still in secret) passed its sentence, which was forwarded for approval to the Captain-General of Catalonia, accompanied by the report of an officer termed the Auditor a third indictment in which all sorts of fresh matter is introduced. It is these three indictments that the Government publishes under the title of "Ordinary Process. . . Against Francisco Ferrer." The speech for the defence is tactfully omitted.

Having noted the structure of the machine in which Ferrer was caught, let us now try to follow its workings. Up to the opening of the actual trial (Vista Publica), the letters of Ferrer himself are our chief authority; but no attempt has been made to contradict his statements as to the way in which he was treated.

Ferrer in Prison

After his brief interview with the Governor, he was passed on to the central police station, and there stripped and subjected to the Bertillon system of measurements, etc. This done, not a single stitch of his clothing was returned to him, but he was rigged out from head to foot in "reach me down" garments ridiculously too small for him, with what he calls an "apache" cap. The underlings among his jailers were themselves surprised at this unexampled proceeding. He remonstrated against it in vain, and made public protest at his trial. Can we believe that the authorities deliberately sought to prejudice him by making him look grotesque? It is almost incredible; and yet, what else can have been their motive? It was not economy, for the manoeuvre cost the Treasury (by Ferrer's own estimate) at least fourteen francs. He went to his death in a fourteen franc suit.

Arrived at the Carcel Celular, he was not only *incomunicado* (that is to say, placed in secret confinement), but he was assigned a cell — he, an untried man — of the type devoted to *rigoroso castigo*, or rigorous punishment. This is his description of it, in a letter to his friend Heaford:

They put me in a repugnant cell, fetid, cold, damp, without air or light, in the underground region of the prison, where so rotten an atmosphere prevails that in descending to it you can't help turning your head away. In this cell (8 feet by 13) there is a plank bed, a palliasse, a counterpane, and a sheet — all filthy, disgusting. A pan for refuse and a jar of drinking water. Impossible to sleep on account of the cold and the little animals of all sorts which swarmed, and which, on the first night, attacked me at every point, I took the precaution afterwards of leaving crumbs of bread in the four corners, so that the beetles left me in peace; not so the other beasts. For food, soup twice a day, always the same, made with chick-peas (*garbanzos*) in the morning, and with haricots in the evening, served in such darkness that it was very difficult to pick out the lumps of rancid bacon which almost made me feel sick. It needed a good stomach like mine to resist this, and a strong will not to be cast down. I asked for a basin and water so as to be able to wash my hands and face. My request was granted after six days. I asked for soap, but as the police had kept all my money I could not get any, until I protested so much that at last the Governor of the prison, Don Benito Nieves, a charming person, gave me a piece of his own, and then made me a present of a cake. To combat the cold and the tedium of not being able to read, or talk, or see anyone, I paced up and down my cell, like a wild animal, until I perspired. When I saw that my incommunication was not

soon to end, I asked, on September 11, for a change of linen (I had been in prison since the 1st), for I could not endure to live in such filth, upon me and around me. They gave me clean linen on the 23rd!

This letter is important in more ways than one.

It not only shows the quiet heroism of the man, and the spirit of rancour in which he was treated: it also gives us a glimpse of a Spanish prison which is not without significance when we find that the most important — almost the only important witnesses for the prosecution were arrested for complicity in the disturbances, and were released on giving their evidence. To put a man in such a cell as this is almost equivalent to the application of *peine forte et dure*; and what is the worth of evidence so extracted?

To close the subject of Ferrer's treatment in prison, I may say that this letter to Mr. Heaford was written on October 5, when the "incommunication" was over and he was placed in a more habitable cell. Nevertheless, it ends:

The rest another time, my dear friends. I am tired now, and my little friends of the cell are beginning to take unfair advantage of the peace in which I have left them for so long. They are even coming to see what I am doing on this paper . . . I forgot to tell you that they refused to give me back a toothbrush which I had with me, two pocket handkerchiefs, or, in fact, anything belonging to me.

Ferrer said *El Universo*, had been handed over to the *austera severidad* of the military tribunals. Was it part of that austere severity to prevent him from brushing his teeth?

A Commandant in a Hurry

In the evening of the day of his arrest (September 1), he underwent his first examination, at the hands of Commandant Vicente Llivina. This officer, says Ferrer in his letter to Heaford, "seemed to me a very honourable and unprejudiced man, desirous of knowing the truth and nothing but the truth. I never saw him again." Llivina, as we have seen, was the commandant told off to get up the case against the "instigators, organisers, and directors" of the riot. It was he who had, by advertisement, summoned Ferrer to appear before him. Up to this point, the prosecution of Ferrer had been conjoined with four other prosecutions — against Emiliano Iglesias, Luis Zurdo, Trinidad Altet, and Juana Ardiaca — under the care of Llivina. But now Ferrer's case was disjoined from the group, and handed over to another examining commandant, Valerio Raso by name. What was the reason of this transference? A comparison of dates may help us to divine it. The four cases left under Llivina's charge were not brought to trial until March 4, 1910, when passion had fairly worked itself out. Three of the accused were then acquitted, and the fourth sentenced to imprisonment for life. Ferrer, on the other hand, was brought to trial within thirty nine days of his arrest, and executed four days later. Yet, with all this expedition, he was scarcely out of the way before the date fixed for the re-assembling of the Cortes. He was shot on October 13; the Chambers met on October 15. If there be no significance in this juxtaposition of dates, Sr. Maura's Government was the victim of a singularly unfortunate coincidence.

Ferrer's first meeting with Valerio Raso took place on Monday, September 6, when the commandant had him microscopically scrutinised from head to foot by two doctors, to see whether they could find any scratch, scar, or burn on his person. He believed that, if they had discovered anything of the kind, he would have been summar-

ily shot. Probably he was wrong in this. A rumour was current that he had been wounded in the riots, and that his wound had been dressed in a drug store at Badalona, a town between Barcelona and Mongat. The search for a cicatrice was no doubt intended to test the value of this evidence; and, none being found, the evidence simply disappeared from the record. For the moment, the commandant contented himself with this corporal examination. Three days later, on the 9th, he administered his first interrogatory; and on the 19th his second and last. The date of the "confrontations" we do not know. On October 1, Raso re-appeared to announce to Ferrer that his *dossier* was completed, that his "incommunication" was relaxed, and that he would be tried "one of these days." Ferrer protested that he still had many declarations to make; the commandant replied that nothing more could be admitted, "military law not being like civil law." He also presented a list of officers from among whom Ferrer must choose his Defender. Knowing none of them, he selected Francisco Galceran Ferrer,¹³ on account of the chance resemblance of names. Captain Galceran has confessed that he accepted the charge very unwillingly, being strongly prepossessed against Ferrer on account of his anti-militarism; but half an hour's talk with the prisoner made him his undaunted champion.

The Exiles and Their Evidence

Meanwhile Soledad Villafranca was eating her heart out at Teruel, in total ignorance of what was passing at Barcelona. She and some of her comrades in exile were the persons who could best speak as to Ferrer's employment of his time during the week of the revolt; and they naturally expected, day after day, to be called upon for their evidence. This expectation was encouraged (unofficially, of course, and very likely in good faith) by the jailers. A member of the Palace police from Madrid, who had been specially told off to keep watch over Mme. Villafranca, bade her wait patiently and the summons would come in good time. She and her comrades were not reassured on finding that two anarchist documents, said to have been discovered among Ferrer's papers, were going the round of the press, with the natural result of still further prejudicing the public mind against him. This is, indeed, one of the darkest features of the whole affair. The *Sumario*, or collection of evidence, is by rule and custom absolutely private; yet here were two documents, on the face of them most compromising, allowed to leak out, and passing from newspaper to newspaper. In one of the documents, moreover, as communicated to the press, a word of some importance was misquoted. When the document was cited by the Assessor ("Process," p. 33), it appeared that one of the paragraphs ended with the phrase, "*Viva la anarquia!*" But in the version sent to the newspapers the word *dinamita* was substituted for *anarquia*. These slips of the pen are a little unfortunate when a human life is at stake.

Another straw which showed how the wind was blowing was the announcement on September 25 of the rewards accorded by the Government to the men who had arrested Ferrer. The Mayor of Alella was made a Commander of the Order of Isabella the Catholic; two of the *somaten* (vigilance committee) became Cavaliers of the same order, and were presented with a uniform and complete equipment, including a Mauser rifle "with a plate commemorating the date of the arrest"; while to the watchman and one or two others who assisted in the arrest were accorded medals of Isabella the Catholic and six hundred dollars apiece in cash. Am I wrong in consider-

ing this a quite amazing incident? Seven or eight villagers have arrested one solitary man, who made no resistance, being armed with nothing more formidable than a hand camera; and, while that man is awaiting his trial, the Government goes out of its way to distribute lavish rewards among the heroic captors! Could any better means be imagined of announcing a confident foreknowledge of the prisoner's doom?

Wearied at last of waiting for a call that never came, the exiles of Teruel on September 28 addressed a letter to the examining commandant, expressing their surprise at not having been summoned, and demanding to be heard. The letter was signed by Soledad Villafranca, Jose Ferrer, Alfredo Messegue, Cristobal Litran, and Mariano Batllori. On September 30, Don Valerio Raso replied that on the previous day the case had been elevated to Plenario, and that, consequently, no more evidence could be taken. "I am surprised," he added, "that, if you had anything to say, you should not have done so before, in the twenty-eight days which had elapsed before you wrote." As no one seems to know in what consists the mysterious operation of "elevating" a case "to Plenario," it is impossible to disprove Don Valerio's assertion. It may be said, however, that the "elevation" was not made known to Ferrer himself until October 1, and that, even after that, Mme. Villafranca's mother was called upon to give evidence. The rules of the Plenario, it is true, do not permit the appearance of fresh witnesses, except in the case of "common offences" as distinguished from "military offences"; but they do not explain why, in dealing with military offences, the court should deny itself a means of getting at the truth, which it is free to employ in other cases. At any rate, as the evidence of Ferrer's friends was rejected on this paltry plea of time, it was a little unkind of the Fiscal to make it a point against him that there were no witnesses to speak in his favour ("Process," p. 21).

The Trial

At a quarter to eight on the morning of Saturday October 9, the Council of War assembled at the Model Prison for the trial of Francisco Ferrer. The prisoner was not, as has been stated, brought before the court in fetters. That report arose from a misprint in the *Times*. There were about twenty (not two hundred) journalists present, and an audience of privileged (and no doubt "well-thinking") persons. Ferrer tried at the outset to say a word of apology for the ridiculous attire in which he was forced to present himself, but he was cut short by the President.

We do not possess a full report of the *dossier* recited by the examining commandant; but there can be no doubt that everything that could possibly tell against the prisoner was recapitulated and underlined in the "Fiscal accusation," which has been published in full ("Process," pp. 5-28).

The Fiscal, Don Jesus Marin Rafales, opened with a rhetorical description of the riots and outrages, quite in the style of that quoted from the *Correspondencia* and almost as exaggerated. Before saying a word to connect Ferrer with these events, he appealed to the professional and personal resentments of the judges, "all or almost all" of whom, he said, had taken part in the repression, and had been exposed to its dangers. He spoke of the "fire to which you were subjected from barricades and hostetops." He denounced the rioters as "drunk with blood," forgetting that nine tenths of the blood shed was that of the populace, shot down by the police and soldiers. In short, he neglected no means of awakening the passions of the soldier judges, if perchance they had fallen asleep. At the same time, he explicitly declared:

In this case we are not investigating the burning of a particular convent, nor the explosion at this or that given point, nor the cutting of this or that telegraph wire, nor the construction of this or that barricade, nor this or that overt act of war. No! we are following up the revolutionary movement in its innermost entrails; we are investigating the causes that gave it life, and seeking the agency which prepared, impelled, and sustained it.

In less ornate terms, the Fiscal confessed that they could not bring home to the prisoner a single act of violence.

He then devoted a few minutes to arguing that the events of July constituted a "military rebellion" as by law defined; and, that being satisfactorily established, he went on to an analysis of the evidence. It is this analysis which we must now analyse:

The evidence falls under four distinct heads:

1. Unsupported opinion and hearsay.
2. Statements which may or may not be true, but which prove nothing.
3. More or less relevant accusations, the truth or falsehood of which is worth examining.
4. Documentary evidence — two revolutionary papers purporting to have been found at Mas Germinal.

1. Unsupported Opinion and Hearsay

Under this head I cannot do better than summarise a single paragraph of the Fiscal's speech:

Lieutenant-Colonel Leoncio Ponte of the Guardia Civil points to Ferrer as taking active part in the movement of Masnou and Premia. It is not pretended that Lieutenant-Colonel Ponte saw him doing so, or speaks otherwise than from hearsay.

Jimenez Moya, "a witness above suspicion, since, on account of the exaltation of his ideas, he is at present banished to Majorca, makes the charge more concrete, saying that, *in his opinion*, the rebellion started from the Solidaridad Obrera. . . and pointing to Ferrer and his companions of the Antimilitarist League as its directors." [The Fiscal does not add, what we learn from Captain Galceran's speech, that the declaration of this witness ends with the avowal that "he knows nothing positive, since he was absent from Barcelona from the 15th of July onwards."]

Verdaguer Callis "affirms that, *according to intelligence which he has no means of verifying, but which he believes to be exact*," the events were "impelled and directed by Ferrer Guardia."

Emiliano Iglesias believes that the Solidaridad Obrera spent more money than it possessed. [Ferrer had, about a year previously, lent the Solidaridad Obrera one hundred and eighty dollars which it required to meet the expenses of moving into the new premises. Beyond this no one proved or attempted to prove any financial relation between Ferrer and the society.]

Baldomero Bonet, arrested on a charge of convent burning, believes that the Solidaridad Obrera was at the bottom of the events, and, as it does not abound in funds, *participates in the general idea* that it was subvented by Ferrer. On a second examination, "he confirms his belief, since he cannot understand that any other element could have caused the events."

"The same current against the Solidaridad Obrera and Ferrer is maintained in the declaration of Modesto Lara."

Garcia Magallon relates a conversation with a journalist named Pierre,¹³ who told him that he had heard it said that the events were promoted by the Solidaridad Obrera under the direction of Ferrer.

Puig Ventura "believes that Ferrer was at the bottom of it all."

Casas-Llibre formed the opinion that Ferrer was the "directing element."

Alvarez Espinosa "abounds in the same opinion," and believes that Ferrer was "the true instigator and inspirer of the events."

The last three witnesses we shall encounter again, and shall have to consider the value of their evidence on matters which actually came within their knowledge. Here they are only, like all the rest, expressing opinions and beliefs for which they do not even allege the smallest solid foundation. Thus we have ten witnesses, one of whom, Iglesias, said nothing about Ferrer, two "pointed to" him, three "believed" that he was at the bottom of the revolt, two "formed an opinion" to the same effect, one related a report "which he had no means of verifying," and one repeated what someone else told him that he had heard someone else say. Meanwhile, in the jails of Barcelona, there were more than a thousand prisoners accused of participation in the riots, and in the rest of Catalonia at least a thousand more, not one of whom could be found to have received orders from Ferrer, or arms, or money, or to have had any direct or indirect knowledge of him as organiser or chief of the revolt.

A group of five witnesses cited by the Fiscal in the same paragraph deserves somewhat different treatment. They are villagers of Premia — Don Juan This and Don Jaime That. Three of them declare generally that "after" the visit of Ferrer to Premia on Wednesday the 28th events in that locality "assumed a grave character"; a fourth asserts that the change took place "immediately on his arrival," while the fifth places it at "an hour after his departure." Now we shall see anon that Ferrer spent a very short time in Premia, that a most important witness, Puig Ventura (called Llarch), was in his company all the time, and that, except for what he is alleged to have said to Puig, Casas, etc., he clearly held no communication with a soul in the village. Thus, while the evidence for any considerable change in the course of events is of the vaguest, one of the Prosecution's own witnesses proves that there was no connection between Ferrer's visit and whatever change there may have been.

A Shadowy Host of "Agents"

But we are by no means at the end of hearsay evidence and the expression of mere opinion. It is stated that a man named Sola was frequently seen during the days of the disturbance at the Fraternidad Republicana of Premia, and one Juan Alsina is "morally certain" that he received instructions directly from Ferrer. There is no evidence whatever as to his having done or attempted anything illegal; but, on the ground of one witness's "moral certainty" that he was an emissary of Ferrer, this is gravely set forth as an incriminating circumstance. Again, one Puig Pons speaks of the appearance at Premia of a party of thirty men whom he "believes" to have been recruited by Ferrer. He does not know this personally; but when he asked the bystanders who these men were, the answer was, "They are the stone-cutters whom Ferrer is said to have sent." Moreover, a good deal of vague village gossip is reported as to cyclists and persons driving a *tartana*, or one horse cart, who were supposed to be agents of Ferrer; but no one is produced who actually saw these agents; much less anyone who saw them do or heard them say anything illegal; least of all any evidence to connect them with Ferrer.

But the finest example, perhaps, of this class of evidence, is afforded by a witness named Pedro Pages, who "reports that he read in *La Almudaina*, a newspaper of Palma [Majorca]," a story about some workmen having patrolled the coast

road, saying they did so under the orders of Sr. Ferrer. A newspaper paragraph is not usually considered the best of evidence; but Don Pedro Pages did not even produce the paragraph — he only remembered to have read it.

A point of transition between pure hearsay and evidence of some apparent validity is afforded by the incident of the town hall at Masnou. Salvador Millet relates, "from information received (*segun referencias*), "that on the 27th or 28th groups of rebels presented themselves at the town hall, and from the balcony "harangued the multitude," saying that they did so in the name of Ferrer, "who could not be present, as he was detained in Barcelona on the business of the revolution." This is the usual vague hearsay; but in this case there is actually one witness, — Esteban Puigdemon, who declares that from the door of his house, hard by the town hall, he heard one man make a speech and say that he came to represent Ferrer. Well may the Fiscal introduce Don Esteban in italics as a *testigo presencial*, or witness who was on the spot. Such witnesses are rarities in this part of his brief.

Esteban, indeed, is more than a rarity; he is unique. We shall come presently to witnesses who purport to relate what Ferrer actually said to them at Masnou and Premia; but there is nothing in their evidence that shows him acting as organiser or director of the occurrences in that region. The attempt to exhibit him in that light — "irradiating rebellion," as the Prosecutor of the Supreme Court put it, from his headquarters at Mas Germinal — rests absolutely and entirely on the hearsay evidence we have just examined. Of the host of agents with whom popular rumour credited him, — cyclists, stonemasons, miscellaneous workmen, indefinite "rebels," etc., — not one is produced. There is no direct testimony to his having issued a single order or paid anyone a single peseta. There is only one *testigo presencial*, who heard some unknown person "harangue a multitude," and say that he acted on behalf of Ferrer. What has become of the "multitude"? If the incident really occurred, surely a few more of that crowd might have been found to testify to it. And, even if it did occur, can Ferrer be held responsible for what an unidentified "rebel" may have said? This whole part of the case merely proves — what we learn in other ways as well — that the ignorant peasants of the district had been indoctrinated with wild ideas as to the maleficent power of their heretic neighbour at Mas Germinal.

2. Statements That Prove Nothing

We have now to return to Barcelona, and to Ferrer's doings on the 26th — the day of the strike. We have already noted that, in his own account of that day, he omitted a good deal, probably in fear of compromising his friends. Let us now see whether there was anything criminal — anything displaying him in the character of "author and chief of the revolt" — in the incidents that he omitted.

There is no attempt to show the "author and chief" in any way concerned with the events of the day until three o'clock in the afternoon. At that hour — between his luncheon and his appointment with the engraver — he went to the Casa del Pueblo, a workman's restaurant and recreation place, in search of his secretary, Litran. In the cafe he saw an old Republican, Lorenzo Ardid, whose evidence is thus reported by the Fiscal:

Ferrer entered and saluted him, saying that he would like to speak to him privately. Ardid replied, "When you please"; and Ferrer then asked him, "What do you think of the events of the day?" The witness answered, "It is all over: it is only a sort of protest, which cannot go any

further." Then Ferrer repeated, "You think it cannot go any further?" — upon which he answered with energy, and Ferrer became silent. Ardid then turned his back to him and said to one of the company, "Tell that gentleman that he had better go away quickly by the side door" — which Ferrer at once did.

Ardid has since declared that this is a perverted version of his evidence; but, taking it at its face value, what is there in it? A passing remark on the situation. The Prosecution apparently seeks to suggest that in Ferrer's exit there was some sort of conscious guilt; but Ardid declares that he explained this in his evidence. The fact was that Ferrer had fallen out with the Radical-Republican party, which has its headquarters at the Casa del Pueblo, and Ardid heard, or thought he heard, a menacing hum in the crowded cafe which showed that his presence was resented. As we have abundant proof of the momentary feud between Ferrer and the Lerrouxists, this explanation of the matter is entirely credible.

From a rational point of view, the sole importance of the incident arises from the fact that Ferrer appears to have denied having been at the Casa del Pueblo or seen Ardid, and only to have retracted this denial on being confronted with the witness. I have satisfied myself, from the position and character of the Casa del Pueblo, that Ferrer can scarcely have forgotten the fact of his having been there. Here, then, is a single case in which he seems to have made a positively untrue statement.¹⁴ And why? In all probability, because he feared to compromise this very Ardid, who, as a matter of fact, was arrested in connection with the riots. The commandant probably questioned him about the Casa del Pueblo without letting him know that Ardid was to figure as a witness against him; and Ferrer was probably on his guard not to make any admission that could possibly be used against the old Republican campaigner.

Oddly enough, the Fiscal accepts, without attempting to cast doubt upon it, the statement that Ferrer intended to return to Mongat by the six o'clock train — an intention which cannot but seem surprising in the head of the revolt, especially as it implies that the organiser-in-chief did not know that the railway line was to be cut. When Ferrer left the station, he was seen by "the agent of vigilance, Don Angel Fernandez Bermejo, entrusted with the duty of shadowing him," mingling with seditious groups on the Plaza de Antonio Lopez, again near the Ataranzas barracks, and yet again on the Rambla. When one of the groups was dispersed by a charge of the police, he lost sight of Ferrer, but then saw him again going into the Hotel Internacional, where, as a matter of fact, he dined. The sole importance of this evidence is to show that Ferrer was shadowed. He could scarcely move about the streets without getting into "groups," and he would naturally exchange a few observations with this man and that. Of anything pointing to leadership the spy has no word to say.

It was very likely at the same time, though they place it a little earlier, that two soldiers saw a man in a blue suit and a straw hat in a group of people on the Plaza de Antonio Lopez. When they requested him to move on, he pointed to a poster on the wall proclaiming a state of siege, and said, "May one not read that?" This seems an innocent and even laudable desire; yet the Fiscal singles it out as being of "notable intrinsic importance," and is triumphant when the soldiers identify Ferrer "three times"¹⁵ in a group of prisoners. Very probably the man was Ferrer, who was certainly in that part of town about that time; but where is the intrinsic "importance" of the fact? Shortly afterward,

the Fiscal tries to give it extrinsic importance by citing the evidence of two officers who, on the 28th, arrested some persons armed with new Smith revolvers, who said the pistols had been given to them by a man they did not know, wearing a blue suit and a straw hat. How many men in Barcelona wore blue suits and straw hats? And what had become of the arrested men? If one or two of them had identified Ferrer as the distributor of the weapons, their evidence would have been worth all the rest put together.

The Barber of Masnou

Now appears on the scene a curious and rather important figure. As Ferrer was sitting, about half past nine o'clock, in the cafe under the Hotel Internacional, where he had dined, he saw passing a youth named Francisco Domenech, assistant in a barber's shop at Masnou, and secretary of the Republican Committee of that village. Ferrer called him in, and, learning that he proposed to walk home that night, suggested that they might go together. From the cafe, says Domenech, they went to the office of the Lerrouxist (Republican) paper *El Progreso*, to learn "what the comrades were going to do" — an odd enquiry for the "author and chief" to make. Thence they went to a cafe, where Ferrer met some of his friends and nothing particular happened; and presently they returned to the office of *El Progreso*. Ferrer went in alone, and on coming out he remarked, according to Domenech, that neither Iglesias nor others had been willing to sign a document which he had brought in with him, an address to the government demanding the cessation of embarkations for Melilla, and threatening, in case of refusal, to make a revolution, the signatories placing themselves at the head of the people. Iglesias had said that the strikers had better return to work, and he had asked what forces he counted upon for the course proposed.

Now, Iglesias denies that he saw Ferrer that night. It is true, however, that some such document had been drawn up by Moreno; and it is true that, had the project gone forward, Ferrer would have signed it. But it is not true that the design was his, that he carried the document around, or that he took any leading part in the negotiation. In so far as Domenech's testimony points in that direction, it is false. Domenech may have misunderstood, or his evidence may have received a little twist in the reporting. We shall see before we have done with Domenech that there was no possibility of testing or rectifying his statements.

From the office of *El Progreso* Ferrer and Domenech set forth to walk home. Their way lay through the calle de la Princesa, and in that street they met Moreno. Ferrer told him that they were representatives of the Solidaridad Obrera at the office of *El Progreso*, trying if they could come to an understanding with the Radicals, and suggested that Moreno should go and see what was happening. He replied: "They [presumably the Radicals] are already compromised"; and added, according to Domenech, "Woe to whoever fails us, for we will do with him as they do with traitors in Russia!"

Then Ferrer and the little barber walked on together, parting at Mongat between four and five in the morning. We shall meet our friend Domenech again a little later.

In all these incidents of the 26th, is there a single one that shows Ferrer taking a directing part in the disturbances? I submit that the evidence, even accepting it at its face value, is wholly inconsistent with such a view. He is an interested onlooker, no more; and after six o'clock he is an onlooker only because the trains are not running, and he

prefers (as he said to Litran) to take his eleven mile walk in the cool of the early morning. We find him willing to join in sending a threatening address to the government; and if that willingness be a punishable offence, he deserved whatever punishment the law assigns to it. But between that and being author and chief of the rebellion there is all the difference in the world. Had he had any guilty conscience, he would scarcely have been at pains to attach a witness to his every footstep. Domenech asserts, no doubt with truth, that he and Ferrer were the merest acquaintances. Why should Ferrer, had he been organising and directing the rebellion, have put his life in the hands of a casual barber's assistant.

3. Relevant Accusations: The Catholic Journalist

It is almost a relief to come upon two accusations to which a certain weight would doubtless have been attached in a competent court of law. One is the unsupported assertion of a single man; the other rests on the testimony of several witnesses.

Don Francisco de Paula Coldefons,¹⁶ a journalist on the staff of various clerical papers, asserted in one of them, *El Siglo Futuro*, as early as August 8, that he saw Ferrer "at the head of a group (*capitaneando un grupo*) in front of the Liceo Theatre on the Rambla." When he appeared before the examining commandant, however, his statement became considerably less positive. This is how the Fiscal reports it:

The said gentleman affirms that on Tuesday, the 27th, between seven thirty and eight thirty in the evening, he saw a group, in the Rambla, in front of the Liceo, *captained* (mark that well) *captained* by a person who seemed to him to be Francisco Ferrer Guardia, whom he knew only from a photograph; but he acquired the conviction that it must be he from hearing the passers-by say so. The group passed down the Calle del Hospital. Furthermore... the witness identified Ferrer three times in a circle of prisoners as the man he had seen in that situation.

Clearly this evidence is worth looking into.

What weight can we attach to the identification? The witness who knew Ferrer from photographs would, of course, refresh his memory of these photographs before proceeding to the identification, so that it is scarcely surprising that he should recognise his man. Moreover, we have seen that the authorities had been careful to dress Ferrer in a ridiculous garb, which would make him stand out from any group of ordinary prisoners, and ensure attention being drawn to him. The identification, then, amounts to nothing.

Now as to the actual incident: It took place between "seven thirty and eight thirty in the evening"; yet it does not seem to have occurred to anyone to enquire by what light Coldefons recognised a man whom he knew only by photographs. I have satisfied myself that at seven thirty on July 27 it would be barely possible to see a man's features by the evening light at the spot indicated; at seven forty five or later it would be quite impossible. But what about electric light? I have been unable to find any conclusive evidence as to whether the electric lamps were or were not lighted on the Rambla that evening. The probability is that they were not. In any case, the light must have either been very dim, or else artificial and deceptive. The fact that this point was wholly neglected shows the danger of relying upon witnesses who cannot be cross-examined. Furthermore, no one has enquired what Sr. Coldefons meant when he said that the man in question was "captaining" the group. What were the signs and tokens of his captaincy? On this point, too, a little cross-examination would

not have been amiss.

What, now, was the probability of Ferrer's being in Barcelona on the evening of the 27th? The authorities had carefully refused to admit the evidence of Ferrer's family, who positively assert that he never quitted Mas Germinal that day. But, even with this testimony ruled out, what do we know? We know that he reached home on foot about five on the Tuesday morning; and we know that all public means of communication by which he could have returned to Barcelona that day were interrupted. Can we conceive that, at two or three on the Tuesday afternoon, he started in the blazing heat to walk eleven dusty miles into Barcelona, in order to "captain a group"? Or, if he took some private conveyance, can we conceive that, in that thickly peopled region of gossiping villagers, no evidence of the fact should be forthcoming? He must not only have gone to Barcelona, but he must have returned before ten the next morning, when he went, as usual, to be shaved at Masnou. Is it conceivable that there should be absolutely no evidence as to his means of transit either way? that not a living soul should have seen him outside of Mas Germinal, save Don Francisco de Paula Coldefons? Where was the "agent of vigilance, Don Angel Fernandez Bermejo, entrusted with the duty of shadowing him"? He was not a man unknown in Barcelona, nor one whose comings and goings were apt to be unmarked. If he was "captaining a group," he must have made himself at least moderately conspicuous; yet, out of the thousands who were in the streets that night, the one discoverable person who recognised him was a Catholic journalist who did not know him!

And this Catholic journalist who did not know him is the one witness who even purports to present him in the light of a chief or director, not of the revolt, but of a particular *grupo de revoltosos*.

The Village Republicans

Vastly more serious is the evidence of the village Republicans of Masnou and Premia de Mar. If we can believe it, we must hold Ferrer guilty of an indiscretion which was doubtless liable to some punishment, though it was immeasurably different from the crime of being "author and chief of the revolt." But can we believe the evidence?

This is how it runs: On Wednesday the 28th, Ferrer, as was his custom of a Wednesday morning, presented himself at the barber's shop at Masnou, where Domenech was employed. According to Domenech, he sent for one Juan Puig Ventura, nicknamed Llarch, or "tall," the President of the Republican Committees. On Llarch's arrival, Ferrer proposed to him that he should go to the *Ayuntamiento*, or town hall, and there proclaim the Republic. So far, Domenech; but Llarch himself goes further and says that Ferrer urged him "to begin "by inciting people to sally forth and burn churches and convents." Llarch replied that he did not see how that would advance the Republican cause; to which Ferrer answered that he cared nothing about the Republic, but was simply bent on revolution. He then proposed that Llarch should accompany him to Premia, which that gentleman, though shocked at his suggestions, agreed to do. At Premia they met the Alcalde, or Mayor, to whom Ferrer made similar proposals. Then, on their way back to Masnou, they met a group of young men coming from Barcelona, who told them what was going on,¹⁷ whereupon Ferrer said, "Good! Good! Courage! It must all be destroyed!"

The Alcalde himself, Don Domingo Casas

and the acting secretary of the *Ayuntamiento*, Alvarez, are quoted as emphatically confirming the statement that Ferrer proposed the proclamation of the Republic, and the Deputy Alcalde, Mustares, seems to have told the same story. Finally, Francisco Calvet, waiter at the *Fraternidad Republicana* of Premia, relates that at half past twelve on the day in question Llarch appeared at the cafe with another person whom he (Calvet) did not know:

"Presently arrived Casas, Mustares, and Alvarez; and then the unknown said: 'I am Ferrer Guardia.' The witness adds that this produced a startling effect on those present and especially on himself, on account of all the evil he had heard of that person; and that then Ferrer added, addressing the Alcalde, "I have come to say to you that you must proclaim the Republic in Premia." The Alcalde replied, "Sr. Ferrer, I do not accept these words"; upon which the accused answered, "How should you not accept them, since the Republic is proclaimed in Madrid, Barcelona, Valencia, and other capitals?"

These allegations, I confess, seem to me by far the strongest part of the whole case for the prosecution. On examination, we find reason to discount them heavily; but I am inclined to think that there must be a residue of truth in them.

What is Ferrer's own account of the matter? We have it in the long letter to Charles Malato, written on October 1. He says that the barber's shop at Masnou rapidly filled with people who wanted to question him about the events at Barcelona; for the report had got abroad that he was connected with them. He told them that he was as anxious as they for news, since he wanted to attend to his publishing affairs as soon as business resumed. Just then a steamboat came along the coast from Barcelona, and seemed to be going to put in at Premia; whereupon he proposed to Llarch, who had just been telling how he had quieted a riotous crowd, that they should walk on to Premia and learn what news the steamer brought. But she did not, after all, put in at Premia; so they very soon returned, Llarch to Masnou, Ferrer to Mongat. During the five or ten minutes they spent in Premia, they were surrounded by people asking for news - "as we, in turn, asked them." "It appears," Ferrer continues, "that the Republican Mayor of Premia was among the group; and he now declares that I proposed to him to proclaim the Republic, and to burn the convent and the church; which is as false as Llarch's assertion to the same effect. The judge conducted me with these two *canailles*, who stuck to their assertions in spite of my protests, reminding them that we exchanged only the phrases that everyone was exchanging in those days: What is going on? What is the news from here, from there? What are people saying?"

At the confrontations, Llarch is reported as having said "that he was sure Ferrer would abound in explanations and denials, but that he nevertheless maintained what he had stated"; while the Alcalde said, "One who denies the truth, as you do, is capable of denying the light of the sun."

Six Just Men

We have, then, six witnesses - Domenech, Llarch, the Alcalde, Mustares, Alvarez, and Calvet - who all aver that Ferrer urged the proclamation of the Republic, two of them adding that he also incited to convent burning. This is unquestionably a pretty strong evidence. But there are one or two remarks to be made as to the credit of the witnesses.

Domenech, to begin with, having given his evidence, was got out of the country with all despatch. His own account is that "friends" gave him money, and that he started for South America on the 16th

of August. The "friends" are stated to have been the Barcelona Committee of Social Defence, an ultra-Catholic organisation, which bought him off his military service and gave him three hundred dollars with which to clear out. This assertion was made, in somewhat veiled terms, by Captain Galceran, in his speech for Ferrer's defence; and I have not seen it denied. At all events, I have it from Sr. Domenech's own lips that "friends" made it possible for him to absent himself for three or four months — until, in fact, Ferrer was satisfactorily dead. His evidence, then, though costly, can scarcely be called valuable.

Of the other five, three at least — Llarch, the Alcalde, and Alvarez (I am not quite sure about Mustares) — were arrested on the charge of having taken part in the disturbances, and were liberated, without trial, after giving their evidence. This is, on the face of it, not quite reassuring. And, when one realises the whole position, — the panic that prevailed; the denunciations flying around; the jails (and such jails!) full of prisoners; and always on the horizon the grim silhouette of Montjuich, with its tradition of torture, — one is not inclined to wonder overmuch if these poor villagers (a butcher, a blacksmith, etc.) were tempted to give to their evidence just the little twist that the authorities so ardently desired. We may remember, too, that at the time when the first investigations were made (it must have been early in August, since Domenech departed on the 16th) it was universally believed that Ferrer was safely out of the country. What more simple and harmless than to shift onto his shoulders any little indiscretions into which one might have been betrayed?

On the other hand, I am inclined to regard the waiter, Calvet, as an honest witness. He was not (I believe) arrested, and he had nothing to fear except, perhaps, loss of favour with the Committee of the Fraternidad Republicana. It will be noted that he says nothing about convent burning. Moreover, I confess to feeling that Ferrer, in the letter above quoted, protests a little too much. It is hard to believe that he and Llarch walked from Masnou to Premià and back again (about five miles in all) without exchanging some definite views on the situation. Ferrer's version of all that passed during these two hours is altogether too colourless and non-committal. The probability is, I think, that there was a good deal of general discussion as to the prospects of the revolt. Barcelona was entirely cut off from the rest of the world, and it is certain that wild rumours were afloat as to the success of the movement in other cities. The question whether, and when, it would be safe to proclaim the Republic, would almost certainly be canvassed among these Republicans; and it is possible that Calvet, going to and fro about his business, may have heard phrases which, somewhat modified by after suggestion, assumed in his mind the form in which he spoke them. Nor can one regard it as quite improbable that, looking at the columns of smoke rising over Barcelona, Ferrer may have expressed a malign glee. In this there is nothing inconsistent with his declaration to the examining commandant that "he was opposed to what happened in the week of the disturbances." I do not wish to see any wrong done to my dearest foe, and I would not raise a finger to injure him; but if, by chance, he gets into trouble — well, I do not pretend to be inconsolable.

The story of the villagers, then, may very likely be founded on fact, though wildly distorted by their panic-stricken eagerness to save their own skins. Supposing it, however, to be literally true, can we find in it any proof that Ferrer was the author and chief of the revolt? On the contrary, it shows him, on the day when the revolt reached

its height, strolling through insignificant villages, thirteen to fifteen miles from Barcelona, and making pitifully ineffectual attempts to lure certain law-abiding citizens aside from the paths of virtue in which their feet are fixed. It is quite extraordinary how badly he chooses his men, and how he is rebuffed at every turn by their unflinching loyalty to Church and State. Strange that these pillars of the commonwealth should actually have been imprisoned for sedition! Their story, if we accept every syllable of it, would show Ferrer liable to whatever punishment the law assigns to an utterly abortive attempt to stir up a local sedition; but even the Spanish Military Code does not make this a capital offence.

4. Documentary Evidence

Space forbids me to enter at large into the somewhat complex question of the "documentary proofs." They consisted of two papers, one of which Ferrer admitted to be genuine, while he declared that he had never set eyes on the other. The genuine paper (there is good reason to believe that it came before the court in a seriously garbled form) was a circular which he had drafted in 1892, had never issued, and, in fact, had never thought of again. The policy embodied in it was one which he had in the meantime utterly abandoned, both in theory and practice, as his correspondence from 1900 onward conclusively proves. The second paper was an odd-looking typewritten document in two parts, purporting to be an anarchist proclamation, though suspiciously like the work of an *agent provocateur*. It was said to have been found during the practically uncontrolled search of Mas Germinal of August 27 to 29; and two experts in handwriting, inspecting three letters (a *r*, a *b*, and an *a*) put in with a pen, declared that they *might be* in Ferrer's hand, though they could not say positively. The weakness of the attribution is flagrant; and even if we believe Ferrer to have had anything to do with the document, it had no reference whatever to the events of Barcelona, but clearly appeared, on internal evidence, to have been written between 1900 and 1902. Yet all three accusers (the Fiscal, the Assessor, and the Auditor) dwell on these documents as conclusive proofs of guilt.

Verdict and Execution

The result is known to all the world. On Saturday the 13th the Council of War, having in a single morning heard all the evidence and pleadings in the complex cause, devoted the afternoon to hearing, in secret session, the Assessor's indictment, then, in secret, passed sentence of death. The Auditor had then to write his report upon the sentence before sending it up to the Captain-General; and the Captain-General had to send it, fortified with his approval, to the Government in Madrid. Spain is sometimes thought to be a country of dilatory habit; but here the promptitude of all concerned was nothing less than miraculous. The Auditor wrote this *dictamen* of 7,500 words in a single day, Sunday the 10th — a very remarkable feat; and in two more days the Captain-General and the Government had satisfied their consciences of the justice of the sentence. About three in the morning of the 11th Ferrer was removed from the prison to Montjuich: a step which showed his fate was already sealed. On Tuesday evening a cabinet council was held in Madrid, ending about half past eight; and, almost at the same hour, Ferrer was taken to the office of the governor of the fortress, where the examining commandant, Valerio Raso, read to him the sentence of death. He was then conducted, *en capilla*, into a mortuary chapel, where he was surrounded all night by priests of various

orders, pressing upon him with their ministrations. These he declined without asperity, and occupied the greater part of the night in dictating to a notary a long and careful will. At a little before nine in the morning of Wednesday the 13th he was led out into the trenches of Montjuich and shot.

His worst enemies admit that he faced death with serene courage. He asked to be allowed to stand, instead of kneeling, and to have his eyes unbandaged. The first part of this request was granted, but the second was refused on the ground that "traitors are not permitted to see their executioners." On facing the firing squad, he cried: "Aim well, my sons! It is not your fault. I am innocent. Long live the Escuela..." Three bullets in the brain cut short the phrase. By especial favour, his mother and nephew were permitted to see his horribly disfigured remains before they were consigned to the common burial ground.

When the Cortes met, two days later, the Ministry could point not only to a *chose jugée*, but to a *fait accompli*.

The Case Summed Up

Excepting some of the villagers and one or two subordinate policemen,¹⁷ I doubt whether anyone concerned in the affair acted in deliberate and conscious bad faith. It is quite unnecessary to suppose so. We have all the materials for a judicial crime, in a law carefully designed to give the accused no chance, administered by a band of puzzle-headed and prejudiced soldiers. Lawyer's law is not always synonymous with justice, but it is always preferable to soldier's law. I have given sufficient specimens of the sort of evidence gravely propounded to and accepted by the Council of War; but no one who has not studied in detail the *dictamen* of the Fiscal, the Assessor, and the Auditor can fully estimate the sheer stupidity of these gallant officers.

I reject, then, the theory of any criminal conspiracy against Ferrer. Malignant stupidity, coupled with the absence of the most rudimentary sense of fair play, is sufficient to account for all that occurred. But certainly it has a good deal to account for: the arbitrary banishment of all Ferrer's friends; the studied neglect to call for their evidence; the pettifogging refusal of that evidence when offered; the wantonly harsh treatment of the untried prisoner; the abstraction of his clothes and personal property; the publication (in papers under strict censorship) of compromising documents which, whether genuine or not, should never have left the secret portfolio of the examining commandant; the rewards ostentatiously showered on the heroes who had arrested an unarmed and unresisting man; the violent haste with which, from the moment the "incommunication" was relaxed and the Defender chosen, the whole complex case was rushed to its conclusion; the eager acceptance of every second hand whisper to the detriment of the accused, and the rejection of every favourable testimony to character; the neglect of even the scanty opportunities provided by the law for the public examination of witnesses; the spiriting away of one important witness, and the release without trial of others — all this would give the case a dark and sinister complexion even if the evidence were ten times stronger than it is. But this is not villainy, not Jesuitism; it is plain downright stupidity. Having an iniquitous law ready made to their hands, his enemies could have shot Ferrer quite as comfortably if they had observed the law in every detail, had treated him with scrupulous consideration, and had left his captors unrewarded. The haste alone was necessary, lest, when the Cortes met, awkward

questions should be asked. But the waste was the greatest stupidity of all, for it meant the suicide of the Ministry. The Cortes assembled on October 15. Three days later the Liberal leader, Sr. Moret, delivered a crushing attack on the Government of Sr. Maura; and though Maura and La Cierva, the Minister of the Interior, made a fierce fight, three more days sufficed to drive them from office. They resigned on October 21, just eight days after the death of Ferrer. It is true that the Liberal attack was based on their general mismanagement, the alternate impotence and violence of their conduct, rather than on the Ferrer case in particular. Sr. Moret, when challenged to say whether he himself would have pardoned Ferrer, made no answer. It was difficult to answer a question which assumed Ferrer's guilt; for if he was guilty he deserved no pardon. But, whatever the attitude of the Liberals toward Ferrer, there is not the least doubt that the execution of Europe, with which in those days the air was ringing, was the main factor in Maura's fall. The Government were forced to admit Moret's contention that "their unpopularity at home and abroad was a danger to the country."

I am not at all sure that, had Ferrer been fairly tried under reasonable rules of evidence, he would have got off scot free. He was certainly not the "author and chief" of the revolt; that accusation was a monstrous absurdity; but it is not quite clear that his irrepressible sympathy with every form of revolt may not have led him into one or two indiscretions. What is perfectly clear is that it was not the crumbs of good evidence against him that led to his condemnation, but the mountain of bad evidence, to most of which a rational court of law would have refused to listen for a moment. The ultimate truth, when we get to the roots of things, is that he fell a victim to a simple equivocation — a play upon

words. His accusers, his judges, all the witnesses against him, from the villagers of Premia up to the Fiscal of the Supreme Court (who was practically, though not formally, cited as a witness), were profoundly convinced that he was morally responsible for the revolt — that he was, through his opinions and teachings, the moral author and chief of the "Revolution." But the law had unfortunately omitted to make such "moral" authorship a capital crime, so it was necessary to allege efficient and actual authorship as well. Constantly and quite plainly we see the minds of witnesses and advocates shifting from one ground to the other, and back again. The most flagrant instance, perhaps, occurs in the dictamen of the Auditor, ("Process," p. 56); but the insidious fallacy is traceable on almost every page of the official documents, to say nothing of the writings of conservative and clerical apologists for the sentence. Many of these, indeed, practically abandon any other plea than that of "moral" responsibility.

Is it a just plea? Can it be maintained that the five years' activity of the Escuela Moderna and its *sucursales*, together with the publication of certain scientific and educational manuals, contributed appreciably to the popular frame of mind displayed in the revolt? Barcelona had been a turbulent city, and a hotbed of *acratism* and anti-clericalism long before Ferrer began his educational work. The influence of that work it is impossible to measure precisely; but it was, in all probability, a mere drop in the ocean. At any rate, it is a gross absurdity to seek in the Escuela Moderna the mainspring of the revolt.

Ferrer was not a great educator; he was not a great man. His thought was crude. Quite amazing is the poverty of resources which can combat such thought and such methods only with the gag and garotte. But, while he was intellectually mediocre, his persecutors contrived

to reveal in him a genuine moral greatness. His idealism was ardent and sincere, his courage was high and unflinching; and these qualities are not so common that we can deny their possessor a certain greatness. The man who wrote his letter from prison, and who faced an unmerited doom with such simple serenity, is certainly not the least among the victims of obscurantism, the martyrs of progress.

Both in Spain and out of it, Ferrer has very commonly been called "The Spanish Dreyfus." The resemblances between the two "affairs" are, indeed, unmistakable. In each case we see militarism, inspired by clericalism, riding roughshod over the plainest principles and practices of justice. The victim in each case is a personage hated by the Church — in France a Jew, in Spain a freethinker. If my reading of the Ferrer case is right, there was not so much active and deliberate villainy at work in it as there was in the Dreyfus case; but, on the other hand, the determination to convict, with or without evidence, was even more manifest in the Spanish authorities than in the French. The character of Ferrer was interesting in itself, whereas Dreyfus, apart from his calamities, would never have been heard of. But the great difference between the cases lies in the fact that the Spanish Government had the courage of its fanaticism and killed its man. Perhaps it took warning from the Dreyfus case and determined to seek security in the irreparable. It is true that no argument, no revision can undo the work of that October morning in the trenches of Montjuich; but it may be doubted whether Don Antonio Maura may not find the ghost of Ferrer more formidable than the living man could ever have been.

— William Archer

(from McClure's Magazine, Oct. — Nov. 1910)

Footnotes

1. In a pamphlet of sixty-nine pages entitled "Ordinary Process Followed before the Military Tribunals. . . against Francisco Ferrer Guardia" ("Juicio Ordinario seguido ante los Tribunales Militares en la Plaza de Barcelona contra Francisco Ferrer Guardia"). In future references to this work I shall simply call it the "Process."
2. The letters which establish the dates given in this paragraph are of unquestioned authenticity and can be produced at any time.
3. It is said that Ferrer would have returned to Paris before the outbreak of the troubles had he not been asked by a friend to make some business inquiries, which detained him; but I do not think that the intention to start before the fatal 26th of July is quite clearly established.
4. There were no premonitory symptoms. Not a cloud gave warning of the transition from calm to tempest. The life of the city pursued its normal course. From time to time, with the usual regular irregularity, a bomb exploded, but that, although it angered all citizens, alarmed few." La Semana Tragica, by Augusto Riera.
5. Barcelona, Julio de 1909: Declaracion de un testigo, Madrid, 1910, p. 14.
6. During the early morning of the 27th two buildings occupied by Marist fathers had been burnt in the suburbs of Pueblo Nuevo; but this seems to have been an isolated act of lawlessness, and not the real beginning of the incendiary frenzy.
7. This account of Ferrer's day is mainly founded on his own deposition. His statement as to interviews with the paper-maker and engraver was confirmed by the evidence of the parties in question, taken by the examining commandant. The evidence of Litran and Meseguer was not before the court, they having been deported, as we shall presently see, with all Ferrer's family and staff; but they made formal declarations which they sent from their place of banishment to Ferrer's defender. I may mention that in

Ferrer's own deposition, as read to the court, there are one or two inaccuracies, quite trifling, and of no significance either for or against him, which we can only put down to defective reporting on the part of the officials. For example, the interview with the engraver is represented as taking place in the morning instead of the afternoon. It happens that these particular errors do not matter; but similar errors, at other points in the process, might have the most disastrous effect. One of the witnesses declared to me: "What we said was no more like what we were reported as saying than this is like this" — pointing to a bottle of cognac and a piece of money which happened to be on the table before us.

8. The growth of this legend is followed, step by step, in the third chapter of Dr. Simarro's monumental work on the Ferrer case — a chapter aptly entitled "The Snowball." At first, in the early days of August, "the ominously celebrated Ferrer" is merely suspected of having financed the rebellion, and a tale is told of his having cashed a cheque for 50,000 pesetas at the Credit Lyonnais — a tale wholly without foundation. A few days later, an emissary of the Catholic "Committee of Social Defence" goes to Madrid and gives it out in an interview that "el funestísimo Ferrer" "was not in Barcelona for nothing during the week preceeding the outbreak." So, by dint of sheer repetition, the legend goes on gradually establishing itself; but it is not until the end of August, as we shall see, that Ferrer finally blossoms out into the leader and director of the whole revolt.

9. Ferrer himself says the 11th; but I have seen a letter from Soledad Villafranca, dated the 13th, in which she speaks of the search having occurred "yesterday."

10. More than 392 and less than 400 miles.

11. The traces of this diligencia (that is the expressive Spanish term) are everywhere visible to this day, and I have examined them. The gravest complaints are made as to depredations committed by the invaders; but as their personal conduct is not german to the case, I say no more about it.

12. Letter to Charles Malato from the Carcel Celular, October 1, 1909 — Un Martyr des Retres, p. 48.

13. Ferrer is one of the commonest of Spanish names, being, in fact, I take it, the equivalent of Smith. The frequency of double names arises from the habit of adding the mother's name to the father's. The father's name is placed first, and is the actual surname. Ferrer noticed, not only that two of Galceran's names were the same as his own, but that all the initials were the same: in the one case, F.F.G., in the other case, F.G.F.

14. I have seen a letter from this Pierre, protesting that he never said anything of the sort; but this protest scarcely increases the manifest worthlessness of the evidence.

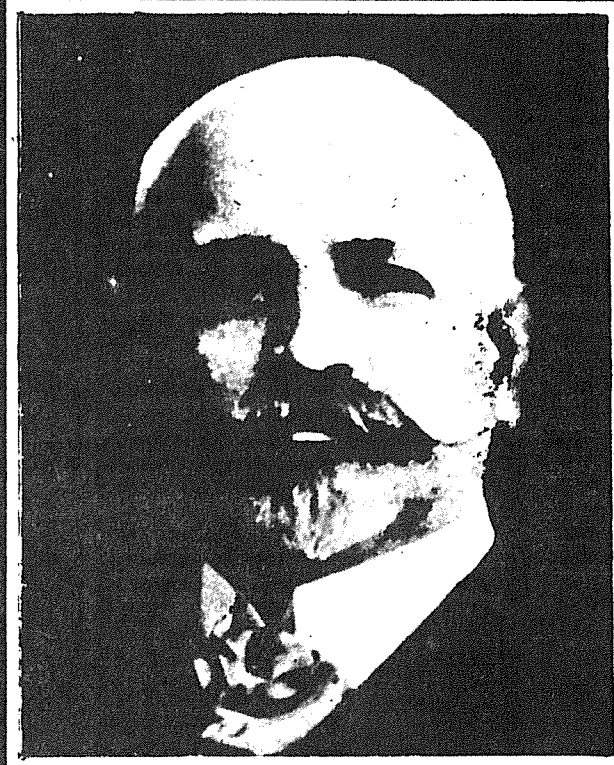
15. The following rule of the Sumario may be worth citing in this connection: "The accused makes his declaration without being placed under oath."

16. In this and another case of identification, the "three times" are specially insisted on. But surely anyone who can identify a man at once can do so three times.

17. I believe this is the correct form of the name, though it sometimes appears as "Colldefons" and "Coldefrons."

18. If the evidence of Colldefons were true, this would be no news to Ferrer, who must himself have returned quite recently from Barcelona. Again, if the evidence of both Colldefons and Llarch were true, it would be strange that Ferrer should have said nothing to Llarch as to his having taken part in the scenes of the "tragic night" in Barcelona.

19. Ferrer accused the police of having attempted to suborn his farm servant to give evidence against him. As a matter of fact, they tried to bribe the man to betray his master's hiding place — a legitimate proceeding, from their point of view. On the other hand, I think there is little doubt that they "found" the typewritten document — where they had placed it.



FERRERS LAST LETTERS

These letters of Comrade Ferrer, the first two of which were addressed to his friend, M. Naquet, president of the French Committee of Defence for Political Prisoners, were published in "L'Humanite" after having been smuggled out of the prison at Barcelona.

Prison Cell, Oct. 1 1909

"My Dear Friend - They are about to lift the secret why I have been confined here over a month, but I have not yet been permitted to read a letter or paper. I will try to recite my case to you.

From my letter of the 10th you know that I did not have the least knowledge of the intended general strike of the 26th April, designed as a protest against the war in Morocco, and I cannot understand how a rumour could be spread that I have provoked it

However that may be, I took no steps for protection feeling sure that as I had nothing whatever to do with the movement I would shortly be let alone; but behold, a member of my family came from Aletta terribly scared, having heard a young girl say that I was at Premia, leading a band of incendiaries burning a cloister. This made me reflect. There was no cloister burned at Premia. And I have never set foot in that village. So I prepared to leave the next day and visit some friends for a few days until the excitement could pass over, intending to return as soon as the times became more quiet

On the 29th of August I read in the papers that the public prosecutor of the Supreme Court, who had been at Barcelona investigating the situation, had said on leaving the palace,

where he had made his report to the king, that I had organised the revolutionary movement in Barcelona and the neighbouring villages.

I could not bear that any longer, and so, in spite of my friends' advice I resolved to present myself to the authorities to protest against such rumours and such affirmations, no matter from what sources they might come.

So I left my friend's home on the night of August 31st so as to arrive in Barcelona without encumbrance and to present myself voluntarily.

But I had failed to take into account the police in my own village, who arrested me in spite of my entreaties, and in taking me to a judge brought me before the governor of Barcelona.

The peasants, who all knew me, displayed a revolting savagery. One, especially, named Bernadas Miraltag, who tied my elbows with a cord, threatened several times to smash my skull with his gun, saying that I was the most wicked man on earth, according to what he had been told and read in all the papers. For six hours he kept watch over me in the village hall. Once I asked for a drink. Someone brought me a glass of fresh water, but Bernadas would not loosen my bonds sufficiently so that I could take the glass. He offered to pour it into my mouth himself. When I declined, he had them take away the water without letting me drink.

I tell you this so as to give you an inkling of the clerical spirit toward me. Well, next I was brought before the governor of Barcelona, who, in answer to my protests of innocence, said that reading of the school books of the Modern School might well be regarded as one of the prime causes of the uprising, therefore I was

responsible for the rebellion."

(Here follow some details as to his imprisonment in Barcelona. Ferrer continues:)

"We have now come to the first examination by Commandant Vincente Stivina y Fernandez, the judge charged with the inquiry. That was the day of my arrest, September 1, in the evening. In the course of that examination I received the impression that the judge was really moved by a genuine spirit of justice, and that I would not have to remain long in prison.

But four days passed without my being called again before the judge. On the 5th I was again summoned.

But it was not before the same judge. It was a commandant whose name was Valerio Pazo but who, I quickly discovered was Becerra del Toro, of evil memory. (Becerra del Toro was the prosecutor general who failed so signally in getting Professor Ferrer condemned to death two years ago).

His first action was to have two military surgeons make a searching examination of my body, to find out if I carried any traces of recent blows or wounds. They set to work examining me from head to foot so minutely that if unhappily in any way I had been injured recently, in all probability I would have been shot immediately.

On the 9th September came the first examination before this judge. He attached much importance to a biographical note sent in 1907 to Fournemont for publication in the 'Almanach of the International Federation of Free Thought.' As I had declared that I had nothing to do with any party, political or revolutionary, devoting myself solely to rational education, he seemed to think that he

had caught me in a contradiction, because in that note I made revolutionary declarations.

Later he alluded to several other documents of the same character, but I reminded him that all those matters had been discussed in 1906-7 during my first trial.

But then came a terrible thing – a revolutionary leaflet, which the police had found in my house, a sheet I had never seen before and which had the appearance of being very old. The judge stated that the police had found that the police had found that paper in the presence of my brother, my sister, and Mad-de Soledad.

I then told him that I did not know how that leaflet had got into my house, but I could affirm that I had never seen it. It spoke of the burning of cloisters, exterminating the congregations, and destroying the banks. Then I understood that it was intended to hold me responsible for all those events I had nothing to do with.

Ten days passed, and on the 19th September, coming before the judge, I again protested against that leaflet being used against me, declaring that its presence was owing to an error of the police or the judge, but he insisted that it had been found in the presence of my family.

The search of my home at Montgat on the 11th day of August in the presence of my family, by a lieutenant of the civil guards and two of the local authorities, did in reality bring no discovery until after twelve hours' searching, when they seized three things – a letter from Charles Albert, addressed to my brother; one letter from Anselmo Lorenzo, speaking of a loan of 900 pesetas, which I had given to *La Solidaridad Obrera* to hire an office, and a cipher for corresponding with Lerroux, many years old.

The investigation then turned upon an impassioned revolutionary appeal made by me during the Free Thought congress at Madrid, 1892. The judge thought he could see a connection between what I then wrote and what came to pass in 1909, seventeen years later.

The judge left, leaving me in great anguish. I made up my mind that at the next examination I would with my whole soul protest against the effort to find in the long ago of my life proofs to justify conclusions as to the present.

Today the judge informed me that he had finished the examination of the written evidence, that one of these days I would be tried by a military tribunal, and he asked me to select my counsel from a list of officers whom I did not know. I then said to him that I had a great deal to say about the activities of the police. The judge replied that military law bears no resemblance to the civil code.

So then it is all over, and I shall shortly be tried by persons, who, I very much fear, have not minds sufficiently free to quietly weigh the charges against me

If I can I shall continue tomorrow. At present I am too exhausted. I will only say that this month in seclusion has been very hard on me, in a fetid cell, without air or light, and on convict diet. One has to be pretty strong to stand it.

Good luck to all, all, all,

FRANCISCO FERRER

The second letter is as follows:

The Prison Cell, Oct 4, 1909

"My Dear Friend – Notwithstanding most absolute innocence, the prosecutor demands the death penalty, based on denunciations of the police, representing me as the chief of the world's Anarchists and directing the labour syndicates of France, and of conspiracies and insurrections everywhere, declaring that my voyages to London and Paris were undertaken for no other object.

With such infamous lies they are trying to kill me.

FERRER

"The messenger is about to depart and I have not time for more. All the evidence presented to the investigating judge by the police is nothing but a tissue of lies and calumnious insinuations. But no proofs against me having done nothing at all.

FERRER

The following additional letter from Ferrer is published in the latest edition of *L'Humanite* (October 1909). It is addressed to Mme. Charles Albert in response to a letter from her enclosing funds contributed in Paris for his defence.

The letter reads:

"Please to tell Charles that a further proof of the prejudice of the judges toward me is seen in the fact that they have refused me a writ to the prison authorities permitting me to purchase things essential to my personal welfare, such as postage stamps, paper, telegrams etc.

They have gone much farther than this and have refused to turn over to my lawyer a collection of the books of the Modern School, which I asked for, that I might expose the bad faith of the clericals on the subject of these schools. They have thus taken away from my lawyers the means of my defence.

In a previous letter I have given a full account of my trial, where they were unable to find any charge against me." (This letter has not yet been received.) "The judge has searched everywhere and found nothing against me. He was obliged at last to call upon the supreme prosecutor, who had charged me with being the director of the rebellion, and demanded proofs of him. He was obliged to admit that he had no proofs, but said that he had heard these things.

My lawyer is certain of my acquittal so far as the facts are concerned, but he fears very much that the court will be influenced by the evil atmosphere that has been created around me. Freedom of the press only exists for the reactionary papers that speak against me. So far as the liberals are concerned, they are able to say nothing.

All aid should be given to my lawyer in his efforts to secure publicity for the facts.

Best wishes to all.

FERRER



KROPOTKIN'S SPEECH

Memorial Hall, London, October 21, 1909

The execution of Ferrer has provoked in Europe and America a general feeling of indignation.

Even in St. Petersburg, under the bayonets of Nicholas II, a big indignation meeting was held at the University.

Were it not for the state of siege scores of similar meetings would have been held all over Russia. This striking, spontaneous outburst of anti-clerical feeling has filled with awe the ruling classes everywhere, and especially in this country. For the last few days the Conservative press of London has ventilated its fears and is trying to throw cold water on the movement of indignation. The Conservative papers are afraid of that indignation movement, and they do not conceal their fears. The *Morning Post* in its leader of October 18th, says:

"The significance of all this lies in the evidence which it supplies, that in several countries of Western Europe there is growing a class accustomed to feel itself hostile to society and the State, ready to give vent to that hostility in words and thereby propagate it, regardless of conse- (continued over the page)

quences."

The *Daily Telegraph* is still more outspoken:

"There has been nothing in our time" — we read in its leader of October 21st — "more instructive of its sort than the way in which the revolutionary and ruffainly elements" — it is you friends, who are the ruffians — "have combined to exploit the Ferrer tragedy. There has been in all this a characteristic mixture of frantic excitability, histrionic calculation, and of that sheer, subversive violence always ready to emerge" and so on.

"There is an evil spirit abroad" — the *Telegraph* continues — "a spirit of virulent vituperation and menacing incitement. . ."

"The Tsar was attacked" — laments the *Daily Telegraph* — "in every land, just as Italian socialists are attacking him now, just as the 'reds' of every shade in every country are assailing King Alphonso and his Ministers . . . Sentimental perversity can no further go, and it will destroy any society which indulges in it."

Well, friends, it is only this "sentimental perversity" which spared you the shame of seeing Nicholas II and his hangmen parading in the streets of London.

They learn nothing, these gentlemen — always at one with reaction, with the hangmen all over the world.

We have seen it just lately. When on the occasion of the visit of the Tsar, a handful of brave men in Parliament and in the Press protested against the admission of the hanging Tsar to these shores — what a chorus of blame came from the Conservative Press!

Let the hangman be a Sultan, or a Tsar, or a most Christian King, they are always ready to support him.

The arguments of the Conservative Press are twofold. One is, that the British Government has no right to interfere in the internal affairs of Spain.

No right — they say, except when it comes to annex a Cyprus, to occupy an Egypt, or to conquer a Pretoria.

Friends! But is this the conception of the British nation?

No, I, an alien, loudly protest against this calumny. I know that the rule of the Conservatives for the last twenty years has done everything to destroy the good reputation of the people of Britain.

But the feeling remains, and last Sunday it has shown what it thought of the bloodthirsty priesthood of Spain.

The British nation has over and over again interfered with the internal affairs of Belgium, Italy, Austria, France, in the Dreyfus affair, Turkey, nay Spain itself. . . Not more than eight years ago, a British statesman in Trafalgar Square saw the Spanish Ambassador to ask him what truth there was in the statement of a Spaniard, released from Montjuich, who stated that he had been tortured in the Bastille of Alphonso XII. "The Spanish Ambassador agreed first, and refused next day, to have that man examined by two English doctors examined him, and reported to a Trafalgar Square meeting the nature of the horrible wounds inflicted on that man by the Montjuich Inquisition.

The agitation in England, Germany, and France became thereupon so violent, that finally sixteen men condemned to hard labour on the strength of testimony obtained in Montjuich under torture, were released.

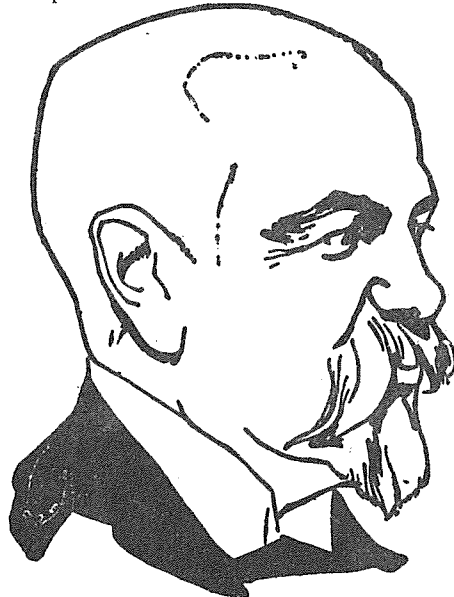
We greeted them here, two of them had been tortured. The Conservative papers and Sir Edward Grey speak of no interference. But were not the official festivities given to that perjurer Nicholas II an interference in the internal struggle

that goes on in Russia? The result of this patting on the back of Nicholas II you have seen today in the papers. A province is torn from Finland, whose constitution and integrity Nicholas II had sworn on his oath to maintain.

The second argument of the Conservative Press is this: "Ferrer was a bloodthirsty revolutionist and an Atheist who wanted to destroy everything in Spain."

If I had the time and the strength to tell you all that the Spanish Government have done in Barcelona for the last twelve years — Barcelona is the most intelligent centre of Spain for the development of its working class — if I could tell you all their infamies, you would rise in a fury, and say that it is a pity that the Barcelona uprising has not already overthrown that shameless Government.

Barcelona has suffered terribly from that Government. It was there that in 1896, they tortured the Anarchists; there that for years in succession their police agents — their Azeffs — deposited bombs in the working men's quarters, killing women and children, and accusing the Anarchists of doing this. Those of you who have read the English papers at that time, know that this was proved at the trial of Rull.



And now, this Government, abhorred and despised, opened a war in Morocco for the enrichment of the capitalists, which would cost scores of millions of pounds and thousands of human lives. This was the beginning of the Barcelona insurrection.

Ferrer is accused by the Conservative Press of having taken a part in the uprising at Barcelona. But Ferrer has written that he took no part whatever in it, and we must believe him.

Well, friends, perhaps we ought to regret it. If he, and scores of men from the 'intellectuals' in Barcelona had taken part in the movement of protest against the war, there would have been perhaps less monasteries burned, but the result might have been that the Montjuich Bastille of the present clerical and military Government would have fallen, perhaps even without the loss of a hundred and thirty men and women of the people, killed by the troops of Alphonso.

Friends, don't be misled by these haters of all liberty and progress.

The truth is that the clericals had sworn Ferrer's death, and they have attained their aim with the abetting of all those who have done their best to discredit the Ferrer movement in favour of Ferrer.

The fact is, that Ferrer was the soul of a great educational movement in Spain. His tastes and education did not lead him into the active agitation, but to educational work.

After his last visit here he sent me two sets of all his publications; one for the British Museum, one for me. It is all educational work of high value, not anti-religious, but severely scientific. Suffice it to say that Elisee Reclus — a man whose character and science Europe respects, wrote the prefaces to several of the educational books published by Ferrer.

To give you some idea of them, I take one of them. It is on the origin of Christianity. It is an analysis of the book of Malvert, *Science and Religion*, and the work of the great explorer of the history of Religions, Burnouf popularised.

The eastern Buddhistic origin of Christianity, and its relation to the worship of the Sun and its son, Agni, the Fire, are told in this booklet in a quite popular language.

And this book ends — with what? With an apology of Anarchism? of Tolstoyism? No! With an apology of Protestantism, which I for my account find even too enthusiastic.

"The eloquent appeals of the two new apostles, Luther and Calvin," Ferrer wrote:

"Provoked a true explosion of conscience among the Aryans. The Reform tried to reconstitute primitive christianity, freeing it from the extraneous elements which disfigured it. With Protestantism disappeared the sacerdotal hierarchy, . . . and all fetishist worship." Speaking of the ethics of Protestantism, Ferrer wrote:

"It is a collection of maxims legated by the philosophers of antiquity, supported by a deep observation of man, his needs, his mission, his duties, and his social organisations, for which modern science — hampered as it is by antagonism of interests, which presupposes the existence of privileged usurpers and of the disinherited ones, compelled to work, to exploitation, and to misery — was not yet able to substitute a superior ethic which would give satisfaction to both the egotistic and the altruistic feelings on the double basis of social hygiene and solidarity."

A few warm words follow, to tell what Protestantism has done for the progressive evolution of mankind. Then looking forward to centuries to come, Ferrer said:

"Protestantism will also go, like all other religions. When the great number will be better initiated to scientific knowledge, the necessity of an aid from the superior powers will be less felt. The necessity of religions will disappear the day that men will be reasonable enough to regulate themselves and their conduct in a social concord."

And he concluded the book with the words:

"This magnificent evolution of the human intelligence, full of mysticism at its beginnings, under the veil of religion, has progressed in advance of religion and notwithstanding it. Science tends now to acquire the supreme authority — Science and Truth, of which it is the expression and the revelation. To it will belong in the future the directing power in the world, instead of divinity. Science is the benefactor of the nations and the liberator of mankind."

These are the last words in that remarkable book, *"The Origin of Christianity,"* published in 1906 at Barcelona, and this is the book for the publication of which Ferrer has paid for his life under the bullets of four soldiers in the ditch of the prison of Montjuich.

Now he is dead, but it is our duty to resume his work, to continue it, to spread it, to attack all the fetishes which keep mankind under the yoke of the State, Capitalism, and Superstition.

RICARDO FLORES MAGON AND THE MEXICAN REVOLUTION

by
**DAVE
POOL**



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